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A Rendering of Square Script Mongolian on the Îlkhân Ghâzân Maḥmûd's Coins

MARK A. WHALEY CHICAGO

The subject of this paper is an inscription on coinage minted during the reign of Ghâzân Maḥmûd (1295-1304), the Mongol Îlkhân of Persia (See Fig. A, Plate I).[1] Several key points will be demonstrated:

1) In order to comprehend the inscription, an admittedly novel approach will be taken of verifying protocols based upon coin evidence. It is a necessity to search in that direction because Persian and Mamluk historical sources present accounts about official terminology that the coins seem to contradict.
2) The inscription conforms to Îlkhânid etiquette regarding nomenclature, casting light on the failure of the so-called 'language reform' of Aḥmad Tegüder (1282-1284), the first Îlkhânid convert to Islam. Moreover, the evidence will show that under Ghâzân there was no 'second' language reform, only a reassertion of the status quo despite his being identified as a 'Great Shâh of the World' (Perso-Arabic: *Pâdishâh-i Jahân*); 'Great Shâh of Islâm' (Perso-Arabic: *Pâdshâh-i Islâm*); 'Islâm's Shâh of Shâhs' (Perso-Arabic: *Shâhanshâh-i Islâm*); the 'Sulṭân of Islâm' (Arabic: *Sulṭân al-Islâm*); and even 'Great Sulṭân' (Arabic: *al-Sulṭân al-A'ẓam*).
3) The inscription is nothing less than Square Script Mongolian (Mongolian: *Dörbeljin,* also known as 'Phags pa script), but with problematic features.

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To reveal all of those details meaningfully, an examination of the numismatic context of Square Script follows.

Although official use of Square Script was promulgated by Qubilai *Qaγan's* imperial decree in 1269 (Miyoko Nakano 1971, p. 36), it was a universal mandate upon the other Mongolian *ulus-ut* in name only, as Chinese, Uygur script Mongolian, and Arabic was never supplanted. In spite of this, the power and prestige of the Yuan court is confirmed by the many notable numismatic examples for Square Script Mongolian everywhere, including even the Jochid *ulus*.[2] The situations of usage are rather restricted. On Yuan imperial coinage, Square Script in essence renders Chinese into Mongolian. The basic messages are of indicating a monetary unit/value, a dated reign title (Chinese: *nianhao*), or calendric sequencing (Chinese: *ganzhi*). Yuan influence via Square Script even extended to one type of emission, with the use of *baw* (< Chinese *bao*) in an area of Central Asia supposedly under the dominion of Qaidu (c. 1266-1302). While more will be said later regarding that coin, Square Script appeared because of a political pressure *from the center* (i.e. Yuan China via the Hülegüid appanage) that was brought to bear in ways not always confirmed by the histories. That line of reasoning has some relevance upon the inscription on Ghâzân's gold, silver and copper coinage (Arabic: *dînârs, dirhams* and *fulûs*).[3]

Aside from the limited edition Central Asian coin, Square Script does not turn up again in the Îlkhânate until Ghâzân's reign and its appearance then is three simple characters. The datum about this to be found comes from *Ta'rîkh-i Mubârak-i Ghâzânî*, by the Persian court historian Rashîd al-Dîn (1247?-1318). Rashîd al-Dîn wrote that Ghâzân had a cipher (Mongolian: *nishan*) included in the design of his coins to prevent counterfeiting (Howorth 1888, p. 525; see also Lang 1955, pp. 53-54) though what appears is hardly a 'cipher'; it would be better to call it a monogram.[4] Secondly, the reasoning that it would deter counterfeiting was naïve, as the 'cipher' was rarely rendered precisely, even officially (with qualification), unheard of for a true *tamgha/nishan*. Then, there is the obvious silence of any description of the 'cipher.' That is to say, Rashîd al-Dîn did not claim it was Square Script Mongolian.

Irrespective of the lack of clarity in *Ta'rîkh-i Mubârak-i Ghâzânî*, there have been many articles produced over the years of what is meant by the three characters. Several are worth examining here in detail. M.E. Drouin's 1896 summation of the various publications up until then, and their interpretations, is the most complete for its time and in fact continues to be very influential; Michael Weiers's 1984 entry is based upon it. Anyone visiting these characters makes a stop at Drouin's

important article still; nothing has advanced since. That is to say, the various points raised by it have been repeated and taken up by different authors. First, the old Orientalists such as Terrien de la Couperie tried to read them as Ghâzân's name in Square Script,[5] but Drouin disagreed. Instead, he argued for the characters concealing a "religious epithet" (unspecified by him) along the lines of the Îlkhân Geikhatu's (1291-1295) title of *Erinchin-dorji* or *Rinchendorji* (< Tibetan *Rin-chen rdo-rje*; see Drouin 1896, pp. 531-532).[6] It was not until 1955 when David Lang challenged that interpretation. Lang correctly observed that if Ghâzân indeed had some honorific title bestowed on him by Tibetan monks, he would have had no valid reason for disguising it in a "cryptogram that nobody could read" (Lang 1955, pp. 53-54). Yet that flawed idea of Tibetan influence continued to be advanced:

> Lane Poole correctly identified the letters as Tibetan writing, from which the hP'ags-pa was derived, though he did not read them correctly. Nevertheless, the letters clearly are *m/ma*, *s/sa*, and *r/ra*, the last of which bears the subscript form of *w/wa*, or *wa zur*, and they spell *msra-wa*, a variation of *smar-ba* in Standard Tibetan[7] and *mra-wa* in Western Tibetan, meaning ready money (Martinez 1992-1994 pp. 110-111n13).

What the above argument proposes is decidedly incorrect, as the inscription is not Tibetan using Square Script Mongolian.[8] To start with, Lane-Poole only followed C. M. J. Frähn's naming of the three characters as "Tibetan" (Frähn 1826, pp. 638-639), for it was the reasoning at the time. Lane-Poole did little to advance the issue other than to present what others had written. Second, it is a hollow thesis, justified solely because Ghâzân either knew the Tibetan language and/or because he was raised under the tutorship of lamas. Or that prior his conversion to Islam he was a "fervent Buddhist, and as such had patronized and constantly consorted with lamas who came from Tibet and Kashmir, and were otherwise very influential among the Mongol upper classes down to his generation" (Martinez 1992-1994 pp. 110-111n13, and p. 187n43).[9] Since these coins undoubtedly date to the period of Ghâzân's full conversion to Islam, that premise is false. The use of Square Script here was assuredly not due to the influence of Tibetan monks.

Returning to the three characters, there is a second claim that they are Chinese or Devanagari, depending on how the inscription is adjusted (Kolbas 1992, pp. 524-525). According to this argument, read one way, the characters render the Chinese *zheng/shi/jin*, translated (loosely in the extreme) as "properly minted money" (Kolbas 1992, p. 525n28). The argument continues more wildly by saying that if you turn them but in

another direction, the characters are Devanagari (a script of Sanskrit) for *Ka Sa Ni* (Kolbas 1992, p. 525). Of course, that is a fictitious reading. The characters are without hesitation Square Script Mongolian. They are not Chinese, Devanagari, Tibetan, or anything else. The effort that has been spent to argue the point so foolishly is truly amazing. What has been completely overlooked is that these three simple characters constitute something more personal than the previous numismatic context of Square Script.

The savant Sir Gerard Clauson, in writing to Lang, nearly uncovered the above point. Nonetheless, he concluded that the characters were "intended for the word *Qa'an* in ḥP'ags-pa" (Lang 1955, pp. 53-54). That cannot be, for observation of Ghâzân's coinage indicates he did not adopt that title.[10] This raises a series of important issues regarding titles and protocols concerning Îlkhânid claims to political legitimacy, which rested upon their status as subordinates to the *Qaγan* in China. The primary point is how that status was proclaimed.

On coins, deference was expressed neatly in two different ways, first with the Turkic title *Îlkhân* in Arabic script. Admittedly, translating *Îlkhân* as "subservient *khân*" is problematic despite being the most current theory among modern scholars (Amitai-Preiss, Nitzan and Reuven 1988-1989, p. 118). It is unsatisfactory, however, because the Turkic *il/äl/el* can also be rendered as 'state of peace, *pax Regis*, country, area, master district,' and more (Zimonyi 2003, pp. 60-72). The key to a better understanding of *îl* may be found with Qarakhânid silver coins of a mint called *îl-Ûrdû*, described as one of the earliest mint places in the Eastern part of their realm—in an area that had never belonged to the preceding Samanid state (Fedorov 2001, p. 433). This mint was located somewhere south of Balâsâghun (=*Quz Ûrdû*), in the region of modern Burana, southern Kazakhstan, and was active during the years 395-401 Hegira (1004-1010) during the reign of Aḥmad b. 'Alî (994-1016). The most serious issue is to explain why the Qarakhânids needed to have another *Ûrdû* mint, given its close proximity to the capital *Quz Ûrdû*, which also minted in the same years. The answer lies in the mint name itself. In this instance *îl* denotes 'acting in unity with the primary/first,' or 'secondary.' This shows that there is no need to use a deprecating term like "subservient," to render this Turkic word and furthermore allows the protocol *Îlkhân* to harmonize neatly with *Dachao* as well as with *Da Yuanchao* later on (Whaley 2001, pp. 11-12).

Better for demonstrating deference is the second protocol, "In the name of the *Qaγan*" (Mongolian: *Qaγan-u nereber*) written in Uygur script. In the case of this protocol, introduced throughout the Îlkhânid realm in 676 through 681 Hegira (1277-1282; see Lane-Poole 1881, p. 94, and Codrington 1914, p. 8),[11] the ruler's name was placed devoid of any titles whatsoever (i.e., 'Abaγa had a coin struck in the name of the *Qaγan*').[12] This point is extremely meaningful: the ruler is not a "subservient *khân*" nor is he even a *khân*. Standing is implied ambiguously; this was the official line. Each ruler from Abaγa (1265-1282) down to Ghâzân was careful to use this protocol. It demonstrated conservatism in how their status was presented in this protocol with which, contrary to popular belief, not even Ghâzân broke. It also authenticated the transfer of power between Îlkhâns.[13] Surprisingly, this mode of confirmation was based upon an adjustment made following the death of Abaγa by the first Îlkhân to convert to Islam, Aḥmad Tegüder (1282-1284).

Very shortly after Tegüder attained power, the innovative dies inaugurated by Abaγa were modified by an addition to the standard protocol. The principal major change was Tegüder's placing of his taken name 'Aḥmad' on his coins, initially rendered in Uygur script. Showing how profound his break with Mongolian culture and tradition was, as well as the genuineness of his conversion to Islam, the name 'Tegüder' never materialized on his coins in any version. Things get even more dramatic. On Aḥmad's last series of coins, the addition constituted an insertion of 'Aḥmad' in Arabic alongside the Mongolian version of it.

Astonishingly, when Arghun (1284-1291) took control upon Aḥmad's demise, no changes were made for his name also appeared in Arabic alongside the Mongolian. When Geikhatu became Îlkhân this same procedure was followed, first with his given name, then later with his adopted Buddhist title of *Rinchendorji* appearing in Arabic (Çayirdağ 1988, pp. 87-88).[14] Even Baidu at Tabrîz had his name placed in Arabic along side the standard protocol (Turâbî Tabâtabâ'î 1971, p. 82-83). Ghâzân's earliest coin issues show the same continuity. On an emission dated 695 Hegira (1295-1296), struck at Mârdîn by the autonomous vassal Najm al-Dîn Ghâzî II (1294-1312), the standard protocol emerges posthumously reviving the name of Arghun, reading 'Arghun had a coin struck in the name of the *Qaγan*' (Aykut 1976, p. 9; Aykut 1992, p. 72). Evidently, as Ghâzân's given name appears in Arabic script alongside,[15] demonstrating the line of succession was paramount.[16]

Following that first issue in the name of Ghâzân, a trend of *idâfa*-constructed hyperbole began that identified him as *Pâdishâh-i Jahân* "Great Shah of the World," *Pâdshâh-i Islâm* "Great Shah of Islam," and *Shâhanshâh-i Islâm* "Islam's Shah of Shahs."[17] Ghâzân was also

identified as *al-Sulṭân al-A'ẓam* "The Great Sultan" or *Sulṭân al-Islâm* "The Sultan of Islam."[18] Numismatic evidence proves the use of all of these titles at the Îlkhânid capital of Tabrîz; the inscription *Pâdishâh-i Jahân Sulṭân-i a'ẓam Qâzân Maḥmûd* is found on emissions dated 694 through 696 Hegira (1294-1297).[19] Also from Tabrîz are coins with the titles of *Pâdshâh-i Islâm Shâhanshâh-i a'ẓam Ghâzân Khân*, likewise dating to the 690s Hegira (Aykut 1992, p. 82). Significantly, the titles of the last issue made their way onto small square-shaped copper fulûs minted at Abû Isḥâq (=Kâzirûn, in Fârs), with the similar inscription of *Pâdshâh-i Islâm Shâhanshâh-i al-A'ẓam Ghâzân Maḥmûd* (Lowick 1985, p. 46).[20] As can be seen, several distinct concepts of Ghâzân were presented but articulated in mixed forms, and it is necessary to untangle them. Tracing the history of usage shows their meaning.

Originally, titles were used for the Mongols outside of a purely Islamic or Mongolian context. Most have a regional provenance of Iran or Iraq and are in a Neo-Persian form, like *Shâhanshâh*.[21] This title first emerged on coins at the mint of Mosul (al-Mawṣil) in 351, 359, and 368 Hegira (962, 969, and 978), struck by the Bûyid 'Aḍûd al-Dawla, seemingly without an Islamic connection.[22] Little wonder then that it appears in a letter ca. 657 Hegira (1258-1259) from Hülegü (d. 1265) to al-Nâṣir Ṣalâḥ al-Dîn Yusûf II (1250-1260), the last Ayyûbid ruler of Syria, where Hülegü was presented as *Sulṭân al-arḍ Shâhanshâh-i rûy-i zamîn* "Sultan over the Lands, the Shah of Shahs over the Face of the Earth."[23] Then again, many of these titles were used concurrently to the point of redundancy without any 'system' of graduation. The differences are subtle, becoming more obvious if *Shâhanshâh* is compared to *Pâdishâh*.

In the Great Courts (*yekes ordas*) period, the title *shâh* was used as part of a *laqab*-style honorific expression attached to the name of Chinggis Qan, as found on a gold dinar struck at Samarqand dated 621 Hegira/1224 (Markov [1896] 1992, p. 437, #1). On that coin, Chinggis was presented as 'Conquering Shâh of the World (Perso-Arabic: *Shâh-i Jahân-gîr*), but it was not a title for him, nor was it a protocol. Later as a precursor of fossilized nomenclature for the supreme ruler of the Great Mongol Empire, vassals did refer to the *Qaγan* by the title *shâh*. This is seen on copper coins struck in 1245 by the vassal Davit' Narin (1245-1252) at the Georgian mint of Dmanisi, when Narin acknowledged his vassal status to Güyüg (1246-1248) by proclaiming that he was the "Slave to the *Shâh* of the World, the *Qaγan*," or in Perso-Arabic: *Qâ'ân Bând-i Shâh-i Jahân* (Kapanadze 1955, p. 74, coin #82). Narin repeated this message again in 1247 at Tiflis in an expanded form, and named

Güyüg (Kapanadze 1955, p. 75, coin #83). The title *shâh* on these coins also was an improvised honorific for Güyüg, just as with Chinggis, without relation to his Mongolian titles. Despite this, *shâh* alone clearly was not expressive enough to communicate the Mongol *qaγan's* grandeur, becoming a lesser title in contrast with another, *pâdishâh*.

Developing out of previous usage, the title *pâdishâh* became the title of eminence continually reserved for the *Qaγan*, with Möngke's (1251-1259) presentation of himself not merely as *Shâh-i Jahân*, but as *Pâdishâh-i Jahân*. This change is first shown on coins, again struck in Georgia, beginning in 649 Hegira (1252) and 651 Hegira (1254), where those emissions read 'The Power of God and by the Good Fortune of the Emperor of the World, Möngke *Qaγan* (Perso-Arabic: *Bi-quvvat-i Khudây/ba-iqbâl-i/Pâdishâh-i Jahân/Möngke Qâ'ân*).[24] A different vassal, the Salghurid Abû Bakr ibn Sa'd in Fârs (1231-1260), used another version of the protocol shown on undated coins reading *Möngke Qâ'ân/Pâdishâh-i/Jahân*.

Furthermore, reserving *Pâdishâh* for the *Qaγan* became an entrenched practice just prior to or during Hülegü's campaigns in Iraq. The famous minister at Hülegü's court Nâṣir al-Dîn Ṭusî (1201-1274) referred to the *Qaγan* as *Pâdishâh-i Jahân* in his treatise on precious stones, *Tansûkh'nâma-yi Îlkhânî* (Ṭusî 1969, p. 52). Equally contemporary were the coins struck by the Zengîd vassal Badr al-Dîn Lu'lu', demonstrating the seriousness of this imperial designation to full effect. Appearing initially at the mint of Mosul in 656 Hegira (1258), then later at Sinjâr in 657 Hegira (1259), the version *Möngke/Qâ'ân al-A'ẓam/ Khudâvând-i 'Âlam/Pâdishâh-i rûy-i/zamîn zîdat 'aẓamatuhû* "Möngke the Great Qaγan, the Lord of the World and Emperor over the Face of the Earth—MAY HIS MIGHT INCREASE" comes to light on Lu'lu''s coins.[25] Minting continued with that formula at Mosul until 658 Hegira (1260) under Lu'lu''s son and successor as-Ṣâliḥ Ismâ'îl ibn Lu'lu', but it was short-lived. By 660 Hegira (1262) the coin inscriptions were changed in Iraq and the use of *Pâdishâh* disappears temporarily, yet the actual *Qaγan* (i.e., Qubilai) was still acknowledged on the coins as *Qâ'ân al-A'ẓam*.[26] Interestingly, perhaps during Hülegü's lifetime (that is to say, after 1262 and up to 1265), the protocol moved further afield into quasi-autonomous vassal regions in Fârs, particularly Shîrâz. There are dirhams with the inscription *Qâ'ân al-A'ẓam Hûlâkû Pâdishâh khân* (Hebert 1986, p. 30), but since these are undated it cannot be said precisely when they were minted.[27]

By all appearances, the fading of *Pâdishâh* as a protocol in Iraq is made even more perplexing by its full-throttle revival during the reign

of Abaγa. The documentary evidence appears to show a significant divergence was made from the previous milieu of usage. Qâḍî Baydâwî, a contemporary chronicler, described Abaγa as *Pâdishâh* in his *Niẓâm al-Tawârîkh* (c. 674 Hegira/1275; see Melville 2001, p. 80). That extremely audacious depiction makes Abaγa *primus inter pares* with the *Qaγan*, a seemingly improbable scenario. Moreover, the coin evidence does not support Baydâwî, except in the context of one narrow issue. For a very brief period in 672 Hegira (1273), dinars were struck at Shîrâz in the name of the young Salghurid queen Âbish bint Sa'd that identified Abaγa as *Pâdishâh 'Âlam*, and even *Pâdishâh Jahân* (Hebert 1986, pp. 31-32). This breach of protocol was caught and corrected, because at Shîrâz in 673 through 676 Hegira (1274-1277) the inscriptions were changed to *Qâ'ân Pâdishâh-i 'Âlam Îlkhân al-A'ẓam Abaqa khân* (Hebert 1986, pp. 31-32). At Iṣfahân and Yazd in the same period the dinars also read *Qâ'ân Pâdishâh 'Âlam Îlkhân al-A'ẓam Abaqa khân*.[28] However, by 675 and 676 Hegira (1276-1277), the inscriptions at Yazd and Shîrâz were corrected further to *Qâ'ân Pâdishâh 'Âlam Îlkhân al-A'ẓam Abaqa* (Hebert 1986, pp. 32-33). Beating this point home, in 677 Hegira (1278), dinars were struck at Kirmân under the Qutluγkhânid Turkân (Terken) Khatûn that also read *Qâ'ân Pâdishâh-i 'Âlam Îlkhân al-A'ẓam Abaqa*.[29] Significantly, Abaγa is not acknowledged as *khân* on those coins, in keeping with the official Uygur script versions.

Taken together, the above renderings of protocol might highlight the fact that the Îlkhânid chancellery was struggling internally for consistency. Yet, the Îlkhâns were not alone in expressing deference to the *Qaγan* by identifying him as *Pâdishâh*, the same pressure of conformity to protocol was imposed in the Chaghatayid *ulus* as well (rendered *Pâdishâh-i/al-a'ẓam/al-'âdil*). The key link between that minting and the Îlkhânid's was not just that protocol; it was the added Square Script *baw*, a unique step for the time given the rarity of a numismatic context for Square Script outside of China (or Great Mongolia as the case may be) and a harbinger for the Square Script on Ghâzân's money. It also hints at an unrecognized level of central government control, and examining the preceding activity is fundamental for a better appreciation.

Previously, beginning in the 650s Hegira (1250s), there might have been another round of minting of the "Great Ûrdû" series in silver. The series receives this name because the obverse inscription is *al-Ûrdû/al-A'ẓam* (with *al-'âdil*, *ghâzî* or *ghâlb* beneath), an Arabiscised Turkic rendering of the Mongolian national title *Yekes Ordas* (= Chinese *Da-*

chao; see Whaley 2001). Although undated, the striking of coins in precious metals probably commenced with Hülegü's arrival in 1255 at Samarqand, associated with the large-scale campaign financing envisioned by Möngke's Chinese and Turkic ministers. It was no coincidence that the minting synchronized with Möngke's appointment of the famed administrator Mas'ûd Beg to the region in 1251, a vast area that included prolific mints like Samarqand, Bukhara, Pûlâd, Otrar, Khujandah, Kashgar, Khwarezm,[30] and Almalïq.[31]

According to the sources, Mas'ûd personally traveled a great deal between all of the important cities there (i.e., Samarqand, Beshbalïq and Almalïq) between 1251-1255 in order to exploit economic conditions more efficiently (de Rachewiltz, et al. 1993, p. 128). Consequently, while East and West Turkestan were to be united under Mas'ûd's administration, there still was not a single currency system within it. Local minting on local standards continued, and it even appears that multiple, simultaneous systems prevailed. One of them used the national title (probably related to its intended function as *qubchir*) whereas the other just has Islamic inscriptions without any reference to either the official nomenclature or the *Qaγan*, perhaps indicating its civilian or tributary nature.[32] A third combines a citation of the *Qaγan* (anonymous) with the deceased 'Abbâsid Caliph an-Nâṣir al-Dîn (1180-1224).[33]

There are at least four concrete periods to when the one type of "Great Ûrdû" coins could have been struck. The first versions date to Chinggis's Western campaigns ca. 1222, and copy the fabric and style of a prototype from Ghazna named the "*'Âdil-Jinkiz*" type (see Whaley 2001, pp. 19-25; Thomas 1898, p. 385). The only difference between the first "Great Ûrdû" coins and those of the second period is a Middle Mongolian inscription, in Uygur script. This fact gives a likely dating for the second period coins of 630 to 645 Hegira (1232-1247). On the gold, a single word is found underneath *al-Ûrdû/al-A'ẓam/an-Nâṣir al-Dîn* (Fyodorov-Davydov 1960, p. 126; Mayer 1993, p. 21, coins #66-69, listed mista-kenly under the "mint" al-Ûrdû/al-A'ẓam) and on the silver, the same is found either on the obverse or reverse, or both.

There have been a number of proposed readings of the mysterious inscription on these coins, all with unsatisfactory result. The first reading was an "Uygur *ätir* or *atïr*" (Baipakov and Nastich 1981, p. 58), which leads nowhere as the word is rare in Turkic and does not exist in Mongolian (Pelliot and Hambis 1951, pp. 337-338). Later, a second group of improbable readings were given (Yih 1993): *noyan* 'noble,' 'Kusala' (Yuan emperor, 1329), and 'Kucha.' First of all, *noyan* in Uygur script looks nothing like our inscription, a Syriac transcription in

noy(a)n only bears a superficial resemblance (Pelliot 1923, p. 110). Secondly, 'Ku-sala' is impossible and finally since there is no *tsadi* in this inscription, there is therefore no 'Kucha.' The third and most recent reading put forward is *ünetei* (Porter 1997, p. 207). The attributive *ünetei* is 'having a price, having a certain value,' and does not simply mean 'valuable' (Porter 1997, p. 207).[34] It is worth noting that the Mongols of that era could distinguish very well between 'valuable/precious' and 'having a price, having a certain value.'

Based upon my research, which has included the orthography of Middle Mongolian Uygur script on Îlkhânid coins, especially Ghâzân's, the first grapheme is unmistakably an initial *aleph* and medial *waw*,[35] with the result that the enigmatic word can be "transliterated in Semitic (and Sogdian) terms like this: 'wr' and read, e.g., as *ora*" (See Fig. K, Plate VII).[36] This may mean 'throne' in Western Middle Mongolian, a dialectal form of what appears in Standard Classical Mongolian as *oron*, meaning "place, country, bed," (Poppe 1938, pp. 39, 269; Cleaves and Mostaert 1952, p. 490; Sanzheyev 1988, pp. 29-30, 42) or rather 'throne' (Mongolian: *qan oron*). In addition, *qan ora~oro* has the form *yeke ora* 'Great Throne' (de Rachewiltz 2004, p. 896). In the majority of coins studied, the die carvers were wholly careful not to close the two small "horn" after the loop, which is a part of the *resh* (excepting of course the one who *reversed* the inscription in a die-cutters mistake—see "Xinjiang qianbi" tuce bianji weiyuanhui 1991, p. 40, coin #158, and Porter 1997, p. 220, fig. 31). The last grapheme is an old style, hanging final *aleph*. Hence, *ora* is a superb reading, and the intended message of the inscription might work in these ways: First, in Spring 1223, upon the conclusion of his western adventure, Chinggis held court at a place north of the valley of Chirchik (a small tributary of the Syr Darya, in modern Uzbekistan), seated upon a golden throne (Mongolian: *altan ora*) regaling among his *noyat* and *ba'atut* (the "aristocracy of the Steppe"; see Grousset 1970, p. 244). The second historical example to be observed is, while awaiting Qubilai's confirmation of him as Hülegü's successor, Abaγa was careful not to sit upon the *qan oron* but only on a simple chair (Hammer-Purgstall [1842] 1974, p. 247); in essence, the *ora* was a metaphor for power, and by extension, imperial power.[37] Finally attributing this piece accurately is important as it sets the stage for understanding the third version, of Arabic inscription with three or four unligated, isolated characters under the single word *Allâh*.

While the third version's inscription is clear enough to distinguish as Arabic, it has also not been treated carefully and unwarranted conclusions had been reached, for example, that it is "without meaning" (Yih 1993). That assumption should not deter anyone from going further, because it is possible to squeeze Turkic, Mongolian, Arabic and Persian words out of the graphemes 'w-ḥ-d' (*wâw, ḥâ', dâl*) of the first version of this inscription: the first two give Turkic *üč* 'three' (Kâshgharî 1982, I, p. 87; Golden 2000, p. 190), *uč~uj* 'border' (Golden 2000, p. 96), *öč* 'vengeance' (Kâshgharî 1982, III, p. 45; Poppe 1938, p. 272), *učа~uja* (Mongolian *ûčа*) 'back' (Kâshgharî 1982, I, p. 122; Poppe 1938, pp. 18, 372); Arabic *waḥada/waḥda* 'without equal,' Persian *vijd* 'rich; opulent; wealthy,'[38] or the Arabic numeral *waḥid* 'one.' The second version of the inscription is 'w-ḥ-d-h,' and that final *hâ'* following the three graphemes indicates the language cannot be Turkic. At any rate all are hardly meaningless words, but unsuitable on a coin.

Yet, even if words such as the above were actually intended, why were they not written in a definite form? That question can be answered in two ways. First, the characters might act in symbolic form, like a *tamgha*. There is a degree of plausibility to that because the use of unligated Arabic characters appears on counterstamps ascribed to Begtimurid Turks, from the mint of Akhlat north of Lake Van in the Caucasus, but of three different letters *dâl, lâm*, and *'alif* (Lowick 1977, pp. 44-45, counterstamps #24-25). Second, like the three isolated Square Script letters on Ghâzân's coins, the three/four Arabic script characters act not as a *tamgha*, but as a monogram for someone important and that person waits being identified.

Frankly, it is not very tempting to connect any of the above readings to *ora* 'throne,' but in any event, the Arabic subtype of "Great Ûrdû" coins may be a parallel series along with the Uygur script version and could date from the 1240s-1260s. This is a reasonable inference based upon a coin showing a muling of dies ("Xinjiang qianbi" tuce bianji weiyuanhui 1991, p. 40, coin #158; Porter 1997, fig. 31): the obverse protocol has *ora* beneath (the reversed version) whereas the other side of the coin has isolated Arabic characters. This subtype likely dates from 643-667 Hegira (1245-1268), with the latter date the absolute upper limit. Hoard evidence supports this contention. From a single hoard uncovered in 1974 at Otrar, Kazakhstan, a mere 24 pieces of the two varieties of "Great Ûrdû" coins were found.[39] However, the *terminus ad quem* of hoard is based upon its latest dated coin: Almalïq mint, 662 Hegira/1264. This fact finally allows the previous varieties of "Great Ûrdû" coins to be correctly periodised, something that has heretofore not been done. Since the Otrar hoard did not possess any Square Script examples, this dating is extremely important because it gives context for

the fourth and final version that replaced Uygur and Arabic script with Square Script (see ("Xinjiang qianbi" tuce bianji weiyuanhui 1991, p. 40, coin #153)

By accurately preserving the style of the previous emissions of double inner linear rings, followed by a circle of dots, followed by outer double linear rings on both sides, but with *Allâh* retained as the reverse inscription, the coin's Square Script lays bare the level of central government control in Central Asia, revealing that an important change had occurred sometime between 668-671 Hegira/1269-1273, that was visibly brought to bear in an exchange of scripts and protocol. On the one hand there were Qubilai's attempts to project Yuan power over the Chaghatayid *ulus*, first vis-à-vis his appointee Baraq, then later by direct military action. In this way, the coins mirror the complex situation that existed between Qubilai's realm and that of his opponents in Central Asia from 1269 to 1288 as there are no better reasons for regional currency to bear Chinese characters,[40] a Mongolian transliteration of a Chinese language euphemism for the *Qaγan* in a script enforced by imperial decree,[41] or protocols in the Persian language to express the imperial power of the *Qaγan*, well-defined decades earlier. However, the strict monetary policy Qubilai had established in China makes it doubtful his ministers directly instigated the minting of the Square Script example in Central Asia. Fiscal policy was geared to protect the only legal tender of the Yuan dominion, paper money. Everything else was either called in or prohibited (Rossabi 1988, p. 123). Foreign merchants were required to convert their precious metals, probably including those in coin, into paper money as soon as they set foot in Qubilai's China (Rossabi 1981, p. 282; also Rossabi 1988, p. 122).

Rather than through Qubilai, it is a second front to this conflict that would have given an occasion for supplanting the old national title *Dachao* with the new protocol of identification of the *Qaγan* as *Pâdishâh*, and further associated with the Square Script *baw*: an Îlkhânid military thrust by the order of Abaγa, right into Bukhara in 1273 (d'Ohsson 1834-35, pp. 457-458), and then via his subordinates occupying the region for nearly seven years (Rashîd al-Dîn 1957, p. 21). Thus, the Square Script exemplar in a sense represents the easternmost minting in Abaγa's realm, but certainly was the first occasion of the use of Square Script on money outside of China. Taken together, these coin issues are good substantiation that only the *Qaγan* could be identified as *Pâdishâh*.[42] At least, that is their message.

Based upon the evidence shown above, despite Baydâwî's writings, when *Pâdishâh* appeared on Ghâzân's coins, past protocol dictated a

clarification. The title had to be transformed into an Islamic context, which was easy to do. All that had to be done was to attach *Islâm* to it. Hence, only *Pâdshâh-i al-Islâm* would validate the argument that Ghâzân sought to declare his legitimacy as a defender of the Islamic faith through the idealized image of the Islamic ruler (Allsen 1991b, p. 235). On this need Ghâzân was apparently not alone. Jochids such as Berke (1256-1266) struck dirhams at the mint of Qrïm with the inscription *Pâdshâh-i Islâm*. Conversely, Berke's successor Möngke Temür (1266-1280) does not use it. Instead, coins again struck at Qrïm and Bulghar proclaim 'The Just *Qaγan*' (Arabic: *Qâ'ân al-'âdil*).[43] Yet, Möngke Temür's successor Töde Möngke (1280-1287) resumed minting dirhams at Qrïm (dated 683 Hegira) with the title *Pâdshâh-i Islâm*. How should we understand this? Why would it be important for the Jochids or the Îlkhâns to be positioned at various times as "rightful" Islamic rulers? Evidently it only mattered when the ruler was an Islamic convert and found it expedient to proclaim it.

Using a title such *Pâdshâh-i Islâm* was not impudent, because it was carefully placed into an Islamic context.[44] The same point is true regarding *Sulṭân*. This title was the highest to which a Muslim prince could aspire (Kramers 1997). In the Mongol period, a ruler had to exercise great caution with such titles, especially if the Mongols were nearby. For example, while Badr al-Dîn Lu'lu' was striking coins in Möngke's name at Mosul in 656 Hegira (1258) he also identified himself as *Sulṭân al-Islâm* on the same coin (Heidemann 1994, p. 303).

Given the historical context, Lu'lu''s positioning of himself as *Sulṭân al-Islâm* could have in no measure been a politically charged title (as his overlords would not have stood for it). Instead it must have emphasized only its Islamic religious context. Yet, more often than not, Ghâzân was idealized as *Sultân Mahmûd* without making that qualification, proclaimed at both at the official court mints as well as in the quasi-autonomous vassal regions.[45] Consequently, it may well be that there was a profoundly different intention to using this title rather than *Pâdshâh-i Islâm*. Broadcasting *Sulṭân Maḥmûd* may have been a method to equalize the propagandistic impact such titles had versus regional powers, like the Mamluk *sulṭâns*. Only in this way could Ghâzân perhaps have been "satisfied solely with the title *Sulṭân*" (Ayalon 1972, p. 152), but there is good proof it was never a motivating factor. Ghâzân knew better; and really, so did everyone else.

That realization was demonstrated in two ways. First, while there are many notable instances when the Mamluks referred to Mongol rulers as *sulṭân*, such as Aḥmad himself (al-Ẓâhir 1961, p. 10) or the Jochids

(Ayalon 1972, p. 152n6), only the Mamluk ruler could legitimately be called *sulṭân*.[46] Second, regardless of the genuineness of his conversion or his entitlements to honorifics because of it, outside the Îlkhânid realm Ghâzân was painted as a dissenter from Islam and a follower of false beliefs (Arabic: *kharj*, pl. *khawârij/kharijiyîn*) that put him beyond the *sharî'a*, pure and simple. Why else, if he was supposed to be hailed as *Sulṭân al-Islâm*, would the likes of Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al-Halim Ibn Taymîyah (1263-1326) compose a *risâla* to validate that view and brand him and all Mongols of the Îlkhânid realm *khawârij*, in essence facilitating an internecine war between two Sunni powers by calling for *jihâd* (Ahmad 1988, pp. 13-14)? Of course Ibn Taymîyah's slander had some use to the Mamluks, as they had other ideas of who should champion the Islamic cause as *Sulṭân al-Islâm*. For them, the Mongols should never be allowed that role, and war made people more receptive to such views. Fortunately, not all opinion of Mongol conversion was so grotesquely prejudiced by such writings. There is excellent contemporary evidence within the Islamic community that Ghâzân clearly kept a good balance between his traditional Mongol values and his Islamic ones.[47] He managed to bring both together more proficiently than Aḥmad Tegüder, the only other Îlkhânid *Sulṭân al-Islâm* was ever capable of (something Ibn Taymîyah and the Mamluks could not have known).

That very adeptness is confirmed by the fact that Ghâzân, unlike Aḥmad, never placed his conversion name with the title *sulṭân* on his coins in a Mongolian language version in Uygur script. Ghâzân's not repeating it points to a memory of the deleterious effect it had upon Aḥmad's relationship with the Mongolian court aristocracy and military figures still present in Persia at the time.[48] There may even have been some infamy associated with Aḥmad's rendering *Sulṭân Aḥmad* into Middle Mongolian, evidenced by coins struck in 681 Hegira.[49] Perhaps the obscure *fulûs fiḍḍa* (literally, 'silver fulûs') mentioned by the chronicler Ibn al-Fuwaṭî in a brief account of an attempt in 1283 to drive the *fulûs* out of the Mesopotamia-Iraq economy to enforce transactions solely in silver,[50] these coins are an uncommon issue and may have been withdrawn in a sort of *damnatio memoriae*.[51]

On the issue of Aḥmad's special edition, it should be said that his being a Muslim was no crime, proven by one of Hülegü's foremost acts upon his conquest of Madinat al-Salâm, when he made a *daruγachi* appointment in the person of 'Alî Bahâdur/Asutu, a Mongol convert to Islam (Wu Painan 1974, p. 91). Rather, the coin evidence does little to diminish the possibility of the alien political context of the title *sulṭân* becoming a contributing factor to the Mongol elite's estrangement with

Aḥmad, with the elite here entirely referring to the side that prevailed against him, or of how his message was rubbed in their faces in their own language. It is also not difficult to imagine the chagrin and resentment of the Mongolian scribes to their having to actually do such work.[52] This point is mirrored in writings of the Persian historian 'Abdallâh b. Faḍl Allâh Vaṣṣâf (1264/5-1329), in his *Tajziyat al-amṣâr wa tazjiat al-a'ṣâr* (or *Ta'rîkh-i Vaṣṣâf*), who hardly keeps secret the satisfaction that the Persian contingent of chancellery took in the change of translating Arabic into Mongolian in this so-called process of "Islamifying" administrative nomenclature under Aḥmad.[53]

Although not directly confirmed by the histories, Aḥmad's blunder in taking a title outside of a Mongolian context and proclaiming it in Middle Mongolian was made that much more ironic because he actually received that recognition freely from the Mamluks, with his formally being addressed as *sulṭân* in reply to a letter he sent Qalâ'ûn in 1282 (al-Ẓâhir 1961, p. 10).[54] However, Qalâ'ûn found a way to simultaneously make and diminish that acknowledgment in the same address (see below). Clearly, Aḥmad's political standing vis-à-vis that title did not have the desired effect. Thus far, Mamluk scholars have taken a mistaken position regarding it. One claim is that "*khân* and *sulṭân* but also *khân* and *Sulṭân al-Islâm* would coexist nicely side-by-side, without any need of dropping the first for the sake of the second (Ayalon 1972, p. 152)," is completely wrong for the Mongols. *Sulṭân* had no legitimate meaning in a Mongolian political context; it is little wonder that it gets dropped for Ghâzân. This last point is also mirrored in naming Ghâzân as a "khân." That action was unmistakably inappropriate as it too was subject to clarification. Ghâzân ceased to be identified on coins as either as *qan* (in later Mongolian inscriptions) or as *qân/khân* (in Arabo-Persian form). This proves to be an extremely essential detail. Therefore, Vaṣṣâf really was exaggerating that "*sulṭân* replaced *khân*,"[55] because *khân* was not a lawful title for any of the Îlkhâns and, as been shown above, *sulṭân* lacked any sort of political punch either for Mongols or between Mongols and Mamluks.[56] Thus, Mamluk scholars are equally wide of the mark to claim that when it appears for the Mongols it shows that the "Mamluk sultans were not so keen to keep the title exclusively to themselves, but were ready to share it with others (Ayalon 1972, p. 152)," because it assumes the Îlkhâns actually asked for permission to use such titles from the Mamluks, which they never did.

By late 696 Hegira (1297) the "language reform" backpedaled in the other direction, ending the trend of Persianized/Islamified titles for Ghâzân. However, a declaration of Ghâzân's conversion to the Islamic

faith was continued. The form it takes is the most interesting part. The change of 1297 was signaled when titles were made to conform to established protocol concerning nomenclature, wherein Ghâzân's given name appeared in Mongolian without the title *qan*, let alone *ilqan*, much as had been the case since the time of Abaγa. The difference was, on these issues the reference to the *Qaγan* was omitted. This data is even confirmed by (near-) contemporary Mamluk historical sources, specifically Ṣalâḥ al-Dîn Khalîl b. Aybak al-Ṣafadî 's (1297-1363) biographical dictionary *al-Wâfî bi'l-wafayât* and Aḥmad ibn Yaḥya ibn Faḍl Allâh al-'Umarî's (1301-1349) *Masâlik al-abṣâr fî mamâlik al-amṣâr*, wherein it is said that Ghâzân had coins minted in his name alone, deleting the name of the "Great Khân" (i.e. the *Qaγan*) from them (Lech 1968, p. 103). While those accounts contain some degree of accuracy, the actual situation was much different. This is especially true in the quasi-autonomous vassal regions.

At the Georgian mint of Tiflis, under the vassal Davit' VIII, coins were struck in early 696 Hegira (1296-1297) with reference to the *Qaγan* rendered in Arabic as *Pâdishâh al-A'ẓam*.[57] This shows that the mint officials were very careful not to omit the old protocol; they just had not put it into Mongolian. In fact, Vaxtang III (c. 1301-1308) did just that a short time later, reviving the old protocol of "In the name of the *Qaγan*," even though it was noticeably abandoned on Ghâzân's own issues (Lang 1955, p. 51; Dzhalagania 1979, coins #12267-122610).

To explain this continuation of the old protocol in Georgian coinage, two poorly substantiated theories have been advanced. The first was an assertion that the "islamicization of Ghazan's legitimacy" was not imperative in Georgia (Allsen 1991b, 240n47), but there really is no evident basis for such a conclusion, as it certainly would have mattered if it were the agenda everywhere else in the Îlkhânate. The second theory was that Jochid claims required Ghâzân to "invoke the *Qaγan's* sovereignty over the region" is far-fetched (Allsen 1991b, 240n47). In December of 1302, Ghâzân had received an embassy sent by the Jochid Toqtâ (1291-1312), whose emissaries he mocked in a very dismissive fashion. It is very speculative as to what the meeting regarded, as Rashîd al-Dîn gives us no indication of its purpose. Only Vaṣṣâf said that the embassy was sent to revive old claims, a report also corroborated by Mîr Muḥammad b. Sayyid Burhân al-Dîn Khvândshâh Mîrkhvând (1433-1498), who wrote of it much later in his *Ta'rîkh-i Rawdat al-Ṣafâ*. In fact, Toqtâ "withdrew in panic in expectation of an invasion of his territories" upon Ghâzân's advancements near Darband in 1301 (Boyle 1977), hardly the sort of response to someone needing to hide behind an

invocation of the *Qaγan*.[58] Further underscoring the reality of events, there is a series of coins dated 698 Hegira (1299), well after the change of 1297 took place, that proclaims 'The Just *Qaγan*' (Arabic: *Qâ'ân al-'âdil*) on the obverse, and *Sulṭân al-A'ẓam Ghâzân* on the reverse (Turâbî Tabâtabâ'î 1971, p. 84). Although the mint name does not appear, this type first surfaced at Tabrîz in 642 Hegira (1244), with *Qâ'ân al-'âdil* placed in a hexagram on one side and the *shahâda* within a square border on the other;[59] on the issue of 1299 *Qâ'ân al-'âdil* was fixed within a square.

While the pro forma expression of *Qaγan-u nereber* was dropped from the official dies that Rashîd al-Dîn wrote of, recognized even by historians in Mamluk Egypt, no one should lose sight of the fact that Ghâzân's given name appears in Mongolian without titles upon it. The removal of titles from the official dies proves there was no assertion or advancement of a claim to sovereignty. In fact, the status quo was reasserted. Examining the inscription that replaced 'In the name of the *Qaγan*' proves this fact.

The controversial inscription that supplanted the time-honored Îlkhânid protocol was *Tngri-yin küčüntür/Γasan-u deledkegülüg-sen* 'By the Power of Heaven. Ghasan had a coin struck,' but it has been misunderstood. This expression was the standard formula of imperial edits, reading *Möngke* (abridged *Mongke*) *Tngri-yin küčündür Qaγan-u suu-dur* 'By the Power of Eternal Heaven, By the Majesty of the Emperor.' Therefore, Ghâzân was not breaking with protocol; he only chose to use a different version (and hardly an innovative one at that). This formula was used equally by all of the Mongolian *ulus-ut* in official correspondences[60] and Ghâzân's own father used it in a 1289 letter to Philippe le Bel of France (Ligeti 1972a, p. 245).

On top of that, there are many notable and precedent-setting numismatic examples that would allow for Ghâzân's reprise of the famed Mongolian slogan; time-worn Perso-Arabic renderings such as *bi-quwwat Khudây bi-iqbâl-i Pâdishâh-i Jahân* or *Ba-quvvat-i Âfaridigâr 'Âlam* 'By the Power of the Creator of the World.'[61] There are also purely Arabic versions that appeared on coins associated with Hülegü's conquests, such as 'By the Power of God on High and the Fortune of the Emperor Möngke' (Arabic: *Bi-quwwat Allâh ta'âlâ wa-iqbâl Möngke Qâ'ân*), found on dirhams struck at Ḥarrân in 659 Hegira (Heidemann 1994, p. 292), or 'By the Power of Eternal God' (Arabic: *bi-quwwat Allâh al-qadîm*) utilized in part of the calendar/mint formula on Hülegü's coins of Baghdâd from 656-661 Hegira/1258-1262 (Heidemann 1994, p. 331).

What makes Ghâzân's choice paradoxical is why, after all, would the so-called *Pâdshâh al-Islâm* honor a belief in a spiritual power outside of Islam by recognizing *Tngri* and placing it on money of his realm?[62] This is bigger news than deleting the reference to the *Qaγan*, so why are Rashîd al-Dîn and the historians in Mamluk Egypt silent on this event? It cannot be the expression was so clichéd a political slogan as not to be worth reiterating, but what of its religious component that could never be dulled? Here we arrive at the delicate problem of expressing the "Power of *Tngri*."

The first issue was the euphemism used for *Tngri*, a word that had two senses, as a 'Heavenly-god,' or 'heaven/sky.' For demonstration, the Tibetan translation was *gnam-gyi she-mong-la/rgyal-po'i bsod-nams-la* (*la* being the dative-locative particle) 'By the Power of the Sky/Heaven, By the Virtue/Merit of the King' (Tucci 1949, p. 672; Tibetan text p. 754; see also Kvaerne 1980, p. 92; pp. 91-96), and it aptly captured both senses of *Tngri*. Middle Mongolian had another word for 'heaven/sky' in *oγtorγui~hoqtorqui*, tantamount to the Arabic *samâ'* 'heaven/sky' or Persian *âsmân* 'sky.' Therein lies the problem, as unlike a word like *gnam*, the Arabic *samâ'* did not convey the spiritual sense of *Tngri*. Instead, without any sort of connection to 'heaven/sky,' the Mongols' chancellery chose *Khudây*, a Persian appellation of the Muslim God (Shayegan 1998, pp. 46-50). Found in Güyüg's letter to Pope Innocent IV—where it appears ten times—most notably in *Ba-quvvat-i Khudây* (Pelliot 1923, p. 15, line 24) and *Khudây qadîm* 'Eternal God' (Pelliot 1923, p. 15, line 18-19),[63] it could only have meant 'God' in the broadest possible terms as *Allâh* and the Mongolian *Tngri* had no interfaith equivalency. Because the euphemism *Khudây* is actually a perniciously defective translation, that fact can all too easily be overlooked.

Some things just cannot be translated. A pertinent fact worth considering is a Sanskrit version of the *shahâda* that appeared on silver coins associated with the Indian conquests of the Ghaznavid Yamîn al-Dawla Maḥmûd's (998-1030), struck at his city Maḥmûdpûr (Lahore) in 418-419 Hegira (Bhattacharyya 1964, pp. 53-56). On these coins, the Arabic concept of *Allâh* is rendered into Sanskrit via the Hindu *Avyakta* "The Unevolved (=Evolver of all things)," or "the primary germ of nature, primordial element or productive principle whence all the phenomena of the material world are developed," which is to say 'God.' That part of translation was apropos, but the choice of expressing 'Muḥammad is the Messenger of *Allâh*' (Arabic: *Muḥammad rasûl Allâh*) was blasphemous: 'Muḥammad is the Incarnation' (Sanskrit: *Muhammad avâtara*). Despite the fact that *avâtara* is a respectful address for a highly distinguished person, it is saying that Muḥammad is God, as an incarnation of *Avyakta*. That idea is something Hindus could accept, but which all Muslims would find profoundly objectionable. Likewise, *Khudây* is not the best choice for *Tngri*, shown by a telling subsequent correction to its previous translation in Latin as *Dei*. Appearing in a letter sent by Hülegü to Louis IX of France (Meyvaert 1980, p. 253), the precise Latin translation of *per virtutem Mangutengrus* 'By the Power of *Mangutengrus* (= *Möngke Tngri* 'Eternal Heaven')' must have come as a surprise to those European potentates who had been taking *Dei* at face value. As shall again be noted below, such euphemisms are prone to be misconstrued.

The second issue regards the 'power/force' aspect of *küčüntür*. The example from Güyüg's letter, *Ba-quvvat-i Khudây*, is grammatically a Persian construction (*quvvat* with a regular *tâ'* rather than *tâ'marbûṭa*) surrounding the Arabic word *qûwwa* 'power/strength/force,' and this version of the motto repeatedly appeared on coins as already noted. However, what makes the union between *Khudây* and *qûwwa* extraordinary is that *qûwwa* is imbued with spiritual meaning relating to divine power directly from *Allâh*, not through a Persian euphemism, such as from the Qur'ân (18:39) "There is no Power except from God" (Arabic: *lâ hawlâ wa lâ quwwata illâ bi'llahi*). Supplementing the notion of divine power within an Islamic context via this word, *qûwwa* appears as part of a slogan on silver coins struck at Kirmân in 77-78 Hegira/696-697 by Yazîd b. al-Muḥallab b. Abî Ṣufra, reading 'The Power of Yazîd is from God' (Arabic: *quwwat Yazîd billâh*; Mochiri 1983, pp. 427-434). Later, the 'Abbâsid caliph al-Mu'tamid 'alâ llâh (870-892) under his brother al-Muwaffaq, had the slogan 'The Power of the Universal God' (Arabic: *al-Quwwat li'llâh jami'an*) added onto dirhams from Madinat al-Salâm and Surra-man-ra'a (dated 273 and 276 Hegira respectively).

Yet there are doubts that the native readers who received these translations of the Mongolian motto understood them as such. A very good example that they did not comes from Qalâ'ûn's reply (in 1282) to Aḥmad's first letter to him, when the Îlkhân employed at his introduction the slogan 'By the Power of God on High, By the Fortune of the Emperor' (Arabic: *Bi-quwwat Allâh ta'âlâ bi-iqbâl-i Qâ'ân*; Howorth 1888, p. 290; al-Ẓâhir 1961, p. 6), assuredly the Mongolian protocol in Arabic.[64] In his response, Qalâ'ûn returned the slogan *bi-quwwat Allâh ta'âlâ*, but added *bi-iqbâl-i Sulṭân al-Malik al-Manṣûr* "By the Fortune of the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣûr" (Howorth 1888, p. 292; al-Ẓâhir 1961, p. 10).[65] It is quite surprising that this portion of

Qalâ'ûn's response has awaited scholarly attention. First of all, it was no mere act of "copying," "parodying," or "profaning." As Aḥmad's letter affronted Qalâ'ûn, with his response notably focused on the inappropriate use of *rasûl* (taken from the Qur'ânic passage of *Surât bani Isra'il* (17:15): "We shall not exact punishment before sending a Messenger," (Arabic: *wamâ kunnâ mu'aṯḥṯibînâ ḥattâ nab'atha rasûlân*; Howorth 1888, p. 292; al-Ẓâhir 1961, p. 10), that was not the only detail of the letter that irritated him. By addressing the start of his letter in such a way, Qalâ'ûn's disdain was prominently asserted by pointedly not allowing a meaningful Islamic religious invocation to be usurped.[66] Rather, the "Mongolian protocol" angle of these translations could just as easily be missed, and construed as a slight to religious sensibilities among other things. It should also be borne in mind that the formula was dropped altogether in Ghâzân's letter in 1302 to Boniface VIII (Ligeti 1972a, p. 250).[67] If the motto is not to appear on communications with foreign powers, then evidently far too much importance has been attached to the expression *Tngri-yin küčüntür* on Ghâzân's coins as evidence of his breaking with an established tradition that only showed the highest deference to the *Qaγan* and acknowledgement of a lesser status to him. Rather, by reaching back to past protocol the status quo was reasserted, undermining all that *Pâdshâh al-Islâm* hubris, because it was done neither for the benefit of Ghâzân's subjects or his fellow Muslims.

Diverging slightly from written inscriptions, there is an issue of the decorative devices appearing alongside *Tngri-yin* as part of the official dies.[68] There are at least two, but it is impossible to pin them down as Mongolian ciphers because both turn up on coins of much earlier periods.[69] They are also found on Mamluk coins minted by Qalâ'ûn (1279-1290; see Puin 2000, p. 84 'symmetrical scroll ornament,' and p. 93 'heart-shaped knot'). What matters is that the embellishment attached to them has nothing to do with any sort of Chinese influence at the Îlkhânid court. These appendage-like figures were present in Iran and Iraq well before the thirteenth century, attached to symbols (such as a fleur-de-lis) seen on coins of the Bûyid Abû Kâlîjâr struck at Shîrâz in 423 Hegira (1031) and 437 Hegira (1045).[70] This fact challenges an argument of a Chinese influence at the Îlkhânid court vis-à-vis these cloud-like figures (Yarshater 1983, p. lxiii; Kadoi 2002, pp. 26-27). There is no justification to believe that they were marks of Chinese influence upon the Bûyids, then the Mamluks and the Îlkhâns. It would be much wiser to set aside all talk about the source of influences on decorations and symbols. However, a recent theory that such symbols

were the signs of "mint-farmers" (Treadwell 2001, p. xix) should immediately be discounted. That such symbols transcend the Bûyid's coins and move into succeeding generations makes that premise highly unlikely. Their purpose is enigmatic, but unimportant here.

Based upon the above facts, the truly novel development on Ghâzân's dies was the inclusion of a Square Script inscription. Because Square Script does not appear on either his predecessor's or his successor's coins, it should not be taken as an issue of protocols, per se. When the Yuan court prepared coin patterns for the Îlkhânate, Chinese characters were used,[71] indicative that Square Script was not part of the expected protocol between the two.[72] This is a valid conclusion despite the fact that Ghâzân's ambassadors at the Yuan court continued to pay homage to Qubilai's successor Temür Öljeitü as the nominal *Qaγan* of the Mongolian empire (Bretschneider 1876, pp. 177-178; Grousset 1970, p. 380). Unlike the use of Square Script on the Central Asian coins of 668-678 Hegira (1269-1280) resulting from a military-enforced political pressure, it may be more a *cultural* pressure from the center that has gone unnoticed. That is reasonable to believe, for use here comprises a personal expression different from the previous numismatic context of Square Script.[73]

As a final point to complete our understanding regarding the inscriptions, Clauson's conclusion that the three Square Script characters were intended to express 'Qaγan' is wrong. The Square Script inscription reveals an accommodation that was made in the Islamic glorification of Ghâzân as *Sultân Maḥmûd*, which was now sublimated into more traditional or established norms. Discerning this connection is crucial to uncovering the mystery of the three characters. A detectable consistency is that the characters are always on the left side standing alongside the Arabic 'Ghâzân Maḥmûd.'[74] They never sit in the same direction as the Mongolian inscription; this fact should guide us to understand what was intended.

As far as these three "simple" characters go, it is clear that much effort has been made without good results. No one has correctly identified what the three actually are. There are two possibilities. First it must be observed that Square Script is an alphabetic, not a syllabic, writing system. This is to say its *orthography* is syllabic. Accordingly, because the characters are unbound, three initials of three separate graphemes might be represented because they are written without the syllable-marking gap. No vowel is marked. The second possibility is that one should believe that at least two of the three were intended to be bound, with their vowels marked. This leaves a possible initial=bilabial, a

medial=laryngeal and an initial=velar. Just from this simple mistake in formation by leaving the characters unbound, it may be inferred that the die-engraver— or even the *diwân al-sikka*— had no clue as to what was supposed to be written.[75] This problem appears to be extremely common. For example, the Square Script text in the album *Majma' al-Ajâ'ib* has ten grammatical and orthographical mistakes, even though it is only five lines long (Tuna-Bosson 1962, pp. 9-11). During the thirteenth century, it seems that most had a problem learning or using Square Script Mongolian.

After very careful consideration, there should be no question at all that the first character is <ma>. Clauson's statement that the resemblance of this letter on "one coin to the ḥP'ags-pa syllabary *ma* is purely fortuitous" (Lang 1955, pp. 53-54) is unjustifiably dismissive and is not in accord with the majority of examples seen (Figs. B1-2, Plate I).[76] As Square Script has no grapheme for the pharyngeal spirant of Maḥmûd, this name can have at least two possible Middle Mongolian forms: Mahamud and Maqamud, and it can be written with /q/[77] or with the sign of a laryngeal spirant (i.e., /k'/).[78] This is a critical point, as Ghâzân's given name would appear in Square Script as *Q SN* (= *Qasan*), and here /q/ is not an initial (Figs. C1-5, Plate I).[79] Thus, the combination of the two Square Script characters *Maqa* accurately communicates the correct pronunciation of the first part of the Middle Mongolian form of Ghâzân's Islamic name *Maḥmûd* (Weiers 1984, p. 172), and not his given name. Herein we finally arrive at proof of a concession, that is, that the title *Sulṭân* is dropped but *Maḥmûd* remains.

The third character should be read as an initial Square Script /k̲/ (Figs. D1-10, Plate I). On the coins, the telling point is a small line appears somewhat diagonally, which should be considered a guiding line for a Square Script /k̲/. The engravers all shifted the centering of the character. By adjusting the character counterclockwise, their mistake is finally revealed (see Figs. E1-10, Plate I).[80] To better understand these mistakes, and their corrections, it is worth noting an interesting coin: a double dirham of Arzinjân (=Erzincan, Eastern Turkey) dated 703 Hegira (1303); see Fig. H1, Plate V. It shows a correction by addition of that third char-acter.[81] The die-engraver rendered the /k̲/ with only three lines, but in the additional date margin to the immediate left, above *thalath*, a tiny /k̲/ comprised of the correct five lines was added. Apparently, this is how mistakes were corrected, but inaccuracies were not limited to the Square Script. There are even coins with an error in the *shahâda*.[82] Judging from the coins it is doubtful that many actually knew or understood what it was that they were responsible to render and this

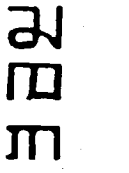
point should be taken along with the *Majma' al-Ajâ'ib* as added evidence, if any were needed, for the fact that the Square Script never completely took root or replaced Uygur script. The problem still persists of explaining what that third character represents.

There is noteworthy evidence that an absolute definition of an unaspirated, voiceless guttural Square Script /k̲/ being used only in words of foreign origin (except in Mongolian *yeke* 'great'),[83] never as an initial (except with Sanskrit), and only with front vowels (Ligeti 1972b, p. 16) may still exist. This fact remains even in light of a rare inscription on another coin emission, more aptly described as a token to supplement paper money rather than a coin. Made of lead and at 62 millimeters in diameter, the token has been dated to Yuan *Zhizheng* (1333-1368) probably on account of its large size (see Figs. F1, Plate II; F1a, Plate III).[84] Its obverse reads 'twenty-five cash' (Chinese: *ershiwu wen*, or *liangshiwu wen*), and the Square Script on its reverse reads *k̲uen* (< Chinese *guan*) clearly using the sign for an unaspirated, voiceless guttural (see Fig. G1, Plate IV).[85]

On the other hand, the above token might be a complete fabrication, damned by its own inscription: it follows a rhyme scheme that has no relation to Middle Mongolian nor the Early Northern Mandarin dialect pronunciation of *guan* as <gon> (Ligeti 1961, p. 216).[86] Yet, the given example of *k̲uen* should seriously be considered for it would be the only example indicating a /k̲/ being used in lieu of the Arabic *ghâyn* on Ghâzân's coins. Even if it is acceptable data to demonstrate a Square Script /k̲/ being used interchangeably with foreign graphemes other than Sanskrit, it still leaves us with an untenable unaspirated form of 'Qasan/Γasan' in *K̲asan. It should also be remembered that the *Yuan shi* uses *Hazan*, following the Middle Mongolian form. So, while it does little good to speculate whom the intermediary might have been, a Chinese source for it might be rejected.

Consequently, based upon all of the above, the inscription is indeed at the very least a monogram, which should be understood to read as *Maḥmûd Ghâzân* (Maqa[mud] *K̲a[san]). Based upon this finding, Couperie's reading appears to be inverted and Drouin's notion of a "religious epithet" is at last affirmed. Unfortunately, we will never know why Rashîd al-Dîn was silent on its being a monogram consisting of Ghâzân's given name and his taken Islamic name *Maḥmûd*. In any event, it should not be connected to the abandonment of the old protocol *Qaγan-u nereber* as there is little reason to believe Ghâzân was ever declaring himself a power in his own right. What made Ghâzân's modification special was in the manner how he achieved fulfilling Îl-

khânid commitments to protocol and appropriate nomenclature within the established norms, something Aḥmad Tegüder miserably failed to do. Thus our inscription:



= *Maqa* (<Mongolian: *Maqamud*, Arabic: *Maḥmûd*)

= *K(a)* (<Mongolian: **K*asan, Arabic: *Ghâzân*)

NOTES

[1] Although this author is aware of a second Ghâzân, putatively a nominal "ruler" in Azerbaijan ca. 757-758 Hegira (1356-1357) with coins struck in his name at mints as Ma'dîn al-Khânî (also rendered as Ma'dan) in Anatolia (757 Hegira), and at Qum (758 Hegira), in this paper it will just be 'Ghâzân,' a second one notwithstanding.

[2] As early as 1826, the numismatist C. M. J. Frähn noted silver coins struck by Toqtâ (1291-1312) from a Caucasus mint called Majîr/Majâr dated 710-715 Hegira (1310-1315) that invoke the *Qaγan* as 'The Just Emperor' (Perso-Arabic: *Pâdshâh-i/al-'Âdil*). See Frähn 1826, p. 202, coin #11. Splitting *Pâdshâh-i* and *al-'Âdil* was something Frähn left unexplained by a blank space; in actuality, it is the name of the ruler written exquisitely in Square Script. I have arrived at a tentative reading in consultation with Professor György Kara: *T'uq duŋ* "You Should Be Raised Up! (<Old Turkic *tuγ-toγ* "to rise [transitive meaning: a celestial rising as in the sun and moon; to be born; or, to rise as dust in the wind; see Clauson 1972, p. 465. Modern Uighur has 'to become auspicious'; see Schwarz 1992, p. 226] + Old Turkic *duŋ* [a verbal ending, second person singular, optative, expressing a good thing for the sovereign to have. See von Gabain 1950, p. 4; Scharlipp 2000, p. 107]). However a caveat is attached to this reading because it is a unique and heretofore unknown expression. Nevertheless, as shall be seen, Toqtâ's overall message has roots in Îlkhânid protocol.

[3] Although it is not philologically correct to pluralize *dînâr* (pl. *danânîr*) and *dirham* (pl. *darâhim*) with an *-s*, it is so pervasive in the literature that it will be used here in order not to confuse the reader. The singular of *fulûs* is *fals*.

[4] My thanks to Professor György Kara for raising that question in correspondence; Hereafter: Dr. Kara email March 14, 2002.

[5] As *Khasan Ma*(-ḥmûd). My research shows that Couperie was very close to being correct, despite Clauson's writing that, "The alternative "Ga-za-n" is so much less like the coins that it seems to me much less probable." See Lang 1955, pp. 53-54. However, as shall be discussed below, that reading is impossible.

[6] A title rendered in both Persian and Uygur script Mongolian, on his coins as well as chancellery documents. See Soudavar 1992, pp. 34-35.

[7] In fact, Tibetan "saying/sayer" is smra-ba, not smar-.

[8] Weiers wrote much the same thing in his attribution (i.e., "mongolisch-arabisch-tibetische"), but qualified the attribution with a question mark following 'Tibetan.' See Weiers 1984, p. 171.

[9] While a vast area of Tibet was allocated to Hülegü as an appanage in 1254, Îlkhânid "suzerainty" in Tibet had ended well before 1295. See Petech 1990, pp. 88-90.

[10] Despite the fact that there is an undated series of small copper coins with the inscription *Ghâzân Qâ'ân Maḥmûd* minted in Anatolia, at Arzinjân (Lane-Poole 1881, p. 42, #122; see also Aykut 1992, p. 153, coin #273) and Sîwâs (Aykut 1992, p. 153, coin #275), it is not Ghâzân's title (see below).

[11] At Tabrîz, as well as in Greater Armenia. See Garabetian 1953.

[12] Mongolian: *Qaγan-u nereber Abaγa-yin deledkegülüg-sen*. Mongolian *deledke-* 'to mint' is the causitive verb of *deled-* 'to beat/hit.' All of this is in the sense of 'to hammer,' as that is how coins were produced in those times.

[13] It has nothing to do with assisting the civilian populace in their differentiating between emissions. In fact, it must have been very odd to consumers to find money without all of the long-winded superlatives attached to the name of the ruler that one normally encountered in Persia before the Mongol conquests. Then again, Rashîd al-Dîn's writings make that a moot point. He says that formerly "gold and silver (sic, money/coins) are rare in the market place, and when a little was forthcoming (sic, i.e., was placed into circulation) there was a rush for it (sic, it got hoarded)." See Howorth 1888, p. 525. Rashîd al-Dîn says nothing about copper, not because it was so common or not worth mentioning. Small change in copper/bronze was localized to region, which the Îlkhânid government did have some hand in, perhaps just less appreciably than gold or silver, in the eyes of Rashîd al-Dîn.

[14] Interestingly, minting at Shîrâz shows the switch to the Tibetan title with the Mongolian version preceding the Persian. Dinars dated 691 Hegira (1291) were minted with the Mongolian *Erinchin-dorji* and the Perso-Arabic *Gaykhâtû* together on the same coin. One year later, in 692 Hegira (1292), a Perso-Arabic *Arînjîn-dûrjî* replaces *Gaykhâtû*. In correspondence, Dr. Christopher Atwood remarked that the name 'Geikhatu' is not actually Mongolian or Turkic, because consonantally *-kh-* never appears in Persian transcription of truly Middle Mongolian names, and certainly not with *g-* (*kh* if present at all would mark back vocal harmony and *g-* is front). In fact, he believes the name makes most sense as a Chinese one: **Gei* (or *Gai*) *Kha Tu*, which could represent some three-character name, possibly Buddhist. Hereafter: Dr. Atwood email July 31, 2004. *Tu* is from Tang times (modern Chinese *nuli* 'slave of') and would be the only example of a revival of an old Uighur name of Middle Chinese origin. Professor György Kara, telephone interview, 10 August 2004.

[15] On some of these issues the Middle Mongolian form 'Qasan/Tasan' is rendered in Arabic as 'Qâzân' or 'Ghâzân' with either a *qâf* or a *ghâyn*. Both are correct. Although it is an inconsequential issue, it is worth citing some examples of coins with the form 'Qâzân': small figural copper coins of Hamadân (reading *Qâzân Maḥmûd*) dated 695 Hegira/1295-1296 (Seifeddini 1978, p. 232; see also American Numismatic Society, accession number 1966.126.111); dirhams at Tabrîz in 694-696 Hegira; and dirhams also utilizing *Qâzân Sulṭân Maḥmûd* minted in 699 Hegira/1299 by vassals in Anatolia, the Qaraman Oğulları and Ḥamîd Oğulları. More worthy of note is the distinctive *zây* in *Qâzân* shared on these coins: all attached it to the *qâf*. There also is an odd undated copper type from Tabrîz, read by Weiers as *al-Malik Allâh Qur'ân Qâzân Maḥmûd* (Weiers 1984, p. 174) that it is probably only a misreading of *al-mûlk li'llâh Qâzân Qân Maḥmûd* (Dr. Lutz Ilisch email October

2003; Hereafter: Ilisch email).

[16] This was determined very early, at least from 684 Hegira (1285), upon Ghâzân's appointment as governor of Khorâsân, with prolific minting of dirhams at Isfarain, Bazar, and Nishapur (Hoernle 1889, p. 36, #174-175). In addition, there are coins of Astarâbâd that follow the same formula, but with different designs (like the 'solar hawk') and Shi'ite creed.

[17] Melville 1990, pp. 171-172. The reader is directed to Weiers 1984 for the extra religious invocations that appear with many of the inscriptions.

[18] Fuâd 'Abd al-Muti Sayyâd 1979, p. 28; Bayṭâr 1997, p. 134. The title 'Sulṭân of Islâm' is found on a coin of Mosul dated from the 690s Hegira (1290s, last digit is uncertain). See Aykut 1992, p. 81.

[19] Aykut 1992, p. 73; Seifeddini 1978, p. 225 coin #218. Another from Tabrîz has the inscription *Pâdishâh-i Jahân Sulṭân-i a'ẓam Ghâzân Khân* (Mitchiner 1977, p. 251 coin #1597). Drouin lists a coin with the inscription *Pâdishâh a'ẓam Sulṭân al-A'ẓam Ghâzân Sulṭân Maḥmûd*. See Drouin 1896, p. 533.

[20] The inscription *Pâdshâh-i Islâm Shâhanshâh-i a'ẓam Ghâzân Khân* also is found on fulûs of Iṣfahân (American Numismatic Society accession number 1975.73.78).

[21] Blois 1995, pp. 190-191.

[22] Treadwell 2001, pp. xvi-xvii. By 482 Hegira (1089) the title had a religious context attached to it, illustrated by an inscription from Diyârbakir (Âmid), Turkey, reading "The Supreme Sulṭân, The Great Shâh of Shâhs, The Sulṭân of the Land of God and the King of the countries of God" (Arabic: *al-Sulṭân al-mu'azzam Shâhanshâh al-A'ẓam Sulṭân arḍ Allâh wa Malik bilâd Allâh*). See Berchem 1910, p. 38.

[23] Nitzan and Reuven Amitai-Preiss 1988-1989, p. 124n30. Note that the wording is not based on a Mongolian model, but a regional one. As a slight variation upon *Sulṭân al-arḍ*, the title *Malik al-Arḍ* (King over the Lands) appears for Hülegü on coins struck in Irbil, Iraq, from 657-661 Hegira/1258-1262. See Heidemann 1994, pp. 345-347.

[24] Aykut 1992, p. 47. 'By the Power of God' (Perso-Arabic: *Bi-quvvat Khudây*) was placed first not just to enhance the grandiloquence of *Pâdishâh-i Jahân*, but because it too was official Mongolian nomenclature, for it appeared on the earlier coins at Tiflis from 1247. As shall be seen, this protocol's importance is in its similarity to an expression on Ghâzân's coins.

[25] Gilles Hennequin published an example dated 657 Hegira (1259) struck at Mosul. See Bibliothèque Nationale 1985, p. 263 coin #468. It is impossible that "Lord of the World and Emperor over the Face of the Earth" (*Khudâvând-i 'Âlam/ Pâdishâh-i rûy-i zamîn*) disguised Hülegü himself.

[26] Although hardly indicative of a challenging Turkic influence against the earlier Neo-Persian forms, at that juncture the title *Îlkhân* was introduced.

[27] A slightly different reading might be *Qâ'ân al-A'ẓam Pâdishâh Hûlâkû khân*, as to me 'Pâdishâh' precedes 'Hûlâkû khân.' However, it is not very clear that *Pâdishâh khân* was an act of combining "Persian and nomadic tradition" (Allsen 2001, p. 32), but it is noteworthy that Ghâzân was also referred to as *Pâdshâh khân* in Armenian sources. Conversely, the undated *fulûs* minted at Arzinjân and Sîwâs

with the inscription *Ghâzân Qâ'ân Maḥmûd* point to this sort of confusion as *Qân* was probably intended (with the coin described by Lane-Poole 1881, p. 42, #123 as a correction).

[28] It appears to be the common protocol used by all the Atabegs.

[29] Way down the Persian Gulf at Hormuz, the Qalhâtî amir Nuṣrat b. Maḥmûd (1278-1290) struck dinars as vassal to Qutlugkhânids of Kirmân. One version has the protocol *Qâ'ân Pâdishâh-i 'Âlam* within a circle, the other within a pentafoil, both without naming the ruling Îlkhân.

[30] Although without mint or date, one type of dirham has *Möngke/Qâ'ân al-/A'ẓam* on the obverse and 'Kingship is from the One God, the Subduer (Arabic: *al-Mûlk li'llâh/al-Wahid/al-Qahhâr*) on the reverse. Later the same reverse die is paired with an obverse showing the Jochid *nishan*, the mint name Khwarezm (modern Khiva, Uzbekistan), and a chronogrammatic date of 669 Hegira (1270).

[31] In fact, the whole of the Mongol empire was either minting new coins (Bulghar, Îmil, Otrar, Marw, and many other mint places), had vassal kingdoms minting (Mosul, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Nimruz, Karts of Herât [with their extremely active mints of Herât, Ghazna, Taliqan, and Shafurqan]) or were counterstamping old ones (Bulghar and North China).

[32] Previously, the only published example of a dinar that splits the *shahâda* onto each side of the coin was shown in Fyodorov-Davydov 1960. Fyodorov-Davydov's example was struck at Samarqand in the 650s Hegira (1250s), but in a recent correspondence I have learned from Lutz Ilisch that there is a similar dinar (also of Samarqand) dated to 630 Hegira (in the margins of both sides) in the collection of the University of Tübingen that will appear in a forthcoming publication (SNATüb. XVa, #960; see Ilisch email). These data are interesting as it opens up a whole new dimension in our understanding of the length of striking of this purely civilian or tributary emission of Samarqand, with its purely religious inscriptions omitting mention of an 'Abbâsid Caliph (ruling or posthumous).

[33] See Fyodorov-Davydov 1960, pp. 122-123.

[34] *Üne* 'value and price' plus *tei* 'having/provided,' is sometimes written in two sequences of *te* and semi-vocalic *i*. My thanks to Dr. Kara for this significant clarification. Dr. György Kara. Telephone interview. 14. May 2004.

[35] The study also included the Uygur script rendering of *Öljeitü Sultan*, with the vowel *ö* constructed as an initial *aleph*, medial *waw*, and final *yod*.

[36] Dr. Kara email May 17, 2004. There are numerous renderings, which do not mean anything. Only this example appears productive.

[37] By its brevity, the inscription does not allow a reading of 'Country [of the Great Mongols]' (Mongolian: *Yeke Mongγol-un oron-a*), but it is appealing to note the Turkic rendering in *Âlugh Manqûl Âlûsh* (< *ulugh Mangul ulus*) of the Mongolian National title (< Mong. *Yeke Mongγol Ulus*) that appeared on silver coins struck in the 1240s at mint-places all around the Caspian region. Many of these coins share a comparable flan shape and weight standard (as Seifeddini 1971, type VII) as the "Great Ûrdû" coins.

[38] Here it is worth pointing to the Square Script-Turkic language seal discussed by Farquhar, with its inscription of 'May the Country become Lucky/Rich/Majestic!' (Turkic: *orun qutluγ bolsun*). See Farquhar 1966, pp. 388-389.

[39] Out of a group of 221 complete coins (not including 300 fragments of various sizes), with over 141 of that number accounted by coins of Almalïq mint alone. See Baipakov and Nastich 1981, p. 32. Nastich also gives confusing figures of 151 with 4 fragments. In sum, only 17 examples of the Uygur script variety were found in the Otrar hoard.

[40] There was a city administrator known by a Chinese title *Daifu* (Arabic: *Ṭâifû*) in the employ of Qubilai's opponent, Qaidu. This person probably began his tour of duty in 660 Hegira (1261-1262) at Bukhara with the striking of silver-washed copper coins with Chinese inscriptions, *ke* 'revenue,' or *Buhua* (literally 'no flowers'!), a transliteration of 'Bukhara.' As an important second rank official, usually an army commander, a *Taifu/Daifu* was normally responsible to the *Chengxiang* (in this case, Mas'ûd Beg). See Rashîd al-Dîn 1971, p. 279; see also Schamiloglu 1984, p. 293. These coins were first published in 1826 by Frähn. See Frähn 1826, p. 423, coin #3. E.E. Oliver later published this same coin in 1891. See Oliver 1891, pp. 10-11. The coin is flat with a large flan, and the mint/date formula is in the margins on both the obverse and reverse, and the center of one side reads *sikkat Bukhara*. The date places the coin to the reign of the Chaghatayid Alghu (1261-late 1265/early 1266).

[41] In the era of Mongol hegemony, the Chinese *bao* did not have strictly monetary connotation—it was a political/imperial reference. The nearest example would be the coins of Shîrâz minted for the Salghurid princess Âbish bint Sa'd, having a Chinese inscription of *bao*. See Hebert 1986, p. 31, coins #4-8. This author has also seen coins showing what might be two vaguely schematized Chinese characters, but paired with the S-shaped cipher associated with Mas'ûd (Davidovich 1972, plate 2, number 1, p. 63). There appears what looks like the *bao gai tou*, *wang*, and *er* radicals of *bao*, however, the expected *bei* radical is absent so it cannot be <bao>. In fact, what lies beneath the three is really another *gai tuo* followed by three lines, hence two possible words, not one.

[42] Be that as it may, correct protocol continued to be a problem in the vassal regions, even occurring near the end of Geikhatu's reign, circa 1294-1295. Coins struck at Kirmân under the Qutluykhânid Pâdishâh Khâtûn read *Gaykhâtû/Pâdishâh-i Jahân/Khudâvând-i 'Âlam/Pâdishâh khâtûn*. See Drouin 1896, p. 527.

[43] Political expediency in his relations with Abaγa may have guided it. See Biran 1997, p. 27.

[44] Compare this to the rank of *Shaykh al-Islâm* (Chinese: *Shesilian Yimian*) used in Yuan China, and *Shaykh al-Islâm/Malik al-Islâm* by Muslim leaders in Persia. See Hammer-Purgstall [1842] 1974, p. 65.

[45] For example, in Iran there were undated dirhams minted at Kirmân by the vassal Abû al-Muẓaffar Muḥammad Shâh (1295-1302), naming Ghâzân as *Sulṭân Ghâzân Maḥmûd* (or *Sulṭân al-A'ẓam Ghâzân Maḥmûd*). In Anatolia, the Qaraman Oğulları and Ḥamîd Oğulları, at Konya, Alanya, Larende, Ermenek, Burghlu, Burdur, Manavgad, Süleymanşehir, and others minted dirhams naming Ghâzân as *Sulṭân Maḥmûd*. Some of those have the inscription *Khân al-mu'aẓẓam Ghâzân Sulṭân Maḥmûd* (Ölçer 1986, pp. 4-7), *Khân-i a'ẓam Qâzân Sulṭân Maḥmûd*, or *Khân-i a'ẓam Ghâzân Sulṭân Maḥmûd* (Kürkman and Diler 1981, p. 45). Most of these are dated 699 Hegira (1299-1300). See Aykut 1992, pp. 76-79; Izmirlier 2003, p. 60. See also Hinrichs 1996, p. 26.

[46] Kramers 1997, p. 850. That status notwithstanding, the Mamluks were extremely sensitive to the issue of who was the true Muslim and who was not, or who had the *khuṭba* read in his name or who did not. They also have the distinction (under Baybars I, 1260-1277) of installing Abû al-Qâsim Aḥmad, the son of al-Ẓâhir and uncle of al-Mustanṣir (both former caliphs), as a puppet 'Abbâsid caliph at Cairo, in order to have their legitimacy sanctioned by his authority.

[47] More balanced are the views expressed by Muḥammad ibn 'Alî Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqâ, who favorably described the sincerity of Ghâzân's conversion in his *al-Fakhrî fî al-âdâb al-sulṭânîyah wa-al-duwal al-Islâmîyah*, noting Ghâzân's presence at recitations from the *Qur'ân* as well as the utmost respect he paid to Moslem scholars (Arabic: *'ulamâ'*). See Wu Painan 1974, pp. 4-5.

[48] It even continued to put pressure on Ghâzân's successor Öljeitü, who made his announcement as *Öljeitü Sultan* more quietly by placing an Uygur script version on coins inconspicuously in the outer margins of the coin design with the Arabic inscriptions and not in the central cartouche. It was only much later during the demise of the Îlkhânate when that paradigm shifted, almost desperately, raising *Sulṭân* as the paramount expression of legitimacy, such as when the Îlkhânid claimant Taghai Temür (1338-1353) minted coins with the Mongolian transliteration *Sultan adal* (< Perso-Arabic: *Sulṭân 'âdil*, 'Just Sulṭân'). Drouin had also listed a coin of the puppet Îlkhân Sulaymân (1339-1344) with the same transliteration (Drouin 1896, p. 540).

[49] The Middle Mongolian version *Sultan Amed/Amad* cuts horizontally between the Arabic *Qâ'ân A'ẓam/Îlkhân al-mu'aẓẓam*. See al-Bakrî 1967, p. 219; See also Aykut 1976, p. 10 (a color photo of the previous appears in Aykut 1992, p. 60). Just from published examples I have counted at least three varieties of the Middle Mongolian rendering, differing by ornaments beneath *Îlkhân al-mu'aẓẓam* (one showing a 'heart-shaped knot' ornament, another a star, and a third omitting ornaments). The reverse sides with the *shahâda* are somewhat more diverse: some show a 'v' or fleur-de-lis placed above and an eight-point star following the word *rasûl* and combinations are met with (i.e., no star, just 'v'; no 'v' just star); show or omit a star above *Allâh*, or omit *Allâh*; show or omit a six-point star or 'symmetrical scroll' ornament below the Arabic *Sulṭân Aḥmad*. Based on this observation, it can be inferred that the type must have been a prolific issue.

[50] Ashtor 1976, p. 255; Gilli-Elewy 2000, p. 153. Probably this was a move to force the hoarded silver back into government hands. The called-in fulûs, referred to as *al-fulûs an-nuḥâs* ('copper fulûs'), were to be replaced with *fulûs fiḍḍa* that were to be exchanged 12:1 to the dirham (that is to say, 12 *fulûs fiḍḍa* to the dirham, without showing how many *al-fulûs an-nuḥâs* were to the *fulûs fiḍḍa*). These "silver fulûs" also received the name *danâkish*. It was just a name game.

[51] Proven by the fact that in the following year, upon Aḥmad's demise, fulûs worth 30 to the dirham was introduced.

[52] The difficult or problematic nature of the Middle Mongolian rendering is demonstrated by the many misreadings of it, such as Hoernle 1889, p. 37, #178 and Raschad 1976, p. 25.

[53] Aubin 1995, p. 31; see also Amitai-Preiss 2001, p. 29. The major component of the change was Aḥmad's identification as *sulṭân*, and not just on his coinage. Also, the reading of a copper *fals* shown in Mitchiner 1977, p. 250 coin #1582 should be mentioned here. While the coin is placed with Arghun because he is named on its obverse, the reverse has the title 'sulṭân' next to a left-facing hare with the *shahâda*

around, but the rest is effaced. However, Seifeddini gives a reading for the same type as *Îlkhân al-mu'azzam/Arghûn khân* (cf. p. 214, coin #205). If Arghun had been identified as 'sulṭân' on that series of coins, it was undoubtedly corrected to the latter.

[54] Melville, however, claims that the expression *sulṭân* was used only in Ghâzân's diplomatic correspondence to the Mamluks, directed purely on religious grounds. See Melville 1992, pp. 198-199.

[55] As it was already well known to Vaṣṣâf that Aḥmad could not lawfully call himself *qan*, he was able only to content himself with acknowledgement as a senior member, i.e. 'older brother' of the ruling house (Mongolian: *aqa*).

[56] In the same vein, edicts that read "Order of the *Sulṭân Maḥmûd Khân*" surely were only for internal consumption. See Howorth 1888, p. 523. Furthermore, Ayalon's observation of references to Berke, who is rarely called *sulṭân* in Mamluk sources (Ayalon 1972, p. 152), shows the distinct lack of any political recognition to the title and a semantical difference between the adjectives *a'ẓam* and *mu'azzam* mirrors that point as well: coin issues at Kirmân read *Sulṭân al-mu'azzam/Îlkhân al-A'ẓam/Ghâzân Maḥmûd* (Seifeddini 1978, p. 231, coin #233); *a'ẓam* ("great") is the paramount adjective. The Ḥamîd Oğulları also frequently exchanged *a'ẓam* with *mu'azzam* ("supreme") on the coins.

[57] Since it comes in the era of such titles for him, it is entirely possible that this emission refers solely to Ghâzân with its inscription of *Pâdishâh al-A'ẓam/Sulṭân Maḥmûd/Ghâzân khân*. See Kapanadze 1955, p. 82, coin #101; Lang 1955, p. 50; Seifeddini 1978, p. 225, coin #219. However, the ensuing issues of Vaxtang III points to it as signifying the *Qa'an*.

[58] From the coin evidence both were equally invoking the *Qa'an* on different occasions, such as when *Pâdshâh-i al-'Âdil* was proclaimed on Toqtâ's dirhams during 710-715 Hegira (1310-1315).

[59] This type was prolifically struck for a long time at many mints (Tiflis, Marw, etc.). An additional series of coins, mostly from mints in Khorâsân (Astarâbâd, Damghân, etc.), have the inscription *Qâ'ân Pâdishâh ghâzî* in a hexagram on one side and the *shahâda* within a square border on the other. Later, *Qâ'ân Pâdishâh* was abbreviated to just 'Pâdishâh,' and Arghun's name is added underneath. There should be no mistaking that it is a reference to both the *Qa'an* and Arghun, because there are similar coins with the inscription *Qâ'ân/Arghûn*. See Hoernle 1889, p. 38, #180; Mitchiner 1977, p. 250 coin #1579.

[60] Observe also the birchbark fragment from Jochid territory in the Volga region with the expression *tngri-yin*. See Poppe 1972, p. 83, fragment XI.

[61] The Persian *Âfaridigâr* in the latter is a rare stand-in for *Khudây*, seen on an early silver coin without mint or date (see Fig. I1, Plate VI), that currently is attributed to the region of Khorâsân by the American Numismatic Society (ANS accession number 1996.100.3). There are several die varieties, suggesting a sizable minting. The reverse of the coin invokes the 'Abbâsid Caliph al-Mustanṣir (1226-1242) as *amîr al-mu'minîn* (the protocollary title 'commander of the believers'). However, this may be a posthumous citation given the issues struck at Tiflis in 1247 as noted earlier.

[62] Intriguingly, Öljeitü's conversion to Twelver Shiism is seen on deliberate overstrikes of the Shi'ite creed, both on own early emissions (which had the ordinary

Sunni formula), and his predecessor's money. The overstrikes on Ghâzân's coins either show the Shi'ite creed placed over the slogan *Tngri-yin küčüntür*, or over the Sunni formula (the latter can be seen on an example in Fearey, et al. 1973, plate 56, #3). The die for these overstrikes usually is from the court mint Bazar, but not always fully readable as the design is often blended into the undertype, half-and-half. Yet, there should be some doubt that there was an intended religious message by overstriking. The most likely reason for it is that, under Öljeitü, a revaluation of monies that were still in the treasury (both his and Ghâzân's) was necessitated. In fact, it is quite common to then find Öljeitü's coins overstruck by his son Abû Sa'îd, a practice carried down to the end of the Îlkhânate.

[63] Hülegü's *bi-quwwat Allâh al-qadîm* harkens back to *Khudây qadîm* in Güyüg's letter, and its Latin translation of *per virtutem eterni Dei* opened a letter sent by Möngke to Louis IX in 1255 (Voegelin 1941, p. 391).

[64] As 'Heaven-on-High' (Mongolian *degere tngri*). It also has a Latin version in *per potentiam Dei excelsi* 'By the Power of God on High,' in Eljigidei's letter to Louis IX (Voegelin 1941, p. 390) with the Persian form as *Khudây ta'âlâ*.

[65] The Mamluk Baybars addressed the beginning of his letter to Abaya in precisely the same way: *bi-quwwat Allâh ta'âlâ*, but added *bi-iqbâl-i Sulṭân al-A'ẓam Baybars al-Ṣâliḥî* "By the Fortune of the Great Sultan Baybars al-Ṣâliḥî" and it is no mere parody. See Amitai-Preiss 1994, pp. 29-30 for the letter.

[66] It additionally diminishes his address of him as "Sulṭân Aḥmad."

[67] The line of reasoning that its importance lies in its lack of reference to the *Qa'an* or title *ilqan* actually is inconsequential. See Allsen 2001, p. 32. Furthermore, to just write that the document "employs his (=Ghâzân's) personal name alone" misses the profoundness of it altogether. See Allsen 1991b, p. 231. In fact, the document employs Ghâzân's Chinese character conferment seal (Cleaves and Mostaert 1952, doc. C, plate 3 and 7A).

[68] There are also marks placed at the end of *küčüntür* (knots, stars, flowers, etc.).

[69] In fact, one is on a dinar struck at the mint of Hamadân in 405 Hegira (1014) by the Bûyid Shams al-Dawla. See Treadwell 2001, p. 175.

[70] Treadwell 2001, pp. 60-63. What's more, the ornament found of coins of the Bûyid Fakhr al-Dawla struck at Astârâbâd in 384 Hegira (994)—see Treadwell 2001, p. 239—is similar to a device seen on dirhams minted at Ḥamâh, citing Caliph al-Mustaḍî', dated 572 Hegira (1176-1177) and struck by the first Ayyûbid of Syria, Saladin (Ṣalâḥ al-Dîn 1171-1193; see American Numismatic Society accession number 1998.91.1). It additionally employs the appendage-like figures to the main symbol.

[71] The copper patterns read *Yiguo yanchang* and *Yifan jichang*, but were never put into circulation in Persia (See Fig. J1, Plate VI). *Yi* is a calque for *îl/el*, and *fan* denotes a border of and/or extension of the central *ulus* (the Yuan).

[72] It would be convenient to ascribe the introduction of the Square Script at the Îlkhânate court to the official Bolad Aqa. The circumstantial evidence in his favor consists of: his arrival in Iran by late 1285; his assisting on political and financial matters for twenty-eight years until his death in 1313; his distinction of being Rashîd al-Dîn's "chief informant on Mongolian history and tradition;" and the fact that he was sent directly by Qubilai himself. See Allsen 1991a, pp. 30-31. There were, however, earlier ambassadors sent to the Îlkhânid court. Moreover attributing the introduction of the Square Script to Bolad Aqa leaves open the questions of which

emissary introduced Toqtâ's later use of the Script Script—indeed in a beautiful rendering that outmatched anything on Ghâzân's coins—and its later appearance (ca. mid-fourteenth century) on the birchbark fragments edited by Poppe (1972, p. 83, fragment XI).

[73] Likewise, Toqtâ's Square Script on his coins could be a late response that follows upon Ghâzân's trailblazing move.

[74] While Sheila S. Blair took care to describe the Mongolian inscription on Ghâzân's coins, she omitted mention of the three Square Script characters as if they did not exist. See Blair 1983, p. 296.

[75] In the correspondence cited by Lang, Clauson recognized this fact, saying, "As regards Ghazan's nishan, I have no doubt that it is in hP'ags-pa, written by someone who had gotten the alphabet, but had never seen it written continuously," and "were designed by someone with highly imperfect knowledge of the hP'ags-pa script." See Lang 1955, pp. 53-54.

[76] Henry Serruys observed: "In Mongol, b- often alternates with m-, and Baqamu or Maqamu (sic, Mongolian transcription) is the same as Ma-ha-mu (sic, Chinese transcription), Mahmud (sic, Persian transcription), of the Ming-shih 327:6b." See Serruys 1958, p. 359.

[77] Mantaro J. Hashimoto noted that Poppe agreed the medial character has a sound value of the Arabic equivalent of "q" (i.e. *qâf*). See Hashimoto 1967, p. 170.

[78] An aspirated /k'/ is strictly distinguished in both Uygur script and Square Script.

[79] /q/ (derived from the Tibetan letter marking a voiceless aspirated guttural: *kh*) is used in Mongolian and Turkic texts for words with back vowels. Kara email March 14, 2002.

[80] On a number of issues, the Square Script was grossly misspelled and misshapen. See Seifeddini 1968, p. 202, coin #16. Some of these might be later imitations.

[81] See Bahrain Government Homepage, coin #155.

[82] The correct version is *Lâ ilâh illâ Allâh Muhammad rasûl Allâh ṣallâ Allâh 'alayhi wasallam*. The following coins all show *'alayhi Allâh ṣallâ wasallam*: Lu'lu'a (702 Hegira/1302: Aykut 1992, p. 145, coin #207), Tiflis (698 Hegira/1298: Album 2001, p. 32 coin #633, a significant detail not included by the cataloger Stephen Album), Shushtar (701Hegira/1301: Internet), Begbazar (69X Hegira overstruck, omitting *wasallam*. Reverse as Aykut 1992, p. 141, coin #171, Gümüşpazar, 701 Hegira/1301, with *deledkegülüg-yin* (sic): author's coin).

[83] Usually appearing in Square Script as *ye-ḵä* (i.e., *Möŋ-k'a Deŋ-ri-yin k'u-č'un-dür ye-ḵä su ja-li-yin ·i-hän-dur*).

[84] The illustration is taken from the website of the Xian Jin Quan Coin Museum.

[85] Two Chinese authors offered eight examples of what they think are three possible pronunciations of this word: four are *juan*; three are *quan*; and one is *guan*. See Hai and Jin 1985, p. 75. Only the last is possible. However, they were the only ones to correctly identify it as Square Script; previously Xuan Sen, another Chinese author, had argued it was Latin. See Xuan Sen 1984, pp. 54-56. In any case, *guan* refers to a string of 1000 cash denominated in paper money.

[86] Attested clearly on a seal of a *daruγachi*, written in Square Script as *gon liŋ bun/thiw hįjuŋ/heiŋ dhiŋ lu/min tsįaŋ da/ru qa č'i jin*. See Zhaonasitu 2002, p. 85.

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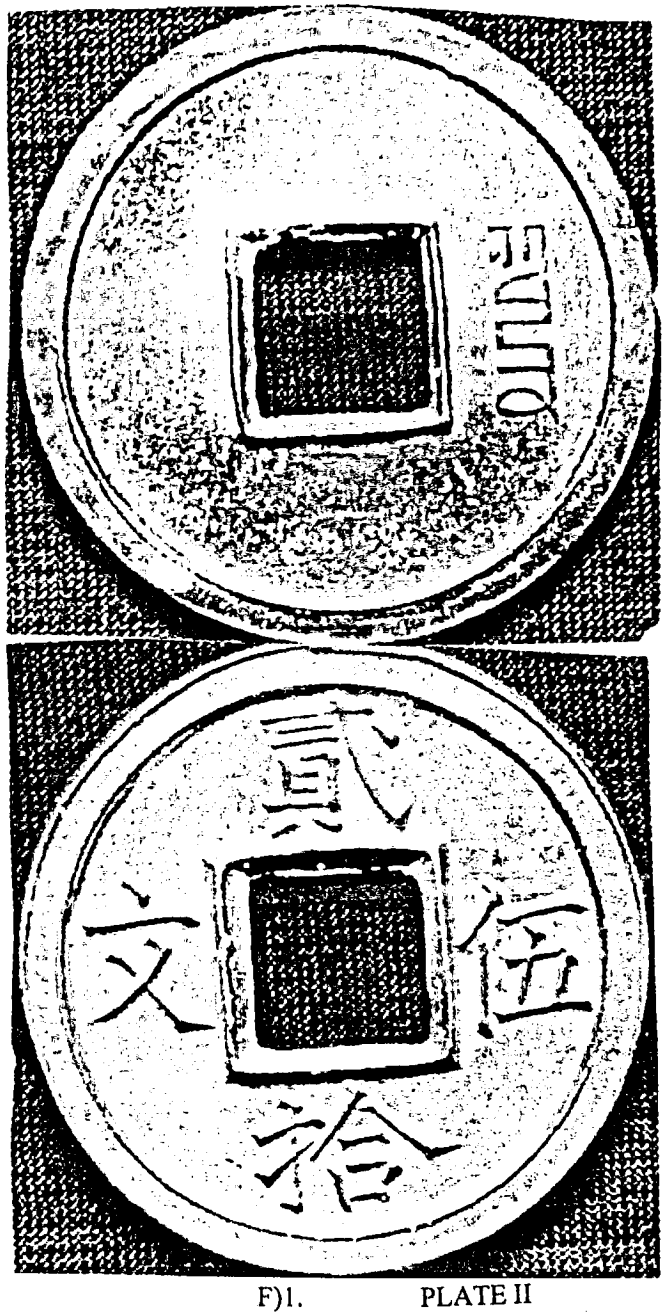
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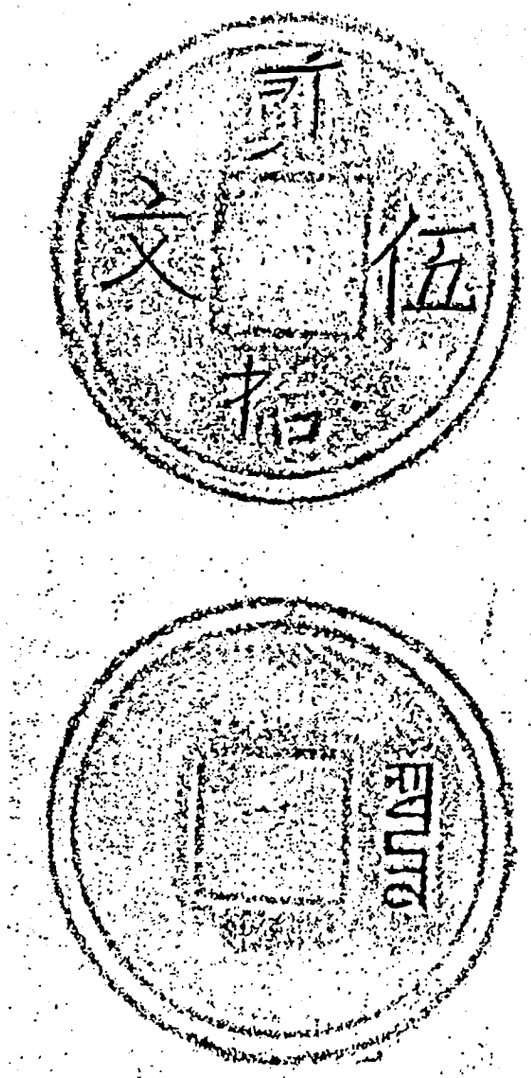
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PLATE I

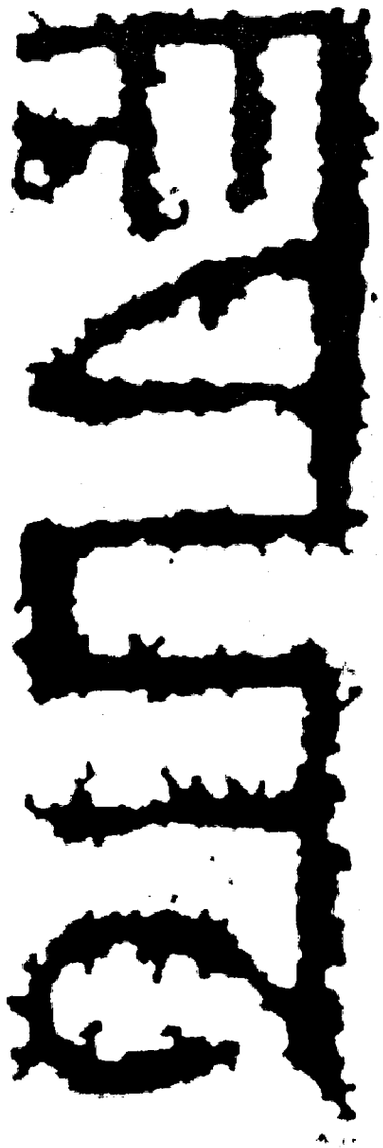


F)1. PLATE II

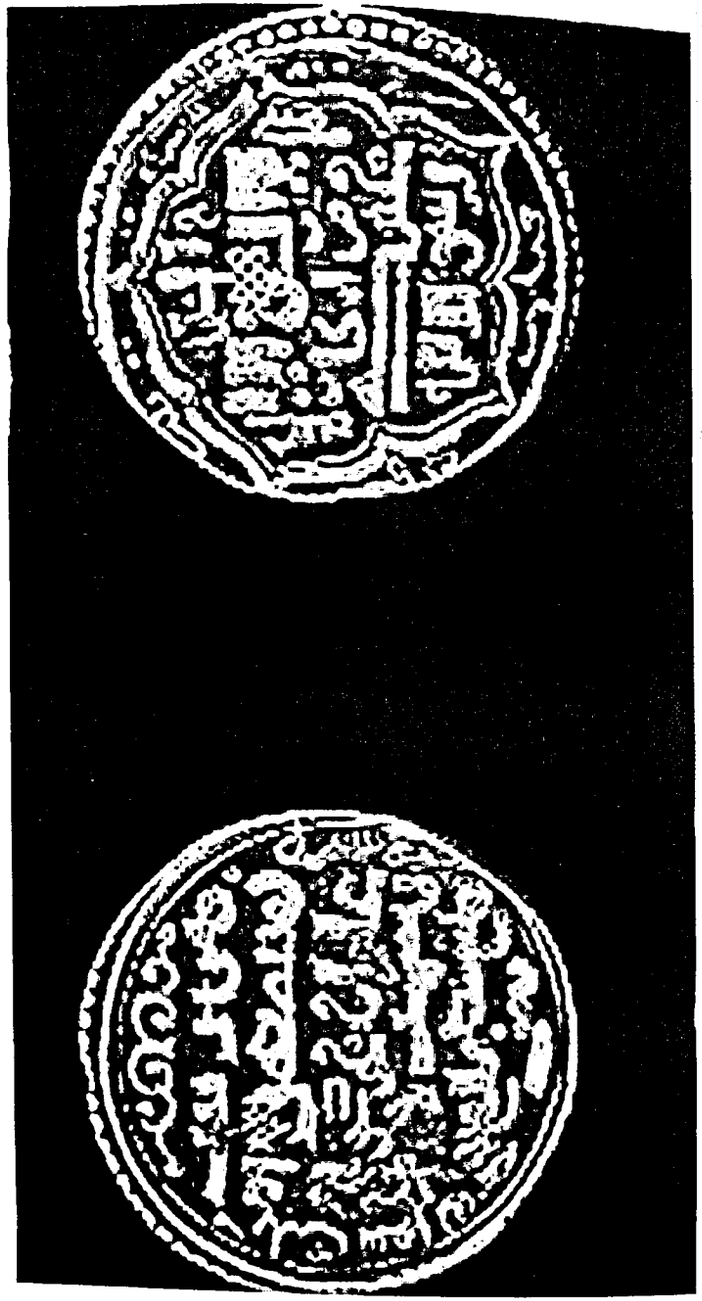


F)1.a.

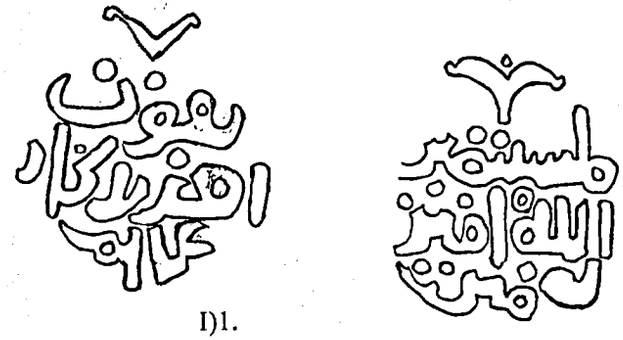
PLATE III



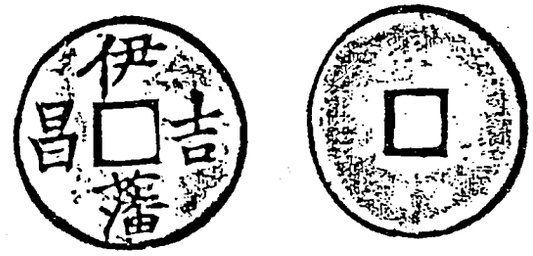
G)1. PLATE IV



H)1. PLATE V



I)1.



J)1 -

PLATE VI



FIG-K

PLATE VII

Poetry

On October 23, 2003, poet and public intellectual Luvsandamba Dashnyam, then a writer in residence in the University of Iowa with the William B. Quarton International Writing Program Scholarship, gave a reading of poems at Indiana University. We present here three pieces co-translated by L. Dashnyam, Chad Chmielowicz, and Katherine R. Ives.

Movie Fragment

A large porcelain vase, with floral patterns strangely beautiful enough to make the sun turn its face away in modesty and shame, fell heavily to the floor and shattered into fragments.

The pieces wept and cursed.

The gilded toes of sharp black boots crunched over the shards as they walked quickly, quickly around the table.

Soon, wool slippers, dappled like the wispy feathers of goslings, came timorously, as though their courage had fallen to the ground, and stopped by the table.

Tall slippers, ready to kick, refrained, rapidly, rapidly walked to and fro, hurrying here and there. Then, out the door, without knowing where they would end, went tapping, tapping on the long corridor.

Music began. Like the hiss of bare feet walking on a red-hot iron...

L. Dashnyam