INDO - SASSANIAN COINS.

ART. II.—*Parthian and Indo-Sassanian Coins.* By EDWARD THOMAS, F.R.S.

THE design of this paper, in the first instance, was confined to the description of a remarkable coin, communicated to me, in photograph, a year or two ago, by M. Wold Tiesenhäusen, whose comprehensive work on "*Les Monnaies des Khalifes Orientaux*"¹ placed him in the front rank of Oriental Numismatists. Subsequently, the owner of the piece, M. le Comte S. Stroganoff, was so good as to risk the dangers of International Postal deliveries, and to send me the original coin itself for more exact and critical scrutiny.

Up to this period the pages of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* have been claimed for more popular subjects; so that it is only now, that I have an opportunity of presenting this notice to the Society. The incidental delay has, however, enabled me to follow out, in some detail, another though later division of the history of proximate lands, as represented by the Sassanian and post-Sassanian intercourse with the classic sites of the *Zend Avesta* and *Sháh Námah*, on and around the waters of the "splendid" *Helmand*.²

The leading example of the former class of coin (No. 1) now presented, in the shape of a conscientious wood-engraving by Mr. Adeny, indicates a considerable advance on the previously published legends and the contested interpretations of No. 2 of the same series.

The *reverse* face of No. 2 has, likewise, been re-engraved for the illustration of this article, in order to exhibit frankly all possible discrepancies between the earlier and later read-

¹ Text in Russian, St.-Petersbourg, 1873, folio.

² Vendidad, 19th Fargard, "I praise the zone Qanirathem, the splendid Hêtumat, the brightly shining, the beautiful."—Haug, p. 217. See also Anquetil, *Zend Avesta*, i. (2) p. 268, ii. 392.

ings. I have been careful not to interfere with the artist (Mr. Balcomb), who drew with his usual skill the outlines of both the new cuts on the wood, as I have been anxious that the eye and the hand of the engraver should be left free for public criticism, undisturbed by any tendencies or theories of my own. But I must distinctly uphold the justification of Mr. Gardner's first reading¹ of the *P* in *HPAOT* on the margin of No. 2, which has been lost sight of or rather transposed in the new design.

In the same way, few of us, expert numismatists or mechanical art copyists, can be certain about the true form of the second figure or monogrammatic combination of letters, which succeeds the large *A* in the field in either instance.

The woodcut of the third coin in the present list was executed in St.-Petersbourg, and though apparently slightly hard in its obverse outline, seems to follow, with mechanical precision, the straggling forms of the debased reverse of its congeners. I have not seen the coin itself.

No. 1. Silver. M. le Comte S. Stroganoff.

Obverse.—Head of Scythian king, to the right, uncovered, but the loose hair is encircled by conventional classic fillets, and the neck seems to be protected by swathed folds of cloth?

Reverse.—Horseman to the right, with bow-case or quiver carried at the rear of the right thigh. Small winged figure of Victory crowning him, in Parthian fashion, from behind.

¹ Numismatic Chronicle, n.s. vol. xiv. 1874, p. 161. General Cunningham likewise read the name, in the first instance, as *HPAOT* (Journ. As. Soc. Bengal, 1862, p. 425), but he now tells me that he prefers the initial letters *MI*, and proposes to date the coins in about 50 B.C.

Legends—*Margin.*—ΤΥΡΑΝΝΟΥΝΤΟΣ ΗΑΟΥ ΚΟΙΠΑΝΟΥ.¹

Below the legs of the horse—ΣΑΝ.

In the field, in front of the horse—ΑΣ? in larger letters.

The second symbol of this group is as uncertain in the original piece as it is in either of the woodcuts.

No. 2. Silver. British Museum.

Obverse (original cut).—King's bust, similar to No. 1.

Reverse (Second copy).—Scythian horseman, as above.

Legends—Margin.

ΤΥΡΑΝΝΟΥΝΤΟΣ ΗΙΑΟΥ

ΚΟΙΠΑΝΟΥ.

Between the horse's legs, ΣΑΝ.

In the field, in front, ΑΒ?

¹ "Τύραννος, strictly Doric for κολπανος, from κύπος, κύπιος, a lord, master." The editors add, "The term rather regards the way in which the power was *gained* than how it was *exercised*, being applied to the mild Pisistratus, but not to the despotic kings of Persia." (Liddell and Scott.) The ancient Persians must have been fully conversant with the use and meaning of the term, in the Ἑλλησποντῶν μὲν τύραννοι of Darius, referred to by Herodotus, iv. cap. 137, who elsewhere seems to admit that its interchange with βασιλεὺς was optional and unimportant. Objection has been taken in the Indian Antiquary (1881, p. 215) to this simple interpretation; but is it not probable that the critically relied-on Χοραν Σν, etc., are degradations rather than leading forms?

I had speculatively suggested that the second letter in the field—as it was supposed to stand alone but omitted in the first drawing—might constitute the mint-mark for Drangia; but the appearance of the second letter on No. 1 seems to indicate that it must be read in combination with the more prominent *A*, whether as a date or a combined mint-mark has still to be determined.

The great interest which was felt among Numismatists on the first publication of coin No. 2 arose from the supposition that the letters below the horse's legs might be read continuously as *ΣΑΚΑ*. The new coin No. 1 puts an end to this delusion, not only in severing, both in size and emplacement, the final *A* from the preceding three letters, but in the association of a second Greek letter or figure in its *quasi*-monogrammatic isolation, in the open field of the device. It likewise determines, conclusively, that the third of the smaller letters must now be received as an *N*, in lieu of the previously doubtful *K*, whose malformation sufficiently authorized the first tentative interpretation. Thus giving us, in compact letters, the word *ΣΑΝ*, the exact counterpart of the Bactrian *𑀲 san*, which, in its abbreviated form of the full term of *Samvat*, so invariably precedes the date in the numerous lithic and other inscriptions in the *Bactrian Pāli* character found in the Punjab and elsewhere.¹ The same word, in parallel cases, reappears in the *Indian Pāli* inscriptions of proximate date at Mathura, as *सं san*, and *संवत्सर samvatsara*, either term being, so to say, indifferently employed.²

The Bactrian *𑀲 san* occurs in numerous instances on the coins of *AZAS* and *AZIΛIZAS*, evidently carrying, primarily, a like significance,³ though the complicated Indo-Bactrian monograms succeeding it do not as yet admit of satisfactory explanation, even if, in some cases, the word is not left to stand alone, with an unfilled-in sequence. A possible

¹ Prof. Dowson, J.R.A.S. o.s. Vol. XX. pp. 221, 232, etc.; Prinsep's Essays, vol. i. p. 145.

² Ancient Inscriptions from Mathura, Prof. Dowson, J.R.A.S. n.s. Vol. V. p. 182.

³ Prinsep's Essays, vol. ii. pp. 205–211; Ariana Antiqua, pl. vii. 3, 13, viii. 6.

mechanical record, whose traditions have been preserved to our time in the سنوات *sanwât* or *sonât* rupees—whose commercial value was determined, *in situ*, by the very date itself—and which we accepted as an inheritance from the Mughal Emperors of India in our 19th *san* coins.¹

I have shown in a previous paper, on “Bactrian Coins and Indian Dates,”² that the earlier Græco-Bactrian Kings followed the reckoning of the Seleucid era in the official dating of their coins. This view has since been largely adopted by Indian Archæologists, and it continues to receive support from many incidental sources; among the rest, Prof. Jacobi has pointed out the curious coincidence of the date of the *abhisheka* of Chandra Gupta, in its bearing upon *Jaina* epochs, with the parallel 312 B.C. of the Greek chronology.³

¹ Prinsep's Essays, ii. U.T. p. 72. Regulation 1773 A.D.

² J.R.A.S. Vol. IX. n.s. 1876, p. 1.

³ Kalpa Sûtra, Leipzig, 1879, p. 8 :

“These verses (reproduced at p. 15, J.R.A.S. Vol. IX, 1876, from The Indian Antiquary, vol. ii. p. 362), which are quoted in a very large number of commentaries and chronological works, but the origin of which is by no means clear, give the adjustment between the eras of Vira and Vikrama, and form the basis of the earlier *Jaina* chronology.

The sum of years elapsed between the commencement of the era of Vikrama and the reign of the Mauryas, as stated by the verses just quoted, is $255 = 4 + 13 + 40 + 60 + 30 + 108$. By adding 57, the number of years expired between the commencement of the Samvat and the Christian eras, we arrive at 312 B.C. as the date of Chandra Gupta's *abhisheka*. The near coincidence of this date with the date derived from Greek sources, proves that the Vikrama of the 3rd verse is intended for the founder of the Samvat era (57 B.C.), and not for the founder of the Saka era (78 A.D.), because on the latter premiss Chandra Gupta's *abhisheka* would date 177 B.C. The reigns of Pálaka (60) and of the nine Nandas (155), in sum 215 years, make up the interval between Chandra Gupta and the Nirvāṇa; adding 215 to 312 B.C., we arrive at 527 B.C. as the epoch of Mahāvira's Nirvāṇa, differing by 16 years from the Nirvāṇa of Buddha, according to the chronology of Ceylon, or 543 B.C.”

Another account states that “155 years after the liberation of Mahāvira, Chandra Gupta became king.” Adding 155 to 312 B.C. “we find that the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvira would fall in 467 B.C.”

Dr. Bühler, in the Indian Antiquary (vol. ii. p. 363), notices a point of much importance in the history of Indian dates, viz. that the *Jaina* sect of Svetambaras date in the Vikramaditya era, while the Digambaras make use of the Saka era; and that the parallel systems each give the return of 526 B.C. for Mahāvira.

Prof. Jacobi adds in a note, “I call attention to the fact that this date of Chandra Gupta's *abhisheka* coincides with the beginning of the Seleucid era. Mr. Ed. Thomas (Records of the Gupta Dynasty in India, pp. 17, 18) believes that the Seleucid era maintained for a long time its ground in Upper India, etc. If the correctness of Mr. Thomas's theory could be demonstrated by direct proof, it would be easy to account for the rather puzzling fact that the *Jaina* date of Chandra Gupta's *abhisheka* comes so near to the truth.”

It will be remembered that Wilford, in vol. ix. pp. 94, 98, Asiatic Researches,

The recently-discovered coins of the Bactrian Greeks have not much advanced our direct proofs; but I preserve a note of the sale of Gen. Smee's coins in July, 1878 (No. 368 of the catalogue), of pieces of Antimachus *Theus*, bearing respectively the numeral letters *PK* and *KP*, indicating alike the year 120 of the era of the Seleucidæ or B.C. 192, a date which might well fit-in with the archaic character of the treatment of the devices of his issues, and his other claims to a contemporaneous exercise of authority in subordination to Diodotus himself.¹

The speculative date of Antimachus Theus, obtained from the collocation of the dynastic lists of the Bactrian kings, by Gen. Cunningham, was fixed so long ago as 1842 at 190 B.C.²

His immediate or deferred connection with Diodotus is testified to by the joint legends on coin No. 4, in the sub-joined list of the associated potentates of the earlier Bactrian period.

1. Agathocles in subordi- { Obv. ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ.
nation to Diodotus } Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ.
2. Agathocles in subordi- { Obv. ΕΥΘΥΔΗΜΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ.
nation to Euthydemus } Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ.
3. Agathocles in subordi- { Obv. ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ.
nation to Antiochus } Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ.
4. Antimachus Theus in { Obv. ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ.
subordination to Dio- } Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΝΤΙΜΑΧΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ.
dorus

I hear that General Cunningham has found, in his own cabinets, confirmatory examples of the dates previously cited by me, *i.e.* *ΟΓ*=73 for 173 Seleucidæ, or 139 B.C. for the reign of Eukratides, and *ΗΓ*=83 for 183 Sel., or B.C. 129 for the reign of Heliocles. And, I may add, that I am given to understand that Gen. Cunningham fully concurs with me,

1807, first detected the curious coincidence "of the expiation of Chánacya," and "the accession of Chandra Gupta to the throne," in 312 B.C., as "a famous era in the chronology of the Hindus."

¹ J.R.A.S. Vol. IX. p. 5.

² Prinsep's Essays, vol. ii. p. 175. Numismatic Chronicle, 1842, *Table of Dynasties*, p. 175. See also his later papers in the same Journal, vol. ix. n.s. p. 38.

alike in the definition of the numbers and their application to the era of the Seleucidæ.

I have more than once had to refer, in the pages of our Journal, to the contrasted import of the simple title of *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ* as distinguished from the relative term *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ*. As may be seen from my recapitulation in Vol. XX. 1863, o.s. p. 126, there were at that time divided opinions on this subject. But I am sanguine enough to suppose that the instances supplied by the Bactrian coins themselves, collocated by me at page 19, Vol. IX. n.s., and now reproduced in outline results above (p. 6), may be held to have set this controversy at rest, in establishing the subordinate intention or practical application of the latter designation.

So, also, with the parallel intitulation of *ΤΥΡΑΝΝΟΝΤΟΣ*, which appears on our coins, there could be little doubt but that it implied something short of absolute regal status; and a curious confirmation of this inference has lately been contributed by Canon Rawlinson's "Sixth or Parthian Monarchy,"¹ in a passage where Himerus is described by Posidonius as τὸν τυραννήσαντα βαβυλωνίων under Phraates, a position which is more directly defined by Justin (xlii. 2. sec. 3) as the "*vicarius*" of Phraates.

In another publication² I have had occasion to examine the supposed identity of the owner of our coins (Nos. 1 and 2) with the Bactrian King Mauas, and the conclusion that I arrived at may be recapitulated briefly in the following terms:—

As regards the typical details, the contrast between the emblematic devices of the coins of Mauas and our new king is most apparent. Mauas has no coins, with his own bust, among the infinite variety of his mint issues, nor has the Bactrian Azas, who imitates so many of his emblems. But, in the Gondophares group, we meet with busts and uncovered heads and loose hair simply bound by fillets, in

¹ P. 108.

² The Epoch of the Guptas in India, p. 36; Archæological Survey of Western India for 1874-5, London, 1876, p. 51.

which arrangement, the *chevelure* Pakores, with his flowing curls, follows suit. But the critical test in this case is furnished by the small winged figure of Victory seeking to crown the horseman on the reverse, which is so special a characteristic of Parthian Numismatic die-illustration.

We have frequent examples of quasi-Angels, or types of Nike with offertory regal fillets in the Bactrian series; but these figures constitute, as a rule, the main device of the reverse, and are not subordinated into a corner, as in the Parthian system. The first appearance of the winged figure with chaplet in direct connexion with the king's head in the Imperial series, occurs on the coins of Arsaces XIV., *Orodes* (B.C. 54-37), where the crown of conquest is borne by an eagle,¹ but on the reverses of the copper coinage, this duty is already confided to the technical figure of Victory.² Arsaces XV., Phraohates IV. (37 B.C.-4 A.D.), continues the classic eagles for a time, but his modifications progress into single³ and finally into double figures of Victory, each eager to do him honour,⁴ as demonstrating his successes against Antony and the consequent annexation of the kingdom of Media.⁵

Henceforth these winged adjuncts disappear from the Parthian programme, so that, if we are to seek for the prototype of the new coins amid Imperial Arsacidan models, we are closely limited in point of antiquity, though the possibly deferred adaptation may be less susceptible of proof.

Supposing this adoption, however, to have been contemporaneous, the dates B.C. 37 to A.D. 4 will mark the age of Nos. 1 and 2, whereas the Bactrian Moas is speculatively assigned to the much earlier period of from 126 to 100 B.C.⁶

¹ Lindsay, *History of the Parthians*, Cork, 1852, pl. iii. fig. 2, pp. 146-170; *Trésor de Numismatique*, pl. lxxviii. fig. 17.

² *Ibid.* pl. v. fig. 2, p. 181.

³ *Ibid.* pl. iii. fig. 60; v. fig. 4, pp. 148, 170; *Trésor de Numismatique*, pl. lxxviii. fig. 18; pl. lxxix. fig. 5.

⁴ *Ibid.* pl. iii. figs. 61-63.

⁵ Lindsay, p. 46; Rawlinson, *The Sixth Monarchy*, p. 182.

⁶ Wilson, 100 B.C.; Lassen, 120 B.C.; Cunningham, after 126 before 105 B.C.; Prinsep's *Essays*, vol. ii.

No. 3. Silver. Hermitage St.-Petersbourg.

Obverse.—King's head, with cap or crown similar to the head-dress introduced by Sapor I., surmounted by an eagle's head.¹

Reverse.—Horseman to the right, traces of eagle monogram at the back. *Legend*.—In front *AZVΛOC* *Azilisas*? below the horse. מלכא. *Malka*?

No. 3 belongs to a class of coins described by me, in a previous Number of this Journal, under the heading of "Indo-Parthian."²

Its novelty consists in the curious style of cap or helmet terminating in an eagle's head, on the obverse—a device, following early Persian traditions, originally introduced by Sapor I.

The reverse adds nothing positive towards the interpretation of the legends, of which we already have better defined examples; except that it seems to show chaotic traces of Greek letters, which may prove to have some connexion with the Bactrian Azas group—while retaining the hybrid *Malka* found on the other coins.

M. Tiesenhausen, who was so good as to bring this specimen to my notice and to superintend the execution of the

¹ Numismatic Chronicle, vol. xv. o.s. plate p. 180, fig. 3; and vol. xii. n.s. plate iii. fig. 3.

² J.R.A.S. Vol. IV. n.s. p. 1. Reprinted in the Numismatic Chronicle, vol. x. n.s. p. 139. See also a later notice of these coins in my essay on the "Epoch of the Guptas," p. 38, note *.

woodcut, enters into some further details, which I quote in his own words :

“St.-Pétersbourg, Pont de la Police, 17.

“Le 11/23 avril, 1881.

“Pour ma part je crois vous faire plaisir par l’envoi des empreintes d’une monnaie en argent que je viens de découvrir dans les riches collections de l’Ermitage Impérial à St.-Pétersbourg et qui sans doute appartient à la même catégorie dont vous avez parlé dans votre mémoire sur les monnaies indo-parthes.

“Un exemplaire de cette monnaie (en plomb) qui se trouvait au cabinet d’un amateur à St.-Pétersbourg et qui m’est échappé jusqu’à présent, a été publié et décrit par feu M. Koehler. Voy. ses *Gesammelte Schriften*, publ. par l’Académie des Sciences de St.-Pétersbourg, vol. i. p. 11, pl. ii. No. 1. Il en parle de la manière suivante :

“‘Buste d’un roi à grande barbe et longue chevelure, tournée à droite; la tiare surmontée d’une tête d’aigle.

“‘*Rev.*—ΣΓΕΥΕ VAZVNIΩT. Figure du roi à cheval, allant de gauche à droite.

“‘La légende est très-difficile à déchiffrer parceque les lettres sont mal formées. On y découvre cependant quelques lettres, *VAZV*, qui renferment peut-être une partie du nom royal que l’on pourrait rapporter au nom d’Artabazus, de Monobazus, ou d’Artabanus,’ etc.

“Ainsi Koehler croyait que l’inscription était composée de lettres grecques. L’exemplaire de l’Ermitage, dont je vous envoie les empreintes, nous montre clairement que les lettres de l’inscription sont identiques avec celles qu’on lit sur les pièces décrites dans vos ‘Indo-parthian coins.’

“Outre cela je me permets de fixer votre attention sur l’identité des ornements marginal sur toutes ces monnaies. On retrouve ces ornements aussi sur les pièces du prétendu Heraeus.”

LATER SASSANIAN AND INDO-SASSANIAN COINS.

Whatever the Arabs destroyed or burnt in the way of fragmentary MSS. or more consolidated books, in the days of their fanatical ignorance, they very soon came to appreciate the value of the documentary evidence of the rent-rolls of the countries they conquered. And, so, what was of even more importance to invading armies, every previous record of distances, difficulties of transit, commercial halting-places, military highways and byways, was studied and reduced to order in all its details. To these obligations on their part we are chiefly indebted for the ground-work of all Arabian geography.

But whatever the motives which led them to preserve and translate these records of the past, the result proves to be singularly valuable to modern inquirers, and especially so in this instance, for the chance references they contain as to the political condition of neighbouring states bordering on their main lines of aggressive combat. It would seem, on the other hand, that our coins may, in their devices and legends, more clearly define and localize the details furnished by the Arabic MSS. as they have come down to us.

As preliminary, therefore, to any examination of the extant coins, I reproduce from comparatively independent sources — authorities who wrote or borrowed from others more than a century and a half apart — two lists of the designations and titles of a large range of local rulers, some of which may aid us in the ultimate emplacement and determination of the dates of those Kings whose once current money now appeals to us for interpretation.

I have not thought it worth while to alter, or to attempt to bring under one system of transliteration, in the subjoined table, the continental conflict of German and French schemes of transcription; the matter is indeed somewhat immaterial apart from the pedantic issue.

LIST OF LOCAL KINGS, WITH THEIR TITULAR DESIGNATIONS.

STATES.	ALBÍRÚNÍ, ¹ <i>circa 1030 A.D.</i>	IBN KHORDÁDBAH, ² <i>circa 869 A.D.</i>
The Turks, etc. . .	Khákán	
The Ghuzz Turks . .	Hanúta	
The Chinese. . . .	Baghbúr	
India	Balhará	
Kannuj	Rábí (Ráí)	
The Islands of the Eastern Ocean . .	Maharáj	
Tabaristán	Ispahbadh	
Dunbáwand	Masmaghán	
Gharjistán	Shár	
Sarakhs	Zádhawaihi . . .	Zadaveih
Nasá and Abíward .	Báhmana	(Andkho) Bahmana
Shásh	Tudun	(Niça) Ibban
Marw	Máhawaihi . . .	Mahaveih
Marw ul rúd . . .		Kelán
Níshhápúr	Kanbár	Kenar
Samarkand	Tarkhún	Tarkhoun
Jurján	Anáhpadh	
Bámiyán	Shír-i-Bámiyán .	Saïd-Bamián
Kábul	Kábul-Sháh . . .	Kábul Sháh
Tirmidh	Tirmidh-Sháh . .	Termed Sháh
Khwárizm	Khwárizm-Sháh .	Khárezm Sháh
Shirwán	Shirwán-Sháh . .	
Bukhárá	Bukhárá-Khudáh .	Khodah
Gúzgánán	Gúzgán-Khudáh .	Gourganán
Amol		Anseb-Amol-Sháh
Transoxania . . .		Kousán Sháh
Rokkhedj, Daver and Nimroz . . .		Dou'l-na'-naah
Seistán		Rotbib
Vardanah		Vardán Sháh
Herát, Poucheng and Badghís . . .		Arán

¹ Sachau's Translation, London (Orient. Tr. Fund), Allen & Co., 1879, p. 109.² Text and Translation, by M. Barbier de Meynard, *Journal Asiatique*, 1865, pp. 249, etc.

Yakúbi, who was a contemporary of Ibn Khordádbah, frequently alludes to the celebrated *Rutbil* رُتْبِيل, "King of Sejestan,"¹ as also do both Tabari and Masaudi; he is sometimes designated as "King of Kábul,"² and at others as "King of Sind,"³ which would seem to imply either that his dominions covered a large extent of country, or that the site of his capital was frequently changed. This latter course we know to have been in frequent operation with the mutable metropolis of Arachosia; and considering the Arab advances in so many directions upon a coveted centre, the local Suzerain must have had an unquiet and disturbed time of it.

The most interesting notice bearing upon the previous period of these lands, however, is contributed by Ibn Khallikan, who tells us, "There was in the territory of Sijistán a Turkish tribe called *Darári*, and governed by a king named Retbíl. . . . Yakub (bin Leis) slew their king and three princes, all bearing the title of Retbíl."⁴

We need have little difficulty in identifying the *Daráris* with the *Duránis* (دُرَّانِي), the populous tribe settled in and around Kandahár, and subsequently so famed in the history of the Afghán nation.⁵

Yakúbi's text furnishes many contemporary references to sites and cities, as well as to names of kings in temporary possession, which it may be worth while for future inquirers to follow up.

Before asking our modern palæographers to accept my readings of the legends on the coins reproduced in the Autotype Plate, I am anxious that they should be put in possession of the means of checking and improving upon my interpretations. I have therefore reprinted, in the subjoined

¹ كتاب البلدان. Lugd. Bat. 1858, pp. 58, 61 *et seq.*

² Masaudi, iv. 130.

³ Tabari, iii. 518; iv. 123.

⁴ Ibn Khallikan, Oriental Translation Fund, vol. iv. p. 302. D'Herbelot, under *Jacob Leith*, p. 466, speaks of "Darham" prince of Sejestán; Masaudi, however (vol. viii. pp. 41, 415), refers to "Dirhem bin Nasr." Yakut has دُرَّانِي.—Istakhri, Goeje, p. 246.

⁵ Elphinstone (Kabul, p. 391) estimated the area of the *Duráni* possessions as 400 miles by from 120 to 140, *i.e.* "larger than England," with a population of 60,000 families, at the period of Nadir Sháh's invasion.

table, my early conclusions as to the inefficacy of the thirteen or fourteen graphic forms of the Sassanian alphabet, to do anything more than indicate in a rude way the sounds and inflections of their own tongue. As long as the charming simplicity of the old Persian remained in force, and men could talk to one another with few words, in very primitive terms, when signs and motions to some extent still introduced speech itself, a very short-hand form of writing was sufficient to give effect to all that either party had to say or record. Hence the early Pehlvi script was sufficiently embodied for the moment in a secondary form of Phœnician writing, with whose ethnic elements it had nothing in common. But when this alphabet was called upon to become the step-mother of the more copious Arabic vocabulary, its technic deficiencies were very soon discovered. And the earliest adaptations of the hybrid Kufic had to borrow new letters from Syriac sources, while the later Arabian grammarians of the Baghdad school perhaps over-elaborated their alphabetical lists to meet provincial or tribal utterances.

I. COMMUTABLE SOUNDS OF THE NORMAL LETTERS ON THE COINS,
INCLUDING LATER PERSIAN AND ARABIC DEVELOPMENTS.

1	ا هـ ز ح or ع a, h, h, or ain.	8	و ک k.
2	ب b, at times w.	9	م m.
3	ت ث د ذ or ط t, th, d, z, or t.	10	{ ن n (old form 2 = w or r) or و w.
4	ر (old form 2 = r) or ل l.	11	د گ د ي or چ i, d, g, or j.
5	ز z.	12	ذ final, or attached izāfat.
6	س s.	13	ص ز ج چ or س ch, j, z, z or s.
7	ش sh.	14	پ or ف p or f.

The final ۱ n may be looked upon as a later advance on the Persian Cuneiform 𐎶 or sign of separation; in other cases it

seems to follow the Sanskrit mission of a stop or *Virāma*, a method of silencing the inherent Aryan short vowel *a* in the leading consonant. In the Pehlvi examples, its duties are not very clearly defined; but I have adopted in my transliterations the subsequent Arabic form of ʿ *Sukūn*, which equally points to a silent consonant.

II. CONVENTIONAL MODERN PEHLVI, WITH THE CORRESPONDING
PERSIAN AND ENGLISH EQUIVALENTS.

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

No. 4. Silver. Plate No. 1. Unique. Mr. Alexander Grant.

Obverse.—Sassanian head surmounted by a Buffalo crest.

Left.— ... پیه ... ندھ ... ?

Right.— ... سیم ... دندھ ... *seham*.

Reverse.—Fire-altar, etc.

Left.— ... ټټټ, retrograde ?

Right.—سوستن *Siwastan*? The Pehlvi entry may also be read as سی وسط or 23, but the date is not usually inserted in this corner of the coin, whereas the space is specially reserved for the Mint.

We gather from the Muster-roll of Xerxes' army, as preserved by Herodotus (vii. 61), how important a part the quaint head-dresses of the period played in determining nationalities. If the Asiatic Ethiopians already recognized a symbolic type, in the guise of horses' scalps,¹ the coincident or deferred use of a buffalo's mask seems to point to contiguous regions. And this brings us naturally to the banks of the Indus, where the buffalo itself was a permanent institution—and, indeed, a measure of wealth between man and man. So that, even up to modern times, we find Major McMurdo (in 1834)² describing this semi-amphibious 'giver of milk' as the leading test, in the sense of property ownership of the country. If, in addition to this, we might venture upon any association of the remarkable type of the king's bust on the unique coin (xvii. 6, A. A.), and the possible interpretation of the Hindi legend as श्री टटे षहि *Tri Tate(ch) Shahi*,³ with the celebrated Brahman *Chack* and his revolution in Sind, there would be another link added to existing coincidences.

We have, in our Indo-Sassanian series, several groups or sub-sections of these Buffalo coins.

The one family undoubtedly used some form of the Pehlvi alphabet, which may in certain cases be transcribed as 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭥 *Pakachmak* or 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭥𐭥 *Pakachmāk*, a name which suggests the coincident Parthian *Pacores*.⁴ On the other

¹ "And with the ears and the mane; and the mane served instead of a crest." —Cary, Bohn's ed. p. 430. The Vishnu Purāna has a somewhat similar reference to horse-headed creatures, i. 82. The *Gurkhar*, or wild-ass, is common in Sind, Elphinstone p. 7; Burnes, iii. 321; and E. Conolly, J.A.S. Bengal, 1840, p. 723.

² J.R.A.S., I. o.s. 1834, p. 231. See also Wood's *Oxus*, Yule's edit. p. 35.

³ J.R.A.S., XII. o.s. p. 841.

⁴ Prinsep's *Essays*, vol. i. pl. xxxiii. fig. 3, p. 410; vol. ii. p. 115. See also *Ariana Antiqua*, pl. xvii. figs. 5, 7.

hand, many specimens read preferably *Wasaki Mazd.*

Another minor division of the Buffalo-head type, but more Cow-like in outline, is represented by the coin engraved as No. 21, pl. xxi. *Ariana Antiqua*; the legend, however, seems to be identical with the previous examples.

I am not quite certain whether the letters in front of the face are designed to convey a *name* or a mere invocation. M. Lenormant, in his *Magic*, mentions the frequent use in the latter sense of the term "*Schem*."¹ The import of the monogram which precedes the word *afzud*, 'increase,' to the left of the head of the king, still remains an enigma, in spite of the numerous new examples furnished by M. Bartholomæ's collection.² The conventional treatment of the monogram varies so much in different specimens that it is difficult to fix a normal form which may not have to be corrected by later examples.

The first appearance of this symbol occurs on the coins of Hormuzdas IV. in the sixth year of his reign (Dorn, pl. xxvi. fig. 11), where it presents the appearance of *Salam*, or *Salamach*; in his 6th and 7th years it progresses into or *Salman* or *Alman*, with definite tracings of two *nn*'s at the end. In the 3rd year of Khusru II. (Dorn, pl. xxviii. figs. 4, 5), the monogram seems to become *Amach* or *Samach*, which is hereafter the more constant type.

I, at one time, imagined that the word might be held to

¹ "Tout le monde sait quel développement la croyance au nom tout-puissant et caché de Dieu a pris chez les Juifs talmudistes et kabbalistes, combien elle est encore générale chez les Arabes. Nous voyons aujourd'hui d'une manière positive qu'elle venait de la Chaldée. Au reste, pareille notion devait prendre naissance dans une contrée où l'on concevait le nom divin, le *schem*, comme doué de propriétés si spéciales et si individuelles qu'on arrivait à en faire une hypostase distincte. C'est le cas de retourner le mot célèbre de Varron, en disant *nomen nomen*."—*Le Magie chez les Chaldéens*, Paris, 1874, p. 41. Curiously enough, Sir A. Burnes discovered that the idols at Bamián were called "*Sûmach*" by the residents of the place.—*J.A.S.B.* vol. iii. p. 561.

² Collection de Monnaies Sassanides, de M. J. de Bartholomæi, par Dr. B. Dorn, St.-Petersbourg, 1876.

imply a synonym of the Indian *om*, but the final *ch* is certainly against this interpretation,¹ though the curve given to the final downstroke, which converts the early *l*=*n* into *ch*, may after all be a die-cutter's flourish, which meant nothing to the initiated.

No. 5. Copper. Plate No. 2. Unique. Col. E. Walcott, Bombay Army.

Obverse.—Indo-Sassanian type of the bust of the king, with a small griffin at the back of the crown.

Legends to the left *افزود بن سز* Monogram ?

„ to the right *طوخانا = طکوسا* or *طکوس* = *Turkhán* ?

هو طیف سز مدین *Khediv*.

سز مدین *Khorásán Malka*,

“King of Khorásán.”

Reverse.—Fire altar, etc.

Legends, left, *طین = 2*.

„ right, *سز مدین* *Zábulistán*.

The Emperor Bábar, in his *Memoirs*,² has a geographical note on the limits of Zabulistán, to the following effect: “There is also the country of Ghazni, which is often denominated a *Tumán*. It is also named Zábul, and it is to this country that the term Zábulistán relates; many include Kandahár in Zábulistán.”

We need not suppose that the title of *Khedive*, which appears on this coin, is altogether a modern invention, though its application did not always bear the same significance in the contrasted kingly status. We have, from the earliest Persian traditions, *Dáts* and *Pesh-dáts*, and further on as we reach the time when written records or reproductions chance

¹ J.R.A.S. Vol. V. n.s. 1871, p. 439.

² Erskine's Translation, London, 1826, p. 148.

to survive, we recognize a very old form of the title on the Bokhárá coins, in خود دانت = स्व *swa* दत्त *datta* 'self-given, self-created,' in Zend *ga-dáta*.¹ Hence, *Khudá* 'God' and king, in its Pehlvi form of *Hutai* 'king.'² We may be quite prepared, therefore, to accept the identity of the modern Persian *Khider* with the Pehlvi *Hutef* of the later Sassanian period. The title is common in the Sháh Námah, and, in its Indian application, we find Badaoní mentioning the Sultán Bahlol Lodi (A.D. 1451) with the prefix of خدیو ملكت جهان كش.³

No. 6. Silver. Unique. Plate No. 3. Mr. A. Grant.

Obverse.—The usual Arabico-Sassanian style of bust.

Legends. Left. Monogram *ش*.

غفور، افور = *Shahr*

Margin

In the name of
the just judge,⁴
Khadriv, Bahmán,
King of Multán.

Reverse.—The usual Fire-altar and supporters.

Left. 8th طمنها *Shahr*

Right. زاول = *Zábul*

Margin. *Afurádn* غفوران *Shahr*

The name on this coin may be read, as usual in Pehlvi writings, in various ways. It might even be made into

¹ Numismatic Chronicle, vol. i. n.s. 1881, p. 122. Report of Third Congress of Orientalists (St.-Petersbourg), 1876, M. Pierre Lerch, p. 423. Indian Antiquary, 1879, p. 269.

² See coin No. 59, p. 318, J.R.A.S. Vol. XII. o.s. 1840. The *Antai* may now be corrected into *Hutai*. The original coin was struck at Herát, in A.H. 67?

³ Calcutta Text, vol. i. p. 313.

⁴ Zend Avesta, Anquetil, i. (2) 78, *Pavan* Shame Datar *Anhuma*.

سفرای *Safura*; and, from the plural form used in the margin, it would seem to have been a tribal or hereditary designation, such as might be associated with the سوفرآ, the Vizír of Kai Kobád in the Sháh Námah, or the later identical name of *Sufrai*, who, with his son Zír Mihir, played so loyal a part in the fortunes of Kobád (490–530 A.D.) during their refuge in the lands of the Ephthalites, and framed his early policy after he succeeded to the throne of Persia. Moreover, Tabari tells us that Suferai, a descendant of Minusheher, was governor of the province of Seistán under Feroz (459–486 A.D.).¹ But the preferential reading of the initial letter in its present form is indubitably *A*, *H*, or the optional *Ain*, as opposed to the very similarly formed *S*.

No. 7. Silver. Plate No. 4. Masson Collection.²

Obverse.—Device as in Plate.

Legends. Left. Monogram.

Right. سف ورسو طيف *Sri Varsu deva*.

Margin.

یون شمی داط سف ورساو طیف و همان اچ ملطان ملکا
 Reverse.—Device as in Plate.

Legends. Left. *Punchai* (capital of) *Zaulistán*.

Right. श्री वासु देव *Sri Vāsu Deva*.

Margin. سفر پرمانشان *Sri Vāsu Deva* ?

Sir H. Rawlinson notices the “successive capitals of Arachosia, Penjwāi and Tanganábád,”³ and identifies the ruins

¹ Vol. ii. p. 138.

² Jour. Asiat. Soc. Bengal, vol. iii. pl. xxx. 6. Prinsep's Essays, vol. i. pl. vii. 6. Ariana Antiqua, pl. xvii. 9.

³ J.R.A.S. Vol. XI. o.s. (1849), p. 126. Albírúni, Sprenger's Map, enters *پنجواهی* as *قصبه الرخذ*, the alternative capital is not noticed; Reinaud, from the same sources, give *وینند قصبه القندهار*, p. 114, Fragments; see also Mémoire, pp. 156, 196, and Journal Asiatique, vol. x. p. 94. Masaudi, vol. viii. p. 127. Elliot's Historians, vol. i. pp. 48, 63, 467.

of the former at a site "about 18 miles S.W. of the modern town of Kandahár."

It must be freely admitted that the theory of determining localities by the titles of their kings will not hold good in this instance. The designation of *Bahmana*, as applied by the Arabian authors above quoted, severally to the rulers of "Nasá and Abiwurd," on the head-waters of the Atrek, or to the sovereign of Andkho, to the westward of Balkh, will certainly not accord with the site of Panjwái. The title of "Bahmana," however, which we read on the coin, may well have had some connexion with the local designation of the Brahman kings of Kabul.¹

I was at one time doubtful whether the name of *Multán* in the Pehlvi version might not be preferably transcribed as مردان *Mardán* "men," so as to read in the marginal legend as "King of men,"² but the proximity of Multán, and the probability that the lords of Arachosia held sway over the temple of the Sun and the magnificent income of the House of Gold,³ seems to give importance to my first interpretation.

The prototype of the reverse devices of Nos. 7 and 8 dates, numismatically, from the 34th year of Khusru II. *Parvis*, when he temporarily or locally changed his obverse device from the authorized profile of the Sassanian *reigning* monarch to a full-front face, a style of portraiture which, seems more or less to have had advocates among the Turánian kings. We need not follow on, in these pages, all the incidental references: but it must be noticed, as bearing upon the later copies, that the earliest outline of the female, with flaming hair, represents a very young woman.⁴ Whereas No. 7 of

¹ J.R.A.S. Vol. IX. o.s. 1848, p. 177. Prinsep's Essays, vol. i. p. 313. Sir E. C. Bayley, Num. Chron. 1882, p. 128.

² J.R.A.S. Vol. XII. n.s. p. 343.

³ Masaudi, vol. i. p. 151. بيت الذهب. The author, writing in 332 A.H., tells us of how "Brahman le grand" deposited in the *maison d'or* (à Moulán), the astronomical and other calculations of the past, and the records of the primitive history of the land. See also Elliot's *Historians*, vol. i. pp. 14, 21, etc.

⁴ Longperier, Paris, 1840. pl. xi. fig. 3, p. 78: "les cheveux séparés des deux côtés de la tête et flamboyant sur le sommet." The original coin is engraved also in Sir W. Ouseley's work as No. 8, and has been reproduced in Canon Rawlinson's *Monarchy*, vol. vii. 1876, p. 531.

our list, as has been remarked before, does not look at all juvenile or feminine, but rather maturely masculine. On the other hand, as will be seen in the autotype of No. 8, the woman is still young, and retains much of the air of the first Sassanian design.

As regards the flames, it would not be wise to theorize over-much on the rites and ceremonies of avowed Fire-Worshippers, who recognized and put in evidence flames on men's shoulders, etc.; but a very legitimate inquiry presents itself, as to how the Scythic representations of Śiva came to have the *Kapardin* locks of the god arranged in a somewhat similar fashion, of upward concentration into a pointed flame.¹

No. 8. Silver. Plate No. 5. Masson Collection.

Obverse.—Scythic bust, half-profile. Crown ornamented with trisul-like emblems, or modified tridents of Śiva; surmounted by the crest of a tiger's head.

In the field, a Scythic legend?

Margin, in Hindi letters.

श्री हितिवि चे ऐरण चे पगमेश्वर

Srī Hitivi che airaṇ che Parameṣvara

श्री शाहि तिणत देव नारिः

Srī Shahi tiṇata Deva Nāriḥ.²

Reverse.—Female? head to the front, with the hair arranged as if designed to represent flames. Sassanian fillets at the sides.

Legends. Left.

سيف طنسف طيف

سيف طنسف طيف

Sif Tansuf³ Tef.

¹ See *Ariana Antiqua*, pl. xiv. fig. 17, and pl. x. figs. 13, 16; and recent discoveries in Afghānistān, in *Proceedings Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, 1879, plate iii. figs. 1 to 9.

² Gen. Cunningham prefers "*Shahi tigin*," *Arch. Reports*, vol. v. p. 121. He objects also as to the 𑀘 *N* in *Nāriḥ*, but if the other 𑀘 *n*'s retain their proper forms, the old 𑀘 *n* follows of necessity, in the ordinary alphabetical order, and need not be forced into a 𑀘 *j*, or any other dubious consonant. On the other part, his suggestion of *Hitivi* for India has much ground of probability.

³ The Persian تنسيف "precious," hence Arabic تنسوقات, تنسوق "forma arabica persicæ vocis eadem significatione," Vüllers *s.v.*

Right.
 طخهون هوراسان ملكا
Takhhûn, Khôrâsân Malka.

The combination of the legends on these coins—in three different languages and divergent alphabets—has constituted a difficulty with us all from the period of their first publication.¹ If we might assume that the conventional title of شیر *Shir*,² or the “Tiger” of Bâmiân, of the Arabian lists, and whose palpable image crowns the regal tiara, would suffice to fix the locality, our task of distributing the Mint sites of these issues would be greatly simplified.

The triple legends certainly seem *primâ facie* to refer to a border land, or some recognized commercial trade centre, where various languages met and interchanged methods of writing. Such a position, under such conditions, would admirably fit-in with the site of Bamian,³ both geographically and in view of the numerous important passes impinging upon its focus.⁴

There is this other merit in a recognition of a town on these restricted lines of intercourse, between the north and the south of the Hindû Khûsh, that the combined legends

¹ Prinsep, J.A.S.B. vol. iii. 1834, p. 439, pl. xxi. figs. 10, 11, and vol. vii. 1838, p. 419, and plate xxii. *Ariana Antiqua*, p. 401. pl. xxi. fig. 22. Prinsep's *Essays*, vol. i. p. 402, vol. ii. p. 110. J.R.A.S. Vol. XII. o.s. p. 343.

² There is an uncertainty among the later *Arabian* authors as to the short vowels and the coincident meaning of this *Persian* word. This question is completely set at rest by Yakubi, who tells us in the full terms—

ثم مدينة الباميان وهي مدينة على جبل وكان بها رجل دهقان
 يسمى اسدًا وهو بالفارسية الشير

And again—

على الباميان وسمّاه باسم جدّه شیر باميان وهي من مدن
 طخارستان الاولى. Text, p. ٦٨—.

³ Lat. 24° 11', Long. 67° 44'.

⁴ The modern *Gazetteers* (Thornton's collection, Allen, 1844) describe Bamian as “a celebrated valley on the route from Kâbul to Turkestan, it is generally regarded as the boundary of the Hindû Khûsh. . . . It is of very great importance, being ‘the *only* known pass,’ across these ranges, ‘practicable for artillery or heavy carriages. It is also the great commercial route.’ . . . On the southern or Afghan side, are four principal passes, . . . on the northern, or Kundûz side, three . . . somewhat complicated, but ‘that all are at Bamian restricted to one line, which holds its course through the valley.’”

prove to be eminently appropriate to the locality, where Pehlvi was still current in the ordinary course, and where the Southern Hindi intruded its not very well understood forms, supplemented in the third place by title of the dominant authority in a quasi-Scythic form of writing, which we may now almost venture to define as the script of the Tokhári.¹ While our sovereign's claim to be "King of Khorásán" may perhaps be accepted as, in a degree, something more than an empty boast.

Hiouen-Thsang (648 A.D.), in describing Bámián, mentions that "Les caractères de l'écriture, les règlements administratifs et les monnaies qu'on emploie dans le commerce, sont les mêmes que dans le royaume de *Tou-ho-lo* (Toukharà); la langue parlée est un peu différent; mais, sous le rapport des traits du visage, les deux peuples ont une grande ressemblance" (vol. ii. p. 36).

The approximate distribution of the geographical data, associated with the bearings of the typical devices of the coins, permits us to examine, with more freedom than of old, the difficult Hindi legend which encircles in the margin the typical head of the king on the obverse.

Of course the tendency of the legend itself is obscure, not alone in the imperfect forms of the letters themselves, but in their intended application. My latest impression, on a mere mechanical redistribution of identities of the forms of the letters themselves, led me to infer that the designations of *Paramēṣwara* and the concluding *Deva Nāri* very closely approached the essentials of Śiva worship.²

¹ At p. 455, vol. i, "Documents Géographiques," the speech and writing of the Tokhári is described as, "Leur langue parlée diffère peu de celle des autres royaumes; les caractères primitifs de leur écriture se composent de vingt-cinq signes qui se multiplient en se combinant ensemble et servent à exprimer toutes choses. Ils écrivent horizontalement de gauche à droite."

² परमेश्वर *Paramēṣwara*, "The supreme being," though not exclusively the title of Śiva, is perhaps preferentially so. Durgā is likewise known as *Paramēṣwari*. At Benares, Śiva as *Viṣveṣwara* is "The Lord of all" (Wilson's Essays, vol. i. p. 188). But the देव *deva* नारी *nāri*, "the female divinity," brings us much nearer to *Saivism*, in the *Arddha-nārīswara* "Śiva half-feminine," so many exemplifications of which detestable association appear on the Indo-Scythian coinage (J.R.A.S. Vol. IX. n.s. pl. ii. figs. 13, 23, 26, p. 214). That the Sassanians themselves were not always averse to adopting Hindú gods, may be seen by the appearance of the identical reverse of 'Śiva and his Bull' on the coins of Hormuzdas II. (Num. Chron. vol. xv. o.s. plate, p. 180, fig. 11; and vol. xii. 1872, p. 115.)

The *Shāhi* or "King," without its concluding qualification, in like manner, might easily fall in with the nomenclature of a supreme power where *God* or *King* were still in a degree synonymous. But, undoubtedly, the tendency of the conjoint legends with which we have to deal, might be accounted for by a grandiloquent amount of assumption on the part of a monarch who proclaimed, in *Pehlvi*, that he was King of Khorāsān, and whose claims, in *Hindi*, represented either *India* proper, or the larger range of *Prithivi* "the world," as well as the more clearly-defined *Irān*, which sentimentally coincided with the ancient province of Khorāsān, in its more limited sense, when the possession of even a section of its boundaries entitled rulers on its borders to assume the coveted title of the kings of olden time.

No. 9. Silver. Very rare. Plate No. 6. Mr. A. Grant.¹

Obverse.—The usual Arabico-Sassanian bust.

Legends. Left. انزوط بن سمر. Monogram ?

Right. عبدالله قطرا بن دارلد وسملد. *Abdullah Kaṭara.*

امير يو رويشكان شهدل در اردن وسملد. *Amir of the Khoreish.*

Margin, Kufic لا حكم الا لله. *Contremark. Scythic, unread.*

Reverse.—Left. بنج هفطاط ل و س س م م م. A.H. 75.

Right. بيسا اردن. *Baisa or Fesa ?*

I have not yet quite succeeded in convincing certain of my continental critics, that the *true* reading of the *Pehlvi* title on this and the earlier coins of the same type simply represents a *tribal*, as distinguished from any secondary adaptations by the Muhammadans, of the current form of امير المومنين.² The occasion of the origination of the latter title arose, in Omar's time, out of a perview of the inconvenience of unlimited repetition, as time went on, of Khalif upon Khalif,

¹ Tiesenhausen, No. 234 ; Mordtmann, Zeitschrift D.M.G. 1879, p. 109.

² Prinsep's Essays, i. p. 64, London, 1858.

when it was suggested to him that, "thou art our commander, and we are believers" (مؤمنون). I have already referred to this question in several articles in our Journal.¹

I have now only to repeat the *à priori* probabilities of the use of the tribal title. Hamza Isfahani² has a chapter headed, in the Latin translation, "De ordine chronologico Coreischitarum regum gentis Arabicae Mohammedanae," in the first entries of which we find the names of Abu Bekr, Omar, etc.

But perhaps the most conclusive proof of the sentiment in this direction, ruling the early days of the Faith, is to be found in the stray passage in Masaudi, of which the following is the independent French translation :

"On raconte que ce khalife (Abu Bekr) fit venir un jour Abou Sofîân Sakhr, fils de Harb . . . et l'apostropha avec véhémence, tandis qu'Abou Sofîân se confondait en marques de respect et d'humilité. Sur ces entrefaites, arrive Abou Kohafah ; surpris des cris poussés par son fils, il demande à un officier à qui s'adressaient ces bruyantes apostrophes. Apprenant que c'était à Abou Sofîân, il s'approche d'Abou Bekr et lui dit : 'Atik Allah, oses-tu bien élever la voix contre Abou Sofîân, contre un homme qui, hier encore, avant la naissance de l'islam, était le chef des Koreichites.'"³

In like manner we learn from Ockley, that so late as A.H. 65, in the street conflicts between Amrú and Abdalmalik at Damascus, the women cried out to the combatants : "How long will you fight for the government of the Koreish and destroy one another?" (p. 463). The expostulators in this case do not seem to have had in their minds either the faith of *Islâm* or the rôle of "Commander of the Faithful."

KATARI'S CAREER.

"Abú Naama *Katari* ibn al Fujáá" maintained a prominent position in the internecine wars of the discordant sections of the early Muhammadan world for many years.

¹ Vol. XIII. 1852, p. 411, etc. Vol. V. N.S. 1871, p. 432. Ockley, p. 141. Masaudi, vol. iv. p. 192.

² Text and Translation, in *Latin*, I.M.E. Gottwaldt, St.-Petersbourg, 1846.

³ Masaudi, chap. lxxv. French Translation, vol. iv. p. 179.

He is first noticed, in history, when Muṣāb bin Zobeir became Governor of Irāk in A.H. 68. After varying successes and reverses, the Khawārijite Azāriķites were dispersed on their final failure to capture Isfāhān. The scattered survivors then elected Kaṭari, a man strong in the front of the battle, as their chief. Retiring temporarily into the fastnesses of Kirmān, to recruit their ranks, they became reorganized enough to resist in the field the assaults of the celebrated strategist *Muhallib* ibn Safrah for a period of no less than eighteen months. About this time, so unsettled was the succession to the *Khilāfat* of the new religion, that we hear of the banners of no less than four Imāms as being contemporaneously displayed at Mecca, each claiming to represent *Islām*, and each conducting, by self or deputy, the public prayers, at the sacred shrine for the benefit of those pilgrims who recognized their conflicting titles.¹

In A.H. 69 a fifth claimant to the ecclesiastical throne of Merwān appeared in the person of 'Amr bin S'a'id, who, however, was soon disposed of by the unusually base treachery of 'Abd al Malik. No wonder, then, that "the Separatists," as Ockley calls them,² assumed to elect an *Amir*, or commander, of their own, who should represent their views of the imperfection of 'Ali's rights, and saluted him accordingly "by the title of *Khalīf*."³ And this historical record explains the grounds of his assumption of the designation of "Amir of the Koreish," which we find on his coins. Subsequently dissensions arose in the Khawārijite camp, and Kaṭari was set aside for another commander. He then retreated, with the small body who still adhered to his standard, into Tabaristān, where he was eventually hunted down and killed.⁴

¹ "Il y eut [en cette année] à la Meeque, au temps du pèlerinage, quatre drapeaux différents, appartenant à quatre Imāms, dont chacun était opposé à l'autre; . . . On pouvait craindre qu'il n'y eût des luttes entre ces différents partis, dont chacun se rendait à 'Arafāt avec son drapeau, et accomplissait la prière séparément. Les pèlerins des différentes contrées, qui prenaient part au pèlerinage, étaient étonnés à ce spectacle et se demandaient quel était le véritable Imām."—Tabari, French Edition, vol. iv. p. 102.

² Bohn's edit. p. 292 *et seq.*

³ Ibn Khallikan, vol. ii. p. 522.

⁴ Tabari, vol. iv. p. 121. Masaudi, vol. v. pp. 230, 314, 350, etc. Price, Muhammadan History, p. 453.