

Publications of the Institute  
for the History of Arabic-Islamic Science

Numismatics  
of the  
Islamic World  
Volume 46

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Institute for the History of  
Arabic-Islamic Science

Edited by  
Fuat Sezgin

NUMISMATICS  
OF THE  
ISLAMIC WORLD

Volume 46

Coins and Coinage  
of  
Iran

Studies  
Collected and Reprinted

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2004

Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Science  
at the Johann Wolfgang Goethe University  
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OF  
IRAN

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Fuat Sezgin

in Collaboration with  
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50 copies printed

ISSN 1611-1869

ISBN 3-8298-8059-6 (Coins and Coinage of Iran, Vol. I-II)

ISBN 3-8298-8057-X (Coins and Coinage of Iran, Vol. I)

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Institut für Geschichte der Arabisch-Islamischen Wissenschaften

Westendstrasse 89, D-60325 Frankfurt am Main

[web.uni-frankfurt.de/fb13/igaiw](http://web.uni-frankfurt.de/fb13/igaiw)

Federal Republic of Germany

Printed in Germany by

Strauss Offsetdruck, D-69509 Mörlenbach

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*Observations sur une formule employée dans les légendes de diverses monnaies persanes ; par M. le baron SILVESTRE DE SACY.*

M. Reinaud, dans le tome I de sa *Description des monumens musulmans du cabinet de M. le duc de Blacas*, parlant du douzième imam, Mohammed, fils de Hasan, qui disparut à l'âge de douze ans, et qui, suivant l'opinion des Musulmans, doit reparaître un jour pour rétablir la pureté de l'islamisme et assurer son triomphe, s'est exprimé en ces termes : « En attendant (qu'il reparaisse), disent ses partisans, le monde s'est trouvé sans maître, ou plutôt ceux qui l'ont gouverné, n'ont commandé que provisoirement. »

---

» Telle était la croyance des rois de Perse de la dynas-  
 » tie des Sofis. Ils ne se regardaient que comme les  
 » lieutenans et les esclaves de l'imam, et il est fait allu-  
 » sion à ce point dans le titre d'*esclaves du roi du*  
 » *pays*, qui se lit sur leurs sceaux et sur leurs monnaies.  
 » Aussi, dans leur palais à Ispahan, ils tenaient tou-  
 » jours deux chevaux enbarnachés, et prêts à recevoir  
 » l'imam dès qu'il lui plairait de venir exercer l'autorité  
 » qui lui appartient. L'un était pour l'imam, et l'autre  
 » pour Jésus-Christ, qui doit être son généralissime. »  
 Suivant une note jointe à ce texte, le titre d'*esclave*  
*du roi du pays* est, en persan, شاه ولايت بنده ; il fal-  
 lait écrire بنده شاه ولايت, mais la transposition du  
 mot بنده n'est vraisemblablement qu'une faute d'im-  
 pression.

En admettant que dans cette formule le mot ولايت  
 veut dire effectivement *le pays*, c'est-à-dire le royaume  
 de Perse, on peut mettre en question si, sous le titre  
 de *roi du pays*, il faut entendre effectivement, comme  
 l'a pensé M. Reinaud, *l'imam attendu*, le *Mehdi*, ou  
 s'il n'est pas plus convenable d'appliquer ce titre pom-  
 peux à *l'imam Ali Riza*, pour lequel les Persans pro-  
 fessent un respect qui va presque jusqu'à l'idolâtrie, à  
 cet imam dont la sépulture à Meschhed, dans le Kho-  
 rasan, est un lieu de pèlerinage plus fréquenté par les  
 Schiites que la Mecque et Médine. La seconde suppo-  
 sition pourrait paraître d'autant plus probable que les  
 rois de Perse se qualifient quelquefois, sur leurs mon-  
 naies, du titre de *chien du seuil d'Ali Riza*. Aussi  
 est-ce l'application que j'ai faite des mots شاه ولايت

que j'ai traduits par *monarque de l'empire*, dans un petit article que j'ai fourni, il y a bien des années, à M. de Bonneville, lequel en a fait usage dans son *Traité des Monnaies d'or et d'argent qui circulent chez les différens peuples, &c.* Paris, 1806. C'est aussi à l'imam Ali Riza que M. Ol. G. Tychsen, dans son *Introductio in rem numariam Muhammedanorum* et dans son *Additamentum primum*, a rapporté ce titre ainsi que celui de خان *khan*, qui se lit sur une monnaie où le prince est qualifié de خان غلام *page* ou *serviteur du khan*. M. Marsden, dans le tome II de l'ouvrage intitulé *Numismata orientalia*, a pareillement appliqué à Ali Riza le même titre, qu'il a mal à propos traduit par *roi du monde* (*servus regis mundi*).

Une opinion qui était appuyée de tant d'autorités, ne m'avait jusqu'ici inspiré aucune défiance, quoique, à dire vrai, il y eût quelque raison de s'étonner que l'on eût employé le mot ولايت, pour désigner l'*empire de Perse*. C'est M. Charmoy qui, à l'occasion du passage cité plus haut de l'ouvrage de M. Reinaud, m'a fait l'observation que je vais rapporter dans ses propres termes. « Je crois, m'écrivait-il le 21 octobre 1830, » qu'ici le mot ولايت ne signifie pas *le pays*, mais » qu'il doit être considéré comme le nom d'action de » la racine ولي, et pris dans le sens de *qualité d'ami* » *de Dieu*. Dans ce cas, le titre de بندداده شاه ولايت » devrait se rendre par *serviteur de celui à qui est* » *dévolu le titre d'ami de Dieu*, c'est-à-dire, *servi-* » *teur d'Ali*. M. Reinaud sait tout aussi bien que moi

» que ce successeur de Mahomet est surnommé **ولی الله**, *l'ami de Dieu*, et comme les rois de Perse de la maison des Sosis professaient le plus grand respect pour le gendre du Prophète, puisqu'ils prenaient encore le titre de **کلب آستان علی** *chien de garde du seuil d'Ali* (ce que prouve l'inscription qui se lit sur le premier feuillet de la plupart des manuscrits provenant de la bibliothèque d'Ardebil), je pense qu'il n'est pas fait allusion à Mohammed Mehdi, le dernier des imams, mais bien à Ali lui-même. »

L'observation de M. Charmoy m'ayant paru d'une vérité frappante, j'ai cru devoir consulter le grand ouvrage publié par M. Fræhn, sous le titre de *Recensio numorum Muhammedanorum Academiae imp. scient. Petropolitanae*, et j'ai reconnu, 1.<sup>o</sup> que le titre de **شاه ولایت بنده** a été traduit et commenté par lui, en cette manière, *servus regis velijatūs (s. vicariatūs divini, id. e. servus Alyi ben Abi-Talib WELY-ALLAHI, s. vices Dei in terra sustinentis)*; 2.<sup>o</sup> que l'application faite du titre de **شاه ولایت** au khalife Ali, et non à l'imam Ali Riza, est pleinement justifiée par des monnaies de la même dynastie, sur lesquelles le prince régnant prenait le titre de **غلام علی بن ابی طالب** *page ou domestique d'Ali, fils d'Abou-Taleb*, ou celui de **کلب امیر المومنین** *chien du prince des croyans*, ce qui ne peut s'entendre que du khalife Ali; 3.<sup>o</sup> que sur les monnaies frappées à Meschhed, on lit quelquefois **کلب آستان علی** *chien du seuil d'Ali*, ce qui doit s'entendre de l'imam Ali Riza

dont la sépulture est dans cette ville : cette application est prouvée surabondamment par des pièces qui portent tout au long les noms de cet imam, *Ali Riza, fils de Mousa*, et qui ont été frappées, soit à Meschhed, soit dans d'autres villes, à Rescht, par exemple.

Je reste donc convaincu qu'aucun de ces titres employés sur les monnaies de Perse, ne s'applique au Mehdi, à l'imam attendu, et que, s'il est fait mention de cet imam sur quelques monnaies persanes, postérieures à Nadir-schah, c'est seulement sous le titre de صاحب الزمان *le maître du siècle*.

Mais il y a encore, ce me semble, une question à faire sur le sens du mot ولايت, que M. Fræhn a traduit par *vicariatûs divini*, et par lequel M. Charmoy entend la *qualité d'ami de Dieu*. Il est évident que le mot *wilayèt* ولايت étant l'abstrait de *wéli* ولي, la solution de cette question dépend absolument du sens qu'on attache au mot *wéli* ولي, dans cette formule qui est comme le cachet des Schiites, على ولي الله, *Ali est le WELI de Dieu*. M. Fræhn rend d'ordinaire les mots ولي الله par *vicarius Dei*; quelquefois il conserve le mot arabe sans le traduire; une seule fois (p. 620), il s'exprime avec doute, en disant : *amicus vel vicarius Dei*. Je crois que dans cette formule le mot *wéli* ولي signifie *amicus*, et voici mes raisons.

Le mot *wéli* ولي, dont l'abstrait est *wilayèt* ولايت, n'indique par lui-même qu'une relation de *proximité*, et c'est de cette signification primitive que découlent les acceptions nombreuses et variées de la racine ولي,

et de ses dérivés. L'auteur de l'ouvrage connu sous le nom de تعريفات, c'est-à-dire *Définitions*, ouvrage qui est un dictionnaire des termes techniques de théologie, de philosophie, de jurisprudence, de grammaire, de prosodie, et surtout de mysticisme, explique ainsi le mot *wilayèt* ولايت, dans ses différentes acceptions :

« Le mot *wilayèt* vient de *wéli* qui signifie *proche* :  
» c'est une parenté (ou plutôt une affinité) légale,  
» produite par l'affranchissement ou par l'admission  
» dans une famille étrangère (1). On appelle *wila* le  
» droit qu'un homme a à une succession, soit par suite  
» de l'affranchissement d'un individu qui était sa pro-  
» priété, ou par l'effet d'un contrat d'admission dans  
» une famille étrangère. *Wilayèt* signifie l'état d'un  
» homme qui a son existence en Dieu, étant mort par  
» le renoncement à lui-même. Dans le style de la  
» loi (politique), *wilayèt* veut dire *rendre son au-*  
» *torité exécutoire par rapport aux autres*, qu'ils  
» le veulent ou qu'ils ne le veulent pas. »

Je dois transcrire ici le texte de ces définitions.

الولاية من الولي وهو القرب (القريب) فهى قرابة

---

(1) Le contrat dont il s'agit ici a lieu quand un individu dont la famille est inconnue, dit à un autre dont la famille est connue, en formant une liaison avec lui : Si je commets un crime qui m'expose à une peine, l'amende sera à la charge de ceux de vos parents qui répondent de vous, et si j'acquiers quelque bien, il vous appartiendra après ma mort. Celui qui propose ce contrat se nomme *meola*, le contrat lui-même *mowalat*, et l'individu qui accepte le contrat, *meola 'Imowalat*.



» où l'homme est anéanti en Dieu et demeure en lui ;  
» le *wéli* est l'homme anéanti en Dieu et demeurant  
» en lui.

» Abou-Ali Djouzdjani a dit : *Le WELI est celui*  
» *qui est anéanti et mort par rapport à son propre*  
» *état, qui subsiste dans la contemplation de Dieu,*  
» *qui ne peut plus rien dire de son existence indi-*  
» *viduelle, et qui ne saurait être en repos avec au-*  
» *cun autre que Dieu.*

» Ibrahim, fils d'Adham, dit un jour à quelqu'un :  
» *Voulez-vous être WELI ?* *Oui*, répondit cet homme.  
» *Eh bien!* reprit Ibrahim, *ne désirez aucune chose*  
» *de la vie présente ni de la vie future; videz-vous,*  
» *pour Dieu seul, de toute autre chose, et approchez-*  
» *vous de lui. (C'est-à-dire :)* Ne désirez ni ce monde,  
» ni l'autre ; car tout désir de ces choses-là détourne  
» de Dieu. Détachez-vous de tout, pour l'amour du  
» maître souverain ; ne permettez pas qu'aucune chose  
» de ce monde ou de l'autre ait entrée dans votre  
» cœur ; tournez le visage de votre cœur vers Dieu ;  
» quand vous en serez venu à posséder toutes ces qua-  
» lités-là, vous serez *wéli*. »

Djami cite ensuite un passage d'un des traités les plus célèbres du mysticisme, dont l'auteur, nommé *Abou'lkasem Abd-alkérim Koschaïri*, écrivait vers le milieu du cinquième siècle de l'hégire : « Le mot *wéli*, dit Koschaïri, a deux sens : suivant l'un des deux, c'est un adjectif verbal de la forme *فعل* *fa'il*, dans le sens passif, et il signifie *celui dont Dieu prend les intérêts*, ainsi qu'il est dit : *Dieu prend soin des*



» *gens de bien* (1). Dieu ne laisse pas un tel homme,  
 » un seul instant, abandonné à lui-même; mais il se  
 » charge en personne d'avoir soin de lui. Suivant l'au-  
 » tre sens, c'est un adjectif verbal de la même forme  
 » *فعل* *fa'il*, dans le sens actif avec énergie, et cela  
 » signifie *celui qui se livre au culte de Dieu* et aux  
 » bonnes œuvres que Dieu a commandées; qui se fait  
 » du service de Dieu une occupation continuelle, la-  
 » quelle n'est interrompue par aucun acte de désobéis-  
 » sance. Ces deux qualités doivent nécessairement se  
 » trouver dans le *wéli*, en sorte qu'il ait droit à cette  
 » dénomination, et par sa fidélité constante et parfaite  
 » à s'acquitter de tous ses devoirs envers Dieu, et par  
 » le soin continu que Dieu prend de le conserver  
 » (exempt de péché), dans la prospérité comme dans  
 » l'adversité: car c'est une condition nécessaire de l'é-  
 » tat de *wilayèt*, que le *wéli* soit conservé (exempt  
 » de péché), comme c'est une condition nécessaire  
 » (de la mission prophétique), que le prophète soit  
 » préservé (des fautes mêmes les plus légères); en ef-  
 » fet, toute personne dans laquelle la loi trouve quel-  
 » que chose à reprendre, est un homme séduit et  
 » trompé (2). »

Il y a dans ces passages plusieurs termes techniques  
 de la doctrine mystique, dont l'explication m'entraîne-

(1) *Alcoran*, sur. VII, vers. 195, édit. de Hinckelmann.

(2) A l'égard d'un *wéli*, la préservation divine se nomme *حفظ*; à l'égard d'un prophète, elle se nomme *عصمة*. La première es-  
 pèce ne garantit pas de toute faute, à la différence de la seconde;  
 mais elle garantit de la persévérance dans le péché.

rait trop loin. Je me borne à faire observer que, dans le langage de cette secte, le mot *état* حال, et au pluriel احوال, signifie un *état surnaturel* ou *extatique*, essentiellement passager et de peu de durée, qu'on compare souvent à un éclair.

Il y a sans doute dans les développemens donnés par les mystiques au sens des mots *wéli* et *wilayèt*, des subtilités qu'on ne doit point considérer comme appartenant au langage ordinaire; mais ce qui doit fixer l'attention, c'est qu'il n'y a dans tout cela rien qui suggère l'idée de *lieutenant* ou *vicaire*. *Wéli*, et au pluriel *ewliya*, est un nom ou une épithète qui s'applique à tous ceux qui, par une vie sainte et contemplative, s'efforcent de s'approcher de Dieu, de s'unir intimement à lui, et de mériter ses faveurs spéciales. C'est assurément dans le même sens que les Schiïtes ou sectateurs d'Ali, même les moins enthousiastes, emploient en parlant de ce khalife, gendre du Prophète, et qu'ils considèrent comme son successeur légitime, le titre de *wéli*, c'est-à-dire *d'ami de Dieu*, et c'est parce qu'ils le regardent comme ayant un droit spécial à cette honorable qualification, et possédant cette qualité au degré le plus éminent, qu'ils le nomment le *roi du wilayèt* شاه ولايت, c'est-à-dire celui qui est le chef et le premier entre tous les amis de Dieu.

Ce qui a pu faire penser que *wéli* signifiait *vicaire* ou *lieutenant*, c'est peut-être l'usage de ce même mot dans l'expression composée ولي العهد, qu'on emploie pour désigner le *successeur reconnu au trône*, du vivant du prince auquel il doit succéder, titre dont

l'abstrait est ولاية العهد. Mais ici c'est bien plutôt le mot العهد, que le mot ولي, qui détermine la signification. Le mot عهد signifie *pacte, promesse, engagement, serment*, et je pense que le titre donné au successeur reconnu, signifie, à la lettre, qu'il a, après le prince régnant, le droit le *plus proche*, le droit immédiat à l'*obligation* de soumission et d'obéissance, contractée par les sujets dont il a, en cette qualité, reçu les sermens.

Puisque j'ai parlé de ces états surnaturels ou extatiques auxquels aspirent les mystiques musulmans, et qu'ils appellent حال *état*, quand ils sont passagers, et مقام *station*, lorsqu'ils sont passés en habitude et devenus fixes et durables, je renverrai les personnes qui voudraient se faire une idée du prix que ces enthousiastes y attachent, aux premières pages de l'ouvrage publié en arabe et en latin par Ed. Pococke, sous le titre de *Philosophus autodidactus*, et dont S. Ockley a donné une traduction anglaise en 1708. On pourra aussi connaître par la lecture de l'introduction du philosophe arabe, le sens du mot wilayèt, que Pococke a rendu en latin par *conjunctio*, et Ockley en anglais par *union*. Toute cette matière recevra, je l'espère, un nouveau jour par la publication prochaine des *Prolegomènes* de Djami, dont je viens de citer un passage. Ce morceau curieux que j'ai traduit en français, paraîtra, accompagné du texte persan et d'un grand nombre de notes, dans le tome XII des *Notices et extraits des manuscrits*, dont l'impression est presque terminée.



# NOTE

## SUR UN DINAR DE BARKIAROC.

(Extrait du t. VI, quatrième série, du *Journal asiatique*, pp. 306-313,  
n° de septembre-octobre 1845.)

M. le lieutenant général baron de Gazan a bien voulu nous communiquer une monnaie d'or orientale, qu'il doit au souvenir de son ancien compagnon d'armes le général Allard.

Par un heureux hasard, cette monnaie, envoyée de l'Inde en France, comme tessère d'amitié, se trouve être un monument, jusqu'à présent unique, d'une époque fort intéressante de l'histoire musulmane.

Voici les légendes qui se lisent sur les deux faces :

بركيارق  
لا اله الا الله  
المقتدى بأمر الله  
السلطان المعظم  
ركن الدنيا والدين  
ابو المظفر

Barkiaroc.  
Il n'y a de Dieu que Dieu.  
El-Moctadi Biamr'illah.  
Le sultan très grand,  
Roku ed'dunta ou ed'din,  
Abou'l-Modhaffer.

Autour :

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ضرب هذا الدينار باصفهان بسنة ست  
وثمانين واربعماية

Au nom de Dieu clément, miséricordieux, a été frappé ce dinar à Ispahan,  
en l'année 486.

Une seconde ligne extérieure donne :

الله الامر من قبل ومن بعد ويومئذ يفرح المؤمنون بنصر الله

A Dieu le commandement dans le passé et dans l'avenir; en ce jour les fidèles seront réjouis par le secours de Dieu.

أبو القاسم  
محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
ناصر الدنيا والدين  
محمود بن ملك شاه

Abou'l-Cassem,  
Mahomet est l'apôtre de Dieu.  
Le sultan très grand,  
Naçer ed'dunia ou ed'din,  
Mahmoud, fils de Malek schah.

Autour :

محمد رسول الله ارسله بالهدى ودين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله ولو  
كراه المشركون

Mahomet est l'apôtre de Dieu, qui l'a envoyé avec la direction et la religion véritable, afin qu'il la fit prévaloir sur toutes les religions, en dépit des associants.

Si nous retranchons de ces légendes les formules religieuses banales dont l'examen ne saurait être ici d'aucune utilité pour nous, nous obtenons les noms et les titres de trois personnages : Abou'l-Cassem-el-Moctadi-biamr-Allah ; Rokn-Eddin-Abou'l-Modhaffer Barkiaroc ; et enfin Naçer-Eddin-Mahmoud, fils de Malek schah. Ces derniers sont qualifiés tous deux d'un titre égal, celui de sulthan très grand. De plus, la monnaie a été fabriquée à Ispahan, en l'année 486 de l'hégire (1093 de J. C.).

Voyons dans quelles circonstances ces noms ont pu se trouver ainsi rapprochés ; mais auparavant exposons en quelques mots l'état des individus qui les ont portés, préliminaires indispensables que nous tâcherons d'abrégier autant que possible.

Abou'l-Cassem, Abd-Allah, El-Moctadi-biamr-Allah, fils de Mohammed, fut le vingt-septième khalife de la famille abbaside, et succéda, en 467, à Caiem, son grand-père. En 480, Moctadi épousa la fille du seldjoukide Malek schah, sultan de

Perse. Cette princesse quitta, deux ans plus tard, le khalife pour retourner à Ispahan dans sa famille; mais cet événement ne paraît pas avoir troublé la bonne harmonie qui existait entre Moctadi et son beau-père; car celui-ci revint à Bagdad quelque temps après, et y mourut en 485; Moctadi mourut en 487.

Rokn-Eddin Abou'l-Modhaffer Barkiaroc était fils aîné du sultan Malek schah, dont nous venons de parler, lequel lui-même était fils d'Elp-Arslan, fils de Daoud, fils de Mikayl, fils de Seldjouk, fils de Dekak. On l'a surnommé aussi Medjel-Moulk (c'est-à-dire gloire du royaume). Il naquit en 474 (1081 de J. C.), et n'avait par conséquent que treize ans lorsqu'il succéda à son père. Après un règne de douze ans et quelques mois, il mourut à Bouroudjerd, près de Hamadan, en 498 (1104 de J. C.) (1).

Naçer-Eddin-Mahmoud, fils puîné de Malek schah et de la fameuse Turkan-Khatoun, n'avait que six ans lors de la mort de son père, si nous en croyons Mirkhond. D'après Ibn-Alalhir et son abrégiateur Abou'l-Féda (2), ce prince n'était âgé que de quatre ans et quelques mois. Malgré cette extrême jeunesse, la mère de Mahmoud, qui avait pour lui une tendresse particulière, voulut profiter de sa présence à Bagdad, où elle avait suivi le sultan son époux, dans son dernier voyage, pour faire investir son fils cadet du trône de Perse, au préjudice de Barkiaroc, resté à Ispahan. El-Moctadi ne voulut point consentir d'abord à ce que lui demandait Turkan, mais, pressé par les incessantes sollicitations de la sultane, et gagné par les riches présents qu'elle lui fit, il céda enfin et déclara Mahmoud successeur de Malek schah.

Cependant Barkiaroc avait été proclamé sultan par le peuple d'Ispahan, comme seul héritier légitime des possessions de son père; mais bientôt Turkan-Khatoun s'avançant vers cette

(1) Voyez M. G. de Stane, *Ibn-Khallikan's biographical Dictionary*, tom. I, pag. 251.

(2) Je dois cette indication à l'obligeance de notre confrère M. Ch. Defrémery, qui a bien voulu traduire pour moi plusieurs passages d'auteurs persans dont j'ai fait usage dans cette notice. Je reproduirai le texte de quelques-uns de ces passages dans les notes suivantes.

ville à la tête d'une armée considérable de Turcs qu'elle avait à sa solde, Barkiaroc s'enfuit, protégé par les serviteurs d'un ancien vizir de Malek schah, Nizam-él-Moulk, et alla chercher refuge chez Takasch-Téguin, atabek de Savah (1). De là il passa à Rei où son autorité fut reconnue, puis il alla avec vingt mille hommes mettre le siège devant Ispahan, où s'étaient renfermés Mahmoud et sa mère Turkan-Khatoun. Cette princesse proposa alors un accommodement, et Barkiaroc, ayant reçu 500.000 dinars d'or, leva le siège et tourna ses armes vers Hamadan, place commandée par un de ses oncles, Ismaïl, qui était dans le parti de Turkan. Une rencontre eut lieu entre les deux princes au mois de ramadhan de l'année 486 (1093 de J. C.), et, après une très rude bataille, la victoire resta à Barkiaroc.

Le vainqueur fut bientôt forcé de se retirer devant les forces d'un autre de ses oncles, Takash, fils d'Elp-Arslan ; mais heureusement son frère Mahmoud, libre de la tutelle de sa mère, qui venait de mourir, lui ouvrit les portes d'Ispahan. Les deux frères firent une entrée magnifique dans cette capitale, et ils paraissaient être en si parfaite intelligence que l'on ne pouvait supposer rien qui la pût troubler. Mais ceux qui avaient soutenu Mahmoud pendant sa lutte contre Barkiaroc, crurent agir utilement en s'emparant de ce dernier. Ils exécutèrent donc leur projet et s'apprêtaient même à priver le sultan de la vue, lorsque Mahmoud, enlevé en quelques jours par la petite-vérole, laissa le trône à celui qu'on voulait rendre à jamais incapable de régner.

Les historiens ne nous apprennent pas la date bien positive de la mort de Turkan-Khaloun, ni de l'accord momentané des deux frères, ni de la mort de Mahmoud ; et c'est ici que nous avons lieu de faire valoir l'importance des renseignements numismatiques.

Ce fut, comme on l'a vu plus haut, en 486, dans le neuvième mois de l'année musulmane, que Barkiaroc défit son oncle.

برکيارق..... از اصفهان گريختند روی بساره نهاد و با امير تکش تکين که (1)  
جاندار و اتابک او بود پيوست (Mirkhond, *Hist. Seldsch.*, p. 150.)



Ismâïl, sous les murs d'Hamadan ; et c'est après cette époque que se passèrent les faits mentionnés précédemment. Or la monnaie que nous décrivons ici porte la date 486 ; la présence du nom des deux frères Barkiaroc et Mahmoud, avec un même titre de sultan, ne peut s'expliquer que par l'union de si courte durée qui suivit la mort de Turkan et précéda presque immédiatement celle de Mahmoud. On n'a donc que quatre-vingt-dix jours environ pour placer le voyage de Barkiaroc, conduisant ses troupes d'Hamadan à Ispahan, la mort de Turkan-Khatoun et l'alliance des deux frères, suivie d'une entrée solennelle.

Mahmoud dut mourir, soit dans le dernier mois de 486, soit dans le premier mois de 487. Enfin, le rapprochement politique des deux fils de Malek schah nous paraît pleinement confirmé par les légendes de notre monnaie. Le nom de El-Moctadi-biamr-Allah qu'elle porte, témoigne de la suprématie spirituelle que les deux fils de Malek schah accordaient à leur beau-frère, en sa qualité de khalife de Bagdad. Ce dinar ne donne point à Barkiaroc le titre de امير المؤمنين, qui appartenait au khalife ; d'Herbelot, dans sa *Bibliothèque orientale*, avance que Barkiaroc avait pris ce titre, et cette erreur paraît provenir d'une confusion à laquelle ont pu donner lieu les passages de quelques écrivains persans, où l'on voit le fils de Malek schah, surnommé *bras droit de l'émir almoumenin*, associé de l'émir almoumenin (1).

On voit que les monnaies arabes, même lorsqu'elles sont privées de types, n'en sont pas moins pleines d'utilité, et l'on peut leur appliquer cette parole de Platon, dans le *Gorgias* :

Ὅς ἂν τὰ ὀνόματα εἰδῆ ἴσεται καὶ τὰ πράγματα.

Nous ferons remarquer, en dernier lieu, que le dinar de Barkiaroc est jusqu'à présent la troisième monnaie d'or des

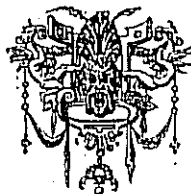
از دار الخلافت اورا سلطان زكن الدين بركيارق يحيى امير المؤمنين لقب كردند (1) *Tarikh-i-guzideh*, man. pers. 9, Brueix, fol. 114 v., 152 r. Khoudémir (*Khilacet el-akbar*, man. 104 Saint-Germain, fol. 205 r.) appelle Barkiaroc قسم امير المؤمنين « le copartageant, l'associé du prince des croyants. »

Seldjoukides qui soit publiée, autant que nous pouvons le croire (1). Au v<sup>e</sup> siècle de l'hégire, d'ailleurs, les monnaies portant les noms des khalifes sont extrêmement rares, et le savant Fræhn n'a cité dans ses *Recensions* aucun monument numismatique d'El-Moctadi (2).

Telles sont les causes qui nous ont déterminé à publier le dinar de Barkiaroc. Les savants, qui s'occupent de l'histoire musulmane, pourront du reste en tirer parti.

(1) Les deux autres, publiées par M. Fræhn, sont un dinar de Rokn-éddin Toghroul-bey, frappé à Nischabour en 449, et un autre d'Adrad ed'daoula Elp-Arslan, frappé à Rey en 455 ou 456. Toutes les deux portent le nom d'El-Caïem biamr-Allah, grand-père d'El-Moctadi. (*Recensio*, pp. 604 et 605.)

(2) Une pièce d'or citée par Møller d'après Eichhorn (*Rep.* XVIII, pag. 49) était probablement fort mal conservée, puisqu'on n'y lit pas le nom de lieu et que l'on est resté incertain sur sa date, qui est indiquée 473 ou 483.



## Notizen, Correspondenzen und Vermischtes.

### Münzlegende des Seliden-Schah Ismaël I. in einem heiligen Reisebuch.

Von

**Prof. Dr. Stöckel.**

Einer freundlichen Mittheilung des Herrn von der Gabelentz danke ich es, auf eine Stelle in einem Reisebuch des heiligen Landes aufmerksam geworden zu sein, die bis jetzt unbeachtet, für die muslimische Numismatik einige Ausbeute verspricht. Sie wurde von dem genannten Gelehrten in einem lateinischen Manuscript gelesen, das dem Amtsarchiv von Kahlä gehört, wohin es wer weiss durch welchen Zufall gekommen sein mag, und das den Titel trägt: *Ephemeris sive Diarium peregrinationis transmarinae: videlicet. Egipti. Montis Sinai. terre sete ac ultimo Syrie: act(æ) anno domini 1507 et seqnti.* Den Namen des Verfassers habe ich bei einer flüchtigen Durchsicht der Handschrift zwar nirgends genannt gefunden, allein weitere Nachforschungen haben mir ergeben, dass es der Prior Gemnicensis, Georgius ist, welcher aus dem erst bairischen, dann durch Kaiser Maximilian I. „*manu violenta*“ (in der Handschrift am Rande corrigirt in „*potenti*“) zu Tyrol geschlagenen Städtchen Kuefstein gebürtig war und in den Jahren 1507 und 1508 die Pilgerfahrt nach dem gelobten Lande machte. Seine Beschreibung ist von dem Presbyter und Bibliothekar Leop. Widemann nach karthäuser Mss. in Pezii Thesaur. Anecd. T. II. P. III. S. 453—640 bereits herausgegeben. Die kahläische Handschrift bietet aber noch manche Verbesserungen und Vervollständigungen des edirten Textes. So auch in der Stelle, die für uns in Frage kommt. Sie lautet im Manuscript:

Die secunda Februarii supervenit mercator quidam Italicus, ex Alepo civitate, quae in confinio Turci et Soldani sita, utriusque imperium intersecat. Hic nobis retulit mira ac paene non credenda de Zophi, ostenditque et tandem vix et pretio et proce tradidit nummum eius argenteum grandiusculum, valentem fere unum zephaphum, in quo talis continebatur superscriptio; litterae autem erant arabicae, verba haec in lingua eorum: *Bidzind rofhet halla, elkaher lihalludkey ana sultan zophi.* Quorum sensus isto est: Popule meus, ego sum ille verus Sultanus id est princeps Zophi, missus a deo in exterminium inimicorum meorum.

Im gedruckten Text S. 609 findet bei den Hauptworten, der arabischen Legende, folgende Abweichung statt:

verba haec in lingua eorum continens, videlicet: *mal rofhet halla etkal hartihalludhei ana Sultan Zophi.*

Man ersieht sogleich, dass das *elkaher* der Handschrift vor dem *elkal har* des Drucks den Vorzug verdient; denn es giebt offenbar das القاهر des Originals wieder. Ferner erhellt, dass beim Anfang der arabischen Legende die Handschriften variirten; die der Korthause bieten erst noch *continens videlicet*, dann aber nur das offenbar defecte *md* statt des *Bidzind* in dem kahlaischen Codex. Es scheint das Wort, dessen Ausgang *md* war, in den Corthäuser Handschriften, oder in dem Codex, woraus diese geflossen sind, seinem ersten Theile nach unleserlich gewesen zu sein. Dass es durch das *Bidzind* richtig restituirt sei, wird niemand meinen, der auch nur einige der ältern muhammedanischen Münzlegenden durchgemustert hat; denn es ist un schwer zu erkennen, dass in dem *rafhel halla* das رسول الله enthalten ist, dem auf den Münzen der Name Muhammeds (محمد) vorherzugehen pflegt. Wie der Autor, Georg, das erste Wort gesprochen haben möge, um zu seiner Deutung *popule meus* zu kommen, bleibe vorerst dahin gestellt. Die übrigen Worte der Legende geben das arabische القاهر لجز اعدائى انا سلطان صفى wieder.

Jenes محمد رسول الله, bekanntlich der zweite Theil des sunnitischen Glaubensbekenntnisses, füllt gewöhnlich das Feld des Reverses oder beginnt überdem noch einmal dessen Umschrift, worauf dann das أرسله بالهدى الخ folgt; während der erste Theil des Glaubenssymbolum لا اله الا الله الخ den Raum im Felde des Advers einnimmt. Es ist mir kein Beispiel gegenwärtig, dass ein Münzstück nur den zweiten Theil, mit Weglassung des ersten enthielte. Darum vermuthet ich, dass jene von Georg uns überlieferte Legende nur die eine Seite der fraglichen Münze und zwar ihren Revers wiedergiebt. Diese Annahme wird noch dadurch bestätigt, dass jene arabische Legende weder eine Angabe des Prägeortes noch des Jahres, wann das Stück gemünzt ward, enthält, was sonst doch nicht zu fehlen pflegt und gewöhnlich auf der Vorderseite ausgesprochen ist. Dankt man sich, nach dem herrschenden Brauche, es habe das

محمد	das innere Feld gefüllt,
رسول	
الله	

und die übrigen Worte:

القاهر لجز اعدائى انا سلطان صفى

haben die Umschrift gebildet, so wird auch deutlich, wie der Autor zu seiner in mancherlei Hinsicht auffälligen und zum Theil offenbar unrichtigen Uebersetzung gelangen konnte.

In der lateinischen Uebersetzung entspricht das *ego sum ille verus Sultanus* dem انا سلطان صفى, obgleich nach der von dem Pilgrim angenommenen Hinweisung wie auf einen bekannten (ille) Sultan der Artikel hätte vorgesetzt sein müssen, woran dann das القاهر mit dem Artikel sich auch leichter angeschlossen. Ebenso deutlich giebt das *in exterminium inimicorum*

meorum das *لَحْزِ اَعْدَائِي* wieder, indem *حَلَّ* in der Bedeutung *inopinate incurrit, supervenit* genommen ist, gleichbedeutend mit *عَدَا*, wodurch es auch im *Kāmūs* erklärt wird, und worauf die Zusammenstellung hier mit *عَدُوِّ* allerdings hinweist. *Missus a deo* ist die richtige Uebertragung des *رسول الله*; aber die Aussprache *rafhel*, wonach *رَسُولٌ* gelesen ward und wobei *من* nicht hätte fehlen können, giebt von der Ungenauigkeit des Uebersetzers Zeugniß. Graphisch läßt sich dieser Irrthum daraus erklären, dass zuweilen das *و* in dem breit auseinander gezogenen Wort *رسول* auf den Münzen so klein und undeutlich ausgedrückt ist — vgl. z. B. in Tornberg's *Numi Cusci*. Tab. IV. Cl. II. 265. Tab. XIV. Cl. II. 235 a — dass es ein unbewandter und nicht gar achtsamer Leser in der That leicht übersehen kann. Sprachliche Genauigkeit war aber offenbar nicht die Sache des dolmetschenden Pilgrims, oder des italienischen Kaufmanns, wenn dieser es war, der mit der Münze auch die uns vorliegende Deutung gab. — Das *القاهر* hat in der lateinischen Uebertragung zwar kein entsprechendes einzelnes Wort, liegt aber in ihrem Sinn.

Am befremdlichsten erscheint das *Popule meus* zu Anfang. Ich bekenne, lange über seine Entstehung in Verlegenheit gewesen zu sein, denn weder von dem *Bildzind* der kahlaischen Handschrift aus, noch aus dem *محمد*, das ich auf der Originalmünze voraussetzen muss, wollte sich mir der absonderliche Pfad öffnen, auf dem der Dolmetsch zu dieser wunderlichen Anrede gekommen ist. Um ihm zu folgen, nehme man eine kufische Münze vor sich, auf deren Revers der Name *محمد* etwa wie auf Tornberg's a. a. O. Tab. V. Cl. II. 309, oder Cl. II. 285, oder Cl. II. 308 u. a. geprägt steht, d. h. mit einem undeutlichen *م* zu Anfang, einem durch einen gerade aufrecht stehenden und nicht unter die Linie heruntergezogenen Strich bezeichneten kufischen *ح*, das dem *Elif* zum Verwecheln ähnlich ist, und mit einem dem *ي* finale gleicher Weise ähnlichen kufischen *و*, und denke sich dazu einen dieser ältesten Schriftart wenig kundigen Leser, so erwächst, unerwartet allerdings, aber doch auf erklärliche Art aus dem kufischen *محمد* ein *نامي* oder *بِأَمِي* d. i. nach Weise des Vulgärrabischen (vgl. Mohammed Ayyad el-Tantavy's *Traité de la langue arabe vulgaire* S. VI.) eine Zusammenziehung aus *بِأَمِي*, das sich dann unter anderem auch durch *popule meus* übersetzen lässt.

Möge man nicht zu sehr staunen über solche, für uns fast lächerliche Fehlgriffe oder über meine Kühnheit, solche jenem Reisenden zuzutrauen. Wer weiss, welche Unwissenheit bei den Gelehrten in Arabien rücksichtlich der Deutung in Arabien selbst gefundener kufischer Münzen herrscht (vgl. darüber *Frühn*, das *Muhammed. Münzkab. des Asiat. Museums*, S. 80. und *Niebuhr's* Beschreib. v. Arab. S. XXV. XXVII.), der kann unserem Erklärungsversuche wenigstens nicht wegen solcher Voraussetzungen bei einem fahrenden

Pilger des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts, oder einem italienischen Kaufmann seinen Beifall versagen. Ich meine, diese Erklärung hat aber vielleicht auch noch in dem *Bidzind* einen Anhalt, wenn man den Schriftcharakter und die Abkürzungsart der vorliegenden lateinischen Handschriften gehörig berücksichtigt.

Jenes  $\text{جَاهُمِي}$  war nach der hier üblichen Wiedergebung durch *Jahummi* in das Lateinische zu übertragen. In unserem Codex wird allemal dem grossen Anfangsbuchstaben eines neuen Satzes links ein Strich beigegeben; diesen, vorausgesetzt, dass er in andern Codd. nicht, wie hier, von rother Farbe war, an das *J* gefügt, entstand die Figur, welche hier das *B* hat; womit es ein folgender Abschreiber um so leichter verwechseln konnte, da es sich um ein folgendes arabisches Wort handelte, dessen Artikulationen und Laute für ihn alle gleich bedeutungslos waren. Die folgenden Elemente *ah* haben mit *idz* zuerst zwei Grundstriche gemeinsam, deren zweiter, nach vorn oder nach hinten verbunden, entweder das *a*, oder den linken Bogen des *d* gab; es folgt der aufwärts stehende Strich, den *h* und *d* gemeinsam haben, und dann der, im Codex rechts daran unter die Linie reichende Bogen des *h*, der wieder mit dem *z* ausserordentlich leicht zu verwechseln war, wenn der erste Grundstrich des folgenden *u* etwas nah gerückt war, und anstatt mit dem zweiten, nachkommenden Grundstrich zum *u* zusammengekommen zu werden, mit dem Bogen des *h* verbunden ward. Mit solcher Annahme erklärt sich nun auch leicht der Uebergang des Wortrestes *ummi* in *ind*; es sind, nach Abzug des an das *h* gelangten, ersten Grundstrichs in beiden Gruppen, noch fünf Grundstriche übrig, über diesen war der Bogen, der die Verdoppelung des *m* bedeutet, geschrieben, der, an den letzten Grundstrich gebunden, das *i* in ein *d* verwandelte. In Worten beschrieben, erscheint die vermuthete Umwandlung als eine sehr umständliche Sache, vor der unmittelbaren Anschauung der alterthümlichen Schrift des Codex aber als ein ganz einfacher und, nach der offenbaren nahen Verwandtschaft beider Wörter in den Elementen, auch wahrscheinlicher Uebergang, zumal wenn noch die Uebersetzung *popule meus*, die für *Jahummi* spricht, und das hinzugenommen wird, worauf der Defect in den karthäuser Manuscripten hinweist, dass das fragliche Wort in dem Quellencodex etwas verblichen war. — Wohl haben wir auch daran gedacht, dass in dem *md* des gedruckten Textes das Ende des Namens *Muhammed* enthalten sein könnte, den die Münze darbot; allein, wenn dieser Name von dem Verfasser gelesen worden wäre, so würde, was wir zu erklären trachteten, seine Uebersetzung durch *popule meus* unbegreiflich bleiben.

Eine Münze nun mit der besagten Legende ist meines Wissens noch nirgends bekannt geworden. Zugleich ist sie auch deshalb eine beachtungswerthe Merkwürdigkeit, weil, gegen allen Brauch, der Münzherr hier von sich in der ersten Person spricht; und ferner, weil sie, nach dem weiteren Verlauf der Erzählung Georgs, von dem Stifter der Sefiden-Dynastie, Schah Ismaël, stammen soll, der wenige Jahre zuvor, ehe unser Reisender seine Pilgerfahrt nach Jerusalem unternahm — seit 1499 n. Chr. — von Schirwan aus mit rasch sich folgenden Siegen seine Macht über Adserbeidschan, Irak und endlich über ganz Persien ausbreitete. Den Anfang der Münzen unter den Sefiden hat man lange unter uns sehr spät, von Muhammed Chodabende und Abbas I.

dem Grossen, angesetzt, indem man der Meinung war, die Fürsten dieser Dynastie hätten sich zuerst nur des aus Silberdraht gebildeten Geldes bedient, das man *Lari* zu nennen pflegt. Das soll namentlich Ismaïl's Geld gewesen sein, desselben, von dem unser Reisender das ihm zugekommene Münzstück ableitet. Der Ungrund jener Meinung ist aber von dem unvergesslichen Frähn (Samml. kleiner Abhandl. S. 103 ff.) dadurch bewiesen worden, dass er von demselben Ismaïl sechs, oder, wenn das gothaische Stück (Müller, de Num. Orient. II. S. 30. Nr. 328) hinzuzurechnen ist, sieben Münzen an das Licht gezogen hat. Hierzu ist noch eine in Gold zu fügen, welche zu Jesd geschlagen, in der trefflichen Sammlung des Hrn. Geheimen Legationsrath Dr. Soret zu Genf bewahrt wird. Keine derselben trägt jedoch eine solche Inschrift, wie die von uns besprochene; woraus allein man aber mit Unrecht die Folgerung ziehen würde, dass Georg fälschlich seine Münze dem Ismaïl zuschrieb. Denn nach der Verschiedenheit der Prügestäten waren auch die Münztypen selbst unter einem und demselben Herrscher von sehr mannichfaltiger Art. Obgleich Ismaïl's Name nicht ausdrücklich in der uns berichteten Legende enthalten ist, so bleibt doch in der Bezeichnung des Sultan als *صفي* auf einer Münze gerade dieser Zeit immerhin ein Anhalt für die Ableitung von ihm, und wenn nach obiger Auseinandersetzung uns die Legende der ersten Seite fehlt, so kann der Zweifel gegen solche Ableitung um so weniger vorfangen, weil der Eigennamen dort gegeben sein konnte; da es in der That wenig wahrscheinlich ist, dass ein Regent sich als den *wahren* Sultan prädicire, ohne seinen Namen selbst zu nennen. Zudem hat die Angabe Georgs schon darum eine gewisse Bedeutung, weil er über die Lebensumstände Ismaïl's sich sehr genau unterrichtet zeigt, vermittelt der Erzählung eines Christen, der von Ismaïl mit einem Pferde und „vielen Münzen beschenkt,“ nach Damaskus gekommen war und mit italienischen Kaufleuten verkehrt hatte. Noch darf nicht unbemerkt gelassen werden, dass auf der zu Kusan bewahrten ächten Münze Ismaïl's I. dieser sich unter andern auch als *الصفي* *al-Sefwi*, den von *Scheich Sefi-el-din el-Ardebili Stammenden*, bezeichnet. Dagegen kann es aber auch mit Grund auffallen, bei einem Herrscher schiitischen Glaubens nur das sunnitische Symbol, ohne Beigabe des *على ولي الله*, zu finden, das die spätern Seldschuken-Münzen gewöhnlich bieten. Bedenken gegen und Gründe für eine Abkunft der in Frage stehenden Münze von Ismaïl I. schliesslich zusammen gehalten, wird sich die Entscheidung auf letztere Seite, wenn auch nicht ohne Schwanken, neigen, bis vielleicht einmal ein glückliches Kennerauge eine Münze mit der gegebenen Legende vom Dunkel der Verborgenheit befreit; oder, wenn wir einer fast überschwinglichen Hoffnung uns überlassen dürfen, das Exemplar selbst wieder zu Tage kommt, das der kuesteinsche Pilgrim, wahrscheinlich mit andern Gegenständen heiliger Erinnerung, an sicherem Ort niedergelegt haben wird. Die Aufmerksamkeit der Sammler und Forscher auf ein numismatisches Vorkommniss dieser Art zu schärfen, war der nächste Beweggrund, die Stelle des alten Reisebuchs hier öffentlich in Erinnerung zu bringen.





## IV.

ON COINS DISCOVERED, BY W. K. LOFTUS, Esq.,  
AT SUSA.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, November 19th, 1857.]

It will, perhaps, be within the recollection of the Society, that, in speaking of some curious coins which had recently been brought from the East, I called attention, in a former paper, to a remarkable inscription, which had been found at Susa a short time since by Mr. Loftus, bearing the name of Pythagoras, probably the Greek leader of the Persian King's body-guard; and, at the same time, pointed out the identity of this name with one which has been long known upon a Persian Daric in the National Collection, but of which there has been previously no satisfactory explanation.

I wish now to say a few words on a collection of Oriental coins of the early Mohammedan period, which were discovered by the same enterprising traveller on the same celebrated site, during some excavations he conducted under the superintendence of Sir Henry Rawlinson. These coins are now, together with a considerable number of bricks and other antiquities, deposited in the British Museum, and form by no means the least interesting portion of that gentleman's discoveries. As the manner in which these coins were found is very interesting, I will quote here the narrative which Mr. Loftus has given of it.

"Not far," says Mr. L., "from its southern extremity,

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on the edge of the platform,<sup>1</sup> where the depth of the earth above the pavement did not exceed six feet, an interesting discovery was made. I was at this time examining some recent acquisitions in another part of the ruins, when one of my master workmen rushed into the tent, every muscle of his face distorted with mingled expressions of astonishment, delight, fear, and anxiety, while he threw down at my feet as many silver Kúfic coins as his two hands could contain, rushing out again, with an intimation that there were more in the trench, which he could not carry.

“The workmen had come upon a small glazed pot during the temporary absence of their overseer. As it felt extremely heavy, the cupidity of the Persians tempted them to break it, when out rolled the coins, and a general scramble took place. The master-workman, however, being responsible for the rest, secured as many as he could, and honestly delivered them up to me. He was delighted at the discovery, but afraid of the result, doubting whether the Prince ought not to receive the treasure, and, at the same time, aware that his men had taken care of themselves.

“Ovannes was immediately sent to look after them, and presently returned with fifty more coins, laughing at the credulity of the Lúrs. With ready wit, he hinted that I had found an account of the number, and that several were missing. He therefore recommended the men to produce them, because, if sold in Dizful, the fact would reach the Prince's ears, and the sellers would be punished. They

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<sup>1</sup> Mr. Loftus is speaking of the excavations he had made upon the largest and most extensive of the mounds at Susa, in which he discovered the remains of a palace now known to have been inhabited, if not originally constructed, by Xerxes, the king of Persia.

looked at each other. At length, one more timid than the rest pulled forth a coin, and his example was followed by all. Some handed out one, some two or three, and so on, until fifty were collected. Still my factotum was not satisfied; when the day's work was over, he obliged every man to declare by the head of Ali, by Bábá Búzúrg, and all his favourite saints, that he had no more coins in his possession. Those who refused the oath were to receive none of the tobacco, about to be distributed in honour of the discovery. In this manner eleven other coins were recovered that evening, and by dint of perseverance, about one hundred and seventy were in all collected. Several were cohering together at the bottom of the jar in a hard solid mass, but the greater number were bright and unworn, as though but recently struck off from the die."

The total number which have been placed in my hands for examination, and which were, at the same time, tolerably legible, and not so glued together by the oxidation as to be inseparable, was about one hundred and ten; of these fifty-two exhibited dates, or places of mintage, of which we had not previously any illustration from the existing collection at the Museum. As Mr. Loftus states, the majority of them were nearly perfect, and some as fresh as if they had just come from the die.

Two important questions are suggested by this discovery: first, When were these coins deposited in their present position? and, secondly, Is it possible to draw any conclusions from the place in which they were found, as to the period when the building was destroyed near which they were discovered? About the date of its *erection* we have satisfactory proof, relics having been found of Xerxes, as previously stated; while we have some grounds for believing that it was commenced, if not completed, by his

father Darius. It would, therefore, be of much interest could we determine, from any evidence afforded by these coins, whether this structure had been, at the time they were buried, long in ruins. Now we may be sure, from the sharpness of the impression on these coins, that the hoard was buried within a short time after the latest date which occurs among them; and that no lengthened period could have passed away during which they were in circulation. Again, as there was a considerable accumulation of soil between them and the pavement of the buried palace, we may be equally certain that they must have been deposited long after this palace was ruined. Centuries at least must have elapsed, to allow for the mass of earth which was heaped above this pavement.

Nor does this view lack some other corroborative proofs. Thus around some of the bases of the fallen columns were found several urns of Parthian and Sassanian workmanship, thus affording clear and demonstrative evidence that long after the overthrow of the temple, of which they formed the support and decorations, other races occupied the mound on which it had stood—lived, died, and buried their dead. Taking these facts into consideration, it seems a fair inference, that the actual demolition of the great structure must have been due to the remote period of Alexander the Great, or to that of his successors, during the Greek occupation of Susiana. Though we have no record of this event in any of the historians of the campaigns of the Greek monarch, they describe, not without some natural feelings of regret, how he wantonly set fire to the rival and sister structures of Persepolis, and sacrificed to the mad revelry of a courtesan the pride and the glory of Persian architecture.

With regard to this fire, there is, indeed, some room for

doubt whether it was, after all, Persepolis which was sacrificed to the vanity or the fury of the Greek monarch. Strabo indeed, states that Alexander burnt the palace at Persepolis to avenge the Greeks for similar injuries which had been inflicted on them by the Persians (xv. p. 729); but this seems, to say the least, an exceedingly improbable assertion. Arrian merely avers that Alexander burnt a royal palace, contrary to the expressed entreaty of Parmenio; but he does not say where this palace was (Anab. iii. 13). Curtius alone describes the disgraceful character of this deed of an incendiary, and fixes the place at Persepolis; the evidence in his favour being the probability that he drew his materials from many journals of the officers of Alexander's army extant in his day (Curt. v. 4. 6). On the other hand, Mr. Loftus remarks that a careful examination of the existing columns, and of the injuries they have suffered during the 2,300 years which have elapsed since their first erection, fails altogether in shewing those marks which would naturally indicate the action of this devouring element. The whitened aspect which many of them exhibit is really due to the atmosphere, and not to fire; hence the probability is suggested, that the proceedings supposed to have occurred at Persepolis really took place at Susa, and that the destruction visible at the latter site, is, in fact, that which has left the darkest stain on the memory of the greatest conqueror of ancient times.

It would, indeed, be, in the highest degree, unlikely that coins and relics of the Parthian Princes should be found at Susa beside the fallen and buried columns, and generally above them, if the temple or palace, to which they belonged, was still standing when the people who struck them still lived there. It is much more reasonable to suppose that, as in the case of Nineveh, more than one

race successively settled on these mounds, after the buildings of the earlier people had fallen down and been covered over, unconscious, it may be, of the monuments of the past which lay buried under their feet.

The earliest coin in this collection is from the mint of Damascus, and its date is A.H. 79, corresponding with A.D. 697-8. It was struck by Abd-al-Malek ben Merwán, the sixth Khalif of the house or family of Ommiáh, and the eleventh in descent from Mohammed himself. It is well known that this Khalif was the first to strike the ordinary dirhem, which became so well known in after-times; or, at all events, that no dirhem of any earlier Prince has yet been met with. The earliest known date is A.H. 78, of which a specimen on a gold dinár is preserved in the British Museum. It is not a little curious to find one of the very next year in a miscellaneous hoard of coins, like that we are now considering. I may add that no dirhem of A.H. 78 has been discovered, but that the British Museum possesses another specimen of the date of A.H. 79 (struck, however, at Kúfah), and that there is one also in the Collection at Milan. I am not aware that any other Museum possesses dirhems of this early date, which are, therefore, unquestionably of considerable rarity and interest. The latest date in the collection is that of a coin struck at Mahi in A.H. 106 (A.D. 725), by Heshám, one of the sons of the former Khalif Abd-al-Malek, the eleventh Khalif of the same family. The whole number of coins, therefore, ranges over a period of only twenty-eight years.

Besides the two coins I have mentioned, which were minted at Damascus and Mahi respectively, I have been able to decipher forty-eight other specimens, struck at the following towns and in the subjoined years:—

	A.H.
At Damascus - - - - (79)	82, 83, 84, 86, 100, 105, 106.
„ Busrah - - - - -	80, 82, 87.
„ Waset - - - - -	88, 94, 99, 105, 106.
„ Sús (Susa)- - - - -	90.
„ Rhey - - - - -	90.
„ Herát - - - - -	90.
„ Teimár - - - - -	91.
„ Shápúr - - - - -	91, 92, 94.
„ Istakhr (Persepolis) - - -	91.
„ Sejistán (Seistán) - - -	92.
„ Darabjerd - - - - -	92, 97.
„ Dschey - - - - -	92, 94.
„ Merv - - - - -	90.
„ Kirmán - - - - -	95.
„ Káfa - - - - -	101.
„ Mahi - - - - -	(106) 6?

I may remark, *en passant*, that the list of names and the order of the places correspond pretty nearly with the course of Mohammedan conquest; and that it is, therefore, highly probable that the hoard may have been made by some soldiers, who had accompanied the march of the Arabian armies from the commencement of the war. As the inscriptions on these dirhems do not differ materially from those which have been published with sufficient accuracy by Marsden, Fraehn, and other writers, I have not thought it requisite to take up unnecessary space by their transcription here.

With regard to the coin bearing the name of Susa as its mint place, and the date of A.H. 90, it is interesting to know, as we do from it, that Susa was occupied, and became a town of sufficient importance to possess a mint of its own, within fifty years after the conquest of the country, of which it had once been the second capital. The Arabian historic work, called the *Ruzut-al-Saffa*, states that in the year A.D. 638, the whole of Khuzistán (the ancient Susiana) was over-run by the troops of the Khalif Omar, under the

immediate command of Abú Súrâh, the chief places mentioned as having been attacked being Ahwáz, Dumbarhaur, Suttar, and the fortress of Sûs; and it would seem that the possession of the latter place rendered any further opposition on the part of the Persians no longer available.

In conclusion, I may remark, that Mr. Loftus, in the course of his researches, met with a considerable number of bronze arrow-heads, lying scattered along the crests of the mounds. It seems not unlikely that these weapons may be relics of the assault on the citadel of Susa by the Mohammedan army.

W. S. W. VAUX.

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## VII.

## COINS OF SEISTÂN.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, January 28th, 1858.]

AT the last meeting of the Numismatic Society, I exhibited some gold coins from Col. Sir H. C. Rawlinson; but, as I believe, I stated at the time, I had only received them the same day, and had, therefore, not had time to attempt decyphering them. Since then, I have examined them carefully, and as they turn out to be more curious than I had anticipated, I propose to give the Society, this evening, a brief description of them.

I stated, when I exhibited them previously, that they had been lately forwarded to Col. Rawlinson from Seistân, a district of Eastern Persia, which has been little visited by travellers, and about which, therefore, we know comparatively little.

The result of my examination is, that the coins, thirteen in number, belong to the following classes of dynasties, in the following chronological order:—

1. One *Samanide*, *Mansur ben Nuh*, A.H. 361, A.D. 972.
2. Nine *Soffaride*, of which one belongs to *Taher*, ten to *Khalf ben Ahmed*, A.H. 334—375, A.D. 946—985.
3. One *Ghaznavide*, *Mahmud* of Ghazna, A.H. 418, A.D. 1028.

With regard to the first of these, *Mansur ben Nuh*, it is a gold coin in very perfect preservation, and was struck

at Bokhara in the year of the Hejra, 361, corresponding with A.D. 972.

*Obv.*—

الله - محمد رسول الله - المطيع لله - منصور بن نوح

*Round.*—محمد رسول الله ارسله etc.

*Rev.*—First general symbol; above which, لعدا  
below, الملك المظفر

*Round.*—etc. ضرب ببخارا

A.H. 361—A.D. 972.

*Mansur* was the *seventh* Prince of the *Samanian* dynasty, one of the earliest that arose on the first decline of the *Khaláfat*. These princes, of whom there has been found, not only in Asia, but along the Baltic—in the islands of that sea—and even in England, at *Cuerdale*, and elsewhere, a considerable quantity of money, ruled over part of Central Asia between the years A.H. 261—389, A.D. 874—998, having for part of that period their chief capital at *Samarkand*. A large number of other places of mintage, however, occur, such as *Bokhara*, *Shash*, *Balkh*, *Badakhshan*, *Nishápur*, *Enderabe*, *Ferghana*, etc. It is not at all, therefore, contrary to probability, that coins of one of these rulers should be found in the province of *Seistân* not more than 300 to 400 miles from *Bokhara*.

I may add, that though the silver coins of the *Samanian* princes are very numerous—those in gold are rare—and that I have not as yet met with any specimen of the same date in collections at home or abroad.

With regard to the next piece, which I have assigned to the *Soffaride* or *Taheride* dynasties, I am ready to admit that there are some grounds for doubt whether this attribution can be maintained; at the same time, I am not

aware of any other dynasty to whom it can with more probability be ascribed. The chief difficulty consists in the legends, which are anything but satisfactory.

The *Obv.* is apparently —

الطابع لله - الحسين بن - طاهر

The *Rev.* is clearly —

له - محمد - رسول - الله - ع

The margin is entirely cut off.

Pl. No. 1.

No date remaining on the coin, it is of course impossible to assign the exact period when this money was struck; but as the Khalif's name, *Al Tui*, is perfectly legible, I have no doubt it must have been between A.H. 363 (A.D. 974) and A.H. 381 (A.D. 991). It is a much more difficult point to determine who was the striker of it; and upon this question I am not at present able to give any decided opinion. In character of workmanship, and date, it is nearly connected with the coins we are about to notice of *Khalf ben Ahmed*. I am not, however, aware of any prince of Seistan who bore the name of *Täher*.

As we are not acquainted with the names of any of the princes who preceded or followed *Khalf*, it is quite possible that this man may have been ruler of that district a few years before *Khalf* obtained the power.

About the next coin, No. 3, I admit I have been long in doubt; and when I read the paper to the Society six months ago, I stated my belief, that it must belong to one of the princes of the *Saffaride* dynasty — one of the smaller ruling families which made their appearance in Oriental history in the fourth century of the Khálifat. I expressed, too, a doubt whether or not it might not be classed with the coins of *Noh ben Nasr*, the fifth prince of the *Samanides*, who ruled at Bokhara between A.H. 331 — 343, A.D.

943—954. These doubts are now dispelled, as I am now able to read on the *obverse* the name of *Khalf*, the ruler of Seistân, of whose coins I have this day exhibited to the Society some of the best specimens.<sup>1</sup>

The legends are as follow :—

*Obv.* —

لا اله الا - الله وحده - لا اله الا - لاشريك له - خلف

*Marg.*— ضرب اربع وثلاثمائه

A. H. 334.

Several letters are left out in this inscription, but the date is sufficiently clear.

*Rev.*— محمد - رسول الله - المستكفي - بلله

*Margin.*—Apparently the remainder of the Second Symbol, commencing with أرسله بالهدى, etc., etc. — Pl. No. 2.

There can be no doubt that the name *خلف*, the letters of which are very small, refer to *Khalf*, to whom, also, the following coins belong.

With regard to *Khalf ben Ahmed*, to whom I have attributed this coin, it is known that he ruled in Sejistân, or Seistân, during the 4th century of the Hejra. They have considerable interest, from the light they thus throw upon a very obscure portion of Oriental history, and on a district about which we have few, if any, records; and also from the fact, that no other coins of this Prince have been published in any of the many works which record the Oriental treasures of the European museums. I may

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Thomas attributes this coin to *Hussain ben Tâhir*, a contemporary of *Khalf ben Ahmed*, whose identification will be found in full detail in the forthcoming number of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, in a paper on the coins of the kings of Ghazni.

state, too, what indeed the members of the society are able to judge from their own inspection, that the coins are in a perfectly unaltered condition, and though, in some instances, partially broken or defaced, have no appearance of having been injured by circulation. They would seem, indeed, with the exception of occasional fractures, to be as nearly as possible, as when they left the die. As the inscriptions are generally nearly the same, I will not occupy the time of the society by a separate description of each specimen, but will content myself with stating the principal features of the whole collection, and with throwing together at the end of the paper, for the information of Oriental students, all the inscriptions on each coin in one list.

The usual inscription is, on the —

*Obv.*—The name of the Khalif, and then—

خلف بن احمد - جدل  
Kholf ben Ahmed.

And on the

*Rev.*—The usual inscription, Muhammed is the Prophet of God, with the date.

The names of three Khalifs who reigned in succession are found upon them; those of *Al-Mostakfi-lillah*, A.H. 333—334, A.D. 944—946; *Al-Moti-lillah*, A.H. 334—363, A.D. 946—974; and *Al-Tai-lillah*, A.H. 363—381, A.D. 974—991. The dates of A.H. 360, 366, 375 (A.D. 971, 977, 985) are distinctly legible; on others, there are other individual numeral words, but none sufficiently complete for us to be perfectly sure of the year. As, however, the first-named Khalif, *Al-Mostakfi*, only reigned part of two years (namely, A.D. 944—946), we are able to determine, with considerable accuracy, the date of the

commencement of the series. If then, A.H. 333, A.D. 946, be taken as the beginning of the rule of the dynasty, we know, at least, that Kholf was still on the throne, A.H. 375, A.D. 971, 42 years subsequently; and we have, therefore, evidence capable of proof from these coins, that the dynasty to which he belonged, endured at least as long as this. The only place of mintage is *Seistân*, which is of some interest, as showing how purely a local currency this was. Indeed, it is this very limitation of its sphere, which has, doubtless, rendered these coins themselves unknown. This name may be quite distinctly read on one of the coins, and can be inferred from part of the word which occurs on another.

The well-known Oriental history of the *Khalásat al Akhbâr*, gives the following account of this Prince—

“In the year A.H. 353, Kholf, the son of Ahmed, descended by the mother’s side from the *Sufariah* or race of *Leis ibn Omar*, being compelled, by the revolt of one of his principal subjects, to abandon the province of *Seistân*, now sought the assistance of *Amir Mansur*, and receiving from him an ample supply of troops and treasure, was enabled to return to his capital, and to resume, with additional lustre, his authority in the territory of *Nemniz*. This Kholf, the son of Ahmed, is represented at the same time as equally adorned and distinguished by his acquirements in all the learning of his age and country, by the liberality and benevolence of his mind, and by his unbounded patronage of genius and science, however exhibited” (Price, vol. ii. 243).

We further learn, from a subsequent passage, that Kholf was living as late as A.H. 394, in which year he incurred the wrath of *Mahmud of Ghazna*, then the chief ruler of Asia, West of the *Indus*, who ultimately defeated

him, and shut him up in the fortress of Jurgán where he died, probably soon after; but the date is not given.

The last coin of this collection is a very well preserved one, of the famous Mahmud of Ghazna. It is, like the rest, in gold, and was struck at Ghazna in A.H. 418, A.D. 1039. It is not unlike several published by Mr. Edward Thomas, in his memoir on the Kings of Ghazna. As Mahmud reigned from A.H. 388—421, A.D. 998—1030, it must have been issued near the close of the eventful reign of that celebrated conqueror.


The coin bears on the *Obverse* in the *area*, the usual legend, "There is no God but God, and He has no equal," and the name of the Khalif, "*Al Kader Billah*," whose reign extended to the unusual length of forty years, and synchronizes exactly with the whole of that of Mahmud.

Round the *inner circle* is the date, A.H. 418, and the place of mintage, *Ghazna*; and on the *outer circle*, is a legend, taken from the xxx Surah of the Koran, ver. 4, 5, to the effect—"That dominion, both past and future, is of God, and in *that* day the faithful shall rejoice in the aid of the Lord."

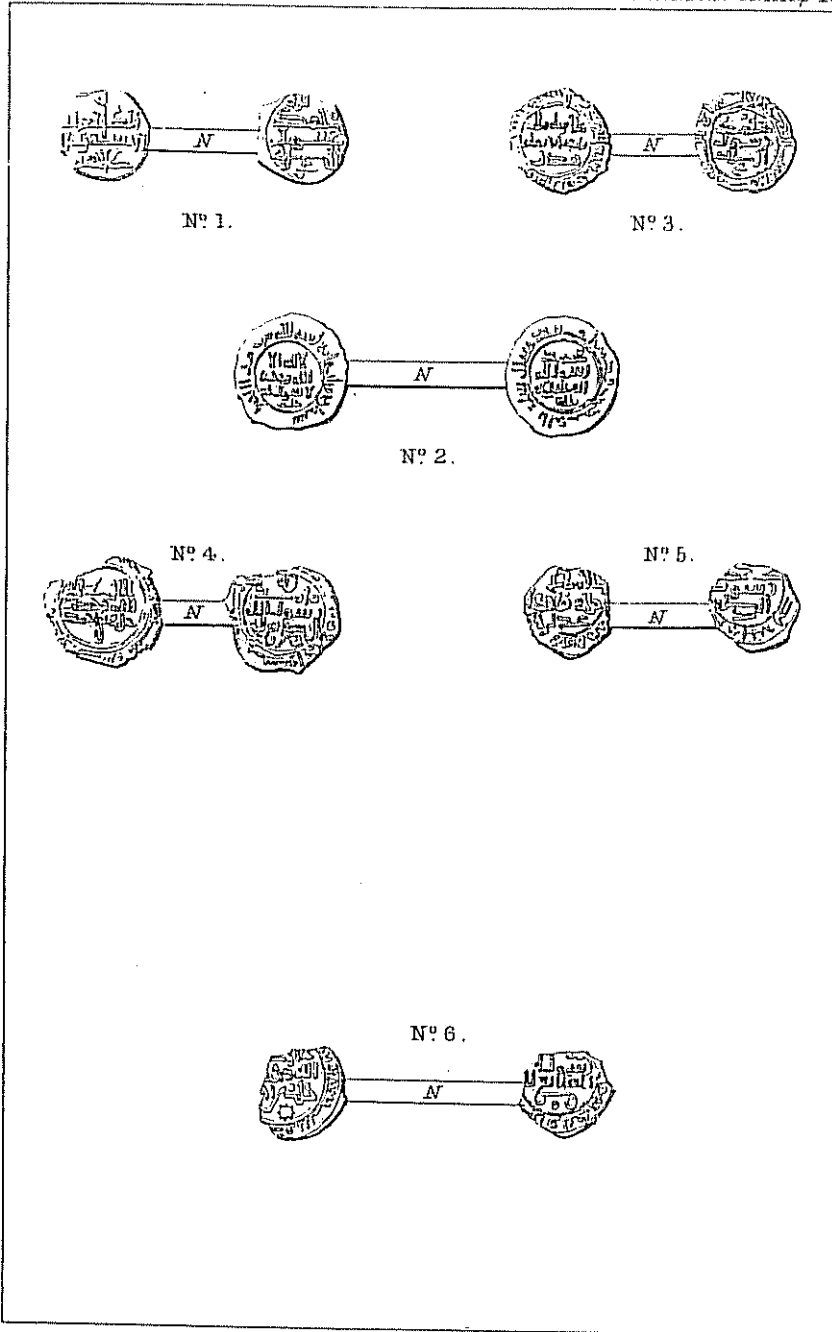
On the *Reverse* is the usual statement that Mohammed is the Prophet of God, and on the *margin*, a longer legend, made up of two selections from Surah ix. ver. 33, and lxi. ver. 9, of the Koran, to the effect—"Mohammed, the Apostle of God, whom He sent with instruction and the true faith, that he might exalt it above all other creeds, even though unbelievers be adverse thereto."

With the transcript of the legends on each specimen, which here follow, I conclude what I have at present to say of the small but curious collection of coins, which Sir H. C. Rawlinson has placed in my hands.

## LEGENDS ON COINS OF KHOLF BEN AHMED.

4. *Obv.*— محمد - رسول - الله - ع  
*Marg.*— لا اله الا الله - وحده لا شريك له  
*Rev.*— المطيع لله - خلف بن احمد - عدل  
*Marg.*— ضرب بسجستان - سنة ست ستين - وثلثمائة  
 Pl. No. 3.
5. *Obv.*— لله - محمد - رسول الله - الطابع لله  
*Marg.*—Illegible, but probably part of Second Symbol.  
*Rev.*— لا اله الا - الله وحده - خلف بن احمد  
*Marg.*— . . . . نه خمس و - سبعين وثلثمائة  
 A.H. 375.—Pl. No. 4.
6. *Obv.*— محمد - رسول - الله - مك  
*Marg.*— Nearly obliterated, but part of First Symbol.  
*Rev.*— المطيع لله - خلف بن احمد - عدل  
*Marg.*— . . . ست و خمسين - وثلثمائة  
 A.H. 365.—Pl. No. 5.
7. *Obv.*— . . . رسول الله - الطابع لله -   
*Marg.*— . . . هادا الهم - . . .  
*Rev.*—  
 \* . . . لا اله - الله وحده - خلف بن احمد . . .  
*Marg.*— . . . وسبعين . . . Pl. No. 6.
8. *Obv.*— محمد - رسول - الله - ع . . .  
*Marg.*—Part of First Symbol—  
 . . . له وحده لا شريك . . .  
*Rev.*— المطيع لله - خلف بن احمد - عدل  
*Marg.*— ضرب بسجستان - . . . ثلثمائة  
 Sejistan, A.H. 3—.





*Effigies del et Sculp.*

COINS OF SEISTÂN.



9. *Obv.*— لله - محمد - رسول - الله - خلف

*Marg.*—Probably part of First Symbol.

*Rev.*— لا إله إلا - الله وحده - لا شريك له

*Marg.*— Date? but nearly gone.

10. *Obv.*— محمد - رسول - الله -

*Marg.*— Gone.

*Rev.*— الطيب لله

*Marg.*— Gone.



SUR

## UN DIRHEM KAKWEÏHIDE INÉDIT,

DE LA COLLECTION DE M. P. SORET.

PL. XVII, n° 4.

Parmi les dynasties mahométanes dont les monuments monétaires sont restés inconnus jusqu'à ce jour, celle des *Kakweïhides* ou des *Benou-Kakweïh* n'est pas la moins intéressante. Non-seulement la rareté de leurs pièces, mais aussi les dénominations peu connues de ces dynastes, expliquent assez la lacune qui a existé si longtemps dans la numismatique. C'est une chose bien constatée que tous les *dirhems* postérieurs à l'année 350 de l'hégire, sont extrêmement rares dans les trésors exhumés aux environs de la mer Baltique; de même dans la partie méridionale de la Russie, aussi bien que dans l'Orient, les monnaies des Bouweïhides, des Merwanides, des Ziyarides, des Okaïlides et d'autres dynasties contemporaines ne se rencontrent qu'en nombre très-limité. Les troubles ne permettaient pas alors la circulation de l'argent; et on peut douter si ces princes étaient en état d'employer les métaux précieux pour battre des monnaies sur une échelle comparable à celle des premiers Samanides, des Tahirides et d'autres, qui régnaient

à une époque plus calme. La courte durée de la puissance des Kakweihides, depuis 598 tout au plus, jusque vers 445, entrecoupée comme elle l'a été par des bouleversements fréquents, a aussi contribué à diminuer pour nous leur numéraire. L'histoire de la dynastie en question n'a jamais été le sujet d'un examen particulier ; les noms mêmes des princes qui en faisaient partie n'étaient pas bien certains, ce qui créait de grandes difficultés aux numismates pour les reconnaître. Il est probable qu'il existe, dans plus d'une collection, des spécimens de cette petite classe, rejetés parmi les monnaies incertaines, faute de pouvoir découvrir leur véritable origine. Cependant, si l'on doit retrouver encore quelques pièces kakweihides, ce doit être dans l'Orient. Mais la numismatique orientale, sœur cadette d'une grande famille, a par malheur commencé très-tard à gagner la faveur des amateurs ; son abord est vraiment rebutant, et elle exige une étude longue et sérieuse pour être comprise. On ne peut penser sans regret à tous les trésors que l'ignorance de leur valeur a fait perdre à la science. D'un autre côté, les études orientales ne sont devenues, que de notre temps, ce qu'elles doivent être ; nous espérons cependant qu'il sera encore possible de réparer le dommage que le mépris du temps passé a causé à cette branche de la numismatique. On voit publier journellement des découvertes faites dans l'Orient, et le zèle des amateurs commence à rechercher les monnaies orientales aux endroits mêmes où elles furent battues. Les lacunes se combient sensiblement l'une après l'autre, et, par un hasard heureux, je peux, dans ce moment, présenter le premier dirhem connu d'un *Kakweihide*, grâce aux soins éclairés de mon excellent et honorable ami

M. F. Soret, de Genève, auquel la numismatique doit déjà un grand nombre des découvertes les plus belles.

Dans un envoi de dirhems entré au riche cabinet de M. Soret, se trouvait, avec beaucoup d'autres raretés inédites, dont la description a paru dans ce recueil (\*), une pièce qui intriguait la sagacité si bien éprouvée du professeur. Avec sa modestie bienveillante, il eut l'obligeance de me demander mon avis sur les noms qui s'y trouvaient. A la première vue, j'y reconnus une vieille connaissance. Depuis longtemps occupé à préparer une édition de la grande Chronique d'Ibn-el-Athir, j'avais dû étudier l'histoire embrouillée de toutes ces petites dynasties qui parcellaient le domaine ancien des khalifes. Je reconnus, sur ce *dirhem*, le nom du premier prince kakweïhide; cet exemple entre tant d'autres me prouva de nouveau que l'ouvrage contenait la meilleure clef de l'histoire de l'Orient, et qu'il sera sans doute, lorsque, Dieu aidant, il paraîtra imprimé, un guide fidèle pour les orientalistes-numismates. Avant de décrire ce *dirhem* remarquable, je regarde comme nécessaire, pour confirmer mon explication des légendes, de donner quelques détails sur une dynastie qui apparaît, pour la première fois, dans la numismatique; je les puiserai dans la Chronique d'Ibn-el-Athir, si justement appelée *el-kancil*, c'est-à-dire la complète. La Chronique de *Mir-khond*, dont j'ai pu comparer trois exemplaires du quatrième volume, dit seulement quelques mots en passant sur Ibn-Kakweïh, et de même qu'Aboulféda, dans ses Annales, et la plupart des chroniqueurs qui ont écrit après le milieu

(\*) 2<sup>e</sup> et 3<sup>e</sup> livraisons de ce volume.

du VII<sup>e</sup> siècle de l'hégire, elle ne fait pas autre chose que de copier Ibn-el-Athir.

A la mort du Bouveïhîde Fakhr-el-daula, dans l'année 587 (997 de notre ère), son fils *Abou-Talib Roustem Medjil-el-daula*, sous l'autorité des émirs deïlemides, succéda dans le gouvernement de la Perse propre, avec le titre de roi, tandis qu'ils donnèrent à son frère Schems-el-daula le territoire de Hamedan et Karmesin, jusqu'aux frontières de l'Iraque. Le jeune prince, à peine âgé de quatre ans, résidait comme son père à Reï, sous la tutelle de sa mère. Cette princesse, de la famille des Deïlemides, courageuse et entreprenante, possédait toutes les qualités que la nature avait refusées à son faible fils qui, jusqu'à sa fin, demeura dévoué aux plaisirs du harem et de sa bibliothèque, et laissa à sa mère le soin de gouverner le royaume. C'était, en vérité, une affaire au-dessus des forces d'une femme ordinaire. De tous côtés, des ennemis plus ou moins dangereux menaçaient les pays assignés à sa famille. Dès que les trois premiers princes Bouveïhîdes eurent cessé d'exister, le démembrement continu de leurs possessions fit naître des guerres incessantes entre les branches différentes de cette grande dynastie, et le voisinage de ces parents rivaux devint de plus en plus dangereux. Les Ziyarides, descendants de Vashmegnir et de Merdawidj, tâchèrent de se maintenir à l'ouest de la Perse; les Ispéhbeds du Taberistan, les Okaïlides et les Annasides troublèrent constamment la paix de leurs voisins; et, du côté de l'Est, les Ghaznewides, plus tard l'invasion des Gouzzs, et enfin les Seldjoukides causèrent des inquiétudes sérieuses. La princesse fut donc, dès le commencement, dans la nécessité d'appeler à son



aide des hommes capables, pris parmi ses compatriotes. Ainsi, elle confia, avant 598 (1007-8), la province d'Ispahan à son cousin *Alâ-el-daula* (*Abou-Djafar ben-Duschmenziyar Ibn-Kakweïh*). Ibn-el-Athir raconte, sous ladite année, qu'à cette époque, lorsque la mère de Medjd-el-daula, par les intrigues du nouveau vizir Abou-Ali-ben-el-Kasir, qui voulait lui-même prendre en main les rênes du gouvernement, fut obligée de quitter Reï et de se réfugier chez le prince kurde Bedr ben-Hasanweïh, cet Ibn-Kakweïh se retira auprès d'Adhed-el-daula dans le Khoussistan, mais qu'il revint en sa qualité de gouverneur d'Ispahan, quand sa cousine reprit Reï. Cet Abou-Djafar, appartenant par sa naissance à la famille des Bouveïhides, et fondateur de la maison princière dont nous nous occupons, apparaît partout, chez Ibn-el-Athir, sous les noms donnés ici. Vainement j'ai cherché quelques traces certaines pour expliquer plus clairement sa parenté. *Duschmenziyar* était le frère de la mère de Medj-el-daula; voilà tout ce qu'on peut trouver. Mais s'il était permis de faire une conjecture, un fait se présente chez Ibn-el-Athir, sous l'année 387, qui peut jeter quelque lumière sur la question. Dans ce temps, dit notre historien, Kabous Schems-el-Maali, fils de Vascmeguir, envoya l'ispelbed Roustem-ben-Chirweïh avec une armée contre *Roustem-ben-el-Merzoban*, qui gouvernait la province dite la Montagne de Chehryar, de la part de Medjd-el-daula, dont il était l'oncle maternel. Schir-el-din (\*) répète le même fait plus d'une fois. On peut supposer que ce Roustem est

(\*) *Geschichte von Taberistan, Rujan und Masanderan*, ed. V. DORN, Saint-Pétersbourg, 1850, pp. 193, 206, etc.

le même personnage que Duschmenziyar ; et ce qui me détermine à soutenir une telle opinion, c'est une circonstance très-singulière sur le dirhem en question. On voit là le nom de Roustem inscrit deux fois : une fois pour individualiser le nom de Medjd-el-daula, sur l'avvers ; mais, comme on le rencontre aussi au revers, il doit, selon toute probabilité, y signifier quelque autre personnage, et, pour moi, je supposerai qu'il est mis là pour signaler le père du prince, dont le surnom était Duchmenziyar, c'est-à-dire *la ruine des ennemis* ; à moins qu'on ne découvre un autre oncle maternel de Medjd-el-daula. Du reste, le nom ordinaire de Ibn-Kakweih est très-significatif, car il veut dire en persan, ou plutôt dans le dialecte deïlemide, *le fils de l'oncle maternel*. On ne l'aurait pas donné, s'il n'avait pas communiqué une espèce de relief au possesseur d'un tel titre, et c'est précisément une raison de plus pour se persuader que le fils avait voulu perpétuer le vrai nom de son père sur les monnaies. Si l'on suivait les règles ordinaires que l'on applique en donnant le nom aux dynasties, il conviendrait mieux, ce me semble, d'appeler celle-ci les *Duchmenziyarides*, ou bien les *Roustemides*, que les *Kakweihides*.

On ne connaît pas l'époque à laquelle Ibn-Kakweih a commencé à battre des monnaies, ou, ce qui revient à la même chose, à se déclarer prince souverain ; c'est à la numismatique de décider cette question ; mais les moyens lui manquent encore, et le *dirhem* qui nous occupe ne suffit pas. Cependant, on comprend facilement qu'un caractère tel que celui d'Ibn-Kakweih, intrépide, téméraire et impatient d'un joug quelconque, n'a pas dû résister longtemps à la tentation de se soustraire à l'autorité nominale

d'un jeune homme imbécile. Du moins, dans l'année 405 (1014-5), lorsque l'autre fils Schems-el-daula, chassa pour quelque temps sa mère avec Medjd-el-daula de la ville de Reï, on ne voit pas la moindre tentative de la part de Ibn-Kakweïh pour secourir son maître. Sans trop hasarder, on peut supposer qu'il s'était fait souverain avant cette année, probablement peu après 398. Mais ce pouvoir, que plusieurs gouverneurs s'arrogèrent, durant le III<sup>e</sup> et le IV<sup>e</sup> siècle de l'hégire, ne peut pas être comparé à la grandeur des Samanides et d'autres dynasties puissantes. Bien qu'ils prononcent la *khoutba* sous leur nom et exercent le droit de battre des monnaies d'or et d'argent, ces deux principales prérogatives d'un prince musulman souverain, ils n'osent pas se soustraire complètement à l'autorité des rois, au domaine desquels leur territoire avait appartenu. Leurs monnaies confirment cette vérité. Dans l'exemple présent, nous voyons Medjd-el-daula tenir la principale place après le khalife, exactement comme Belia-el-daula figure sur les dirhems des Merwanides et des Okailides. Leur domination était aussi très-incertaine. Chassés de leur royaume, tantôt par l'un, tantôt par l'autre, ces princes ressemblent aux aventuriers qui retiennent leur position par un hasard favorable, mais qui cèdent continuellement au plus fort.

En se débattant contre les Kurdes voisins et l'Ispelbed du Taberistan, Ibn-Kakweïh augmenta ses possessions, en 414 (1023-8), par l'occupation de Hamedan, Deïnever et Sabour-Khast; et sa force morale, en donnant l'année suivante sa fille en mariage à Moucherrif-el-daula, fils de Baha-el-daula, chef des Bouveïhides, qui, depuis 411,

était en possession de l'Iraque arabe. Sur ces entrefaites, un conquérant s'avancait, sous lequel la Perse entière devait bientôt succomber. Mahmoud Yemin-el-daula, le Ghaznevide célèbre, qui s'était rendu maître du Khorasan, attaqua Reï. Le pauvre Medjd-el-daula, dont la mère mourut en 419 (1028), fut fait prisonnier (420) avec son fils Abou-Dolaf, et finit sa vie dans la captivité. Mesred, le fils de Mahmoud, placé comme gouverneur à Reï, tandis que son père retournait à Ghazna, commença immédiatement les hostilités contre Ibn-Kakweïh qui, à l'approche de Mahmoud, avait reconnu sa souveraineté, et en conséquence fait la prière solennelle du vendredi (la khoutba) en sa faveur. Il lui ôta déjà en 420 Ispahan, et enfin, l'an 421 (1030) Ibn-Kakweïh fut obligé de quitter Hamedan, où il s'était retiré, et de se rendre dans le Khousistan pour implorer l'assistance d'Abou-Kalidjar, fils de Soultan-el-daula le Bouweïhide. Cependant, la mort de Mahmoud, survenue la même année, força Mesred d'aller à Ghazna pour s'emparer du trône, que le père avait donné à son fils cadet Mouhammed. Délivré ainsi de son ennemi, Ibn-Kakweïh retourne dans son pays et reprend son royaume. Mais un autre ennemi paraît à présent sur la scène. Les Ghouzz, Turcs de la même souche que les Seldjoukides, avaient en ce temps-là passé le fleuve de l'Oxus et commencé leurs ravages dans le Khorasan et dans les provinces de la Perse, ravages auxquels on peut avec raison assimiler ceux des Moghols, deux siècles plus tard. Après des combats et des conquêtes, entrecoupés par des alliances, pour pouvoir tenir la tête à Abou-Sahl-el-Hamdouni, gouverneur de la Perse et visir du Ghaznevide, Ibn-Kakweïh se voit enfin

délivré de ces terribles ennemis, qui, s'avançant dans d'Adherbeïdjan et jusqu'à Mosoul, succombent quelques années après sous les armes de leurs frères les Seldjoukides.

Si Ibn-Kakweïh s'était contenté de Reï, Ispahan et Hamedan, il aurait pu sans doute vivre en sûreté. Mais, né guerrier et conquérant, il ambitionna l'agrandissement de son royaume et attaqua dans ce but les possessions d'Anouchirvan, fils de Minodjehr-ben-Kabous. Celui-ci, implorant l'aide de Masoud, appela une armée ghaznevide qui vainquit Ibn-Kakweïh. Après une résistance acharnée, il se retira couvert de blessures dans un petit château fortifié. Masoud, que ces circonstances et l'invasion de Ghouzz avaient appelé sur le théâtre de la guerre, fut, peu de temps après, contraint, par les troubles de l'Inde, d'aller à Ghazna, et à son départ (424) il rendit la province d'Ispahan à Ibn-Kakweïh. Avec le retour de la santé, son ancien tempérament reprit le dessus, et il ne resta que peu de temps inactif. Déjà en 425 (1033-4), nous le trouvons allié à Ferhadh, un des fils de Merdavidj, et en plein train de commencer une guerre contre les troupes du Khorasan sous la conduite d'Abou-Sahl-el-Hamdouni. Après un combat, dans lequel Ferhadh est tué, Ibn-Kakweïh fuit dans les montagnes inaccessibles entre Ispahan et Djerbadhkan. Vainement, Abou-Sahl lui propose une paix avantageuse; il préfère la guerre, et après une nouvelle défaite, il se retire à Idhedj, sur le territoire d'Abou-Kalidjar, et Abou-Sahl prend Ispahan.

A cette occasion, Ibn-el-Athir a consigné un fait digne de notre attention. Lorsque Abou-Sahl s'empara d'Ispahan, il y trouva la bibliothèque du célèbre Abou-Ali-Ibn-Sina (Avicenna), qui était au service d'Ibn-Kakweïh. Les livres

furent transportés à Ghazna, où ils restèrent jusqu'à ce que les soldats du Ghouride-el-Houseïn-ben-el-Houseïn les brûlèrent. Cette anecdote nous fait connaître un côté de l'esprit d'Ibn-Kakweïh, qui prouve qu'il n'avait pas dégénéré de sa famille. On ne pouvait pas, dans ce temps-là, protéger un philosophe comme Avicenna, sans risquer sa réputation d'orthodoxe. Et en vérité l'hétérodoxie des Bouweïhides en général est trop avérée pour qu'il nous soit permis de douter de la conviction d'un membre de cette maison, qui, même sur ses monnaies, affichait son penchant pour les Alides, et en conséquence pour leur foi.

Les événements suivants, racontés par notre auteur, sous les années 427 et 452, nous démontrent clairement que la puissance d'Ibn-Kakweïh se rétablit bientôt. Il combattit encore une fois Abou-Sahl, et entreprit une expédition contre l'Annaside Abou-el-Chouk, qui avait occupé quelques places dans l'Iraque persique, et dont le frère implorait le secours du prince Deïlemide. Mais la destinée mit enfin un terme à cette longue et remarquable carrière, qui, à en juger par les faits connus, mériterait un récit détaillé. En retournant de cette dernière entreprise, il fut attaqué d'une maladie fatale et mourut l'an 453 (1041-2) à Ispahan. Ses enfants semblent avoir hérité du courage et de la bravoure de leur père. Ils partagèrent entre eux ses possessions et continuèrent encore quelque temps la dynastie. La faiblesse des Ghaznevides, qui se disaient aussi maîtres de la Perse, explique assez ce fait. Après le meurtre de Masoud, en 452, la base de leur puissance était rompue, et il s'agissait dorénavant de protéger une existence menacée au dehors aussi bien qu'au dedans. La discorde entre

les Bouweïhides contribuait aussi au succès des Kakweïhides.

L'histoire nous a fait connaître trois fils d'Ibn-Kakweïh : *Tahir-el-dîn Abou-Mansour Feramerz* retenait Ispahan comme aîné; *Abou-Khalidjar Kerchasp* prenait possession de Nehavend et Hamedan, avec la connivence de Feramerz; et un troisième, *Abou-Harb*, devint enfin possesseur de la forteresse de Natnaza. Leur domination ne pouvait durer longtemps. Les Seldjoukides, sous le vaillant Toghrul bek, pénétraient de jour en jour plus avant dans la Perse, et déjà en 434 Hamedan et l'Iraqe persique sont perdus. Kerchasp reprend Hamedan en 436; mais la résistance est inutile. La forteresse de Kinkwer fut prise en 439 (1047-8), et en 443 (1051-2) Toghrul bek conquiert Ispahan. Feramerz reçut en revanche Yezd et Aberkouh. Ici notre historien nous abandonne. La dynastie semble s'évanouir peu à peu avec la décadence de toute la maison des Bouweïhides, dont le dernier roi, brave et résolu comme tous les autres, mourut en 450 (1058); dès ce moment l'histoire appartient aux vainqueurs, les Seldjoukides. Seulement, en 444, Ibn-el-Athir rapporte la mort de Kerchasp. Cependant, la famille des Kakweïhides ne perdit pas immédiatement tout son crédit, car en 469 (1076-7) nous voyons *Ali*, fils de Feramerz, se marier avec la princesse Arsean-Khatoun, fille du Seldjoukide Daoud, et veuve du khalife El-Kaim-Biamrillah.

Après cette rapide vue sur l'histoire de la petite dynastie des Kakweïhides ou des Duchmenziyarides, nous expliquerons le dirhem unique et remarquable qui a donné lieu à ces observations.

Le champ de l'avvers :

لا اله الا الله *Non est deus nisi Allah.*

القادر بالله *El-Kadir-billah.*

مجد الدولة *Medjd-el-daula.*

رستم *Rustem.*

Dans un cercle intérieur, on lit la surate 112 du koran, dont on distingue ces restes :

.... الله احد الله الصمد .... يولد ولم يكن له كفوا احد

L'inscription circulaire extérieure est malheureusement tronquée, il en reste seulement :

بسم الله ضرب هذا الد ..... شرة واربعماية  
*Nomine Dei . Hic dirhem cusus est... anno quadringentesimo... decimo.*

Le revers, dans le champ :

رستم *Rustem.*

محمد رسول الله *Muhammed est legatus Dei.*

صمد الدين *Adhed-el-din.*

علا الدولة *Ala-el-daula.*

محمد بن دشمنزيار *Muhammed-ben-Dyschmensiyar.*

Autour se trouve le verset ordinaire du koran (Sur. 9, 53), duquel on aperçoit ces débris :

...ودين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله

Le dirhem nous présente le burin d'un artiste habile. Les caractères ont une belle forme. On remarque eepen-



dant une différence de l'ancien type coufique, sous le rapport de la lettre *ج*, qui, comme on le trouve sur les dirhems des Bouweïhides en général, prend ici une forme recourbée, même au commencement des mots. Il est à regretter que le temps n'ait pas mieux épargné ce précieux document historique. L'endroit de la fabrication est effacé, et, pour la date, l'unité qui assurément a existé devant la dizaine est perdue. Nous pouvons pourtant seulement présumer qu'il a été frappé entre 311 et 319, sans doute à Ispahan, résidence ordinaire du dynaste. Par le nom de Medjd-el-daula Roustem, placé au-dessous de celui du khalife Abbaside, le prince reconnaît la suzeraineté du Bouweïhide, roi de la Perse. Comme chaque nouvelle dynastie s'efforçait de donner à ses monnaies une empreinte différente des autres, ce dirhem possède une singularité à remarquer. La légende circulaire intérieure, ailleurs destinée à exposer la date et le lieu, contient ici les mots qui, d'ordinaire, étaient gravés au champ du revers sur les dirhems des Omméïades, mais qui après ce temps se retrouvent seulement quelquefois sur certaines pièces des derniers Samanides.

Sur le revers, nous remarquons d'abord le nom de *Roustem*, sur lequel nous avons déjà émis l'opinion qu'il ne peut signifier le même Roustem qui est sur l'avvers, mais qu'il doit se rapporter à un autre personnage, probablement le père d'Ibn-Kakweïh, aussi appelé Duchmenziyar. Nous apprenons ici deux autres choses que l'histoire a passées sous silence. Ibn-Kakweïh portait le titre d'*Alâ-el-daula* (l'éminence de l'empire), à l'exemple des Bouweïhides, titre sous lequel il est généralement cité par les historiens. Le droit de distribuer ces noms d'honneur appartenait

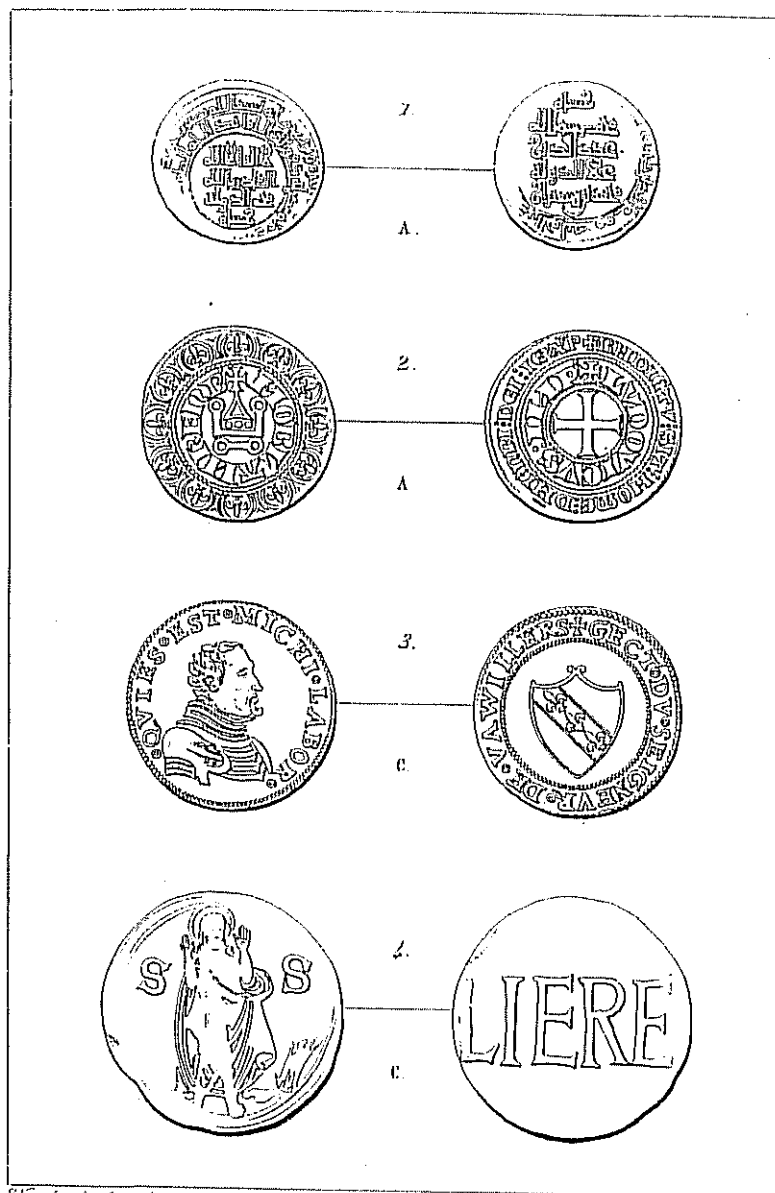
en principe au khalife qui, par une telle appellation, légalisait pour ainsi dire une conquête, très-souvent à ses propres dépens. Ces distinctions, bien comparables à nos titres honorifiques, étaient très-recherchées à cette époque, et se joignaient aux khilas, ou l'uniforme religieux aux couleurs du khalife, et aux étendards, signes de l'autorité militaire. Les Bouweïhides, qui ne faisaient pas beaucoup de cas du khalife Abbaside, prenaient sans doute souvent sans le consulter ces noms empruntés, qui augmentaient en magnificence à mesure que le pouvoir décroissait. Ibn-Kakweïh, non content du titre séculier d'Alà-el-daula peut-être usurpé, s'arrogeait aussi un titre religieux, celui d'*Adhed-eldin* (le bras de la Foi), que notre monnaie seule a conservé à la postérité. Chez Ibn-el-Athir, son nom propre n'est jamais indiqué, seulement sa *kounyah* Abou-Djâfar; notre dirhem au contraire l'appelle *Mouhammed*, et complète ainsi le récit du célèbre historien.

Quant au nom du père *Duchmenziyar*, il est écrit si clairement dans les deux manuscrits d'Ibn-el-Athir, que j'ai copiés à la Bibliothèque impériale à Paris, qu'il ne me reste pas le moindre doute sur sa vraie orthographe. Cependant le dirhem, d'ailleurs d'une netteté parfaite, donne ici lieu à quelque méfiance, ce que son possesseur a très-bien observé. La première lettre de ce nom inaccoutumé présente une forme qui ressemble plutôt à un R qu'à un D, et dans une telle supposition, il manquerait un trait des trois de la lettre suivante S. Mais si nous comparons la figure de la lettre R, qui se trouve deux fois au commencement du nom Roustem, et deux fois à la fin des mots précisément sur le revers, nous apercevons facilement la grande différence

qui existe entre ces R et le trait en question, et un tel changement serait impossible à un graveur aussi habile que celui qui a dessiné notre dirhem. Du reste, le mot, regardé à la loupe, nous montre parfaitement les trois crochets de l'S, bien séparés de la première lettre, dont l'étrange forme s'explique par la place limitée, trop étroite pour un nom si long. Si l'on tient à la forme de la lettre, il faut avouer que le graveur s'est trompé et qu'il a commis une faute peut-être à son insu. Dans tous les cas, la lettre S est incontestable, et nous n'avons pas encore le droit de contredire un tel historien qu'Ibn-el-Athir, avant que d'autres témoins plus fidèles aient renversé un fait raconté par lui. Je sou mets volontiers mes opinions, exprimées dans ces lignes, au jugement des personnes qui, plus heureuses que moi, sont en état de pouvoir consulter des ouvrages qui traitent spécialement l'histoire des Bouweïhides.

Lund, avril 1858.

E. J. TORNBERG.





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## Zur muhamedanischen Numismatik.

Von

**Dr. J. G. Stückel.**

In meiner Uebersicht über die auf muhamedanische Numismatik bezüglichen Arbeiten, welche seit etwa einem Jahrzehnt in der *Revue de la numismatique belge* veröffentlicht worden sind (*Ztschr. d. DMG.* XVI. 770—83), ist, mir unbewusst, eine Lücke geblieben, deren Ergänzung um so unerlässlicher erscheint, je wichtiger und inhaltsreicher der Aufsatz ist, dessen noch zu gedenken gewesen wäre. Herrn D. Tornberg's Abhandlung *Sur un dirhem Kakweïhide inédit, de la collection de M. Soret* war mir in besonderem Abdruck einzeln zugekommen (Bruxell. 1858), und erst jetzt bin ich durch befreundete Hand darauf aufmerksam gemacht worden, dass dieselbe gleichfalls in der vorbenannten *Revue* (T. II. 3. sér.) erschien. Sie bietet mehr als die Aufschrift besagt; ausser der Erklärung des bis dahin unedirten Münzstückes, auch ein *Exposé* über die Geschichte der Dynastie, welcher es angehört und die noch von niemand im Besondern untersucht wurde. Das hier behandelte Stück ist die erste Münze, die von den Kakweïhiden bekannt

geworden; mit der also diese Fürstenfamilie, Dank der Gelehrsamkeit und dem Scharfsinn des Hrn. Tornberg, in die Numismatik eingeführt worden ist. Un-erkannt verbergen sich vielleicht noch in manchem Cabinet unter den un-ge-wissen, die fast nirgends fehlen, andere zugehörige Exemplare, die nun, nachdem der Blick geöffnet worden, leichter ihre richtige Bestimmung erhalten werden. Schon jetzt sind seit dem Erscheinen jener Abhandlung zwei andere Stücke derselben Dynastie an das Licht getreten, beide in Gold von Ispahan a. 438 und von 437 (od. 439) mit verwischter Localität.

Die Macht der Kakweihiden ist nur von kurzer Dauer gewesen, von 398 der Hıgıra bis gegen 443; nicht einmal die Namen der zugehörigen Fürsten waren sicher ermittelt, daher die Numismatiker nicht vermochten ihre Münzen zu erkennen und zu classificiren. Ein Dirhem in der reichen Sammlung des Hrn. Soret, worüber dieser den Hrn. Tornberg zu Rathe zog, bot diesem mit der Herausgabe des Ibn al-Athir beschäftigten und dadurch mit der Geschichte der kleinen, aus dem alten Khalifen-Reiche entsprungenen Dynastien wohl be-kannten Gelehrten den Namen des ersten Fürsten der Kakweihiden; damit war die Entdeckung einer neuen Münzreihe gemacht. Wir werden an diesem Bei-spiele des Vorzugs der Chronik Ibn al-Athir's vor den andern ähnlichen Werken recht inne; denn während Mirkhond und Abulfedâ nur im Vorbeigehen einige Worte über den Stifter der fraglichen Dynastie sagen, hat Hr. Tornberg über denselben Ibn Kakweih und dessen Nachfolger eine Reihe von Geschichtsdaten aus seiner Quelle mittheilen können, die wenn auch nicht alle Dunkelheiten aufhellen, doch einen guten Einblick in jene Zeiten gewähren. Die Dynastie hatte ihren Sitz wesentlich in Ispahan. Ihre zugehörigen Glieder, Abstammungs- und Verwandtschaftsverhältnisse, soweit sie Hr. Tornberg aus Ibn al-Athir zu er-mitteln vermochte, glaube ich am übersichtlichsten in folgender Tafel vor Augen stellen zu können:

Buıde Fakhr ed-daula (+387),  
vermählt mit e. Deilemitin, deren Bruder: Duschmenzar Rustem ben el-Merzuban.

Schems ed-daula, Abu-Tulih Rustem Medschid ed-daula,  
herrscht in Hamadan 1 J. alt König in Persien, res. in Reı.  
und Karmesin.

Alı ed-daula Abu-Dschafar ben Duschmenzar Ibn Kakweih,  
bald nach 398 Stifter der Kakweihiden-Dynastie.

1) Thahir ed-din Abu-Manssur Feramerz, 2) Abu-Khalidschar Kerchasp, 3) Abu-Harb,  
resid. in Ispahan. in Nehawend u. Hamadan. in Natnapa.

Alı ben Feramerz, 469 vermählt mit Arsean-Khıtanu, T. des Seldschuken Dawud.

Hierzu sei nur noch bemerkt, dass die Identität des Duschmenzar mit Rustem ben-Merzuban nirgends in den Quellen ausdrücklich ausgesprochen ist, sondern auf einer Combination des Herrn Tornberg beruht, die aber den höchsten Grad von Wahrscheinlichkeit für sich hat. Nach den Andeutungen der Quellen, soweit sie hier mitgetheilt sind, könnte daneben nur noch die eine Möglichkeit gedacht werden, dass die Deilemitin zwei Brüder gehabt hätte, deren einer Duschmenzar, der andere aber Rustem ben ol-Merzuban geheissen hätte. Doch

scheint dieser Fall durch die Data der vorliegenden Münze selbst aufgehoben zu werden.

Als Stifter der Dynastie, die, das zeigt die Tafel, ebensowohl Duschmenzariden oder Rustemiden, wie Kakweïhiden benannt werden könnte, hat sich Ala-ed-daula bald nach dem Jahre 398 von der Gewalt der Buïden befreit und zum Selbstherrscher aufgeworfen, indem er jedoch einen Schein der Oberherrlichkeit in der Beibehaltung des buïdischen Fürstennamens auf seinen Münzen fort dauern liess. Auf dem vorliegenden Stück nimmt desshalb Medschd-ed-daula, der Buïde, die Stelle zunächst nach dem Namen des Khalifen al-Kadir billah ein. Zu unterst steht noch auf dem Advers Rustem, und wiederum erscheint رستم zu oberst auf dem Revers. Hr. Tornberg findet es unwahrscheinlich, dass hiermit ein und dieselbe Person des Medschd-ed-daula gemeint sei, bezieht vielmehr letzteres auf den Vater des Ibn Kakweïh, der auch Duschmenzar geheissen habe. Durch die der Münzerklärung voraus geschickte historische Erörterung wird das wohl begründet. Indem noch nach dem Glaubenssymbol als Name des eigentlichen Prägeherrn, das ist des Stifters der Dynastie, auf dem Revers

عصد الدين  
علا الدولة  
محمد بن دشمنوار

geboten sind, erfahren wir zu dem einen Titel das Ibn Kakweïh علا الدولة, unter dem er gewöhnlich von den Historikern erwähnt wird, noch als einen zweiten, religiösen desselben, das عصد الدين, und endlich seinen eigentlichen Namen Muhammad, statt dessen Ibn el-Athir nur seine Kunja Abu Dschafar nennt.

Ueber die richtige Zuweisung des unedirten Dirhem an jenen Fürsten kann kein Zweifel sein, wenn auch die Jahrzahl nur zum Theil (شرفة.....) erhalten ist; er fällt zwischen 411 und 419 (nur durch ein Versehen steht S. 17: 311 und 319) und ist wahrscheinlich — auch der Stadtname ist verwischt — in Ispahan als der gewöhnlichen Residenz geschlagen. Ein beigelegter Münzabdruck zeigt uns schöne Buchstabenformen, schon aber mit Abweichungen von dem alten kufischen Ductus. Die Unregelmässigkeit im letzten Worte des Reverses rücksichtlich des د scheint auch mir eher von dem Mangel an Raum, durch den sich der Künstler beengt sah, abgeleitet werden zu müssen, als Zweifel gegen die Lesung دشمنوار zu begründen; aber nur dieses, nicht دشمنوبار bietet die Münze.

Als eines zweiten Nachtrags ist einer Abhandlung des Hrn. Sauvair: Lettre à Mr. Soret sur quelques dinars inédits Selgioukides de Perse in der Revue numismatique belge to. VI. 3 sér. (besonders gedruckt Bruxelles 1862) zu gedenken, welche erst nach meiner Uebersicht erschienen ist. Während des Aufenthaltes des Hrn. Sauvair in Beirut war ein Münzfund von Seidschuken-Dinaren gemacht worden, alle mit dem Namen Togrul-Bek's, deren Erwerbung ihm glückte. Ein werthvoller Besitz, da diese Münzklasse selbst in den reichsten Cabinetten nur schwach vertreten ist, die aber nun nicht blos durch diesen Beitrag, sondern auch von anderer Seite uns bekannter wird,



da inzwischen auch das königliche Museum zu Kopenhagen und das kaiserliche zu Paris, letzteres eine reiche Suite, neuen Zuwachs darin erhalten haben. — In vorliegender Abhandlung gibt Hr. Sauvaire eine genaue Beschreibung seiner 12 Dinare, die Hr. Soret mit einigen Bemerkungen und einer Nachschrift begleitet hat. Die Stücke stammen aus Hamadan vom J. 438, Reif 440, Nisabur 441, einer Localität, die ungewiss bleibt, vom J. 442, Ispahan 443. 444, Reif 444, Ispahan (?) 445. 448 und endlich ein Dinar ebenfalls aus Ispahan vom J. 438, welchen Hr. Tornberg als das zweite Kakweihiden-Exemplar, von Feramerz geschlagen, erweist. — So wächst und erweitert sich, gewiss zur Freude jedes Münzkenners, diese Wissenschaft in ununterbrochener Folge, fast von einem Tage zum andern.

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## Zur muhammedanischen Numismatik.

Von

Dr. J. G. Stickel.

Etwa vor Jahresfrist gab uns die Ztschr. d. D. M. G. unter den Anzeigen über die zugegangenen Vermehrungen der Bibliothek auch Nachrichten von einem Geschenk, in zehn muhammedanischen Münzen bestehend, das Hr. Consul Dr. Blau zugesendet hat. Auf meinen Wunsch sind mir diese Stücke zur Durchsicht mitgetheilt worden, und wie ich mich an denselben erfreut habe, dürften wohl auch andere Genossen zu erfahren wünschen, was in jener Sendung befasst sei. Sie enthält Folgendes:

1)  $\mathcal{A}$ . Eine Bildmünze aus der Zeit der byzantinisch-arabischen Prägungen als ein zweites Exemplar zu dem im kaiserlichen Cabinet zu Paris bewahrten und von de Sauley im Journ. Asiatique. Sér. III. To. VIII S. 490 beschriebenen, auch Pl. II. No. 13. abgebildeten<sup>1)</sup>. Sie ist zu منبج (Hierapolis) in Syrien, drei Parasangen vom Euphrat und zehn von Haleb entfernt, geschlagen, und bietet auf der einen Seite die ganze Figur des mit dem Schwert umgürteten Khalifen mit der links und rechts herablaufenden Legende: خليفة النبي [نبي] und أمير المؤمنين, auf der andern Seite das  $\Phi$  auf drei Stufen, die Umschrift لا إله إلا الله وحده محمد, links vom Kreuze واف richtig, rechts بمنبج. Unser Exemplar, etwas kleiner als das zu Paris, enthält deutlich den Haken des ب vor dem Ortsnamen, welcher dort in der Abbildung

1) In einem so eben erhaltenen Briefe schreibt Hr. Soret: „Je possède la pièce de Manbedj décrite par de Sauley avec toutes les autres qui se trouvaient dans la collection de Lagoy.“ Wie sich das mit der Angabe de Sauley's a. u. O. „Cabinet du Roi“ vereinigen lasse, weiss ich nicht.

fehlt. Statt des  $\dot{\text{a}}$  in خلفة (so, nicht: خليفة) steht auch hier ein Zug, welcher dem  $\dot{\text{a}}$  ungleich ähnlicher ist, als einem  $\dot{\text{a}}$ . Auch unser Exemplar lässt es zweifelhaft, ob dem خليفة das النبي, oder, wie auf spätern Münzen, الله folgt. Jedenfalls ist das Stück unzweifelhaft die älteste Münze, auf welcher sich dieser Titel findet, und als solche sehr merkwürdig.

2) *R.* Eine der ältesten Omajjaden-Münzen von Abdulmelik بالبصرة في سنة ثنتين وثمانين in al-Bassra im Jahre zweiundachtzig geprägt (= 701, 2 n. Chr.). — Die Vorderseite mit einem dreifachen punctirten Kreise und fünf kleinen  $\circ$  eingefasst. — Ein zweites Exemplar bewahrt das hiesige Grossherzogl. Münzcabinet, ein drittes das Asiat. Museum der Akademie d. Wissensch. zu St. Petersburg, vgl. Fraehn Rec. S. 7. No. 21. Das Einheitszahlwort ist für letzteres Exemplar اثنتين angegeben; die beiden erstern, mir vorliegenden, zeigen aber bestimmt kein  $\text{أ}$ , sondern eine mit dem  $\dot{\text{a}}$  zusammenhängende Zucke; ich möchte eine nochmalige Untersuchung rücksichtlich dieser Differenz des Petersburgischen Stückes wünschen. Denn das  $\text{أ}$  erscheint sonst in den Legenden hier in den entsprechenden Fällen durchweg vom folgenden Elemente gesondert. Gerade wieder eine Münze von Bassra n. 142 (Tornberg Numi Cafici S. 15. No. 21) bietet dasselbe ثنتين, und es wird so die Behauptung Tychsen's (Introd. in rom numar. Muham. S. 47. Not.), dass diese Zahlform auf Münzen nicht vorkomme, widerlegt. Nochmals finde ich ثنتين auf einem Dirhem Abbasia's a. 172 bei Tornb. a. a. O. S. 39. und auf einer Samaniden-Münze von Morw a. 302 ib. S. 189. — Wenn der Scholiast zur Hamasa S. 19. nur Beispiele für jene Form aus Dichtern beibringt, so wird durch die Münzen bewiesen, dass die Dichter sie aus einem alten Vulgärgebrauch aufgenommen haben.

3) *R.* Ein Abbasiden-Dirhem von al-Mahdi بالبصرة سنة [ثمان] وستين ومية gepr. in al-Bassra im Jahre einhundert und acht (7) und sechzig (= 784, 5 n. Chr.). — Dreifacher Kreis mit je drei einfachen und doppelten Ringelchen abwechselnd. — Revers: محمد رسول الله || صلى الله عليه || وسلم || الخليفة المهدي || محمد, von einem Doppelkreise umschlossen. Am äussersten, einfachen Kreise fünf kleine Ringel. — Aus demselben Jahre besitzt zwar auch das Asiat. Museum der Petersb. Akadem. (Rec. S. 6<sup>o</sup> No. 112) eine Münze Bassra's<sup>1)</sup>, die aber von der vorliegenden sehr verschiedene Legenden trägt. — Die Beifügung des Eigennamens محمد zu المهدي findet sich vorzugsweise auf den Münzen von Bassra, Muhammedia, Kufa und Mubareka, wenn anders der Fels vom J. 167 im Besitze des Hrn. Staatsraths

1) Nachschrift. Dieser Verschiedenheit halber und weil eine Münze Bassra's in der Rec. S. 33. No. 78, auch beschrieben von Kehr Monarch. asiat. No. XVIII, vom Jahre 161, von welcher auch das Jenaische Cabinet ein Exemplar bewahrt, ganz dieselben Legenden trägt, wie unsere vorliegende, auf der auch Hr. Biau die Jahrzahl 161 gelesen hat, verdient diese Jahrzahl wohl den Vorzug vor der im Text angegebenen. Die Münze selbst ist mir nicht mehr zur Hand, um sie nochmals darauf zu prüfen. St.

Soret (vgl. dessen Lettre à Mr. Sawelief, Brux. 1854. S. 15. No. 15) dieser letztgenannten Stadt gehört.

4) *R.* Ein Dirhem Harun al-Raschid's *بمدينة زرنج سنة خمس وثمانين* gepr. in Serendsch im Jahre ein hundert und fünf und achtzig (= 801, 2 n. Chr.), umschlossen von drei Kreisen, an denen auswärts fünf Punkte stehen. — Revers: *محمد رسول الله || صلى الله عليه وسلم || الخليفة الرشيد*; darüber *علي*, darunter *بن بركة* und zu unterst *بخ*. — Münzen dieser Stadt der Provinz Sedschestau, die immer noch zu den seltnern gehören, sind wiederholt von mir in dieser Zeitschrift VI. S. 115 ff. 285 f. 398 f., Hrn. Tornberg VII, S. 110 f. und Hrn. v. Dorn VIII. S. 841. besprochen worden. Nachmals hat Hr. Tornberg *Symbol. ad rem numar. Muhammedan. II. S. 15 f.* alle bis zum Jahre 1853 bekannten Exemplare übersichtlich zusammengestellt, 26 an Zahl, und mit einigen dankenswerthen Bemerkungen begleitet. In jenem Verzeichnisse findet sich zwar auch ein Exemplar desselben Jahres 185 (No. 13), welches das unsrige trägt, im Besitze des Cabinets von Stockholm, allein das vorliegende unterscheidet sich von jenem durch die Beifügung des *بن بركة*, d. i. wahrscheinlich Name des Münzmeisters oder Steuerverwalters, der nicht mit dem oben stehenden *علي* zu einem Namen zu verbinden ist. Wir lernen also durch das vom Hrn. Consul Blau zugekommene Stück zwei Varietäten desselben Jahres kennen, und es wird durch das Erscheinen des *بن بركة*, welches auf dem Exemplare von Stockholm fehlt, im nachfolgenden Jahre 186 aber wie im nächstvorhergehenden 184 vorhanden ist, die Continuität der Beamtung dieses sonst unbekanntes Mannes erwiesen. — Die dargebotene Gelegenheit ergreifend, bemerke ich, dass ausser den von Hrn. Tornberg verzeichneten noch von Sarendscher Münzen das Jenaische Cabinet ausser einem Dimidius, dessen Jahrzahl weggebrochen ist, besitzt: 1) a. 180 mit *جعفر*, 2) a. 18(1) wie in Frähn *Opp. post. S. 228. No. 179, a., 3) a. 187*, oben *علي*, unten *سيف بن الظالمى* (vgl. Tornberg's No. 18), und nach brieflichen Mittheilungen des Hrn. Consul Blau: 1) a. 181, oben *علي*, unten ganz deutlich bloss *يزيد* (nicht *بن يزيد*, wie in der *Rec. p. 21\* No. 179*) und *بخ*, 2) a. 188, oben *علي*, unten *سيف بن الظالمى* — dieses Jahr war bis jetzt noch nicht belegt —, 3) a. 189, oben *علي*, unten *سيف بن الظالمى*, 4) a. 192, oben *هرثمة*, unten *الحدر*. Auch dieser letzte Name ist ein neues Vorkommniss.

In Bezug auf den Namen *الظالمى*, statt dessen Frähu in der *Rec. S. 28\** No. 214(?) *الط داي* bietet, fügt Herr Blau, dem zwei Exemplare mit dem fraglichen Wort aus den Jahren 188 u. 189 vorliegen, die Bemerkung bei: „Diesen bisher nirgends deutlich erkannten zweiten Namen vermag ich auf beiden Exemplaren nicht anders als *ظالمى* Thalimi zu lesen“, und ich muss nach dem Jenaischen, aus demselben Jahre, wie das Petersburger Exemplar, diese Lesung Blau's bestätigen. Hinter dem *ظ* ist deutlich hier ein *ل* vorhanden. — Nachträglich ersehe ich, dass ein mit dem unsrigen identisches Exom-

plar schon von Frähn in dessen Num. cufic. S. 5. No. 11. aufgeführt und Tab. XVIII. 11. theilweise abgebildet ist.

5) *Æ*. Ein Fels ebenfalls Harun al-Raschid's nach der Randschrift des Rev.: Im Namen Gottes geprägt **بدمشق سنة اثننتين وتسعين ومية** in Dimeschq im Jahre einhundert zwei und neunzig (=807, 8 n. Chr.). — Zwar ist der Ortsname auf dem vorliegenden Exemplare nur theilweise noch erhalten, allein ein zweites im hiesigen Cabinet vorhandenes, das auch im Metall (Gelbkupfer) übereinstimmt, setzt mich in den Stand, die Localität mit Sicherheit zu bestimmen. Drei andere, identische Stücke sind verzeichnet in Hallenberg Numism. Or. Partic. pr. S. 87, Castigl. Mon. Cufice S. 28. No. XXXIV und Fraehn Rec. S. 1\*\* No. 246. Die beiden Stücke, welche ich vor Augen habe, thun 1) dar, dass das Zahlwort, welches für Frähn zweifelhaft blieb, ob **سبعين** oder **تسعين**, nur in der letztern Weise zu lesen ist, 2) dass nicht, wie Hallenberg und Castiglioni angeben, **اثنان**, sondern **اثننتين** auf der Münze steht. 3) Findet sich unter dem Glaubens-Symbol des Reverses ein einzelner Buchstabe, den sämtliche Vorgänger für ein **و** halten, wie solches an derselben Stelle als Abkürzung entweder des Namens vom Münzmeister, oder eines auf Gewicht oder Metallgehalt bezüglichen Wortes, etwa statt **واف**, um diese Zeit öfters wahrgenommen wird. Nun zeigt mir aber eine sorgfältigere Untersuchung auf beiden unsern Exemplaren über dem Kopfe dieses Buchstabens zwei feine Puncte, so dass man ihn, wenn sie zu dem Buchstaben gehören, wie es den Anschein hat, für **ق** halten muss. — Eine völlig neue Erscheinung. Denn wenn auch sonst zwei Puncte neben einander unter dem Glaubenssymbol des Adverses, wie auf den Kupferstücken al-Mehdi's vom J. 165 u. 167. von Kufa (Marsd. No. XXVII u. XXX) vorkommen, so ist das hier doch völlig anders. — Dieses Siglum **ق** deutet sich, nach Analogie des **ع** für **عدل** richtig, am natürlichsten durch **قدر** definita quantitas auf das gehörige Gewicht dieser Münzstücke. Hiermit hätten wir eine weitere Vermehrung derartiger Bezeichnungen zu dem von Hrn. Soré (Lettre à Mr. Laléwel S. 11) zusammengestellten gewonnen.

6) *Al*. Vom Khalifen al-Mamun geprägt **بمدينة سمرقند سنة ست وتسعين ومية** in der Stadt Samarqand, im Jahre einhundert und sechs und neunzig (=811, 12 n. Chr.). — Advers oben im Felde ein **ح**, unten **م** (wie ein nach links verbundenes Mim). — Revers oben **لله**, darunter **محمد رسول الله** || **ما أمر به الامام** || **المأمون أمير المؤمنين** **ع**, darunter **الفصل** und zu unterst **م**. — Es ist ein drittes Exemplar der von Torberg Num. Cufic. S. 308. No. 264 b. und von Frähn in d. Mémoires de l'Académie Impér. X. S. 408 ausführlich beschriebenen Münze. Aus demselben Jahre und derselben Stadt liegen uns nun vier verschiedene Typen vor: 1) in Frähn Opp. post. S. 18 No. 275, b mit dem **لله** oben und nur **الفصل** unten auf der Kehrseite, 2) in Tornb. l. c. S. 70 No. 264 übereinstimmend mit dem unsrigen, ausser dass auf der Kehrseite die beiden Siglen **ع** und **م** fehlen, 3) die drei Exemplare mit diesen Siglen und 4) noch ein Dirhem,

dessen Kehrseite nur لله über dem zweiten Theile des Glaubenssymbols und darunter das ذوالرياستين bietet, vgl. Mémoir. de l'Académ. Impér. I. c. S. 412 f. — Ueber den hier und oft auf gleichzeitigen Münzen genannten al-Fadh1, den mächtigen Gouverneur Mamun's in den Ostprovinzen, einen Sohn Sahl's, vgl. Frähn's Beiträge z. Mubam. Mzkde S. 20f. — Ueber die Siglen, welche hier auf beiden Seiten in seltener Weise gehäuft sind und die deshalb sicher nicht den Namen etwa des Münzmeisters enthalten können, ist von Frähn a. a. O. und in meinem Handb. zur morgenl. Mzkunde S. 58 ff. ausführlich gehandelt. Zur weiteren Unterstützung der von mir angenommenen Bedeutung sind nachmals die vollständig ausgeschriebenen, auf den Münzworth bezüglichen Formeln محقق عدل auf einer Münze des Hrn. Blau und bei

Marsden n. a. O. No. LII., Castigl. No. XXXVL und حقا in Tornb. Symb. ad rem num. II. S. 18 hinzugekommen, mancher andern nicht zu gedenken. Für die Deutung auf Vollwichtigkeit zeugt auch das Gewicht des vorliegenden Stückes, 3,015 Gramm. Es ist einer der schwersten abbasid. Dirhems; denn er würde in der Uebersicht über die Gewichtsvorhältnisse (mein Handb. z. morgenl. Mzk. S. 30) die dritte Stelle einnehmen.

7) *R.* Noch ein Abbasiden-Dirhem des Khalifen al-Mu'tadhid billah, geprägt باصبيهان سنة احدى وثمانين وماتين in Ispahan im Jahre zweihundert ein und achtzig (= 894,5 n. Chr.). Die äussere Rand-schrift Sure 30, 3. 4. — Unter dem Glaubenssymbole: عمر بن عبد العزيز. Revers oben لله, dann zweiter Theil des Symbolum, darunter المعتصد بالله.

— Der Schriftductus ist sehr verschieden von dem der älteren Abbasidenmünzen; das ا oft auch nach links verbunden, das ه oft kaum von einer blos aufrechten, unten etwas breitem Zacke verschieden, wodurch die Lesung des Ortsnamens erschwert wird; man könnte auch an نصيبين denken, ja für den ersten Blick erscheint dieses als das Nächste. Aber das vorletzte Element steigt für ي zu hoch über die Linie auf, und das vorhergehende ist unten breiter als eine gewöhnliche Zacke, so wie hier das He erscheint. — In العزيز sind die Köpfe der beiden letzten Elemente wie zu einem A vereinigt und der Schweif des letzten ر ist über die Grundlinie hoch aufwärts gezogen; in عبد hat das Dal nicht die einem د ähnliche Form, sondern fast wie im Naskhi. — Ich halte die Münze für noch unedirt. — Der auf der Vorderseite genannte Omar b. Abd-ul Aziz, nicht zu verwechseln mit zwei andern Gleichnamigen, einem Statthalter von Medina unter al-Hadi, und einem auf einer Oqailiden-Münze (Tornb. Num. cufic. S. 268) unter al-Muti'lillah erwähnten, erscheint meines Wissens hier zum ersten Male auf einer Münze. Er gehörte zu dem Geschlechte des Abu Dulaf, das seit Mamun eine grosse Rolle in der Geschichte des Islam spielt, und war eben in diesem Jahre 281, da unser Münzstück geschlagen ist, vom Khalifen zum Statthalter von Ispahan, Karadsch und Nebawend ernannt worden. Vgl. Weil Gesch. d. Chalifen. II. S. 487 ff.

8) *R.* Eine Soffariden Münze, unter Amru ibn-al-Leith geprägt بغارس

... بين ... و ... سنة ... in Fâris im Jahre zwei(hundert) und ....

Unter dem Glaubenssymbol:

الموفق بالله                      al-Muwaffaq billah.  
عمر                                      'Amru.

Ersteres ist der Name des vom Khalifen Almu'tamid 'ala-llah, der auf dem Revers genannt ist, zum Mitregenten und Nachfolger bestimmten Bruders; 'Amru aber, sonst noch mit dem Beisatze بن الليث, der zweite Regent aus dem Hause der Soffariden. — Revers oben لله, dann der zweite Theil des Symbolum, darunter: الله [عنه] على الله al-Mu'tamid 'ala-llah, zu unterst سلم d. i. سلم integer. — Der Ortsname Fâris steht bekanntlich hier für شیراز. Von der Jahrzahl ist zwar nur der erste Buchstabe des Einers و erhalten, der auf سبع oder ست hinweist; — nur nach dem Synchronismus der drei Eigennamen könnten diese beiden Einer der sechziger oder siebenziger Jahre in Rücksicht kommen; — allein da auf der Münze von Fâris aus dem Jahre 273 (Tornberg Num. eufie. p. 149 No. 14) statt des auf unserem Stück noch genannten al-Muwaffaq der Sohn des Khalifen al-mufawwad ila-llah als Erbpriuz genannt ist, so scheint mir das Prägejahr dieser unserer Münze 266 oder 267 zu sein. Auch sie halte ich für unedirt und werthvoll, da Münzen dieser nur kurze Zeit regierenden Dynastie immer noch zu den seltneren gehören.

9) *A.* Münze der Seldschugen von Kleinasien, unter Koichosru, einem Sohne Qilidsch Arslan's, geschlagen.

I.	السلطان الاعظم	Der erhabene Sultan
	غياث الدنيا والدين	Ghaijas al-dunja wa'l-din
	كيخسرو بن قلعج	Koichosru, Sohn Qilidsch
	ارسلان	Arslân's.

Ein sechsstrahliger Stern über دنيا und über dem Anfang der zweiten Zeile, noch einer über خس und zu Anfang der letzten Zeile. Zu oberst eine Arabeske.

II. Im Felde von einer sechsbogigen Rosette und einer Kreislinie umschlossen: الملك لله Die Herrschaft ist Gotte! Links oben ein achtstrahliger Stern, desgleichen rechts unten und ein sechsstrahliger daneben zur Linken. — Die Randschrift, welche den Prägeort und die Jahrzahl enthielt, ist in jenem flüchtigen Carrant, einer Art Diwani-Schrift gegeben, welche auf Seldschugen-Münzen herrscht, leider aber von dem zu kleinen Schrödling nicht vollständig gefasst. Sie beginnt, abweichend von den verwandten Stücken, auf der linken Seite mit ضرب und schliesst mit ستماية; diesem letzten geht ein Zehner vorher; denn die Endung بين scheint unzweifelhaft. Von den Prägeorte sind nur die untern Buchstabenenden erhalten, die ich nicht

mit dem geläufigen Ortsnamen سیواس oder قونية zu vereinigen vermag<sup>1)</sup>. — Des Namens Ghajjas al-din Keichosru kommen drei Fürsten dieser Dynastie vor, von denen der zweite, als ein Sohn des Keiqobad, hier ausgeschlossen ist, so dass nur in Frage bleibt, ob der erste, welcher von 588—579 herrschte, flüchten musste, dann aber von 601 bis 604 oder 607 nochmals auf den Thron kam, oder der dritte, der nach den Münzdenkmälern schon von 664 und nicht erst, wie Castiglioni annimmt, von 666 bis 683 regierte, als Präherr unseres Münzstücks anzusehen sei. Genauer stellt sich die Frage, weil die Jahrzahl ستماية vollständig erhalten ist, ob es zwischen 601 und 607, oder in die Zeit des dritten Keichosru gehört. Ist der Zug vor ستماية richtig von mir als Pluralendung eines Zehners genommen, was ich meine, weil noch vorher, und zwar vor dem ganzen zusammenhängenden Zehnerwort, eine gesonderte, schiefe Linie hergeht, die Frähn (Ergänzgsbl. z. Jen. Lit.-Ztg. No. 58. S. 77) und Castiglioni als ست deuten, so ist damit auch entschieden, dass Keichosru III. diese Münze hat schlagen lassen. Denn die zweite Regierungsepoche Keichosru's I. lässt keinen Zehner zu. Am wahrscheinlichsten erachte ich die Lesung der Jahrzahl: ست ستین ستماية sechshundert sechs und sechzig; so dass die Prägung also in das dritte Regierungsjahr Keichosru's III. fällt. — Für die Zugehörigkeit an diesen Fürsten, von dem mir nur noch zwei Münzen bekannt sind, spricht auch die offenbare Verwandtschaft des Typus mit dem von Frähn (De II-Chanor. numis. Tab. III. No. 5) abgebildeten desselben Herrschers aus dem J. 664. Ausser der Umschrift der Kehrseite und dem Beisatze ابو الفتح sind die Legenden ganz dieselben. Dasselbe gilt von einem zweiten Stück bei Masud. No. LXXXII, das der Herausgeber fälschlich Keichosru I. zugeheilt hat.

10) Ein Fragment in Kupfer, dessen Vorderseite einen Kopf en face zeigt, neben der linken Wange — ست oder wie Herr Blau liest, حلب; auf der Rückseite erkenne ich nur السلطان (wie اللطان) und in der Mitte der zweiten Zeile . . . غبا ال. . . fast wie علا aussehend. Ich muss es zur Zeit unbestimmt lassen.

Aus dieser Uebersicht wird erhellen, wie werthvoll diese Münzdenkmäler sind, welche der Herr Consul Blau der deutschen morgenl. Gesellschaft verehrt hat; ich glaube im Sinne aller Mitglieder zu handeln, wenn ich ihm unsern warmen Dank und den Wunsch ausspreche, dass ihm vergönnt sein möge, auch weiterhin noch eine reiche Erndte auf dem Felde der muhammedanischen Münz-Wissenschaft unserem und seinem Vaterlande in weiter Ferne einzuheimson! Jena.

1) Herr Consul Blau liest, wie ich aus seinem Briefe ersehe, den Prägeort بقرشهر in Qirschehr, welches ich mit den noch wahrnehmbaren Buchstaben resten ganz in Einklang finde. Ob dieser Ort mit dem قير identisch sei, über welches in dem Dictionnaire géographique etc. de la Perse par de Meynad S. 468 die kurze Bemerkung gegeben ist: „petite ville du Fars près de Karzin“, muss ich dahin gestellt sein lassen.





LETTRE

DE

M. HENRI SAUVAIRE A M. F. SORET.

SUR QUELQUES

DINARS INÉDITS DES SELGIOUQUIDES DE PERSE.

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MONSIEUR ET CHER CONFRÈRE,

Les dernières semaines de mon séjour à Beyrout ont été signalées pour moi par l'heureuse découverte d'un petit trésor de dinars selgiouquides, dont j'ai fait l'acquisition; tous portent le nom de Toghril-Bek, et la plupart d'entre eux me paraissent être inédits. Les monnaies de cette dynastie sont encore si rares et si peu connues en dehors de celles qui ont été publiées par Fraehn, par le général de Bartholomæi et par vous, qu'il ne sera peut-être pas sans intérêt de faire connaître celles qui sont en ma possession; ce motif m'engage à les décrire. Si mon petit travail mérite d'être livré à la publicité, ce que je souhaite fort, veuillez lui obtenir une place dans une des prochaines livraisons de la *Revue numismatique belge*.

N'ayant pas à ma disposition les ouvrages historiques nécessaires pour entrer dans les détails, je me bornerai à vous donner la transcription fidèle des légendes que j'ai sous les yeux.

I. DINAR FRAPPÉ A HAMADAN, L'AN 438.

Av. Le champ de la monnaie est séparé des deux inscriptions circulaires par deux petits cercles concentriques.

Ω φ	
لا اله الا الله	<i>Il n'y a de Dieu que Dieu</i>
وحده لا شريك له	<i>unique, il n'a pas d'associé.</i>
القايم بامر الله	<i>el-Qaïem biamr-Allah</i>
ابو طالب	<i>Abou-Taleb.</i>

Les légendes circulaires ne sont séparées par aucun cercle.

Légende intérieure :

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بهمدان سنة ثمان و ثلاثين و اربع مائة

L'élipe du mot الدينار manque.

Légende extérieure : Sura XXX. 5. 4. *A Dieu a été et sera l'Empire, etc., jusqu'à الله بسم.*

Rev. Les mêmes cercles qu'à l'avant autour du champ ; la légende circulaire renfermant la mission prophétique jusqu'à المشركون, est elle-même entourée de deux cercles très-fins.

Ω ς	
محمد رسول الله	<i>Mohammed envoyé de Dieu</i>
السلطان المعظم	<i>le sultan auguste</i>
طغرل بك	<i>Thogril-Bek</i>
محمد بن مكايل	<i>Mohammed fils de Mikaïl<sup>(1)</sup>.</i>

(<sup>1</sup>) Cette pièce ainsi que la plupart de celles qui suivent, présente

2. MÊME PRINCE, EL-REY, 440.

Av. Un seul cercle entoure la légende du champ.

ق ر  
لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
القايم بامر الله

Les deux légendes circulaires sont encadrées dans un seul cercle; à la légende intérieure, la localité et la date sont :

بالرى ستة اربعين و اربع مائة

Le nom du khalife est écrit en très-petits caractères fort nets; les lettres finales sont ornées; en particulier le ع du mot اربع et le ر de ضرب, se terminent ainsi.

Rev. ق ر

محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
شاهانشاه  
طغرل بك  
ابو طالب

Mohammed envoyé de Dieu  
le sultan auguste  
Chahanchah  
Toghril-bek  
Abou-taleb.

les singulières marques ou tamghas que nous avons déjà eu l'occasion de remarquer dans les dinars décrits par le général Bartholomæi; une espèce de fer à cheval accolé d'un signe qui simule le Q des médailles grecques de Corinthe: elle est intéressante parce qu'elle porte le nom de Toghril et celui de son père Mikail. Hamadan était à cette époque tombée depuis un an au pouvoir des Selgiouquides. (S.)

Abou-Taleb est écrit en caractères minuscules, toute la légende est encadrée dans deux cercles concentriques, et la mission prophétique *ut supra* dans un seul.

3. MÊME PRINCE, NISABOUR, 441.

*Av. Ut supra.* Seulement les deux signes sont remplacés par le mot عدل, *juste, de juste poids*; les caractères des deux légendes marginales sont très-fins et d'un type qui diffère des précédents; à l'intérieur on lit :

بنيسابور ستة احدى و اربعين و اربع مائة

*Rev.* Dans un seul cercle :

لله	à Dieu / (la gloire)
محمد رسول الله	Mohammed envoyé de Dieu
السلطان المعظم	le sultan auguste
شاهانشاه الاجل	Chahanchah très-illustre
ركن الدين طغرل	Rokn-el-din Toghril-
بك	bek.

En marge la mission (\*).

4. MÊME LOCALITÉ, MÊME DATE.

*Av.* Les deux légendes circulaires *ut supra*, mais en caractères moins fins, et, à la date, le nombre centenaire écrit : اربعمائة.

(\*) Un dinar précisément semblable mais de l'année 449 est décrit dans le supplément du Catalogue de Fraehn, *Reccensio*, p. 604. (S.)

Point de cercle autour de la légende centrale.

القائم                      *el-Qaïem*  
لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
بامر الله                      *biamr-Allah.*

5. MÊME PRINCE, HAMDAN ? 442.

*Av.* Semblable à celui du dinar frappé à El-Rey, 440, si ce n'est l'addition du titre honorifique *Rokn-ed-din* dans le champ; à droite, ركن, à gauche, الدين.

A la date, on lit :

بهدد (sic) سنة اسنين (sic) و اربعين و اربع مائة  
*Rev.*                      لله  
محمد رسول الله  
شاهانشاه  
طغرل نكث

ح

Et dans deux des segments du champ : *Ghaiath-el-Mustim*, à droite, عياث, à gauche, المسلميم. Ce dernier mot est peu distinct, le premier م et le ي sont mal marqués. Deux cercles concentriques, et en dehors la mission (1).

(1) Je possède un double de cette singulière pièce que je dois à l'amitié de mon correspondant. Il me parait peu probable que la localité soit *Hamadan*; les éléments qui composent ce nom peuvent se lire *بهدد* ou *بهدد* et l'on n'aperçoit aucune trace d'un ن final. Quant au nombre unitaire, malgré l'étrangeté de l'orthographe, il ne me parait pas possible d'admettre d'autre lecture que celle proposée par M. Sau-

6. MÊME PRINCE, ISPAHAN, 443.

*Av.* Semblable en tout au précédent, si ce n'est que les deux signes sont remplacés par le mot فتح, victoire (1).

Dans la légende marginale intérieure :

باصفهان سنة ثلث و اربعين و اربع مائة

*Rev.*

محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
طغرل بك

En bas un ornement, et dans les deux segments du champ, *Ghaiath-el-Mustim*, le second mot écrit très-distinctement. Deux cercles entourent l'inscription centrale, et deux autres extérieurs encadrent la mission.

7. MÊME VILLE, L'AN 444.

*Av.* *Ut supra*, sauf la date :

سنة اربع و اربعين و اربع مائة

*Rev.* *Ut supra*, plus le mot *Abou-Taleb*, en bas.

8. MÊME VILLE, MÊME ANNÉE.

*Av.* En tout semblable au dinar n° 2, plus, dans le vairo, le nombre des éléments est trop considérable pour admettre que ce soit تسع. (S.)

(1) Ce mot fait probablement allusion à la prise d'*Ispahan* qui eut lieu en 443 et mit fin à la domination du dernier des Kakwoïdes. Ce dinar offre un intérêt historique dont les détails qui se trouvent à la fin de la lettre feront apprécier la portée. (S.)

champ, à gauche et à droite, deux espèces d'ornements qui, peut-être, sont des mots d'une difficile lecture.

*Rev.* Comme au n° 7. Le ط du mot السلطان très-singulièrement écrit, est détaché et se compose d'un petit cercle, surmonté d'une barre verticale, comme un Q renversé : au-dessus du س il y a un ˘, et, en outre, il y a des points sur le ع du mot المعظم, et sur le غ de طغرل.

9. MÊME PRINCE, EL-REY, 444.

*Av.* En tout semblable à celui de la même ville, frappé en 440, sauf que, dans cette dernière pièce, à droite, on observe un ornement qui termine la queue de la lettre ر dans le mot ارنع.

*Rev.* Aussi comme au n° 2, plus le mot لله, placé entre les branches du signe en fer à cheval.

10. ISPAHAN ? AN 445.

*Av.* *Ut supra*, mais au lieu des deux marques habituelles, en haut, dans le champ, on voit une croix sur un petit cercle ۞ ; à gauche et à droite, se trouvent des signes que je ne puis expliquer ; le nom de la localité est presque effacé, je crois y reconnaître cependant le nom d'*Ispahan* ; quant à la date, le nombre unitaire, que j'ai lu خمس, pourrait être aussi ثمان.

*Rev.*

لله  
محمد رسول الله  
السلطان المعظم  
شاهانشاه الاجل  
ركن الدين طغرل  
بكت



Le *noun* du mot الدين est surmonté de son point diacritique; l'inscription centrale est entourée d'un seul cercle.

11. ISPAHAN, 448.

*Av.* Comme au n° 2, plus le mot لا dans les branches du fer à cheval. Dans le champ, à gauche, un ornement ayant la forme d'un fer de lance.

A la légende marginale intérieure :

باصفهان سنة ثمان و اربعين و اربع مائة

La légende extérieure (Sura XXX. 3. 4.), au lieu de s'arrêter à بنص الله, se termine par les mots ويتصر من يشاء, il assiste qui il veut.

*Rev.* Comme au n° 2, si ce n'est que la lettre ل du mot طغرل est liée au mot suivant; en outre, il y a dans le champ : *Rokn-ed-din*, à gauche et à droite; et en haut فتح, dans les branches du fer à cheval.

Il me reste à décrire une dernière pièce, frappée aussi au nom de Toghril-Bek, mais qui pourrait bien appartenir à quelque autre dynaste, dont le nom m'est tout à fait inconnu; je dois me borner à vous transcrire les légendes telles que je crois pouvoir les interpréter, peut-être serez-vous plus heureux que moi pour trouver leur véritable sens; tout le reste a beaucoup de rapports avec les pièces précédemment décrites.

12. DINAR FRAPPÉ A ISPAHAN, L'AN 438 OU 448.

*Av.* Inscription centrale entourée de deux cercles.

لا اله الا الله  
السلطان العظيم  
شاهانشاه  
ظفر لبك

En haut, un mot qui me paraît être نصر, secours.

Légende circulaire intérieure :

(بسم الله ضرب) هذا الدينار باصفهان سنة ثمان و اربعين (?)  
و اربع مائة

Le nombre décimal est malheureusement presque illisible.

Rev. Dans un seul cercle :

محمد رسول الله  
القايم بامر الله  
.....  
.....

En haut, un mot que je lis ظفر, victoire; en bas, deux lignes douteuses, que je recommande à votre examen.

Agréez, etc.

Bejrout, mai 1862.

Peu confiant dans mes propres lumières et, d'ailleurs, empêché, par mon état maladif, de me livrer à des recherches nécessaires, j'ai préféré m'adresser au savant éditeur des Chroniques d'Ibn Athir, mon excellent ami, M. le professeur Tornberg, qui, arrivé au huitième volume de son importante publication (années 295-369), prépare maintenant les matériaux de l'histoire du v<sup>e</sup> siècle de l'hégire;

je lui ai transmis la copie des noms problématiques, tels que M. Sauvairé avait cru devoir les transcrire : la réponse ne s'est pas fait attendre, elle est trop intéressante pour ne pas la transcrire ici presque en entier.

« ... Au risque d'être taxé de trop de précipitation, je m'empresse de vous dire quelques mots sur la précieuse pièce que M. Sauvairé se propose de publier ; il n'y a pas le moindre doute pour moi, sur la manière dont il faut lire les deux dernières lignes du revers, qui se trouvent au-dessous du nom de khalife ; les voici :

« فرامرز بن محمد  
بن دشمنزیار »

« *Feramerz. b. Mohammed, b. Duchmenziyâr* ; vous retrouvez là une vieille connaissance, une monnaie de la famille des *Kakweïdes*, qui furent, pendant quelques années, les maîtres d'Ispahan. D'après le petit nombre de faits qui se trouvent consignés dans la lettre que je vous ai adressée en 1858 (1), il ne peut guère y avoir d'incertitude sur le choix de la date, qui doit être fixée à l'année 458. Durant la rédaction pour la presse de la partie d'Ibn Athir qui se rapporte à cette époque, j'ai trouvé les noms des princes appartenant à cette branche de la grande famille bouweïde, mentionnés à chaque page ; ils occupaient une haute position, et, soit par leurs fonctions, soit par leurs alliances

(1) Elle a paru dans cette Revue ; M. Tornberg auquel nous devons la découverte du premier monument monétaire de cette dynastie, était mieux que personne en mesure de reconnaître la véritable place qu'il faut assigner au dinar de M. Sauvairé. (S.)

avec des princesses de la maison selgiouquide, ils remplirent un rôle politique plus brillant que durable. La numismatique vient ici de nouveau à l'appui de l'histoire; voici donc un second monument monétaire de la dynastie kakweïde, qu'il faut faire sortir de la série selgiouquide, pour le mettre à sa véritable place. Aucun doute ne saurait s'élever sur cette attribution, ni sur la portée des droits de souveraineté exercés par les Kakweïdes; l'endroit même où le nom de *Feramerz* est placé après celui du khalife, montre à l'évidence que la monnaie a été frappée par l'ordre de ce prince, qui, d'ailleurs, résidait à Ispahan à cette époque; le nom de Toghrih à l'avvers, indique seulement une reconnaissance de son droit de suzeraineté, et les extraits suivants de la traduction d'Ibn Athir, que je prépare, viennent à l'appui de cette manière de voir; à l'année 438, on lit :

« DE ISPAHANA A TOGHRIHBEKO OBSESSA.

« Hoc anno Toghrih bek urbem Ispahanæ obsedit, ubi *Abou Mansour Feramerz*, filius Alà-el-daulæ, dominus ejus erat, et quamvis urbem valde premeret, nulla loci parte potiri poterat. Postea ea conditione pacem fecerunt, ut *Feramerz Toghrih beko* pecuniam penderet, et pro eo Ispahanæ et in ejus ditione *Khautbam* faceret (1). »

« A l'année 443, nous trouvons un autre chapitre assez détaillé, dont je vais transcrire quelques passages :

(1) On retrouve ces détails dans une note de l'*Histoire des khalifes*, de M. WEIL, vol. III, p. 85, etc., et dans le récit des conquêtes de Toghrih bek, que ce savant auteur a principalement puisé dans Ibn Athir. (S.)

« DE ISPAHANA A TOGHRILBEKO CAPTA .

« ... Obsidio extracta et regio direpta dominum (Feramersum), et cives aeque sollicitabant, quare ad Toghrilbekum de obedientia prestanda et pecunia danda legatos mittebant. At ille nullâ re nisi urbe tradita contentus, proposita repulit. Ispahenses igitur fortiter resistebant, donec alimenta deficerent et defensio fieret vana... Quum vero res eo pervenerant, ei submissi et humiles urbem tradiderunt, quam ille mense muharrem, a. 443, ingressus est, at milites inde abductos in regione collocavit montana, ibi pue eis beneficia assignavit. Abou Mansouro (Feramerzo) provincias Jezdi et Aberquhi attribuit. Ispahanam captam adeo amavit Toghrilbek ut eam *regni sedem* eligeret, etc. »

« Ceci suffit pour prouver que Feramerz ne peut pas avoir émis de monnaie sous son nom à Ispahan, postérieurement à l'année 443. »

Les détails qui précèdent sont plus que suffisants pour établir l'existence d'un second monument monétaire, appartenant à la dynastie kakweïde, et, l'attention une fois éveillée, on peut espérer que ce ne sera pas le dernier : la découverte d'un dinar, frappé à Ispahan par son nouveau maître, l'année même de sa prise de possession, offre aussi une de ces confirmations intéressantes des récits de l'histoire par les monnaies, qui sont surtout propres à l'étude de la numismatique orientale : la présence du mot فتح, victoire, sur le dinar décrit sous le n° 6, a donc aussi sa portée historique.

Quant aux monnaies des Selgiouquides de Perse propre-

ment dites, dont les représentants dans les plus grandes collections connues sont restés si rares jusqu'à présent, il paraîtrait que les dernières recherches des amateurs tendent à les multiplier; le cabinet royal de Copenhague vient d'en acquérir plusieurs, et j'apprends, par une lettre de M. H. Lavoix, l'un des conservateurs du cabinet de médailles de Paris, que la série orientale, confiée à sa direction, possède une riche suite de dinars selgiouquides, dont plusieurs proviennent du voyage de M. le colonel Brongniard. Un article fort intéressant, publié dans le *Moniteur*, par mon savant correspondant, donne un premier aperçu de toutes les nouvelles richesses dont la collection s'est accrue par le don du vice-roi d'Égypte, mais il ne sert qu'à augmenter le désir et le besoin qu'éprouvent les amis de la numismatique orientale, de voir paraître un catalogue descriptif de cette partie si essentielle et si peu connue encore du cabinet impérial. Une pareille entreprise est au-dessus des ressources d'un éditeur ordinaire, mais ferait honneur au puissant gouvernement qui songerait à la favoriser : l'homme capable de rédiger l'œuvre est sous la main, il ne reste qu'à trouver le point d'appui au levier. (SONET.)



### Ein bisher noch unbekanntes persisches Distichon als Münzlegende.

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Nicht selten begegnet man beim Lesen muhammedanischer Quellenwerke mehr oder weniger belangreichen Notizen über das Münzwesen. Ganz besonders ergiebige Fundgruben in dieser Hinsicht sind die türkischen Chroniken, die, von numismatischer Seite noch gar nicht nutzbar gemacht, doch so manches brauchbare Material dazu liefern, wie ich in einem früheren Aufsätze in dieser Zeitschrift (III. pag. 198—218) schon einmal zu zeigen versucht habe. Die Hebung dieser literarischen Schätze zum Dienste für die Numismatik ist indess nicht ohne Mühe zu bewerkstelligen; denn bedenkt man, dass bisher selbst die mit dem Studium jener Schriftsteller sich befassenden Gelehrten nur selten den gedachten Gegenstand einer Beachtung gewürdigt, so kann man wohl um so weniger erwarten, dass der orientalische Numismatiker, mit einer Masoreten - Ausdauer gerüstet, die Folianten zur Hand nehme und die bezüglichen Stellen der Reihe nach aufsuche. Es ist dies gewiss begreiflich auch für Den, der die wenig übersichtliche Anordnung des Stoffes in orientalischen Hand-



schriften oder Original-Druckwerken nur aus oberflächlicher Anschauung kennt.

Ich will daher das von mir bei der Lectüre gesammelte einschlägige Materiale, sowie ich bereits begonnen, weiter nach dem Stoffinhalt partienweise zu verwerthen fortfahren und greife also für diesmal ein für die persische Numismatik neues und interessantes Datum heraus.

Bekanntlich trat unter der Regierung des Sefiden Schâh Husein (1694—1722) eine politische Auflösung des persischen Reiches ein. Am gefährlichsten für die Dynastie der Sefiden erschienen die im nordöstlichen Theile des irânischen Hochlandes unter den Awghânen ausgebrochenen Unruhen. Der vom Schâh Husein zu ihrer Unterdrückung nach Awghânistân gesendete Statthalter Gûrdschî (d. h. der Georgier) 'Abd-ullâh Chân\*) machte sich bald durch Grausamkeiten aller Art verhasst, wesshalb der Aufruhr von Mîr Oweis, einem der mächtigsten Awghânen genährt, bald zum hellen Brande aufloderte (1120 d. H. = 1708 n. Chr.). Letzterer suchte sich nun, da er nach Entfernung des Gûrdschî 'Abd-ullâh Chân die Statthalterschaft Qandahâr in seine Gewalt gebracht hatte, unabhängig zu machen. Es gelang ihm auch sich hier durch eine Reihe von Jahren, unter mannigfachen Kämpfen mit den Truppen des Schâh zu behaupten, ohne jedoch seiner Empörung die locale Bedeutung nehmen zu können. Erst nach Mîr Oweis' Tode (1134 d. H. = 1722 n. Chr.)

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\*) In der Hist. de la Perse, trad. Malcolm, Paris 1821, II. p. 412 ff. unrichtig: Georgeen Khan.

gewann dessen Sohn Mîr Mahmûd, freilich nur auf kurze Zeit, den persischen Thron für seine Dynastie.

Wie uns der türkische Reichshistoriker Râschid \*) erzählt, hätte der rebellische Statthalter von Qandahâr, Mîr Oweis, seine Unabhängigkeit nicht nur durch das auf seinen Namen lautende Kanzelgebet bethätigt, sondern auch noch durch die Prägung eigener Silbermünzen documentirt. Sie sollten, gemäss der Angabe Râschid's, ähnlich wie die anderen persischen Silberstücke das folgende, aus zwei Hemistichen zusammengesetzte, Distichon (بیت) getragen haben:

سکه زد بر دریم دار القزار قندہار  
خان عادل شاہ، عالم میر ادیس نادر

Auf dem Silber Qandahâr's, dem Sitze  
der Beständigkeit, schlägt das Geld

Der gerechte Chân, der weise Schâh:  
Mir Oweis des Rubmes Held.

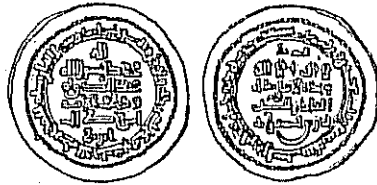
Wir haben keinen Grund, die Richtigkeit dieser Münzlegende zu bezweifeln, wenn auch ein Münzoriginal dafür uns jetzt noch nicht vorliegt. Hervorzuheben ist, dass sich Mîr Oweis, der Begründer der Unabhängigkeit Awghânistân's von Persien, nach der Leseart Râschid's, auf seinen Münzen den Titel Schâh (König) beilegt; dadurch wäre auch die Classificirung derselben an die Hand gegeben.

\*) Târichi Râschid, III. Blatt 99 rev.

Qandahâr als Prägeort war auf Münzen des berühmten persischen Schâh Nâdir (1150 d. H.) bereits bekannt; aber wir lernen hier das Ehrenprädicat dieser awghânischen Münzstätte kennen. Durch den Beinamen „Sitz der Beständigkeit“, d. h. des stetigen Aufenthalts, wird sie zugleich als Residenz bezeichnet.

Vielleicht genügt es schon allein, mit diesen wenigen Zeilen auf das historisch berechtigte Dasein von Münzen des Awghânen Mîr Oweis Chân hingewiesen zu haben, um den bisher in Münzkabinetten möglicherweise unbeachtet gebliebenen Belegstücken auch zur numismatischen Anerkennung zu verhelfen.

Dr. Karabacek.



XVII.

A DINAR OF BEDR, SON OF HUSNAWIYEH.

THE interesting dinâr, of which an engraving is here given, is, I believe, the only known specimen of the coinage of the dynasty founded by Husnawiyeh. It is in a very perfect state of preservation, and presents several historical records of interest.

I was puzzled, however, for a long time by some of the names, until on showing it one day to my friend M. H. Sauvaire, Interpreter to the French Consulate-General in Egypt, that gentleman gave me the clue to the records preserved on this unique dinâr.

On the obverse we find the area surmounted by two letters  $\cup$  and  $\Leftarrow$ , which may be mere mintmarks; then follows the first symbol, “ | la ilaha, &c. | Al Kadir billah, | Bedr ibn Husnawiyeh.” The margin states that this dinâr was struck at Sâbur Khawâsit in the year 397. Although the place of mintage is spelt without the letter  $\text{و}$  in the first half of the word, I cannot doubt that it is the same place whose name is generally spelt  $\text{سابورخواست}$ .

Sabûr Khowasit, or Sabûr Khâst *سابور خاست*, for history informs us that this place formed part of the dominions of Bedr ibn Husnawiyeh, which comprised, besides this city, Ed-Dinaver, Barûjerd, Nohavend, Assasdabad, a portion of the district of El-Ahwaz, and all the fortresses and provinces situated between these different localities.

On the reverse we find in the area, "lillah | Mohammed rassûl Allah | Mejd ed dowlah | wa Kahf el ummah | Abu Talib | and beneath is a word in smaller characters which I cannot recognise. It may be an invocation (?). The margin is composed of the usual quotation in regard to the mission of Mohammed, styled by Marsden, the second symbol.

Bedr ibn Husnawiyeh, whose name appears on the obverse immediately under that of the then reigning Abbasside Khalifah, was the son of Husnawiyeh ibn Hussein, a Kurdish chief who commanded a section of the Barzikans. His maternal uncles, Wendad and Ghanem, sons of Ahmed, were emirs of another tribe of Kurds called the Yehaniyeh. They dominated for about fifty years at Ed Dinaver, Hamadân, Nohavend, Samighan, and some portions of Aderbijân, as far as the fortress of Shahrazûr. Each of these emirs commanded some thousands of warriors. Ghanem died in 350. His son Deysam succeeded him in the fortress of Kazân, where he lived till he was overthrown by Abul Fat-h ibn 'Amid. Wendâd ibn Ahmed died in 349, and was succeeded by his son Abu-l Ghanem 'Abd el Wahab, who having been made prisoner by the Shadenkhais, was delivered to Husnawiyeh, who took possession of his fortresses and of his wealth.

Husnawiyeh, by his judicious administration and by his firmness, succeeded in suppressing brigandage in the tribe

that he governed. He constructed the citadel of Sermaj and a splendid mosque at Ed Dinaver, besides sending considerable sums of money to the Haràms at Mekka and Medinah.

At his death, in 369, his sons were divided. Some joined Fakhr ed dowlah the Bûyide prince, and others joined Addad ed dowlah, another Bûyide prince. Their names were Abu-l 'Ula, 'Abd er razzah, Abu-n-Nejm, *Bedr*, 'Aasim, Abu 'Adnan, Bakhtiâr, and 'Abd el Malek. Bakhtiâr, in consequence of his mal-administration, became obnoxious to Addad ed dowlah, who deprived him of the fortress of Sermaj, and soon afterwards despoiled all his brothers, excepting only Bedr, whose intelligence and probity he appreciated, and he appointed him to the sole command of the Kurds. All the brothers of Bedr were killed in a series of revolts.

In 377 Sharaf ed dowlah sent against Bedr a numerous army, under the command of Karatekin ed Dahshary; but he was repulsed with some loss. Bedr after this victory possessed himself of Jebel and its environs, and became more powerful than ever.

In 388 Bedr, at the height of his power, received from the Khalifah the honourable title of "Naser ed din wa-d dowlah."

In 397 he joined abu Jaspas el Hajjaj, and made a successful expedition against Medinet es Salam. Attacked in turn by the troops of that city, under the command of 'Omreid el Jyûsh, he persuaded the general to forego further hostilities on his paying the war expenses.

In this year, 397, Mejd ed dowlah, son of Fakhr ed dowlah the Bûyide prince, who is mentioned on this dinâr under his full name of Mejd ed dowlah Abu Talib, and with the additional honourable title of "Kahf

el Ummah" (Refuge of the people), was only eighteen years old, and his mother usurped his power, exercising his authority throughout his dominion. Al Khatir abu 'Ali, ibn 'Ali, ibn el Kasim being appointed the Vizir of Mejd ed dowlah, privately persuaded the emirs to withdraw their allegiance from the mother and to remain faithful to her son, the legitimate prince of Rey, &c. The mother, suspecting a conspiracy against her power, and fearing that her son might seek vengeance and redress for the powerless state in which she had held him, placed the citadel under the command of some of her own devoted partisans, and fled to Bedr to implore his protection and assistance in subjugating the city of Rey. Her other son, Shems ed dowlah, came with troops from Hamadan to meet her, and both he and Bedr marched with her towards Rey. They besieged the city, and for some time a sanguinary conflict ensued. Bedr, however, was at length victorious, and entered the city. He took Mejd ed dowlah prisoner, and delivered him to his mother, who caused him to be put in chains and imprisoned, and placed his brother Shems ed dowlah on the throne in his stead, thus re-establishing her own authority. Bedr returned to his own territory.

The dinâr now under consideration must have been coined immediately before this episode, and probably immediately after the appointment of Al Khatir to the Vizirate of Mejd ed dowlah, when the latter was at the height of his nominal power and bearing a newly-created title of honour "Kahf el Ummah;" for otherwise we should not find the names of both Bedr and Mejd ed dowlah on the same coin.

But Shems ed dowlah only occupied the throne for about the space of one year. His ambitious mother,

perceiving a change in his tone and manner towards her, feared that he might attempt to resist the restraint in which she held him, and imagining that his brother Mejd ed dowlah might now be more docile and submissive after his long degradation and imprisonment, replaced the latter on the throne, and Shems ed dowlah withdrew to Hamadan.

Bedr was led to take arms in self-defence against his revolted son Helal, and was made prisoner. In 400, war again broke out between father and son. A conflict took place at Ed Dinaver. Bedr, abandoned by his troops, was made prisoner. Again released by his son, he again armed himself and implored the help of Beha ed dowlah, who sent Fakhr el Mülk abu Ghalib in command of an army to attack Helal, and to reduce him to submit to his father's authority.

Helal, deaf to the prudent counsels of Abu Yussef Shady, thought himself strong enough to rout the army of Fakhr el Mülk, which had already arrived at the gates of Sabûr Khâst. But early in the engagement he was made prisoner.

In 404, we hear of Tahir, son of Helal, taking possession of Shahrazur, and holding it until it was taken from him by Abu Shok, who delivered it to his brother Mohalhel.

In 405 Bedr ibn Husnawiyeh, Emir of Jebel ('Irak 'Ajamy), was killed by his own soldiers in an expedition against another Kurdish emir, Hussein ibu Mass'ûd.

Tahir, son of Helal, had sought refuge from his grandfather in the district of Shahrazûr. On receiving news of his grandfather's death, he hastened to lay claim to the estates. He made war on Shems ed dowlah, but was taken prisoner.



At the time of Bedr's death, his son Helal was a prisoner of Sultan ed dowlah. Shems ed dowlah, son of Fakhr ed dowlah, the Bûyide, availing himself of this double circumstance, had taken possession of a portion of the territory belonging to the Husnawiyeh family. Whereupon Sultan ed dowlah released Helal, and furnished him with the means of marching against Shems ed dowlah to recover the kingdom which the latter had usurped. The armies met, but Helal was defeated and taken prisoner.

In 406 Shems ed dowlah, who by his conquest of the territory of Bedr, and by the immense amount of riches he had found in the fortresses, had risen to great power, no longer feared his prisoner Tahir, so he released him and made him take an oath of allegiance.

Tahir went to live at En Nahravan, and was killed in 438 by Abu Shok in revenge for the death of his brother Su'da. He was the last of the dynasty of the family of Husnawiyeh, which rose quickly to immense power and riches by the genius of one man, and was as quickly extinguished by the immorality and incompetency of his descendants.

E. T. ROGERS.

Cambr., December 12, 1871.

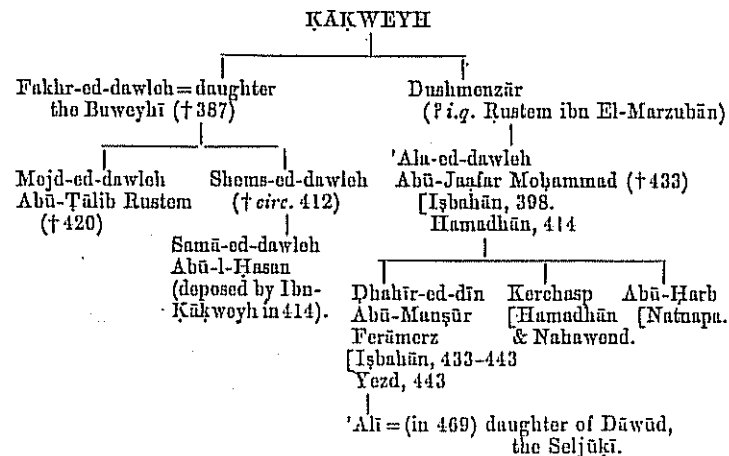
[M. Soret has noticed, on M. Sauvaire's authority, the fact that a coin of Mejd ed dowlah gives him the title of Kahf el Ummah. (*Rev. Belge* 4<sup>me</sup> Sér. Tome IV. p. 88)].  
—ED.



XVII.

UNPUBLISHED COINS OF THE KĀKWEYHĪS.

THE hitherto-published coins of the KĀkweyhī are four: they are described at the end of this article. To these I am now able to add ten unpublished pieces; seven dirhems and a dīnār from the collection of the late Col. Seton Guthrie, and two dirhems from that of the British Museum. Of these two latter, one is more properly to be attributed to a vassal of the KĀkweyhī. For the history of the dynasty, reference should be made to Professor Tornberg's essay, 'Sur un dirhem Kakweihide inédit de la Collection de M. F. Soret' (*Revue de la Num. Belge*, 3ème ser. T. ii. p. 329 ff.). The subjoined genealogical table (which is reprinted with some modifications from an article by Prof. Stickel in the *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländ. Ges.* xviii. 297) is sufficient for the present purpose.



'Alā-ed-dawleh Moḥammad ibn Dushmenzār.

A.H. 398-433.

1. Silver. A.H. 414. *Sābūr-Khawāst*. (Guthrie Collection.)

Obv. Area.

لا اله الا الله  
 وحده لا شريك له  
 القادر بالله امير  
 الامراسما الدولة

Margin. بسم الله ضرب ... الدرهم بسابور خواست سنة  
 اربع عشر واربع مائة

Rev. Area.

لله  
 محمد رسول الله  
 شاهان شاه  
 مجد الدولة  
 محمد بن دشمنزار

Margin. محمد رسول الله ارسله الخ (المشركون)

Traces of word above and below obverse area,  
 but not legible.

It is recorded by Ibn-el-Athīr that 'Alā-ed-dawleh added Sābūr-Khawāst to his dominions in this very year 414.

The Shāhānshāh Mejd-ed-dawleh, whose name appears on the reverse, is of course the Buweyhī suzerain; whilst Samā-ed-dawleh, the Amīr-el-Umarā, of the obverse, is the lesser suzerain, the son of Shems-ed-dawleh, the younger

brother of Mejd-ed-dawleh and son of Fakhr-ed-dawleh the Buweyhī. This Samā-ed-dawleh succeeded to his father's dominions some time after 411, and was in 414 deprived of them by Ibn-Kāḳweyh (as 'Alā-ed-dawleh was commonly called). It is difficult to see why his name is retained on the coinage of the latter; and it is also difficult to explain why Samā-ed-dawleh is called on (8) *ibn 'Izz-ed-dawleh* instead of *ibn Shems-ed-dawleh*. Probably Shems-ed-dawleh was as handsomely endowed with surnames as the rest of the family of Buweyh, and 'Izz-ed-dawleh may very well have been one of his less-used pronomens.

2. Silver. A.H. 41(5?). *Māh-ol-Kāfih*. (Guthrie Collection.)

Obv. Area. لا اله الا الله  
محمد رسول الله  
القادر بالله

Margin (inner) قل هو الله احد الله الصمد لم يلد ولم يولد  
ولم يكن له كفوا احد  
(outer) محمد رسول الله ارسله الخ

Rev. Area. ن  
محمد بن  
دشمنزار

Margin (inner) شاهانشاه مجد الدولة امير الامرا سنا الدولة  
وسما الملة  
(outer) بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بما (sio)  
الكو . . . . . س عشرة واربع مائة

3. Silver. A.H. 416. *Māh-el-Kūfeh*. (Guthrie Collection.)

Precisely similar to (2); except

Outer rev. marg. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بماء الكوفة سنة  
ست عشرة وأربع مائة

4. Silver. A.H. 416. (*Māh-el-Kūfeh*). (Guthrie Collection.)

Similar to last, except

Outer rev. marg. بسم الله ضرب هذا الكوفة سنة ست  
عشرون مائة

5. Silver. A.H. 416. *Hamadhān*. (Guthrie Collection.)

Obv. Area. لا اله الا  
الله محمد رسول  
الله القادر  
بالله

Margins as on (2).

Rev. Area as on (2), without ن.

Margin (inner) شاهنا نشاد مسجد الدولة أمير الامرا سنا الدولة  
(outer) بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بيمذان سنة  
ست عشرة و.....

6. Silver. A.H. 41x. Mint effaced. (Guthrie Collection.)

Obv. and rev. as on (2), except

Rev. outer margin—بسم الله ضرب هذا الد...شرة وأربع مائة—

7. Silver. Date and mint illegible. (Guthrie Collection.)

Obv. Area. لا اله الا الله  
محمد رسول الله  
القادر بالله  
علا الدولة

Margin (inner) as on (2).

(outer)

بسم الله فـ . . . . .

Rev. Area as on (2).

Margin (inner) as on (2).

(outer)

محمد رسول الله ارسله الخ

On this coin the outer margins on the obv. and rev. seem to have been transposed.

8. Silver. A.H. 421. Mint effaced. (British Museum.)

Obv. Area. نصر من

الله بالقادر  
وحدده الله شريك له  
و قوة ا بالله  
الله

(Or, written out— لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له ولا قوة—  
الا بالله نصر من الله القادر بالله)

Margin (inner) امير الامراء سما الدولة وسنا الملة ابو الحسن  
باصم بن عز الدولة

(outer) بسم الله ضرب هذا الدر . . . . . احدى  
وعشرين واربع مائة

Rev. Area.

• لله •

محمد رسول الله

عزده الدين و

علا الدولة

ابو جعفر

Margin.

محمد ..... ولو كره المشركون

The arrangement of the obverse inscription is, I believe, quite unique. The peculiar form and position of the five *lām-alifs* are especially noteworthy; and the formula, generally characteristic of the coinage of the Spanish Arabs, ولا قوة الا بالله is remarkable on a coin struck (as this must have been) in Persia in the early part of the fifth century of the Flight. The British Museum may certainly boast the most extraordinary coin of the *Ḳāḳ-veyhīs* yet known.

9. Gold. A.H. 429. *El-Moḥammadīyah*. (Guthrie Collection.)

Obv. Area.

عدل

لا اله الا

الله القائم

بامر الله

مسعود

Margin.

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالمحمدية سنة تسع

وعشرين وأربعمائة



Rev. Area.

لله  
محمد  
رسول الله  
محمد بن  
دشمنزار

Margin.

محمد رسول الله ارسله الخ

Mes'ūd is, of course, the first of that name in the series of the kings of Ghazneh; he reigned from 421 to 432.

Dirhem of *Farhādīh ibn Mardawīz*, as vassal to  
Ibn-Kākweyh.

10. Silver. A.H. (41)5. (British Museum.)

Obv. Area.

حله  
لا اله الا الله  
محمد رسول الله  
القادر بالله  
\*مجد الدولة  
امير الامرا سما الدولة  
فرهان

Margin.

... هذا الدرهم ... حرد سنة خمس ...

Rev. Area.

قل هو  
الله احد الله  
الصدق لم يلد و  
لم يولد ولم يكن  
له كفوا احد  
محمد بن دشمنزار

Margin.

محمد رسول الله ارسله الخ

It seems permissible to assign this dirhem to that Farhādh ibn Mardawīj who is recorded by Ibn-el-Athīr as having been an ally of Ibn-Ḳākweyh in his war with Abū-Sahl in 425, and having died therein. The name of the Khalīfeh El-Ḳādir († 422) and of Mejd-ed-dawleh (who was taken captive by the Ghaznawīs in 420) precludes the possibility of the coin having been struck in 425; and the name of Samā-ed-dawleh shows that it could not have been struck in 405, for at that time his father Shems-el-dawleh was reigning. Hence there only remains the year 415 in which it could have been struck.

## APPENDIX.

## PUBLISHED COINS OF THE ḲĀḲWEYHĪS.

## I. 'Alā-ed-dawleh Moḥammad.

1. Silver. A.H. 409. Mint doubtful.

(P. Savélieff, *Coll. Numism.* p. 409.)<sup>1</sup>

Obv. Area.

\*

لا اله الا الله

وحده لا شريك له

محمد بن دشمنزار

Margin. اسم الله ضرب . . . . سنة تسع واربع مائة

Rev. Area.

له

محمد رسول الله

القادر بالله

ملك الملوك

شمس الدولة

به

Margin.

محمد رسول الله ارسله الخبز

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by W. Tiesenhansen, *Rev. de la Num. Belge*, 1875.

2. Silver. A.H. 41x. Mint effaced. (Soret Collection.)<sup>2</sup>  
 (Prof. C. J. Tornberg, *Rev. de la Num. Belge*, 3e sér. T. ii.  
 p. 329 ff. 1858.)

Obv. Area. لا اله الا الله  
 القادر بالله  
 مجد الدولة  
 رستم

Margin (inner) ... الله احد الله الصمد . . . يولد ولم يكن  
 له كفوا احد  
 (outer) بسم الله ضرب هذا الد . . . شرة واربعمانه

Rev. Area. رستم  
 محمد رسول الله  
 عضد الدين  
 علا الدولة  
 محمد بن دشمنزيار

Margin. . . . . ودين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله

With regard to the spelling دشمنزيار which Professor Tornberg discovers on this coin (and also in MSS. of Ibn-el-Athīr), and which M. Tiesenhausen (*Rev. de la Num. Belge*, 1875) proposes to amend by reading Shahryār شهریار, on account of certain peculiarities in the writing of the name, it may be well to observe that on all the ten unpublished coins described in the foregoing pages the name is unmistakably written دشمنرار, the د being quite distinct, and no traces being visible of a ڤ before the ا .

<sup>2</sup> This dirhem was the first coin of the Ḳāḳweyhīs ever published.

## II. Ferāmerz ibn Moḥammad.

3. Gold. A.H. 438. Iṣbahān. (Sauvaire Collection.)

(Prof. C. J. Tornberg, note on M. H. Sauvaire's Lettre à M. F. Soret sur quelques dinars inédits des Selgiouquides de Perse,<sup>3</sup> *Rev. de la Num. Belge*, 3e sér. T. vi. pp. 451 ff. 1862.)

Obv. Area.

نصر  
لا اله الا الله  
السلطان المعظم  
شاهانشاة  
طغرليک

Margin.

..... هذا لدينار (sic) باصبيان سنة ثمان  
وثلثين واربع مائة

Rev. Area.

ظفر  
محمد رسول الله  
القائم بامر الله  
فراهرزبن محمد  
بن دشمنزار

Margin.

محمد رسول الله الخ

In this very year 438 Ṭughril-Bēg besieged Iṣbahān, but failing to take it contented himself with making peace on the condition that Ferāmerz should pay a fine and

<sup>3</sup> The description of this coin in the *Rev. Belge* was in several respects imperfect, but my friend M. Sauvaire has since rectified this in a letter to me in which he describes the piece afresh. He remarks that there are no traces of a ي before the ا of دشمنزار.

should acknowledge his suzerainty in the public prayer (Khuṭbah). Ferāmerz was finally ejected from Iṣbahān in 443.

4. Gold. A.H. 439. Mint effaced. (Collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)  
(Prof. J. G. Stickel, *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenl. Gesellschaft*, xviii. 297.)

Obv. Area.

فتح  
لا اله الا الله  
وحده لا شريك له  
السلطان المعظم  
طغرليک

Margin. The usual date formula. The mint, however, is effaced, and the unit of the date might be سبع or تسع.

Rev. Area.

لله  
محمد  
رسول الله  
القائم بامر الله  
الامير فرامرز

Margin. Not described, but doubtless محمد رسول الله الخ

This dīnār was only referred to by Dr. Stickel in the Z.D.M.G., but he has since given me the description of it which he received from the late M. Soret in 1863. The piece formed part of the collection presented by the Khedive. M. Soret and Dr. Stickel leave the date uncertain, not being able to determine whether the unit is

7 or 9. I think the fact that it was in 438 that Ṭughril-Bēg compelled Ferāmerz to pay him homage goes far to prove that this coin was struck in 439: otherwise we should hardly see the name of Ṭughril-Bēg upon it. Dr. Stickel remarks in his letter to me, "Es ist mir nicht bekannt, dass dieses Exemplar irgendwo publicirt worden ist;" so the coin is virtually *inedited*, for the notice in the Z.D.M.G. could hardly count as a description.

STANLEY LANE POOLE.

BRITISH MUSEUM, *Sept.* 1, 1875.

ART. XII.—*Inedited Arabic Coins.* By STANLEY LANE POOLE.

(Read Nov. 16, 1874.)

Few men have done more for the science of Oriental Numismatics than Frederic Soret. And yet among his writings we may search in vain for any work of great extent. The largest he ever published is his handbook, *Éléments de la Numismatique Musulmane*, and even this appeared in parts in the Belgian *Revue*, and was reprinted as a separate work after his death. Frederic Soret's work was done by small pieces, which, when put together, form a very considerable whole. The line he took was chiefly that of publishing such coins as he found in his own or other collections, and which were as yet unknown to the numismatic world,—if I may apply so large a term to so small a thing. And those short monographs of his are among the most precious additions to the knowledge of Oriental coins which the century has seen. Nor does Soret stand alone in this system of publishing inedited coins. He has been vigorously followed by a very able and sufficiently numerous body of German and other scholars, who have made known all the noteworthy coins which have come across their path.

It is my wish to profit by the example of Soret and his fellow-workers, and to endeavour to do for the English collections what has so long ago and so efficiently been done for those on the Continent. I now bring before the Society ten inedited coins, seven of which are from the British Museum collection, and three from that of Col. Guthrie. When I say *inedited* coins, I mean that I have been unable to find any description of them in any work on Oriental Numismatics, or in any Catalogue of Oriental Coins, or in any serial publication which admits papers on Oriental subjects. It is obvious from this definition that the term 'inedited' is not absolute; for in the vast number of German and other reviews and journals it is not unlikely that some of

the coins may be found described which I have thought inedited. Still, I have searched through all the more important ones; and at all events if it should prove to be the case that some of the coins now described have already been noticed in some less-known continental journal, the re-publishing of them may yet not be useless, as the *Journal* of this Society passes into many hands, into which the supposed continental journal may not fall.

1\*1. GOLD. KING OF KARMÁN. 'Imād-ad-dawlah Ḳarā-Arslān Beg.  
Struck at Yazdashir, A.H. 462 (=A.D. 1069-70). (*British Museum*.)

Obv. Area.	لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له القائم بامره
Margin (inner)	بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بيزدشير سنة اثنى وستين واربع ما
(outer)	لله الامر الحج <sup>2</sup>
Rev. Area.	محمد رسول الله الملك العادل عماد الدولة قرارسلان بك
Margin.	محمد رسول الله ارسله الحج

<sup>1</sup> An asterisk (\*) after the number of the coin indicates that it is photographed in the accompanying Plate.

<sup>2</sup> Some readers may not remember that الحج is an abbreviation for إلى آخره to the end of it, equivalent to etc.



This coin at first caused me no little perplexity. Its general appearance closely resembling a badly-executed Great-Seljúkí coin, and the date falling under Alp-Arslán's reign, I was half inclined to think that it was struck in the name of that Sultán by some governor who did not know the orthography of the name. This explanation, however, did not appear to me satisfactory, and I was very glad to be able to reject it for a better one. In searching for something in that mine of historical facts, Ibn-al-Athír's *Kámil*, I stumbled upon the name of a certain *Ḳará-Arslán*, lord of the province of *Karmán*, in the south-eastern part of the Persian kingdom. The passage in which this prince's name occurs runs thus:—

“Account of the Rebellion of the King of *Karmán* against Alp-Arslán, and of his return to fealty.

“In this year [459] the King of *Karmán*, *Ḳará-Arslán*, rebelled against the Sultán Alp-Arslán. And the cause of this was that he had a foolish wezír, whose soul commended to him the obtaining [for himself] independent possession of the province from the Sultán. And his lord [*Ḳará-Arslán*], when he rebelled, found it necessary to seize him; but he made the opposition to the Sultán seem good to his lord, and *Ḳará-Arslán* consented to it, and cast away his fealty, and discontinued the *khutbeh* for the Sultán.

“When Alp-Arslán heard of this, he marched to *Karmán*, and when he drew near to it his scouts attacked the scouts of *Ḳará-Arslán*, and after a contest the latter's scouts were put to flight. And when *Ḳará-Arslán* and his army heard of the rout of their scouts, they feared and were perplexed and fled: no man paused for another. And *Ḳará-Arslán* entered *Jiraf*, and fortified himself there, and sent to Sultán Alp-Arslán, professing obedience and asking forgiveness for his fault: so he forgave him; and he presented himself before the Sultán, who treated him with honour. And he<sup>1</sup> wept, and caused those who were with him to weep.

<sup>1</sup> We are left in painful uncertainty whether it was the Sultán or the King of *Karmán* who wept.

So he restored him to his kingdom, and he changed not aught of his condition."<sup>1</sup>

We learn, then, from this that *Ḳarā-Arslán* was ruling the province of *Karmán*, in feof to the *Seljúkí Sultán*, in the year 459 of the Flight. The coin proves him to have been still ruling in 462, and the absence of the name of his liege lord would lead us to infer that the King of *Karmán* had again asserted his independence. Shortly after this he must

١ ذكر عصيان ملك كرومان على الب ارسلان وعوده الى طاعته  
 في هذه السنة عصى ملك كرومان وهو قرا ارسلان على السلطان الب  
 ارسلان، وسبب ذلك انه كان له وزير جاهل سوات له نفسه  
 الاستبداد بالبلاد عن السلطان وان صاحبه اذا عصى احتاج الى  
 التمسك به فحسّن لصاحبه الخلاف على السلطان فاجاب الى  
 ذلك وخلع الطاعة وقطع الخطبة، فسمع الب ارسلان فسار الى  
 كرومان فلما قاربها وقعت طليعته على طليعة قرا ارسلان فانهمزمت  
 طليعة قرا ارسلان بعد قتال فلما سمع قرا ارسلان وعسكره بانهمزام  
 طليعتهم خافوا وتحتيروا فانهمزمو لا يلوى احد على آخر فدخل قرا  
 ارسلان الى جيرفت وامتنع بها وارسل الى السلطان الب ارسلان  
 يظهر الطاعة ويسأل العفو عن زلته فعفا عنه وحضر عند السلطان فاكرومه  
 وبكى وابكى من عنده فاعاده الى مملكته ولم يغير عليه شيئاً  
 من حاله (X. ٢٦، ٢٧).

have died or been deposed, for we find Káwart-beg, a brother of Alp-Arslán, ruling Karmán in 465. It seems not improbable that when, as the coin suggests, the King of Karmán revolted a second time, Alp-Arslán deposed him and appointed in his stead his own brother.

Yazdashír is a town in Karmán, described by Al-Idrisí (transl. by Jaubert, i. 426, 427) as "jolie ville, offrant beaucoup de ressources, entourée de murs et de fossés, munie de portes et possédant plusieurs bazars." It is not mentioned by Yáqút in his *Kitáb Mo'jam-al-Buldán* (*Geographisches Wörterbuch*, ed. Wustefeld), nor by the author of the *Marāsid-al-Iṭṭilá'.*

The execution of the coin is unusually bad. The inscription on the Obverse offers several inaccuracies, ل for الله, اس for اثنتين, سن for ستين, ما for مائة, of which some may be due to want of space. The Reverse Area is double-struck.

2\*. SILVER. BUWAYHÍ. *Shams-ad-dawlah-ibn-Fakhr-ad-dawlah.*

Struck at *Hamádhán*, A.H. 387-411. (*British Museum.*)

Obv. Area.

شمس  
 لا اله الا  
 الله وحده  
 لا شريك له  
 القادر بالله  
 الدولة

Margin (inner). . . . . بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بي هذا  
 (outer). لله الامر النج

Rev. Area.

لله  
 محمد رسول الله  
 الامير السيد  
 شمس الدولة  
 ابو طاهر بن  
 فخر الدولة  
 وفلك الامة  
 بن ركن الدولة  
 بوية

Margin.

محمد رسول الله ارسله الخ

When Fakhr-ad-dawlah, of the house of Buwayh, died, in the year 387 of the Flight (A.D. 997), his sons Majd-ad-dawlah and Shams-ad-dawlah succeeded him, the former in Ar-Rayy and the principal part of his dominions, the latter in Hamadhán and Ķarmásín.<sup>1</sup> But Majd-ad-dawlah was unfortunate enough to offend his mother, who had managed the affairs of the kingdom during his minority; and was deposed and imprisoned by her in 397. Shams-ad-dawlah was then summoned to take upon himself his brother's duties, and accordingly governed in Ar-Rayy for about the space of one year; after which the dowager, taking compassion on her captive son, restored him to his dignities, whereupon Shams-ad-dawlah returned to Hamadhán. We hear of him again in 405, when Badr-ibn-Ĥasanwayh, the lord of Al-

<sup>1</sup> Or قروميسين according to Ibn-al-Athír, from whose *Kámil* this account of Shams-ad-dawlah is drawn.

Jabal,<sup>1</sup> died, and Shams-ad-dawlah obtained part of his dominions. In the same year he again entered Ar-Rayy, his mother and brother retiring on his approach: but he very speedily went his way back to Hamadhán, and suffered Majd-ad-dawlah to recover his twice-lost throne. Ibn-al-Athír does not record the death of Shams-ad-dawlah; but as he mentions him as ruling in Hamadhán in 411, and also relates that in 414 Samá-ad-dawlah Abu-l-Ḥasan, the son of Shams-ad-dawlah, was deposed by 'Alá-ad-dawlah Abu-Jaafar ibn-Kákwayh, it is clear that Shams-ad-dawlah must have died between 411 and 414.

3. SILVER. BUWAYHÍ. *Sultán-ad-dawlah.*

Struck at *Shíráz*, A.H. 405 (=A.D. 1014-5). (*British Museum.*)

Obv. Area. لا اله الا الله  
 وحده لا شريك له  
 القادر بالله  
 ولي عهده الغالب بالله  
 \* \* \*

Margin (inner). بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ضرب هذا الدرهم  
 بشيراز سنة خمس واربعمائة

(outer). Illegible, but apparently consisting of the four words not uncommon on Buwayhí coins.

<sup>1</sup> The mountain-district in which is situated Hamadhán; the district is also called *Al-Jabal* (الجبل هو اسم جامع لهذه الاعمال) *Yáqút, Geogr. Wörterb., in v., ii. 22*. There is also a place called *Al-Jabal*, three days' journey from Jazírat-ibn-'Omar (*Al-Idrísí, ii. 172*). But the district is here meant.

Rev. Area.

عدل

محمد رسول الله

صلى الله عليه وسلم

الملك العادل شاها

نشاه عماد الدين وسلطان

الدولة وعز الملة

ومعين الامة ابو شجاع

Margin.

محمد رسول الله ارسله الخ

This is, I believe, the only silver coin of this prince as yet published. He seems to have rejoiced in a considerable number of titles: *The Just King, Sháh of Sháhs, Pillar of the Religion, and Might of the State, and Power of the Moral Law, and Aider of the People, Father of Valour*. The subject of these epithets, however, scarcely played so important a part in history as they would seem to imply: he ruled the province of Fâris from the death of his father, Bahá-ad-dawlah, in 403, to his own death in 415, and his reign is chiefly remarkable for his contests with two of his brothers, which would seem to have occupied his attention throughout the twelve years of his rule.

Al-Ghâlib-bi-lláh, whose name appears beneath Al-Kâdir's on the Obverse of the coin, was the son and successor designate of the Khalifah. He died, however, in 409, during his father's lifetime.

It is scarcely necessary to remark that the word عدل, "just," which appears on the Reverse, and which is so common on most kinds of Arabic coins, is intended to indicate the accuracy of the weight.

4. SILVER. HAMDĀNĪ. *Abu-l-Barakāt Laṭaf-Allah.*

Struck at (?), A.H. 359 (=A.D. 969-70). (*British Museum.*)

Obv. Area.	لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له ابو البركات لطف الله
Margin (inner).	. . . . . رسته تسع وخمسين وثلاث . . . . .
(outer).	الله الامير الخ
Rev. Area.	محمد [رسول الله] . . . . . ? المطيع لله ابو طغلب فضل الله الغضنفر
Margin.	محمد رسول الله ارسله الخ

Abu-l-Barakāt, though known in history, has never before come into the field of numismatics. His father, the celebrated Nāṣir-ad-dawlah, died in 358, and was succeeded by Abu-Ṭaghlib Al-Ghaḍanfir, whose name appears on the Reverse of this coin. Abu-l-Barakāt was killed in 359; so the shortness of the time between his father's death and his own makes it probable that this coin will continue one of a very few, or even unique. The name of the mint-place is unfortunately illegible, and I am unable to discover from Prof. Freytag's *Geschichte der Dynastien der Hamdaniden*,<sup>1</sup> the best authority on the subject, what city or cities were under the rule of Abu-l-Barakāt, in feof to his brother Abu-Ṭaghlib.

<sup>1</sup> *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, x. xi.

The laḳab *Lataf-Allāh* is, I believe, nowhere else to be found on coins. It may be rendered "Bounty of God," or "Benefit of God"; whilst *Abu-l-Barakāt*, which is equally unique on coins, means "The Father of Blessings."

5.\* GOLD. 'Abbāsī. *Al-Muti'-li-llāh*.

Struck at عین (?), A.H. 348 (=A.D. 959-60). (*British Museum*.)

Obv. Area.

لله

المطيع

لله

Margin. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بعد سنة ثمان واربعين وثلاث

Rev. Area.

محمد

رسول

الله

Margin. محمد رسول الله ارسله بالهدى ودين الحق ليظهره على

(The margin stops at على for want of space. الهدى is for الهدى.)

The size of this *dīnār* is exceptionally small; the inscriptions are arranged in a very peculiar manner, totally different from the ordinary arrangement on 'Abbāsī coins; and, lastly, the mint-name is quite new. The letters of the mint-name are clearly cut, and what ambiguity there is arises not from any indistinctness in the coin, but from the different values which may be given to each letter in the name. The first letter, after the prefixed preposition ب, is unquestionably either an ع or a غ; the next is a simple short stroke, which may be ب, ت, ث, ن, or ي; and the last is a short stroke of exactly the same height as the second letter, and therefore can scarcely be a ل or an ا (for in other words on this



coin these two letters are distinguished by height above the line), and is not long enough in the horizontal part to be a ب, ت, or ث; nor would it serve for a ى; but it closely resembles the final ن of اربعين, and I am therefore inclined to regard it as a ن.

But having determined the letters within certain limits, what can the name be? The most obvious interpretation is عَيْن 'Ayn, and we find in the *Marāsid-al-Ittilā'* that عَيْن is used in El-'Irāq to mean 'Ayn-at-Tamar الثَّمَرُ الْعَيْنُ,' and this بلدة في طرف البادية as عَيْن التمر is described in the same work as حولها قريات ومنها شَفَاثَا وتعرف ببلد العين اكثر نخلها القَسْب ويحمل منها الى ساير الاماكن' (٢٩٤, ii)

In Yāqūt's *Mo'jam-al-Buldan* (iii, ٧٥٩), 'Ayn-at-Tamar is thus described: بلدة قريبة من الانبار غربي الكوفة بقربها موضع يقال له شَفَاثَا ومنها يَجْلَب القَسْب والتمر الى ساير البلاد وهو بها كثير جدًا وهي على طرف البرية وهي قديمة افتتحها المسلمون في ايام ابي بكر على يد خالد بن الوليد في سنة ١٢ للهجرة وكان فتحها عنوة نسبي نساءها وقتل رجالها فمن ذلك السبي والدة محمد بن سيرين وسيرين اسم أمه وخمران بن ابان مولى عثمان بن عفان فيه يقول عبيد الله بن الحر الجعفي في وقعة كانت بينه وبين اصحاب مَضَعَب

الا هل اتى الفتيان بالمصراتني اسرت بعين التمر اروع ماجدا  
وَفَرَّقْتُ بين النخيل لما تَوَاقَفْتُ بَطْن امرئ قد قام من كان قاعدا'

I think, therefore, that we may reasonably suppose the mint-place to be 'Ayn, i.e. 'Ayn-at-Tamar.

<sup>1</sup> وَيُطْلَقُ فِي الْعِرَاقِ عَلَى عَيْنِ التَّمَرِ تَاتِي (٢٩٢, ii)

6.\* SILVER. AMAWÍ.

Struck at *Sábūr*, A.H. 2. (Col. Guthrie's Collection.)

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

Margin. . . . . بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بسابور سنة ثنتين  
 Within double outer circle of dots (not merely serrated).

Rev. Area.            الله احد الله  
                              الصمد لم يلد و  
                              لم يولد ولم يكن  
                              له كفوا احد  
                              عسولله

With a row of dots between the second and third lines; the whole area inclosed by two circles of dots; between the circles five annulets. *No marginal inscription.*

This is the only Amawí dirhem with which I am acquainted with a word beneath the regular Reverse-Area inscription.<sup>2</sup> Owing to the bad preservation of the coin, I am as yet unable to make out the new word. The first letter might be a *mlm* or an *'ayn* (or *ghayn*), but its large size induces the

<sup>1</sup> *Sic.*

<sup>2</sup> Two coins, published by Dr. Dorn and Dr. Mordtmann respectively, have the Pahlawí word  $\text{𐭠𐭣𐭥}$  *marwun* (for so it may surely be read in preference to *merún*) beneath the Obv. Area. They also both bear the mint-name  $\text{𐭠𐭣𐭥}$  in the usual Arabic marginal inscription. The dates of these two coins are 81 and 101. (See Tiesenhäusen, 294 and 494.)

belief that it is an *'ayn* (or *ghayn*). The second letter might be *bé*; *té*, *thé*, *nín*, or *yé*. The third letter must be *sin* or *shin*. The fourth letter is, I feel almost sure, *wáw*; but there is just the possibility of its being *káf*. After this *wáw* comes what may either be a separate word  $\text{لله}$  ('to God'), or may form the termination  $\text{ل}$  of the word, or again (but I think most improbably) may be the separate word  $\text{له}$  ('to him'), composed of the preposition  $\text{ل}$  and the pronoun  $\text{ه}$ .

We may tabulate these possibilities (many of which, however, are euphonical impossibilities) thus:—

6	5	4	3	2	1
$\left. \begin{array}{c} \text{ة} \\ \text{ك} \\ \text{له} \end{array} \right\}$	$\text{ل}$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{و} \\ \text{ق} \end{array} \right\}$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{س} \\ \text{ش} \end{array} \right\}$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{ة} \\ \text{ه} \\ \text{ن} \\ \text{ه} \end{array} \right\}$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{ه} \\ \text{ه} \end{array} \right\}$

I must leave the task of interpreting these letters to some one else: for I confess myself completely at a loss to understand their meaning.

The coin is rendered even more extraordinary by the absence of any marginal inscription on the Reverse.

7. SILVER. AMAWÍ.

Struck at *Arminiyah*,<sup>1</sup> A.H. 81 (=A.D. 700-1).

(Col. Guthrie's Collection.)

This coin is of the usual Amawí type, exhibiting nothing remarkable, except the position of the conjunction  $\text{و}$  at the

<sup>1</sup> This (or Irmíniyah) not *Arminiyah* (with the *yé mushaddad*) is the correct spelling.

أَرْمِينِيَّةٌ بِكسر ا و ل ه وَيَفْتَحُ وَسكون ثَانِيهٖ وَكسر الميم وَيَاءٌ سَاكِنَةٌ  
 وَكسر النون وَيَاءٌ خَفِيْفَةٌ مَفْتُوحَةٌ اِسْمُ لَصْقَعٍ عَظِيْمٍ اَلْخ (Yáqút i. 119)

beginning of the third line of the Reverse-Area, a position usual on coins of the years 80, 81, 82, but not afterwards, it being subsequently transposed to the end of the second line. The whole style, however, is curious. No coin of this mint has hitherto been known of a date earlier than 92 of the Flight (see Dr. Tiesenhansen's Table, p. 323), so this specimen is an interesting addition to the published series of the coinage of this Dynasty. The collection to which this belongs contained before but one example of the mintage of Armíniyeh.<sup>1</sup>

8\*. GOLD. AMAWÍ.

(Col. Guthrie's Collection.)

Obv. Heraclius and his two sons, all standing, and each one holding a cross-bearing orb.

Rev. The Cross, modified into a pillar with a globular capital, but not yet changed into a  $\phi$ . On either side, B |.

Around.

لا اله الا الله وحده محمد رسول الله

I am not acquainted with any gold coin of this Obverse type: and the Reverse type is, I think, quite unique. The form of the Cross upon the steps is unlike the ordinary, and the letters B | are, so far as I can find out, unknown on Mohammadan coins. B | is merely | B reversed (in Arab fashion); and | B (=12) is the value-index peculiar to the coinage of the Alexandrian mint, denoting that the value of the coin was that of twelve *νοῦμμά*.<sup>2</sup>

I do not think, however, that it can be deduced from this

<sup>1</sup> See my *Catalogue of the Collection of Oriental Coins belonging to Colonel C. Seton Guthrie*, Fasc. I. Coins of the Amawí Khalffehs (Stephen Austin & Sons, Hertford, 1874), p. 7, and pl. i. fig. 38.

<sup>2</sup> I am indebted for this explanation to my uncle, Mr. Reginald Stuart Poole, who has investigated the question of Byzantine and Alexandrian value-indexes in a paper in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1853.

occurrence of the Alexandrian index that the coin was struck at Alexandria; though it is not, *a priori*, unlikely that such was the case. The date of the coin is also doubtful.

9\*. GOLD. FĀṬIMĪ.

Struck at *Madīnat Kūs*, A.H. 517 $\frac{1}{2}$  (= A.D. 1120 $\frac{1}{2}$ ).<sup>1</sup>

(*British Museum.*)

Obv. Area.	عال غاية
Margin (inner).	لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله على ولي الله
(outer).	محمد رسول الله ارسله الخ
Rev. Area.	الامام المنصور
Margin (inner).	ابو على الامر باحكام الله امير المؤمنين
(outer).	بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ضرب هذا الدينر بمدينة قوص سنة تسع <sup>سبع</sup> عشر وخمسمائة <sup>1</sup>

The city of *Kūs* قوص is a new addition to the mint-list of Arabic numismatics, for it has never before been found on coins. The best account of the city is that by Quatremère, in his *Mémoires géographiques et historiques sur l'Égypte*; but as it extends over more than twenty pages (t. i. pp. 192–216) I must content myself with some extracts.

“*κοσ*, KOS. C'est ainsi que le lexique copte de Montpellier écrit le nom de la ville que les Arabes appellent *Kous*. On lit *Κως* ou *Koos* dans les vocabulaires saïdiques de la

<sup>1</sup> The *س* of *عشرة* is omitted; so too the *ى* which should support the *ع* of *مائة*, the latter probably for want of space.

bibliothèque impériale. Ces différens ouvrages joignent au nom de cette ville celui de  $\beta\epsilon\rho\beta\epsilon\rho$  ou  $\beta\iota\rho\beta\iota\rho$ , dont je ne vois pas trop l'origine. Seulement l'auteur de l'un des vocabulaires saïdiques sépare du mot *Kous* celui de  $\beta\epsilon\rho\beta\epsilon\rho$ , et rend ce dernier par *Ahsoreïn*; ce qui sembleroit devoir mériter plus d'attention. En effet, comme nous l'avons appris d'un passage de Macrizy, la ville d'Aksor ou Aksoreïn passoit pour être habitée par une colonie de Maris, peuple de la Nubie. D'un autre côté, il est difficile de récuser le témoignage presque unanime de tous les vocabulaires coptes, auxquels se joint encore l'autorité du manuscrit consulté par Vanslet. Quoiqu'il en soit, Golius a cru que la ville de Kous répondait à l'ancienne Thèbes ou *Dioscopolis magna*, et cette opinion paroît avoir été adoptée par A. Schultens. Mais le père Lequien, d'Anville, et Michaëlis pensent avec raison que Kous représente la ville d'*Apollinopolis parva*, dont il est parlé dans Strabon. Quant au nom Arabe de cette ville, il est certain qu'il doit s'écrire *Kous* par un *sad*, et non par un *sin*, comme on lit dans l'ouvrage de Boha-ed-din. Suivant Aboulfeda, 'Kous, située dans le Saïd, à l'orient du Nil, étoit, après Fostat, la plus grande ville de l'Égypte. C'étoit là qu'arrivoient les marchands d'Aden.' Sa distance, à l'égard de Keft, est d'une parasange, suivant Iakouty, ou de sept milles, suivant l'Edrisy. L'auteur du *Mesalek-al-absar* et Macrizy ont consacré à cette ville des articles assez étendus, dont je vais transcrire une partie, en élegant les fables que le dernier de ces écrivains y joint, suivant son usage. 'Kous, la plus grande ville du Saïd, est située sur la rive orientale du Nil, et est le chef-lieu d'une province très-importante. C'est le premier endroit où s'arrêtent les caravanes qui viennent des mers de l'Inde, de l'Abyssinie, du Yémen, et du Hedjaz, en traversant le désert d'Aïdab. . . . . Au rapport d'Al-Adfouy, dans son Histoire du Saïd, Kous est placée au côté de Keft, et si l'on en croit quelques écrivains, Kous a commencé à devenir florissante, et Keft à se dépeupler depuis l'an 400 de l'hégire. . . . . Depuis l'an 800 de l'hégire, cette ville est entièrement déchuë de son ancienne splendeur. Pendant les désas-

tres et les malheurs qui affligèrent l'Égypte, dans le cours de l'année 806, il périt à Kous dix-sept milles personnes. Avant cette époque, cette ville étoit si peuplée, que, dans la sécheresse de l'an 776, il eut cent cinquante *Moglak*, qui restèrent abandonnés. On entend dans cette province par le mot *Moglak*, un jardin de 20 feddans et au-dessus, accompagné d'une machine hydraulique à quatre faces. Et cela sans compter une foule de jardins moins considérables, qui demeurèrent également sans être occupés.' Macrizy nous apprend ailleurs, que Kous renfermoit un hôtel des monnaies, et que l'on voyait sur le territoire de cette ville de nombreux plants d'acacias. Le même écrivain, parlant du lieu nommé *Miniet-al-Basek*, s'exprime ainsi: 'Cette ville, située dans le canton d'Atfih, a pris son nom de Basek, frère de Behram l'Arménien, qui fut vizir du Khalife Hafed-li-din-Allah. L'an 529, Basek ayant été nommé par son frère au gouvernement de Kous qui étoit alors le plus important de l'Égypte, exerça contre les Musulmanes toutes sortes d'injustices et de vexations. Cela dura jusqu'au mois de djoumady second, de l'an 531. A cette époque, les habitans de Kous, ayant appris que Behram avoit été supplanté et expulsé par Radwan ben Dulkeschy, qui lui avoit succédé dans la charge de vizir, se soulevèrent contre Basek, et le massacrèrent. Ensuite, après lui avoir attaché un chien au pied, il traînèrent son corps dans les rue de la ville, et finirent par le jeter sur le fumier. Basek professoit la religion chrétienne.' . . . On trouve les noms de deux de ses évêques [sc. de Kous], Théodore et Mercure, dans l'histoire des patriarches d'Alexandrie. Du temps du père Sicard, Jean, évêque de Nequadé, l'étoit en même temps de Coptos, de Kous et d'Ibrim. Abou-Selah parle de plusieurs églises situées sur le territoire de Kous."

The following extract from Brugsch (*Geographische Inschriften altägyptischer Denkmäler* i. 197 f.) supplies the defectiveness of Quatremère's account of the names of Kūs. "Noch weiter nördlich auf der Strasse, welche von Karnak nach der Stadt Qeft, dem alten Koptos, führt, liegt eine Stadt mit Namen قوص Qus, die zur Zeit Abulfeda's oder im 14. Jahrhundert nach Fostât die bedeutendste Stadt

Aegyptens war. Grosse Trümmerhaufen bei derselben sind heut zu Tage die einzigen Ueberreste eines älteren ansehnlichen Ortes. . . . Die Griechen, das wissen wir mit vollster Sicherheit, nannten die Stadt Ἀπόλλωνος πόλις, gewöhnlich mit dem Zusatze ἡ μικρά, zum Unterschiede von der grossen Apollonstadt, deren bedeutende Ruinen inmitten des heutigen Dorfes Edfu liegen. Die Kopten bezeichneten sie, wahrscheinlich nach alter Tradition, mit dem Vulgärnamen ΚΩC ΒΕΡΒΕΡ (dialektisch ΒΡΒΙΡ, ΒΡΒΕΡ), welches Champollion, *L'Égypte sous les Pharaons*, vol. ii. p. 221 "das brennende" oder "das heisse ΚΩC" übersetzt. Ein Wort *kes*, oder *ges* est mir mit Ausnahme des oben besprochenen *kes*, das aber hier nicht her gehören kann, nirgend in den Inschriften und Texten aufgestossen, wohl aber eine Localbenennung *brbr*, entsprechend dem koptischen ΒΡΒΕΡ. In dem hieratischen Kalendar Sallier No. 4, p. 11, erscheint nämlich eine Gruppe ḥâ-brbr (898) "das Haus brbr" mit dem speciellen Determinativ der Pyramide oder des Obeliskens, das sehr wohl die in Rede stehende Stadt bezeichnen konnte. Wie gesagt ist aber die Sache nicht ausgemacht und wir müssen es dem glücklichen Zufall überlassen, ob für diese Zusammenstellung gründliche Beweise gefunden werden. Jenes ḥâ-brbr könnte nämlich nach dem Zusammenhange in dem beregten Papyrus eben so gut einen bestimmten Theil in einem Heiligthume bezeichnen."

The mention by El-Makrizî of an *hôtel des monnaies* at Kûs is highly interesting, and this coin is the first to confirm the historian's statement.

10\*. GOLD. MUWAHID (Almohade). 'Abd-Al-Mu-min.

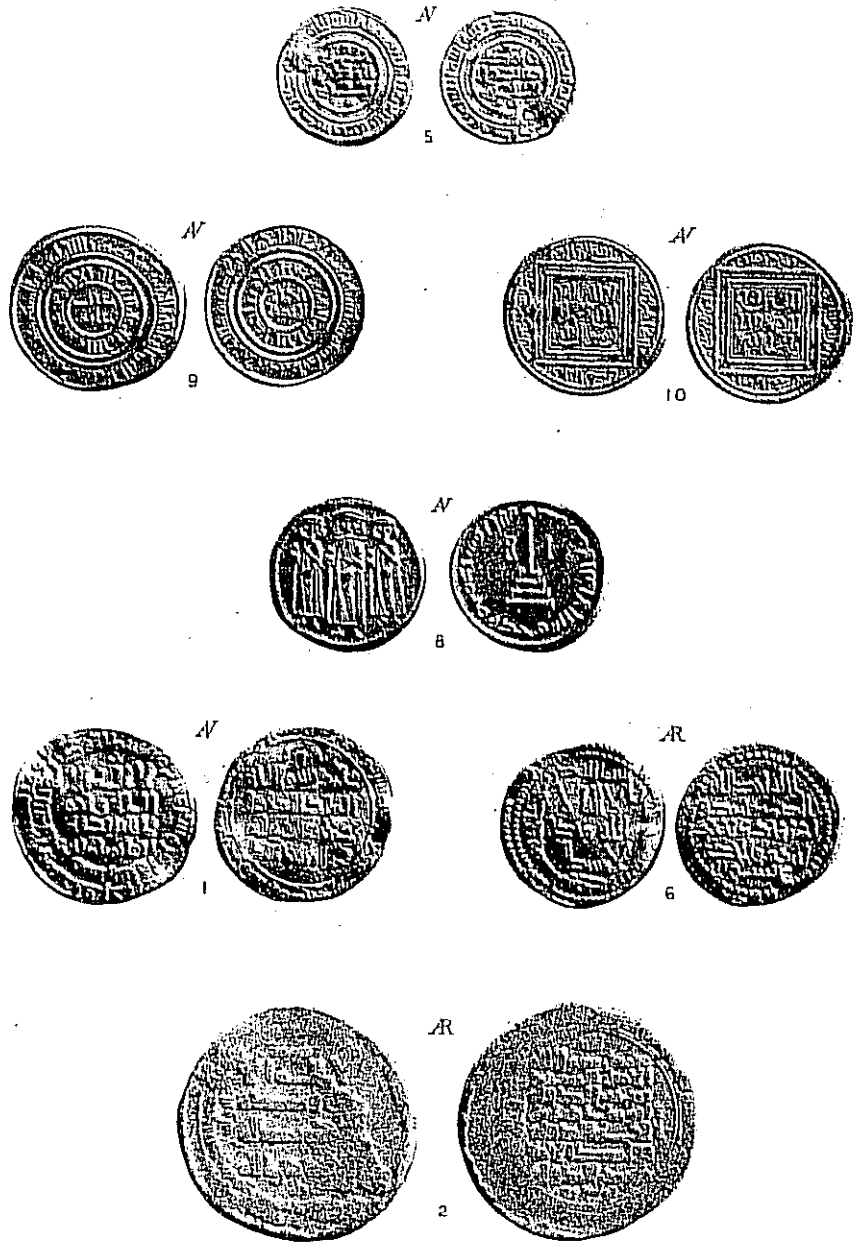
Struck at *Sabtah*.

(*British Museum.*)

Similar to the coin described by me in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, n.s., vol. xiii. p. 154, art. *Muwahhids*, No. 1. The difference consists in the occurrence of the mint-name *Sabtah* سبتة between the lines of the encadrement, on each side, beneath the area-inscription. Coins with these finely-written



mint-names between the lines are, I believe, peculiar to the dynasty of the Muwahhids, and very rare even among them. I am not aware of this coin having been already published. The diacritical points differ somewhat from those on the specimen described in the *Num. Chron.*, as a comparison of the plates will show. A curious thing is the way in which the tail of the م of بسم on the Obv. is cut through by the encadrement. I need scarcely remark that Sabtah is the Arabic form of Ceuta; or rather, Ceuta is the European form of Sabtah.



UNISSUED ARABIC COINS.

AUTOTYPE, LONDON.

ART. VIII.—*Inedited Arabic Coins.* By STANLEY LANE POOLE.

## SECOND NOTICE.

(Continued from Vol. VII. p. 261.)

11. GOLD. SALJŪKĪ. *Tukash-Bég.*Mint obliterated. A.H. 466. (*British Museum.*)

Obverse Area.

سلطان

لا الظهيره الا

الله وحده

لا شريك له

ملك شاه

Margin.

لله الامر الخ

Reverse Area.

لله

محمد

رسول الله

القائم بامر الله

تكش بك

On either side of لله, cross.

Margin. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار (sic) . . . . . ست وستين

واربع مائة (sic)

(Silver plated with gold.)

Tukash-Bég, whose name must be familiar to every reader of Muhammedan history, was a son of Alp-Arslán, and brother

of Malik-Sháh. I am not aware that any coin bearing his name has hitherto been published.

12. GOLD. SHÁH OF MAZANDARÁN. *Rustam ibn 'Alí ibn Shahriyár.*  
Mint *Sábúr*? A.H. 551 or 552. (*British Museum.*)

Obv. Area. لا اله الا  
الله محمد  
رسول الله  
المقتضى لامر  
الله

Above, ornament.

Margin . . . . . الدينار بسابور . . . . . وخمسين . . . . .

Rev. Area. محمد  
السلطان الاعظم  
معز الدنيا والدين  
ابو الحرب سنجر  
بن ملك شاه  
خان

Margin. محمد رسول الله ارسله الخ

The date is limited to one of the two years 551 and 552 by the fact that the Sultán Sinjar, whose name appears on the coin, died in 552. Rustam ibn 'Alí is mentioned by Ibn-al-Athír as engaging in some warlike expedition in 552; and the same historian records his death in 560. He was succeeded by his son, 'Alá-ad-dín Al-Ḥasan.

13. GOLD. *Malik-al-Umará* كوان or دوان?  
Mint *أسب*. A.H. 519. (*British Museum.*)

Obv. Area.

والدين  
 لا اله الا الله  
 وحده لا شريك له  
 الناصر لدين الله  
 امير المؤمنين

Margin (inner). بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار باسب سنة تسعة (sic) عشر . . . . .

(outer). Traces of الامراء

Rev. Area.

الكامل  
 محمد رسول الله  
 صلى الله عليه  
 وسلم ملك  
 الامراء كوان

Margin. Traces of محمد رسول الله ارسله الخ

There appears to be a connexion between the last two letters of the king's name: but the execution of the coin is bad, and the third letter may yet be an alif. I am unable to identify either the name of the king or the mint place.

14. GOLD. ATABEG. *Malik-al-Umará Sharjú-sháh(?)*.  
*Shiráz. A.H. 519. (British Museum.)*

Obv. Area.

سرحو  
 لا اله الا  
 الله وحده  
 لا شريك له  
 المترشد (sic) بالله  
 شاه

Margin. . . . . ذ . . . . . (sic) الدينار بشيراز سنة تسع عشر . . . . .

No outer margin visible.

Rev. Area. رسول الله  
محمد  
معز الدنيا  
والدين  
ومغيث الدنيا  
والدين

Margin illegible.

15. GOLD. *Same prince.*

Mint obliterated. A.H. 520. (*British Museum.*)

Obv. and reverse areas as on 14.

Obv. Margin (inner). بسم الله . . . الدينار . . . سنة عشرين . . . مائة . . .  
(outer). Illegible.

Rev. Margin. محمد رسول الله ارسله بالبرى ودين الحق ليظهره على  
الدين كله

16. GOLD. *Same prince.*

*Shirás.* A.H. 521. (*British Museum.*)

Obv. Area as on 14: but سرحو beneath and شاه above.

Margin (inner). . . . . ينار بشيراز سنة احدى وعشرين وخمس . . .  
(outer). Traces of لله الامر الخ

Rev. Area. رسول الله  
محمد  
معز الدنيا  
والدين ومغيث  
الدنيا

Margin illegible.

17. GOLD. *Samo prince.*

Mint obliterated. A.H. 524. (*British Museum.*)

Obv. Area. عدل  
لا اله الا  
الله  
لا شريك  
سرحو شاه  
اتابك

Margin (inner). . . . . راسنة اربع عشرين وخمسة  
(outer). لله الامر الخ

Rev. Area as on 16.

Margin as on 15.

18. SILVER. *Khusrah-Shdh.*

Mint doubtful. A.H. 361. (*British Museum.*)

Obv. Area. لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
المطيع لله

Margin (inner). بسم الله ضرب هذا . . . درهم بالريكا (4) سنة  
احدى وستين وثلاثمائة

(outer). لله الامر الخ

Rev. Area. لله  
محمد رسول  
الله الملك  
خسرة شاه  
بن مياكر (؟)

Margin illegible. (Pierced.)

19. SILVER. *Same prince.*

Mint doubtful. A.H. 363. (*British Museum.*)

Same as 18, except date (بالروك . . سنة ثلث وستين وثلث مائة)  
and rev. margin (محمد رسول الله الخ).

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It is with regret that I leave so many points presented by these coins without arriving at any solution of the difficulties presented by them. The names of *Khusrah-Sháh*, the Atábég *Sharjú-Sháh* (?), and *Kawán* (?), are, so far as I am at present in a position to judge, unknown to history. Nor have I met with the mints *اسن* and *الرفكا* (?). Perhaps some scholar with more leisure and more historical materials than I have, may be able to throw some light on the subject.

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ART. V.—*Inedited Arabic Coins.* By STANLEY LANE POOLE.

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THIRD NOTICE.

(Continued from Vol. VIII. p. 296.)

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A. INEDITED COINS OF ARABIA.

SOME years ago the late Colonel Seton Guthrie showed me some coins of a totally different appearance to any I had before seen. They did not, I think, form part of his collection, but belonged to a friend who had received them from a relation in the Yemen. Colonel Guthrie, however, allowed me to take impressions of them, with a view to deciphering and publishing the inscriptions at some later time when I had more leisure to devote to their inspection.

These enigmatic coins were six in number. They appeared to be all intended for *dinârs*, though the gold was very considerably alloyed in some cases, and in others there were traces of plating. The inscriptions were executed with a roughness seldom equalled even on Oriental coins; and on two or three of them there seemed an entire indifference as to the legibility of the writing. There was not, however, quite the look of forgeries about them; and I am inclined to think them genuine products of an Arabian mint where the art of coining remained still in its infancy.

It must be admitted that the evidence for their having been struck in Arabia is rather weak. One of them indeed bears the mint-name 'Aden; but this is the best-executed of all, and the character of its inscriptions does not resemble that of the others. The only argument for assigning the rest to an Arabian mint is the fact that they were found

in Arabia, and that they resemble the issues of no known mint. This is, however, merely a conjecture, except as regards the 'Aden coin, and must be valued accordingly.

The six coins may be divided into two classes. Three of them bear internal evidence of having been issued by Shi'í rulers; whilst of the other three, two exhibit the names of 'Abbásí Khalífes, and are thus unmistakably Sunni, and the third shows no reason to the contrary.

Beginning with the 'Alawí or Shi'í coins,—those, that is, which bear the heretical formula *على ولي الله*,—I must first describe the *dínár* of 'Aden, by far the most interesting of the series. No coin has yet been published with the name of this mint, and without this specimen it would not be known that it ever was a mint-place. Besides this, the name of the King of 'Aden is entirely unknown to numismatists.

20. *N.* KING OF 'ADEN. *'Imrân ibn Moḥammad.*

Struck at *Aden*, A.H. 556 (=A.D. 1161).

Obv. Area. لا اله الا الله  
محمد رسول الله  
على ولي الله

Margin. بسم الله ضرب بعدن سنة ست وخمسين وخمسمائة  
المظفر... الدين؟

Rev. Area. اوجد ملوك  
الزمن ملك العرب  
والحمر عمران  
ابن محمد

Margin obscure.

In F. Wüstenfeld's *Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, iv. 225, 226, is the following notice of the King whose name thus appears for the first time in the field of numismatics:—"Im J. 561 wurden der Pilgern die Abgaben für den Eintritt in Mekka erlassen, um dadurch dem Fürsten von 'Aden, 'Imrân ben Mohammed ben el-Zarî' el-Hamdânî, eine letzte Ehre zu erweisen, welcher für seinen beabsichtigten Besuch eine sehr hohe Abgabe bezahlt hatte; er war aber unterwegs am Fieber gestorben."<sup>1</sup>

From this account we should conclude the king of 'Aden to have been a person of no small account in the Hijâj; and the title on his coin seems to point to the same conclusion:—*The Unique of the Kings of the Time, King of the Arabs and the Foreigners*. With regard to this last word it should be remarked that *الْحَمْرَاءُ* is a post-classical plural, probably used in preference to the classical *الْحَمْرَاءُ* because it corresponds in form more nearly with *العرب*. The expression is, I believe, unique on a coin.

In reply to a letter in which I related my discovery of this remarkable piece, my learned friend M. Tiesenhausen remarks: "Votre dinar No. 1 se rapporte à la dynastie des *بنو الزريع*. *Imran ibn Mohammed* régna en 548-560, v. Ibn Khaldoun (éd. de Boulae), iv. p. ۲۱۶, et Aboulféda, Ann. Muslem. iii. 193-195, où cette dynastie est appelée *بنو الزريع*."

The other two 'Alawî coins differ considerably in appearance from that just described, being much coarser in execution, so much so indeed as to be with difficulty legible.

<sup>1</sup> The original Arabic of El-Fâsi, of which the above is Wüstenfeld's translation, is given in the same *Chroniken*, vol. ii. p. ۲۵۶ *في سنة إحدى وستين وخمسمائة اطلق الحاج من غرامة المكس اكراماً صاحب عدن عمران بن محمد بن الزريع اليامن الهمداني الخ*

21, 22. *A*. BANÍ-ŞULAIH. *Alī ibn Moḥammad*.

Mint and date illegible.

Obv. Area.	لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله على ولي الله
Margin. . . . .	بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينر
Rev. Area.	[ لا اله الا ] ؟ [ الله ] الامام ؟ على ابن محمد
Margin illegible.	

The only difference between these two is that above the obv. of 22 there is an ornament √.

For the identification of 'Alī ibn Moḥammad I am indebted to M. Tiesenhausen. He writes: "Vu la provenance des dinars dont vous parlez, j'ose croire que *Alī ibn Moḥammed*, sur la pièce No. 2, est le fondateur de la dynastie des بنو صليح qui regna dans le Yémen au 5<sup>e</sup> siècle de l'Hégire. Ibn Khallican lui a consacré une notice détaillée (v. Biogr. diction. trans. by Slane, vol. ii. p. 344, et suiv., ainsi que vol. i. p. 360-361, et iii. p. 381-382); v. aussi Aboulféda, Ann. Muslem. iii. p. 189-191; Ibn-el-Athir, Chron. ix. p. 422-423, et x. p. 19, 38; Ibn Khaldoun (édit. de Boulac, vol. iv. p. 114). La formule الله ولي على vient confirmer son dévouement pour les Fatimides."

Looking out these references we find that 'Alī the Sulaihi governed El-Yemen from 447, and Mekkah from 455, till his death in 459 (Ibn-al-Athir). Or, according to Abu-l-Fidá, he reigned from 455 to 473.

Of the other three coins the first bears the name of the Khalífeh El-Káim, and must therefore have been struck between the years 422 and 467 of the Hijreh. The inscriptions are in one or two places difficult to decipher: but the following readings are I think beyond doubt.

23. *N.* *Nasr ibn 'Alī ibn EL-Muẓaffar.*

Mint and date obliterated.

Obv. Area.

أبو علي  
لا اله الا الله  
محمد رسول الله  
القائم بأمر الله  
رشد

Margin illegible.

Rev. Area.

ناصر  
أمير المؤمنين  
نصر بن الأمير  
علي بن المظفر  
السلطان

Margin illegible.

Although the inscriptions are sufficiently clear, I am unable to identify the names with any persons mentioned in Oriental history.

In the case of No. 24 this difficulty does not occur, since there is no name to identify. The inscriptions (omitting the margins which are illegible) are simply these:—

24. *N.* No name but that of the Khalfah EL-Muṭṭaf'.

Mint Ṣan'á? Date obliterated.

Obv.	لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له	Rev.	الله محمد رسول الله المطيع لله
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Obv. Margin. ضرب هذا الدين بصرنا؟

Rev. Margin illegible.

The date is approximately fixed to the years 334 to 363

by the occurrence of the name of El-Muṭī'. It cannot be supposed that the coin was actually issued by El-Muṭī'; perhaps the illegible marginal inscription contains the name of the issuer.

25. Name of prince doubtful.

Mint Ṣan'á? Date illegible.

Obv. Area. لا اله الا  
الله محمد  
رسول الله

Margin. . . . . بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بصنعا؟

Rev. Area. اميين بن الرس  
لحمر بن ال  
جعاسد  
حسين؟

Margin illegible.

I have abandoned the reverse of this coin as hopeless. It may perhaps be explained should another example be discovered.

#### B. VARIOUS INEDITED ARABIC COINS.

26. *N.* AMÍR OF NĪSĀBŪR. *ʿAdud-ad-dawlah Toghán-Sháh Abi-Bakr ibn Al-Muayyad.*

Mint obliterated, year 573. (*British Museum.*)

Obv. Area. لا اله الا  
الله محمد  
رسول الله  
المستضى بامر  
الله

Margin (inner). . . . . سنة ثلث وسبعين . . . . .  
 (outer). لله الامر الخ  
 Rev. Area. لله  
 الملك المعظم  
 عضد الدولة والدين  
 ابوبكر طغ . . . . .  
 الملك اله . . . . .  
 سنجر  
 Margin. محمد رسول الله ارسله الخ

27. *N.* Similar.

*Nisābūr*, date obliterated.

(*British Museum.*)

Obv. Area. لا اله الا  
 الله محمد  
 رسول الله  
 الناصر لدين  
 الله  
 Above, ornament.  
 Margin (inner). . . . . بنيسابور سنة . . . . .  
 (outer). لله الامر الخ  
 Rev. Area. الملك المعظم  
 عضد الدولة والدين  
 ابوبكر طغانشاه  
 الملك المظفر  
 سنجر  
 Margin. محمد رسول الله ارسله الخ

28. *N*. Same; but date partly visible (5)77 . . . . . سبع وسبعه .

and Rev. Area.

السلطان  
 المعظم علا الدنيا والدين  
 ابو المظفر تكش بن  
 خوارزمشاه الملك  
 العادل طغانشاه بن  
 المرید السلطان المظفر  
 سنجر

This Toghán-Sháh was a son of Al-Muäyyad, a Mamlúk of Sultán Sinjar. On the death of Al-Muäyyad in 568, Toghán-Sháh ascended the throne of Nísábúr.

The British Museum possesses another dínár of Toghán-Sháh, but the date shows him to be a different person from the son of Al-Muäyyad. The following is a description of the coin.

29. *N*. *Toghán-Sháh*.

Mint and date obliterated.

(*British Museum*).

Obv. Area.

°°

لا اله الا  
 الله وحده  
 لا شريك له  
 طغان شاه

Rev. Area.

o \* o

محمد رسول الله  
 المقتدى بامر الله  
 جلال الدولة  
 ملكشاه

Margin (inner) doubtful.

(outer). لله الامر النخ

Margin. محمد رسول الله ارسله النخ

The names of Al-Muḳtadí and of Malik-Sháh limit the date of the coin to 467-485.



30. *N. Moḥammad ibn Saḥwān.* Struck at Ḳarḳīsiyá, A.H. 265  
(=A.D. 879).

Obv. Area. لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
المفوض الى الله  
محمد

Margin (inner). بسم الله ضرب هذا الدين بقرقيسيا سنة  
خمس وستين ومئتين

(outer).

لله الامر الخ

Rev. Area.

الله

محمد

رسول

الله

المعتمد على الله

احمد بن الموفق بالله

محمد بن صفوان

Margin.

محمد رسول الله ارسله الخ

Ibn-al-Athír mentions a certain *ابن صفوان العقيلي* who was ejected from Ḳarḳīsiyá in 269 (vii. 271) and this Moḥammad of course must be he. The coin was shown to me by the Rev. A. Löwy—to a friend of whom it belongs. It is one of those few *dínárs* of an early date that bear the names of governors, and on that account, and by reason of its being the first known coin of Moḥammad ibn Saḥwān, it is exceedingly interesting and rare.

ART. XIX.—*Notes on some Inedited Coins, from a Collection made in Persia during the Years 1877—1879.* By GUY LE STRANGE, M.R.A.S.

DURING a three years' stay that I made in Persia, while travelling about the country, and living in Tehran, Meshed, Ispahan, and Shiraz, I made a small collection of coins, and passed many pleasant hours in trying to decipher their legends, and reading in Persian histories what I was able to find about the kings and princes whose names occurred thereon. Since I have come home, Mr. Poole, the Keeper of the Coins at the British Museum, has kindly looked over my collection, and, while pointing out what is new, has most courteously given me the benefit of his scholarship in clearing up many difficulties; to his various colleagues in the Medal Room I am also indebted for assistance and instruction.

It is of course useless mentioning coins already well known by the British Museum and other catalogues. I shall therefore confine myself to those few which I believe to be inedited.

Among the coins of the Seleucidæ that are in any way noteworthy, there is a triobolus of Seleucus I., Nicator, on the rev. of which is a drinking or feeding horse, in front of Zeus' feet. A drachm of, I believe, Seleucus III., bears on the exergue of the reverse the letters ΕΦ; but this can hardly refer to Ephesus, for the town was not in Seleucus' hands. On the rev. of a drachm of Antiochus III., Great, are the letters ΜΕΝ above the head of the seated Apollo.

While in Khorasan I obtained three copper coins of Sanabares, a Bactrian king. The name has been read before by Thomas (Num. Chron. 1871, vol. xi. p. 202), as also by M

Sallet (*Zeitschr. von Numism.* vol. vi. p. 364), as forming its genitive in *Σαυαβαρους*. On my specimens there may be read quite clearly

BACIAEYC CANABAPHC

I do not know whether this has been noted before.

Parthian coins were of course very common, especially drachms and the copper pieces, which unfortunately were, as a rule, in too bad a condition to permit of their being read. I never came across any of the large tetradrachms; and though I have some seventy specimens of drachms, I have only one new coin among them; it is apparently of one of Mithradates I.'s satraps; on the obv. is a head to the right (not, as is usual, to the left), bearded, and bound by the tiara; on the rev. is the usual king seated on a stool without a back, and round him is written

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ

The coin resembles one figured in pl. ii. No. 3 of the *Parthian Coins*, by Mr. Gardner, in the *Numismata Orientalia*, the new edition.

On a drachm of Artabanus II., like pl. ii. No. 13 of the above-mentioned work, the inscription runs in my specimen  
 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΘΕΟΠΑΤΡΟΥ  
 ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ

the usual form being ΘΕΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ; but both are barbarous Greek.

I hunted through a great many coins of those ascribed to Orodes I. and Pacorus, but could find none on which the ΚΑΙ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΠΑΚΟΥΥ was clear; for the form of the Greek letters at that time is so barbarous, that almost anything may be read with a little turning and twisting.

Sassanian coins are much rarer in Persia than Parthian; and of those that I was able to get, none turned out to be new. The same remark applies to the Ispahbedi coins of Tabaristan, and to the early Pehlevi-Arabic dirhems of my collection. Dinars and dirhems of the Khalifate were of course common, but I found nothing on them that had not

been already noted by Tiesenhausen in his *Monnaies des Khalifes Orientaux*, except perhaps a much-clipped dinar of Al-Mutawwakel, bearing his name on the reverse area; the date is A.H. 237, and the mint-city is Sana'a—the remarkable point in the coin; for, according to Mr. S. L. Poole, in his *Introduction to the Catalogue of Oriental Coins*, vol. v. p. xxxv, the Beni Ziyad would seem to have held the lordship of Sana'a as early as 204, or thereabouts. Tiesenhausen makes no mention of any coins struck at Sana'a of about this time.

I have also a rare dinar of the Beni Aghlab of the year 296.

The obverse area has لا اله, etc., as usual; on the obverse margin is محمد رسول الله ارسله بالهدى النخ, with the curious tail to the ي of بالهدى which is characteristic of the coins of this dynasty; the reverse area has:

محمد رسول الله  
جعفر—Ja'afar.

and the marginal inscription is:

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدين سنة ست وتسعين وميتين

with no mint-city, as is usual.

Now as the power of Beni Aghlab fell in Rajab, 296, this must have been one of the last of their dinars—who the Ja'afar is I am unable to find out. I bought this coin in Tehran; and though the obverse is much rubbed, there seems to be no doubt of its genuineness.

The gem, however, of my collection is a dinar of Al Hasan ben Al Kasem the Alide, who in Weil's *Gesch. der Chalifen*, vol. ii. p. 614, is mentioned as having held rule at Amol in Tabaristan. I believe none of his coins have been published before.

The date is A.H. 306; the weight 59.5grs, and size 4 of Mionnet's scale. On the obverse area is:

لا اله  
الداعي الى الحق

Outer margin :

انها يريد الله ايد هب عنكم الرجس اهل البيت ويطهركم تطهيرا

“For God only desireth to put away filthiness from you<sup>1</sup> as his household, and with cleansing to cleanse you.”—Koran, xxxiii. 33.

Inner margin :

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بمدينة امل سنة ست وثلثمائة

Reverse area :

لله محمد رسول الله الحسن بن القاسم

Reverse margin :

انن للذين يقاتلون بانهم ظلموا وان الله على نصرهم لقدير

“A sanction is given to those who—because they have suffered outrages—have taken up arms, and verily God is well able to succour them.”—Koran, xxii. 40. Rodwell.

Amol, though not, I believe, unknown as a mint-city, is of exceedingly rare occurrence. The verse from the Koran xxxiii. 33, is found again on the coins of the Hasani Sherifs of Marocco of the tenth century,<sup>2</sup> but without the last three words, *i.e.* stopping with the word البيت. The verse on the reverse margin I have been able to find on no other coins; it would hardly have been taken by any one not in rebellion against the authority of the Khalifeh. This Al Hasan was surnamed Al Dai al Saghir (see Weil, *loc. cit.* note 3). On his coins, however, he takes the title of his predecessor—Al Da'i ila 'l Hakk.

In the J. R. A. S. 1875, p. 252, Mr. S. L. Poole has described a dinar having the mint-city 'Ani. While in Tehran I bought a dinar which turns out to be a well-executed forgery purporting to be struck at that city. It is extremely well made, but weighs only 42·5grs. It is dated 314 A.H. On its obverse and reverse areas is written :

ابو العباس بن المقتدر بالله امير المؤمنين

<sup>1</sup> The pronoun is here in the pl. masc., whereas the plur. fem. is used in the previous part of the verse. The partisans of Ali quote this passage to prove the intimate union of Ali and his posterity with the Prophet.—Rodwell's Koran.

<sup>2</sup> See Cat. Or. Coins in Brit. Mus., 1880, vol. v. p. 88.

who afterwards succeeded as Ar-Radi billah. I cannot help thinking that although the coin is a forgery, yet that it presupposes a real coin somewhere from which it was copied. The workmanship is extremely good—so good as to deceive at first sight the experienced judges of the British Museum. May it not be a counterfeit of the time?

Three dinars of Nuh ibn Naṣr, the Samanide Amir, I think deserve mention; they are all from the same mint-city—Nishápur; their dates are 331, 333, 337. The first of A.H. 331 has the usual obverse—viz. the Ist symbol, date on inner margin and the verse from the Koran, cxxx. 3, on outer. The reverse area has:

لله محمد رسول الله المتقي لله نوح بن نصر

the Naṣr being spelt with a س instead of a ص. The reverse margin is the usual IInd symbol. It has every appearance of being genuine.

The second dinar of A. H. 333 has a similar obverse, except for the difference in date; its reverse area has:

لله محمد رسول الله  
المستكفي لله  
نوح بن نصر

with a very clearly-written ص in the Naṣr. The marginal inscription is the usual IInd symbol divided from the area by a *single* line.

Next we come to the dinar of A.H. 337, with obverse as on the two former coins; the reverse also exactly like the dinar of A.H. 333 bears the Khalifeh Al Mustakfi's name, though he had been deposed in A.H. 334 by the Buyehs. It differs from the dinar of A.H. 333 in this, that its reverse area is separated from its marginal legend (the IInd symbol) by a *double* instead of a single line.

And lastly is a beautiful dinar of Majd ad Dauleh Buyeh of the year A.H. 398. On the obverse and reverse the marginal inscriptions are contained within hexagonal lines; the mint-city is Muhammadiyah; on the obverse area is the

name of the Khalifeh Alkader billah ; on the reverse area are Majd ad Dauleh's titles after the usual—

لله  
محمد رسول الله

thus :

الامير السيد شاهانشاه مجد الدوله وكنيف الامه بن فخر الدوله بويه

The dinar is in very fine preservation, and all the letters may be easily made out.

Before closing these notes I may mention that I bought in Shiraz a dirhem of A.H. 131, coined at Ash-Shamiyeh, exactly similar to the one in Poole's Brit. Mus. Cat. of Eastern Khalifehs, vol. i. p. 22. Ash-Shamiyeh would seem to have had a mint for but a single year.





JOURNAL  
OF THE  
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.

Part I.—HISTORY, LITERATURE, &c.

No. II.—1886.

*The Decline of the Sámánís and the Rise of the Ghaznavís in Máwará-un-Nahr and part of Khurásán. (With some unpublished coins.)—*  
By E. E. OLIVER, M. I. C. E., M. R. A. S.

To Englishmen in India the history and geography of Central Asia are matters that have always commanded considerable attention, and of recent years "the progress of events" has forced them into recognition as matters of interest, possibly vital interest, to Englishmen everywhere. But beyond the outlines of certain well known historical features and a few famous names, our knowledge is still very indefinite and uncertain, and an attempt to fill in the details for any particular time or State, difficult in the extreme. The history of the Middle Ages in the East may be said to be still unwritten. The whole is made up of struggles for supremacy by various races, conflicting tribes, and petty chiefs, who founded innumerable dynasties, the very names of which, with the cities and territories they ruled, are now unknown, or at best can be traced by evidence the most slender and obscure.

Not the least valuable among such evidence is the numismatic. "The coins of the Muslim East", as Mr. Stanley Lane Poole writes in a recent work, "do not so much recall history as make it." The right to coin money in his own name, and of being mentioned in the Friday prayers was one of the most cherished privileges of every Muhammadan who could in any way get himself recognised as a ruler, and, fortunately

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for history, his vanity in this respect has made his coinage richer in names, places, and dates, than perhaps any other. His own, his father's, and his son's names, the contemporary Khalifah, the name of his Suzerain and of his father, his titles, the place of mintage, the date, and sometimes even the month, are occasionally to be met with on the same coin; a little history in itself which as a check on the native chronicles becomes invaluable.

Comparison of such evidence on a sufficiently large scale would in time enable us to clear up the history of many now entirely obscure periods. Such comparison is, however, only possible under the most exceptional circumstances, discoveries of large hoards of coins are very few and far between, and though from time to time a few worn coins with strange Kufic inscriptions of curious interest do find their way to the bazars of Northern India, they are of course rare, and collectors being now so numerous, it is highly improbable that sufficient will fall to one individual to serve any useful purpose. The Indian official is moreover handicapped in many other ways, by the want of books of reference, and of information as to what has been done already, and still more by the want of time for anything outside his immediate work at the State mill. The most practical suggestion is that of Mr. Stanley Lane Poole in the last number of the *Numismatic Chronicle* to compile from all sources a *History of the Muhammadan Empire as established by coins*, comparing the leading cabinets of the world. And for the purpose of such a *Fasti Arabici* every coin accurately described may prove of value. Such a reason may perhaps serve as an excuse for the publication of the few I have met with, in preference to waiting in the probably vain hope of completing a series.

If not indeed to make such description in telligible, at any rate to give something of interest to the dry numismatic bones, it is desirable to make some effort to cover them with what has been so far ascertained of the history of their whilom owners, and at the risk of trespassing on ground already explored by past masters in the art, I have endeavoured to bring together in a brief and imperfect sketch an outline of the decline of one and the rise of another dynasty on the banks of the Oxus.

Máwará-un-Nahr, literally "what is beyond the River," is perhaps not so convenient a term as Transoxania, or the Greater Bukháriá of old European writers, but is more accurate. By it may be understood the territory bounded on the North by Tásbkanđ, on the East by Farghánah or Khokand, on the South by Balkh, and on the West by Khwárazm or Khiva; of which the capital was Samarkand, and under the Sámánis, Bukhára. The Sámánis themselves were originally natives of Khurásán,

and incorporated their own heritage there with their new dominions, some portions more or less of Khurásán at least so remaining till the fall of the dynasty.

The authorities used are mainly the Tabakát-i-Násiri of Minháj-i-Siráj, with Major Raverty's notes, the Kitab-i-Yamini of Al Utbi. Vambéry's History of Bukhárá, with the selected translations from other chroniclers to be found in Elliot's Historians of India. And it is perhaps needless to add that what follows here has pretensions to nothing beyond being a sketch.

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Asad bin Abd-ullah "the Good and Friend of the oppressed," Viceroy of the Khalifah in Khurásán, was implored by a nobleman of Balkh, named Sámán, one of the remaining followers of Zoroaster, to assist him against enemies who had expelled him from his city. Asad took up this nobleman's cause and reinstated him in his home, upon which Sámán showed his gratitude by embracing the faith of Islam, and named his first son after his protector, Asad.

This Asad had four sons, who following their father and grandfather's new creed devoted themselves to the cause of the Arabs, and rapidly rose to power and fame. Their swords were needed in the cause of the Faith, and the Khalifah Mámún promptly recognized their "talents, capabilities, bravery and innate nobility of mind," and conferred territories upon them. To Núh was granted Samarkand, to Ahmad, Farghánah to Yahyá Shásh,\* the modern Tashkand and Isfanjáb,† and to Ilyás, Hirát. This was in 204 H. when Ghassan bin' Ubbád was the Khalifah's Viceroy in Khurásán. Succeeding Khalifahs confirmed the grants, the government of Samarkand passing at Núh's death to his brother Ahmad, who, of all the brothers appears to have been the most sagacious, energetic, and powerful. In addition to Farghánah the whole of Káshghar and Eastern Turkistán to the frontier of China is said to have come into his hands, and his fame, as one of the most upright and best Princes of the dynasty "was celebrated throughout Irán and Turán." He died at Samarkand in 216 H. and was succeeded by Naqr, one of a family of nine sons.

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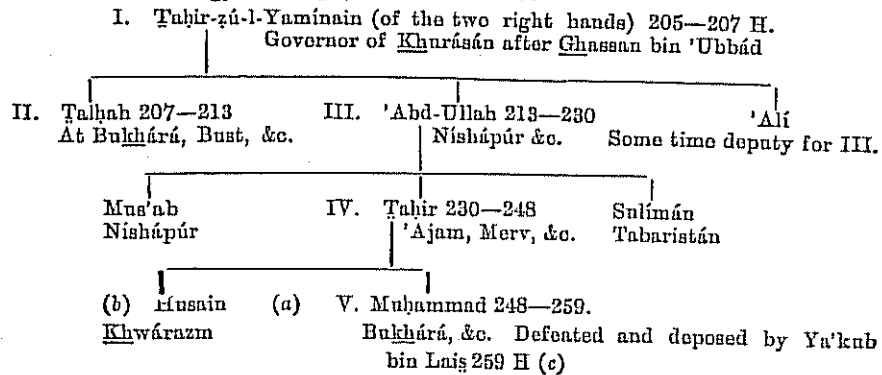
\* Shásh was also the name of the territory in Máwará-un-Nahr on the Jaxartes, the inhabitants of which were Musalmáns of the Ghuzz and Khalj tribes.

† A city towards Turkestan.

NAṢR I 261—279 H.

A man described as of many virtues, but of weak and suspicious nature, who to a great extent was indebted to the support of a younger brother, Ismá'íl, for the establishment of his throne. The dynasty of the Ṭāhírís\* had closed with the deposition of Muhammad (a) in 259 H. but there were still powerful members of the family, who with others were rival claimants to the Sámáni family lands. Husain bin Ṭāhír (b) had been plundering and laying waste Bukhárá. Ya'kúb bin Laiṣ (c), Saffári, had among other successes taken Hirát in 256-7 H. Nishápúr and Bukhárá in 259 H., and the inhabitants of all these territories were split up into innumerable parties. Especially was this the case in Bukhárá where certain of the nobles applied to Naṣr for protection. Ismá'íl was forthwith despatched and made his entry as Naṣr's representative in 260 H., the latter's name being forthwith substituted in the Khutbah (Friday prayers) and Sikkah (money issue) for that of Ya'kúb bin Laiṣ. The government of the territory was formally conferred on Ismá'íl in 261, who became universally popular, his popularity being materially increased by a severe defeat inflicted on Husain bin Ṭāhír who had advanced on a fresh plundering expedition. He was too popular in fact to please Naṣr, who now tried to depose him, and was only prevented by the intervention of mutual friends. Naṣr still jealous and suspicious, soon sought new cause of quarrel and in 272 H. moved against his brother with a large army. Ismá'íl was joined by his friend and ally Ráfi' bin Harḡamah who had been made the deputy governor of the Khalifah in Khurásán.† For the time being hostilities were avoided and in 273 Ráfi' managed to patch up a peace, but within 15 months the quarrel was revived and a fierce and obstinate battle

\* The Genealogy of the Ṭāhírís was as follows :



† Deputy to Muhammad bin Ṭāhír.

took place (275 H.) in which Naṣr was entirely defeated and taken prisoner. The victorious Ismá'il showed the greatest generosity and respect to his brother as head of the Sámání house, forgave him, and induced him to return at once to Samarḳand, remaining his lieutenant in Bulḫárá. For the next few years Naṣr remained quietly at Samarḳand where he died on the 22nd of Jamádi-ul-awwal, 279 H.

#### ISMÁ'IL 279—295 H.

Ismá'il assumed the government of Máwará-un-Nahr, as of all the territory which his brother had held, making Naṣr's son governor of Samarḳand, and choosing Bulḫárá for his own residence, receiving the usual diploma of investiture from the K̲h̲alifah. Such recognition had by this time become practically a matter of indifference, the K̲h̲alifate having ceased to be respected as a civil power and the Court of Baghdád only maintaining itself by a series of small intrigues. In fact at the very time Al Mu'tazid-b'illah was accrediting Ismá'il the "Defender of the Faith and of the K̲h̲alifate against all enemies" he was sending secret orders to 'Amrú bin Lais, the Saffári, to attack and overthrow him. The result was a war lasting some seven years, which only terminated by the total defeat of 'Amrú under the walls of Balkh, who was taken prisoner 287 H. and sent by Ismá'il to the K̲h̲alifah to dispose of as he deemed fit. The K̲h̲alifah rewarded want of success by causing 'Amrú to be paraded on a camel through the Baghdád streets and thrown into prison, where he was either starved to death or beheaded about 290; while to Ismá'il he sent costly gifts and a further diploma investing him with the sovereignty of K̲h̲urásán from Bastam (the modern Sháhrúd) eastwards as far as Balkh, and northwards from Kain, by Sijistán, 'Irák, and Mazandarán to the Oxus. It is from this date, 287 H. that Ismá'il is by many writers spoken of as the first of his dynasty entitled to be called a sovereign Prince. At the beginning of his reign he had defeated the 'Alawi Muhammad bin Zaid\* in Tabaristán, had disposed of the remaining claimants of the Ṭahírís, defeated and reduced to subordinate governors the Saffáris† in Sijistán and Balkh, and in a series of campaigns defeated the Turks on his northern border. Bulḫárá was now the virtual capital of the Central Asian States. "The power of the ruler on the Zarafshán," (Scatterer of gold); says Professor Vambéry "extending northwards to the confines of the Great Desert, eastwards to the Thien-Shan mountains, southwards to the Persian Gulf and the northern frontier of India, and westwards beyond 'Irák to within a few days'

\* Muhammad bin Zaid ul 'Alawi, a descendant of the K̲h̲alifah, 'Alí.

† Some particulars of the Saffáris are given subsequently.

journey of Baghdád." Ismá'il's representatives governed the towns of Merv, Nishápúr, Rai, Amol, Kázvin, Işfáhán, Shiráz, Hirát and Balkh.\* He was well-known as a religious and pious prince, not less famous as a brave soldier than as remarkable for his love of justice, humanity, and taste for learning. He could have had but short respite from his protracted wars, repelling the invasions of Turks on the north, or waging crusades at the bidding of the Lord of the Faithful, but he did great things for Bulkhárá, which under his rule became the centre of wealth and learning for nearly half Muḥammadan Asia. For details regarding his encouragement of science and literature, his patronage of eminent theologians and scholars, the palaces he erected, the schools he founded, his efforts for the encouragement of manufactures and for an improved water supply, a reference must be made to the chapter in Vambéry's *Bulkhárá*, in which city the name of Ismá'il Sámání is still venerated. He was born at Farghánah in the month of Shawwál 234 H., was 15 when his father died, governed Bulkhárá for 20 years as the representative of his brother Naşr, and for 14 years independently, dying on Tuesday the 14th of Şafar 295 H. his title then becoming Amir-i-Mázi, "the Late Amir."

ABU NAŞR-I-AḤMAD 295—301 H.

That is, Aḥmad the father of Naşr, the eldest of Ismá'il's four sons, afterwards designated Amir-i-Shahíd, "the martyred Amir" succeeded. "A prince of ungovernable temper and warlike tastes, but without a trace of his father's pacific virtues." His first act was to seize his uncle the governor of Samarḳand and imprison him in Bulkhárá, his next, to punish the governor of Tabaristán who fled to Baghdád. He then marched on Sijistán against the Şaffári Mu'addil who had assumed the sovereignty, but who was promptly subdued and imprisoned, Abu Şálih bin Mansur, the son of Aḥmad's uncle, being established as governor. Subsequently the Sijistánis revolted and confining Abu Şálih in the fortress of Ark set up 'Amrú bin Ya'kúb of the house of Laiş in 300 H., whereupon Aḥmad promptly re-invaded them and 'Amrú surrendering, another Sámání governor was set up. Aḥmad's severities, and the execution of certain of his retainers, soon, however, raised enemies in his own house ready to assassinate him. He is said to have lived in constant fear of his life and to have had two trained lions secured every night near his sleeping apartments. The precaution being omitted one night, his own servants seized the opportunity, and earned for him the title of "Martyred," on day the 23rd Jamádi-ul-ákhir 301 H. His mint towns observed are Samarḳand, Shásh and Andarábah.

\* His mint towns represented in the British Museum are, Samarḳand, Shásh, Andarábah, Balkh, Ma'ádin, and Nishápúr.

## NASR II 301—331 H.

Surnamed Abu Šálih and afterwards entitled Amir-i-Sa'íd, the "August Amir," then a boy of 8 or 10, was taken from the harem to succeed his father; Abú 'Abd-ullah Muḥammad bin Aḥmad al Jihání being appointed Regent. The Regent was a sagacious and moderate man who administered the government with a firm hand, but the extreme youth of the Amir encouraged a refractory spirit among many of the nobles and governors in the Provinces. Ishák Sámání, with his son Ilyás\* revolted at Samarḡand and two campaigns were undertaken against him before he was finally defeated. Maṣṣúr,\* another son of this Ishák, at one time governor of Rai, raised the standard of rebellion at Nishápúr in 302, and Husain 'Alí the governor of Hirát joined him. Maṣṣúr died, and Husain was captured, and imprisoned, but subsequently pardoned. In 307 Aḥmad bin Sahl also an Amir or governor of Hirát, a faithful partizan of the family but to whom promises had been broken, rebelled, was besieged, imprisoned, and died. In 309 troubles arose in Tabaristán. The 'Alawis had not only recovered from their defeats under Ismá'il and Aḥmad, but began extending their authority over part of *Khurásán*. They too were defeated, but peace was not restored, fresh partizans appearing in some quarters as fast as dislodged in others, and some years of desultory fighting ensued before Naṣr could re-establish the Sámání power in that Province again. Hirát seems to have been a scene of constant change. In 309 Abu Maṣṣúr-i-Jihání was appointed governor. In 311 Sháh Malik son of Ya'qúb bin Laig, Šaffá'í, was beaten off after four months' investment by one Simjur. In 319 Abu Zakria-i-Yahyá Sámání\* successfully attacked the city, leaving a slave *Ḳarátigín* in possession. Almost immediately Naṣr himself arrived and re-established Simjur. In 321 Maṣṣúr the son of 'Alí was appointed and held it for three years, when it was conferred upon Muḥammad bin Ḥasan bin Ishák. The same year, 324, Abú-l-'Abbás Muhammad bin Al-Jarráḥ took it, and sent his predecessor bound to one *Balkátigín*. In 329 *Balkátigín* was himself removed from the government of Hirát which was again conferred upon Abu Maṣṣúr-i-*Ḳarátigín*. This would appear the first mention of *Balkátigín*, or of a *Balkátigín*, and it was also during this reign that *Alptigín* is first spoken of as one of Naṣr's mamelukes or slaves, though it is not until the reign of Núḥ I that he is mentioned as "Amir."

Naṣr as a ruler appears not to have been without talents, and in spite of difficulties to have retained the territories of his predecessors intact, if indeed he did not somewhat extend them. His range of mint

\* See Genealogical Table of the Sámánís.

cities, as far as known, is more extensive, including Samarkand, Bukhárá, Shásh, Balkh, Nishápúr, Muḥammadiyah, Kumm, Andarábah, Ma'dín, Binkith, Akhsíkat, and Tamkat-Ilak, of which some are difficult to identify. He died in Rajab 331 H. after a reign of 30 years, extending over four of the Khalifahs. Of his three sons he had named the youngest but was actually succeeded by the eldest.

#### Núh I 331—343 H.

The reign of Núh the first, styled Amír-i-Hamíd, "the Laudable Amír," like that of his predecessors was made up of a long series of wars and revolts, and even more than Aḥmad or Nuṣr he was in the hands of his officials. The Sámánis in place of leading themselves, became more and more the puppets of the Turks, who had already begun to assert their power as the dominant race. Núh's wars commenced with a campaign in 332 against Rukn-ud-daulah, the Diálamah or Buwiah, who had seized Rai. Abú 'Alí, Núh's general, who, after two campaigns succeeded in restoring order, demanded the Viceroyalty of Khurásán as his reward, and on being refused broke into open rebellion. Abú Ishák-i-Ibráhím, Núh's uncle and rival, obtained powers from the Khalifah, joined the rebellion, and seized upon the high lands of 'Irák and part of Khurásán (335 H.) and but for the rebels quarrelling among themselves Núh, would have lost his throne. He had in 332 put down the rebellion in Merv, and in 335 proceeded there again on the same errand, the nobles and soldiery showing signs of disaffection. On succeeding his father he had appointed as Wazir and entrusted with the administration of affairs, Shams-ul-Aimma, a man Minháj speaks of as having "by his enlightenment and just administration annoyed and irritated the rebellious party beyond measure," who was now charged by a section of the army with being the cause of all the confusion and division in the State, and demanded as a victim. "Give him into our hands," they said "or we will join your uncle." Núh was constrained by necessity to deliver the Imám into the hands of these tyrants, and they brought him forth. At the entrance to the royal residence there stood two tall white poplar-trees. These they bent downwards, and, fastening each of that unfortunate minister's feet to a branch of either tree which was nearest it, let the trees spring back again into their upright position, and the great man was torn asunder." The risk of being too famous as a "just man" was even greater under the Sámánis than among the Athenians. But the sacrifice of the minister did not postpone the evil day. Abú 'Alí the general went over and joined Rukn-ud-daulah, and a fresh revolt resulted in the latter becoming the independent ruler of Khurásán, the



Buwiahs\* extending their power to Shiráz, the Sámánis being confined very much within their original frontiers of Trans-Oxania.† Náh died after a reign, in no other way especially remarkable, of 13 years, in 343 H.

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'ABD-UL MALIK I 343—350 H.

The son of Náh, a boy of 16, was selected by the nobles to succeed him, the real business of State being carried on by the Wazir Abú Mangúr Muhammad bin Al 'Aziz, and the Commander-in-chief, Abú Sa'id-i-Bakir. The Amir or his advisers seem to have heartily endeavoured to restore the power of the Sámánis in the West, though the best the generals could succeed in obtaining were tolerable conditions of peace, but no submission. The final conclusion of the treaty with the Buwiahs seems to have brought the Commander-in-chief under suspicion, for both he and the Wazir were subsequently put to death by the Amir's order, the command of the troops being in 346 H. entrusted to Alptigin, the Hájib or chamberlain. It may here be noticed it was in this reign that according to Baihaqi a merchant named Naṣr, a Hájji, speculated in a slave named Sabuktigin, and brought him to Bukhárá, where Alptigin purchased him, and took the *slave* along with him when he went as governor of Tukháristán, and subsequently when the government of Khurásán was entrusted to him, Sabuktigin accompanied his master, who after many vicissitudes of fortune finally took him to Ghaznín.

Abdul Malik was passionately devoted to field sports and "chivalrous amusements" which gained for him the title of Abu-l Fawáris, the "Father of Knights," he was also called Amír Rashíd the "orthodox Amir." He died after a seven years' reign on the 8th Shawwál 350 H. from the consequences of a fall while playing Changan or "Polo."

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MANŠÚR I 350—366 H.

Abú Šálih-i-Manšúr, Amír-i-Sadíd, "the Steadfast Amir," was elected by the commanders of troops, the heads and elders of the religious bodies, and the law, to succeed his brother. The Amir-i Hájib Alptigin who then held the governorship of Nishápúr, was during the election at Bukhárá absent somewhere in Khurásán. He was written to and consulted, and is said to have declared in preference for the son instead of

\* See the genealogical table of the Buwiahs, in which the principal territories held by the family at different times are indicated.

† The only mints represented in the British Museum are Samarqand, Bukhárá, Shásh and Nishápúr.

the uncle of 'Abd-ul-Malik, although if the latter, who died at 17, had a son, he could have been but an infant. Whatever his advice may have been, it arrived too late, and meanwhile hearing of Manşúr's election, Alptigin would fain have recalled it. The advice moreover appears to have given offence, for the government of Nishápúr was conferred upon Ibn 'Abd-ur-Razzák, much to the powerful Turk's astonishment, who hurried back to Bukhárá, some accounts say, with a formidable body of troops which were only stopped at the Oxus by a strong force of Manşúr's adherents; others that he was met by a conciliatory letter assuring him of favour, turned aside from Balkh and proceeded to Ghaznín. Whichever is true, the increasing decay of the Sámání power is as evident as the rising influence of the "Turks," the former slave having now become a power in the land, and it is clear, that about this time Alptigin went, presumably for the second time, to Ghaznín as the Sámání Viceroy and died there in 352 H. On all sides powerful nobles were forming similar semi-independent States. In Farghánah, Sijistan and 'Irák were revolts. The Buwihhs were masters of half Irán, and that dynasty had now become one with which the Sámánís were not strong enough to cope. Manşúr's campaign against them had to be brought to an end. He made peace with Rukn-ud-daulah, and in 361 H. married the latter's granddaughter, the daughter of 'Uzd-ud-daulah Faná Khúsrau which prince retained possession of 'Irák, Rai, Gurgán and Tabáristán in fief on payment of an annual tribute. Manşúr died on Tuesday the 11th of Shawwál 365 H.\*

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#### NÚH II 365—387 H.

Better known as Amír Abú-l-Kásim-i-Núh was elected by the people to fill his father's throne, and, in spite of the patent of investiture and standard sent him by the "Lord of the Faithful," Al TA'i-killah found still more stormy days and harder fights in store for him. The new ruler made Abú-l-'Abbás-i-Tásh the Hájib, and with him associated Fáyik-i-Khášah, or Buk-Túzún as he is variously called, in the command of the troops and direction of military affairs; Tásh having the title of Hísám-ud-daulah "the sword of the kingdom." The son of another Turkish slave, Abú-l-Hasan-i-Simjúr ruled in the Amír's name over Nishápúr and parts of Khurásán, to which was subsequently added the territory of Tús, if not indeed part of Máwará-un-Nahr. Abul Hasan-i-'Abdullah son of Ahmad Al-'Utbá, a member of whose family

\* His chief known mints were Samarqand, Bukhárá, Shásh, Fargháná, Nishápúr, Andarábah, and Amal.

compiled the *Taríkh-i-Yamíní*, was made Wazir. Kábús the son of Washmgir was made, or rather recognized, as governor in Gurgán, and others in outlying provinces, but in most cases such governors were practically independent. Tásh the Hájib was despatched against 'Uzd-ud-daulah the Buwíah who ruled both the 'Iráks, but defeated. Not long after both Tásh and Símjúr themselves revolted, although after some struggles both returned to their allegiance, and Abú 'Alí the son of the latter was given the command of the Amir's troops. Abú 'Alí turned out in every way even a baser man than his father, for he had no sooner entered the service than he commenced intriguing against Núh.

On the eastern frontier of the kingdom a new power had for some time been growing, in the shape of the Khánate of Turkistan. Regarding the earlier of these Turkistán Kháns but little is known, and that little to a great extent unreliable. Of Ilaks and Bughrás and Arsaláns there are at least two or three of each casually mentioned by Muhammadan historians, with a considerable amount of uncertainty as to their identity, and possibly the same man is occasionally made to do duty for two separate chiefs. The first who became a convert to Islám is said to have been Sátúk-Kujah, or Sátúk Karachár, who endeavoured to extend the belief among his people, probably about 315 or 320 H. On his death, his son Músá succeeded, and after Musá his grandson Abú Naqr-i-Ahmad, bin 'Alí, bin Músá, under the title of *the Ilak Khán*, the title of Ilak by some being held to be the ruler of a tribe, or a leader, subordinate to a Khán. This Ilak bore the Musalmán title of Shams-ud-daulah, and is presumably the one who entered Máwará-un-Nahr from Turkistán in 367. The fourth was the grandson, Abú Músá-i-Hárún Bughrá Khán bin Sulímán bin Ilak, and though it is probably his successor, the more famous Ilak, who really completed the uniting and consolidating the scattered Turkish States from the Eastern frontier of *Khokand* to the modern Chinese province of Kansu, Bughrá Khán had nevertheless already become celebrated both as a powerful ruler and for his successful religious wars in the cause of Islám. He had united all the Eastern Turkish tribes under his sceptre and was now pushing his conquests westwards, thinking to enrich himself with some fragments of the decaying Sámání empire. Ignoring the puppet Amir, and addressing himself to the rebellious Abú 'Alí he entered Máwará-un-Nahr from Káshghar his capital, for the first time in 372 H., and subsequently in communication with Fáyik and Abú 'Alí with the latter of whom he had a secret treaty to divide the country, invaded in force in 380 H.

The Sámání forces were beaten on one or two occasions, the ablest of their generals, Madáwanj, being defeated near Samarqand. The rebellious Fáyik would seem to have been then put at the head of the army,

and to have promptly betrayed his trust, and when Bughrá advanced to Bukhárá there was nothing left for Núh but flight in disguise with a few faithful retainers, Bughrá entering the capital in triumph in 382 H. Fáyik, who had now declared himself his subject and been rewarded with Isfanjáb was despatched to Balkh, to collect taxes, and cause the Khán's names to be inserted in the public prayers and the coinage. Bughrá, however, did not remain long in Bukhárá, becoming much afflicted by a painful disease, which he attributed to the unhealthiness of the Sámání capital, he determined to return to Kashghar. As soon as he commenced his retreat,\* Núh with the assistance of certain tribes of Ghuzz Turks, viz., Turkománs, plucked up heart and set off in pursuit overtaking him at Samarqand. Bughra at once faced about, and inflicted another defeat on the Amir, but before reaching Turkistán died himself in 383 H. He is described as a just and well-disposed monarch, the friend of learning, and the learned, from Kashghar to Chín. It is also worthy of note that it was in her reign, in 375, that Saljúk, the son of Luqmán, one of the aforesaid Ghúzz Turks with his family and dependents finding their native pastures in the Karakhita too circumscribed, entered Máwará-un-Nahr for the sake of the pasturage, wintering in the Núr of Bukhárá, and summering in the Sughd of Samarqand, and living to ultimately establish the famous Saljúk dynasty.

Núh once more retired to his faithful capital, almost the only part of his dominions that remained so, and cast about for some alliance to strengthen himself against his rebellious vassals. Such an alliance he found in Sabuktigín the famous founder of the dynasty of the Ghaznavís. Upwards of thirty years had elapsed since Sabuktigín had gone with Alptigín to Ghaznín and several changes, which will be subsequently noticed, had meanwhile occurred there, but the former slave, who had now become practically the independent ruler over territory extending from Ghaznín to the Indus, was nevertheless still devoted to the house of his suzerain. The people of Balkh had already implored his aid against the tyranny of Fáyik, and when a similar call came from Núh, Sabuktigín marched to the Oxus with a large army, including 200 elephants, halting on the way for a short holy war against certain heretics and schismatics on the confines of Talkan, for which the Khalifah rewarded him with the title of Násir-ud-din, "The defender of the Faith." Núh met him at Kásh, and their united forces marched into Khurásán. Abú.'Alí although powerfully supported by the governors of Gurgán and 'Irák was no match for the combined armies of Núh and Sabuktigín, with whom was his son Maḥmúd. A battle was fought

\* The Tabakát records that he made 'Abd-ul-Aziz, an uncle of Núh's his regent at Bukhárá.

on the plains of Hirát in Shawwál 384 H., Núh resigning the entire command to Sabuktigín, in which the rebels were routed and fled to Nishápúr. This was the occasion when the aged Sabuktigín received the title of Násir-ud-daulah "Succourer of the kingdom," and Maḥmúd that of Saif-ud-daulah "Sword of the kingdom." Núh returned triumphantly to Bukhārā and Sabuktigín to Ghaznín, Maḥmúd being nominated to the command of the troops with the government of the territories of Balkh, Hirát and Nishápúr, having his head quarters at the latter place.\* In the following year, 385, Abu 'Alí, who had taken refuge with Abú-l-Ḥasan-i-Buwiah, at Rai, thinking the departure of Sabuktigín had partly left the field open to him, attacked Maḥmúd at Nishápúr who after some hard fighting was defeated and driven back to Hirát: Abú 'Alí occupying Nishápúr, until Sabuktigín advancing with a considerable force to the rescue, he moved forward to meet him. A severe and sanguinary battle ensued near Tús; Abú 'Alí, with whom was Fáyik, being utterly routed and driven to Khwárazm.† The Sháh of Khwárazm, Abú Abdullah, in spite of a generous appeal from Núh, put the fugitive in irons (386), a procedure that roused the indignation of the Viceroy Múmún Maḥmúd at Jurgán, who forthwith attacked and defeated the Sháh, threw him into the identical irons from which Abú 'Alí was released, and finally in thoroughly Roman fashion executed him to make a holiday for a party of friends.‡ Abú 'Alí was formally pardoned by the easy going Núh, but Sabuktigín considering him too dangerous a traitor, demanded his custody, and threw him into prison, where he died 387 H.

But, to use the somewhat inflated language of Al 'Utbi, the once "lofty flame of the house of Sámání had sunk very low, and the star of their empire almost set." Ilak Naṣr the successor of Búghra, the most powerful and famous of all the Kháns of Turkestán, was already on the frontier squeezing the Revenue Collectors, and preparing for invasion in communication with the ever ubiquitous Fáyik. Sabuktigín, who since his last victory had remained at Merv, now moved to Balkh, where he received an imploring letter from Núh for fresh assistance. This, after some little consultation with his officers, he commenced active preparation to render, meanwhile to him Ilak also made overtures, urged their

\* Coin No. XXIX of those now figured is of great interest in this connection confirming the accuracy of the chronicler, being struck by Maḥmúd the son of Sabuktigín, about this time, as "Saif-ud-daulah" and governor of Nishápúr, giving also the name of his suzerain and of the khalifah who had recognized him.

† Minháj says, Fáyik was thrown into prison at Bukhárā and died there, but other writers do not agree, and Minháj himself brings him on the scene again shortly after.

‡ This on the authority of Al Utbi, but I have not been able to identify Múmún.

brotherhood of faith, and the desirability of an alliance against the feeble Amir, who squandered his substance and neglected the cause of Islám. In reply Sabuktigín declared his loyalty and attachment to the Sámání house, and his intention to fight all who rebelled against it. An answer, that, plainly translated, might be read as a determination to establish his own dynasty rather than assist Ilak or any one else to establish his. Both sides therefore prepared for war, Núh, true to his weak and vacillating character, was helpless in the hands of any adventurer near him, and Sabuktigín's advice to stand firm and show himself a king, was thrown away. He was ready to send troops, or to give fresh titles of honour, but not to do anything more; a plan that in no way commended itself to the stout old warrior of Ghaznín, who forthwith took matters into his own hands, and sent his son Maḥmúd with 20,000 cavalry to Bukhárá; thus virtually deposing Núh and insuring the reversion of the kingdom. Ilak who, though master of a large army, was either not sufficiently prepared to fight, or thought more was to be gained by diplomacy, now made overtures of peace, and Sabuktigín, disgusted with the inertness of Núh, accepted them, the Boundary Commission of the time fixing Kútúm as the actual frontier, Fáyik as usual receiving a solatium as governor of Samarḳand, and Maḥmúd returning as governor to Nishápúr. Sabuktigín returned to Balkh and Núh enjoyed a brief respite in Bukhárá, where he "went to the neighbourhood of mercy" on Friday, 13th Rajab, 387 H. in which year also died Sabuktigín.\*

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#### MANSÚR II 387—389 H.

The history of the last two Sámánís who occupied for some two years the nominal throne of Bukhárá, is merely a chronicle of the struggles for the fragments of the Empire. Amir Abú-l-Hirs-i-Mansúr, who has been nominated by his father Núh as his successor, ascended the throne a raw and inexperienced youth, and among other of the mistakes of his brief reign of 20 months, he committed the great one of quarrelling with Maḥmúd. To the ruler of Ghaznín and the conqueror of India his unfriendliness was a matter of small consequence; he was pleased to ignore it, simply keeping aloof, attending to the consolidation of his power in Ghaznín, and the deposition of his brother Ismá'íl, who had in the first instance succeeded his father there. Fáyik was again entrusted with the command of the forces and again almost immediately commenced negotiations with Ilak, by whom he was summoned to Samar-

\* The only mints of Núh are Bukhárá, Shásh, and for the early part of his reign, Nishápúr.

ğand and sent back to Bukhárá with Turkistan troops, the newly made Amir retiring to Āmul. At Fáyik's solicitation he came back again, entrusting the command that had formerly been Maḥmud's to a courtier named Baktúzún. These two worthies conspired together to dethrone him, which they did taking him from Bukhárá to Balkh and thence by Merv to Sarrakhs, where they put out his eyes, and set up in his place Abú-l-Fawáris 'Abd-ul Malik, his brother, a mere child with whom they went back to Merv.

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'ABD-UL-MALIK II 389 H.

'Abd-ul-Malik the second, cannot be said to have ever ruled, but briefly to trace his fortunes, and the still more exciting adventures of his brother Ibráhím, will perhaps be the most convenient way of dealing with the events that followed. Maḥmúd who had disposed of the claims of his brother Ismá'il at Ghaznín, was already on the march with an army to Khurásán, and made the treatment of Maṣṣúr an excuse for interference. By the time Fáyik and Baktúzún had nominated 'Abd-ul-Malik Amir, he had arrived at Balkh, from whence a very short time brought him to the gates of Merv. The conspirators fought and fled, but subsequently negotiated an arrangement by which Hirát and Balkh should be held by Maḥmúd, Merv and Nishápúr by them, the date of the arrangement being given as 26th Jamádi-ul-awwal, 389 H. Maḥmúd giving the command of his troops to his brother Naṣr, making Balkh the capital of his provinces west of the Kohi Baba, "the Father of Mountains." Not, however, before inflicting a severe defeat on a body of Sámání nobles collected under Dara bin Kábús, bin Washmgir, the governor of Gurgán, that had followed his army in hopes of plunder. 'Abd-ul-Malik and Fáyik returned to Bukhárá, where shortly after in the month of Shá'bán the latter died, "deeply regretting and heartily repenting of all the treachery he had committed, a contrition," as Minháj adds "that came too late." The adherents of the Sámání dynasty were all dispersed.

In the meantime Ilak had also moved uninvited to chastise the enemies of order in his neighbour's country, and revenge the cruelties practised on Maṣṣúr. He advanced from Fargháná to Bukhárá in the month Zi Ķa'dah of the same year giving out that his object was to render aid to the Amir, and at the same time seizing and putting in irons a deputation of nobles who came out to meet him. He entered the city on the 10th of the month, any pretence was no longer necessary, the four sons of Núh, their uncles and all other representatives of the Sámání

family likely to give trouble were arrested, 'Abd-ul-Malik the boy Amir being sent to a prison at Uzgand in Fargháná, the blind Manşúr Yá'qub, Ibráhím and the others being separately confined to prevent their taking counsel together. Abú Ibráhím-i-Ismá'il known to history as Muntaşir was the only one who escaped or is ever heard of again, and he for some years made a series of gallant but abortive attempts to restore the fallen fortunes of his house.

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#### MUNTAŞIR, THE LAST OF THE SÁMÁNÍS.

The adventures of Muntaşir suggest a chapter of the chronicles of the Cid, and the story as told by the contemporary Al 'Utbi offers a characteristic bit of the intricacies of Central Asian History. Disguising himself as a slave girl he succeeded during the confusion at Bukhárá in getting away, taking refuge for three days in the house of an old woman in the city, and eventually in the dress of a common soldier reaching Khwárazm. Here he was joined by a few Sámání nobles and soldiers, and received warm sympathy and afterwards assistance from Shams-al Muáli Kábus of Gurgán. To cope with an adversary like Ilak was hopeless, but for a long time he was able to carry on a desultory war on the confines of Khurásán and Máwará-un-Nahr. When Ilak left Bukhárá he paid that city a flying visit, capturing J'afartigin and 17 other principal Kháns, and being welcomed by the people. His Hájib, one Arslán-i-Bálú, defeated Tigin Khán a general of Ilak's near Samarqand, but both beat a hasty retreat on the first rumour of Ilak's preparation to return. At times his following became formidable and he encountered on various occasions the troops both of Ilak and of Naşr, Mahmud's brother, who was now commanding at Nishápúr and governor of Khurásán, and with occasional success. In 391 he succeeded in capturing Nishápúr, the Ghaznavi general falling back to await reinforcements from Mahmúd, who sent to his assistance the Hájib Altontásh, the then governor of Hirát, by whom Muntaşir was driven back to the frontier of Gurgán to find his former friend there, Shams al Muáli, turned against him. Again rallying, with the help of the Ghuzz Turks (Turkománs) and their chief Bighú, he successfully attacked Ilak in 393, and is next heard of as "flying in the night" in personal fear of his Ghuzz allies. Now he appeals *ad misericordiam* to Mahmúd, reminding him of the rights of his ancestors, the Sultan's feudal relations, of the many sorrows and extreme distress which had been his misfortune, and breaks out into verse which Reynolds freely translates.



“ To mine eye, on which thy goodness still is painted, thou art dear ;  
 To mine heart, which oft from misery's blows hath fainted, thou art dear ;  
 To a soul forlorn, to sorrow born,  
     Which Heaven has grudged to cheer,  
 That looking round, few friends hath found,  
     Oh, chieftain thou art dear.”

Without waiting or perhaps expecting a reply to this effusion, he makes for Merv, there unsuccessfully soliciting assistance from Abú Ja'far; thence to Abiward, in 394, where Abú Naṣr, a general of Maḥmúd's lends him active support, and the two attack and are beaten by the Sháh of *Khwárazm*. Next with a few followers, who seem to have stood faithfully to him through every calamity, he makes for Isfarayín, only to find that city closed against him. Then crossing the Oxus once more, he is met by the cavalry from *Bukhárú* and narrowly escapes with his life. At this crisis he falls back on his *Ghuzz*-Turk friends again, the military governor of Samarkand joining him with 3,000 men, and the citizens sending him 300 “picked Turks and a supply of money.” So that he is sufficiently formidable to first alarm, and subsequently defeat, the forces of *I'lak*, near the village of *Burband* in *Shá'bán* 394; the *Ghuzz* coming in for abundant loot. *I'lak* is now roused, assembles an army and inflicts upon him a crushing defeat, the *Ghuzz* having meanwhile gone off with their loot. This defeat seems to have been a final one, *Muntaṣir* retreating to *Balkh* from which place his flight, like the hunted hare, was in a long continued circle. From *Balkh* he fled to *Kohistán*.\* *Naṣr* the *Ghazaavi* general, *Arslan Jazíb* the prince of *Tus*, and *Tughánjuk* Prince of *Sarkhás* hurrying after him, he continues his course to *Júmand* and *Bastam*, where *Shams-ul Muáli*, of *Gurgán*, with 2,000 body-guards, takes up the running to *Bibar* and *Nísa*. Beguiled by false promises he is induced once again to attempt *Bukhárú* and arrives at *Sháh Hamad* his few attendants wearied with long marches and their long continued run of ill-luck. Deserted by his worn out followers, with no supplies, or other means of further resistance, he retreated to the encampment of a nomad Arab tribe, and sought shelter in the tents of one *Máh Rúc* the “moon-faced” chief of the tribe. In *Al 'Utbi's* words, “when the night arrived the vile Arabs of this Arab made a sudden attack upon him and spilt his noble blood upon the first day of the month *Rabí-ul-awwal*, in the year 395, and they buried his remains in marshy ground of the irrigated country of *Mardám*.” “Moon-face,” it is satisfactory to note, was afterwards put to death for his brutality by *Maḥmúd*, whose sympathies were aroused for the unfortunate *Muntaṣir*.

\* The troops both of *Maḥmúd* and *I'lak* were on the look out for him.

Thus ended the dynasty of the Sámánís, Muntaşir being the last of his house. With him a family became extinct which for the space of nearly a century and a half had ruled over a large part of Central Asia, "and whose members," as Vambéry writes, "may therefore with truth be regarded as the founders of that religious and social polity which was regarded by the Muhammadans of three continents, as the nearest approach to the golden age of Islám, and is in consequence still to this day held in high veneration. Baghdád and other cities of Western Asia were open to all manner of free-thinkers, but Bukhárá, Balkh, and Samarkand, were, under the Sámánís, the special refuge of the Muhammadan scholars and zealots \* \* \*. The political supremacy of Bukhárá over the different tribes of Central Asia, which has been maintained up to modern times by the rulers on the Zarafshán, may be traced to a similar origin. The deference paid by the mighty Sabuktigin to Bukhárá, a deference imitated in later times by Afghans, Indians and Uzbeks, began during the period of the greatness of the Sámánís. They represented the last Iranian dynasty in the land of the ancient Iranian civilization and the importance of the legacy left by them to their Turko-Tartaric successors on the throne of Transoxania cannot be overrated."

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#### ILAK NAŞR AT BUKHÁRÁ 389--403 H.

Abú-l-Hasan-i Naşr Ilak Khán, the son of 'Alí, who is described as the brother of Hárún-i Bughra, now that the Sámání family were removed, ruled unopposed in Máwará-un-Nahr, and not long afterwards, he wrote to Maḥmúd congratulating him on his inheritance of the kingdom of Khurásán and proposing a friendly alliance, with a settlement of boundaries, all the trans-Oxus territory to appertain to him, and all Mádún-un-Nahr, or Cis-Oxus, to Maḥmúd. Ilak probably at this time was, at least nominally, acknowledged ruler of all the territory from the borders of China to the Caspian Sea. Maḥmúd's ambition was in the direction of India, and some such treaty and alliance seems to have been made about 396 H. and for some time friendly relations to have been preserved. An embassy was sent by Maḥmúd, consisting of Tughánjak Prince of Sarḥás and Abú-l-Ta'ib Sahl bin Sulaimán, Sa'lúki the Imám of the sacred traditions, who is described as one of the singular scholars of the age—"sound in controversial tact, casuistical divinity and lunar calculations"—to demand the hand of Ilak's daughter for his son Muhammad, a young lady,—"the unequalled pearl" who was subsequently married to another son Masa'ud, and the most valuable presents were interchanged on both sides. Such an alliance, however, proved but

temporary, for no sooner had Maḥmúd proceeded on one of his expeditions to India, to where he had gone the same year, (396), than Ilak seized the opportunity for invasion, sending Sub'áshitigin\* with a large force to occupy the country Cis-Oxus, and a general, Ja'fartigin, to invest Balkh. Sub'áshitigin advancing as far as Hirát, Arslán-i-Jázib the Prince† of Tus, who had been established there by Maḥmúd, fell back to Ghaznín in accordance with the previous instructions left him.

Maḥmúd who at the time was at Múltán, which city he had just taken, no sooner received the news than he hastened back to Ghaznín, arriving, says one chronicler, in 40 days, beat off Ja'fartigin from Balkh, and sending Arslán with 10,000 cavalry in advance, pressed Sub'áshitigin so hard, the latter had to abandon the most of his baggage, entrust a subsequent instalment to the Sháh of Khwárazm, and save himself by flight across the desert. "So hot was the pursuit there was not even an opportunity for bathing" says Al Utbi. Ilak who was himself trans-Oxus made an unsuccessful attempt to divert Maḥmúd by sending a further force of 6,000 cavalry under Ja'afartigin. This was in 397 H. Ilak now prepared for a fresh struggle, allying himself with Kadr Khán the ruler of Khután, a city to the east of Yarkand, who may possibly have been his brother,‡ and moved on Balkh with a large army, including 40,000 cavalry. The preparations of Maḥmúd were also on a large scale, for in addition to his Afghán, Turkish, and Hindu troops, was a contingent of the Ghuzz (Turkománs). The armies met near Balkh and the order of battle was arranged with great care on both sides. Maḥmúd assigned the centre to his brother Naṣr, Abu Naṣr Farighúni, and Abú 'Abdullah Tái, with a force of Kurds; the Hájib Altántásh commanding the right and Prince Arsalán Jázib the left; himself holding a force of 500 elephants in reserve. Ilak placed Kadr Khán with the Khután army on the right and Ja'afartigin on the left, himself taking the centre with a picked force of Turkish troops, who appear to have done great execution, and for some time the fortune of the day was doubtful, but Maḥmúd finally heading a charge with the elephants on Ilak's centre, turned the scale, and gained the victory. Ilak was now finally driven back to Máwarú-un-Nahr, many prisoners being taken, and numbers of his followers drowned in the Oxus. Khondamir asserts with confidence that this was in 397 H. but the date generally accepted is the 22nd Rubí al Akhír 398 H. Maḥmúd next turned his attention to certain of his provincial governors who had been unfaithful to their trust, including Khalaf bin Aḥmad of Sijistán, who for the second time had been found

\* Khondamir says "Siáshitigin."

† A petty chief.

‡ Some accounts put his contingent at 30,000 men.

intriguing with Ilak, and if he had not rendered actual assistance, had encouraged his invasion; and who in consequence was now permanently imprisoned in the fortress of Juzdaz in Kábulistán. Shortly after, in 401, Maḥmúd again departed for Hindústán, against the fortress of Bhímnagar.

Ilak, who at the battle of Balkh, must have been pretty well advanced in years, never seems to have recovered from the disappointment of that defeat, and though he nourished the hope of revenge, time did not permit him to gratify it, for he died in 403 H.\*

#### TUGHÁN OR TUGÍN KHÁN 403—408 H. AND ARSALÁN KHÁN.

Sharf-ud-din Tughán, or Tugin, Khán now succeeded him in Máwará-un-Nahr and Turkistán, though it is probable he may have ruled territory prior to this, and it is more than likely that though ruling in Bukhárá, the seat of his government was Kashghar. His authority was not unquestioned even in parts of Máwará-un-Nahr, while immediately beyond was a general struggle for power. Every man did very much what pleased him, some had united to oppose Ilak, others were nominally subordinate to Maḥmúd, but at any time ready to set up petty kingdoms for themselves. The Turkish nomads spoken of as Ghuzz, a term that probably included tribes scattered over most of what is shown on modern maps as Turkistán, and who have since come to be famous as Turkmáns or Turkománs, have been several times referred to, and, as also noticed, some of these had moved with their flocks and herds to the pasture lands of Bukhárá and Samarḳand, in fact had established themselves on both sides of the Oxus. There they stayed, for it can hardly be said they settled, embraced Islámism, and were ready to take sides in any expedition that offered prospects of plunder. The chief named Beghú, mentioned as assisting Muntaḡir against Ilak, a chief variously stated to have been a commander under Saljúk, or a son of Músá bin Saljúk, and the uncle of Tughríl Beg, was probably one of the first founders of the Saljúk family which was then coming rapidly to the front rank and became, within a year from the death of Maḥmúd, 422 H. a power of more importance than ever the Sámánís had been.

Major Raverty and most authorities give the name as Tughán, and the former suggests a possible derivation from *tughán* the Turkish for falcon—the “falcon knight,” but on the coin No. XVII of the annexed plates, which is in exceptionally good preservation, the mint, Bukhárá,

\* The mints on the British Museum coin of Ilak are Bukhárá and Khujandah, to those may be added Samarḳand and Fargháná on coins now figured. Of Manṣúr II or Abd al Malik II Sámánís no coins are known.

and the date, 407 H. being quite clear, the name appears to read جفر يتكين Jafari (?) Tagín and M. de Tiesenhausen in a notice of Count Stroganoff's collection describes a very similar coin (No. 31) of the same name struck at Bukhárá in 406. The first name may be doubtful, but the last cannot be read Tughán the ك is clear. It is therefore possible the name of this Khán was Tagín, and it is not probable a rival Chief ruled in Bukhárá during these two years, although there were rival Afrásiyáb Kháns there shortly after, as for instance 'Alitigin, against whose tyranny Maḥmúd was appealed to on more than one occasion.\*

In 408 his dominions were invaded by a vast horde of settlers from Chín who had been displaced from their own lands, to the number of 100,000 tents, (Khurgahs) equal to that number of families. The Khán resented the invasion in the name of Islám, summoning all believers to his assistance, and though himself ill at the time, after much fighting drove them back, vast booty and many captives falling into the hands of the "Musalmán Turks" and their allies. He died the same year, and was succeeded by another brother Abú-l-Muzaffar-i-Arsalán Khán, also styled Al-Aṣam, "the deaf." It was in this year that the princess, 'the casketed gem of Ylak Naṣr," who had previously been betrothed to Maḥmúd's eldest son and who was afterwards married to Mas'úd, arrived at Balkh, which capital was illuminated; and it was not long after that Maḥmúd made over to Mas'úd the government of Khurásán, with Hirát as his head quarters. Some accounts show this Arsalán as fighting with Maḥmúd in 410, and overthrown, but Maḥmúd appears to have made an expedition to India in 409, and another in 410, when he was absent from Ghaznín some four years. The date of Arsalán's death is uncertain.

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#### THE SUBSEQUENT KHÁNS OF TURKISTÁN.

History in the matter of these Turkistán Kháns or Afrásiyábí malíks, as they are variously called, is nearly as uncertain as regarding the predecessors of Ylak. Some are mentioned as more or less intimately connected, both by marriage and alliance, with Maḥmúd and his immediate successor Mas'úd, and as a considerable power beyond the Oxus; others again in connection with the Saljúks, with whom they also intermarried, and who after a time may be looked on as the suzerain power to which they were at least nominally subject. These warlike, plunder-seeking sons of the desert kept moving further forward to the rich cities of

\* On the other hand No. XXIV. of the coin figured seems to read Tughán Khán but without mint and date or much legible the name of the Khalifah al Kádir B'illah.

Khurásán and after Mas'úd's time their chief strongholds were probably Balkh on the east and Nishápúr on the west, from whence their influence gradually extended, till some of their chiefs met the crusaders in Syria, but it seems doubtful if they were ever able to maintain themselves in Máwará-un-Nahr. The substance of power there remained with the Turkistán Kháns, or their representatives.

According to Major Raverty,\* the eighth in order of succession was Qadr Khán, son of Yúsuf, son of the Bughrá Khán-i-Hárún but numismatic evidence goes to show that more probably Yúsuf was the son of 'Alí, the brother of this Bughrá. He is described as a prince of great justice and goodness and to have entered into a fresh treaty with Maḥmúd. One authority, Gardezi, says, the complaints by the Musalmáns against the Afrásiyáb Khán 'Alítigín of Balkh had reached Maḥmúd at Balkh in 415, and he advanced to deliver them, upon hearing which Qadr Khán left Kashghar, met him at Samarḳand and there arranged the treaty. Faṣíhí, however, puts the date at 419, about the time Maḥmúd seized Isrá'il the Saljuk and sent him off to Kálinjar in India. In 417 two of Qadr Khán's brothers, Qayá and Bughrá, are stated to have sent envoys to Ghaznín proposing a matrimonial alliance. Maḥmúd replied it was not the custom to give the sisters and daughters of Musulmáns to infidels, but if they would become Muhammadans the matter would be considered. Subsequently it was agreed that his daughter Zainab should be betrothed to Yughántigín, afterwards Bughrá Khán II, Qadr's son; while the latter's daughter was also to be betrothed to Mas'úd. Qadr Khán is shown as dying in 423 H.

The IXth Arsalán Khán the second, Major Raverty calls the son of Bughrá Khán-i-Hárún, and says at that time Arsalán was Lord of Kashghar, Khutan, Khujand, and Bilásághún. It is very unlikely, however, that a son of Bughrá's would have been shut out of the succession for forty years, and on two or three of the coins now figured, the name of Arsalán is associated with Yúsuf as a title or family name, and on one of those described by M. de Tiesenhausen (No. 32) the name reads Arsalán Ylak Yúsuf bin 'Alí which would point to his being a possible brother of Qadr Khán (No. VIII). Some hostility arose between Arsalán and a Bughrá, also described as a brother, by whom he is made captive and imprisoned. This Arsalán is the person to whom Mas'úd of Ghaznín sent a despatch after the battle with the Saljúks at Dandánḳán a fort near Merv, in 431 H.†

\* The account of the following Kháns is mainly taken from Major Raverty's notes to the Tabakát.

† As before remarked there is an amount of uncertainty as to the identity of, these various Arsaláns and Bughrás. The first Arsalán, brother of Ylak is shown

The Xth was the son of Kadr, Yughántigín or Bughrá Khán the second, then Lord of Bánkí or Taráz and Isfanjáb (a town on the borders of Turkistán). He nominated a son Ja'fartigín his heir, on which the mother of Ibrahim, a younger son poisoned him with several of his Amirs and also put an end to Arsalán the second who was still in confinement, in 439 H.

The XIth was the son Ibrahim, who was killed on an expedition against Binaltigín, or Niáltigín on which he had been sent by his brother, and with him the direct line terminates. It may also be noticed that an Ibrahim named Tamghaj or Taghmaj Khán is mentioned by one author as flourishing about this time.

The XIIth Abú-l-Muzaffar-i-Tafkáj Khán, the son of another Ibrahim bin Naşr. He had previously been a ruler of Samarqand under the sovereign and now succeeded to the throne, dying of paralysis in 460 H.

The XIIIth Shams ul Mulk Naşr, known as the Khákán, was a son of Taf-káj. He married the daughter of Sultán Alp Arsalán, the Saljúk, who in 453 or 454 undertook the subjugation of Turkistán, but had to abandon the enterprise and return from Kashghar to the aid of the Khali-fah. Alp Arsalán's son, afterwards famous as Sultán Malik Sháh, married a niece of Naşr's named Turkán Khátún and on at least one or two occasions Malik Sháh invaded the Khán's dominions. In 468 he entered Máwará-un-Nahr and deposed Sulímán Khán who governed at Samarqand, and by way of teaching this governor to behave himself, he was made to walk all the way to Isfahán on foot, but was subsequently restored. In 471, Sultán Malik Sháh came again and finally removed him. Naşr died in 472 H.

The XIVth was Khizr Khán, a brother of Naşr, who died soon after.

The XVth Ahmad Khán the son of Khizr, or of another brother Ja'far, whose tyranny became so notorious that Sultán Malik Sháh marched into Máwará-un-Nahr to coerce him. Ahmad was defeated and sent to his aunt, Turkán Khátún, but after awhile restored to the sovereignty. In 488 H. he was put to death for heresy.

as succeeding in 408, but nothing is known as regards his death. The second is said to be advanced from the over-lordship of Kashghar &c. to sovereign power in 423. It is not quite clear that they were different persons.

So also the Kadrkhán who is mentioned as furnishing such material aid to I'lak at the battle of Balkh in 398 is not afterwards accounted, for while in the *Tabaqát* the Kadrkhán who concludes a treaty with Mahmúd in 416 or 419 is called the brother of the late I'lak, Gardezi calls him cousin. They may be the same. Possibly further numismatic evidence may help to clear up the difficulties.

The XVIth Maḥmúd Khán, son of an uncle of Aḥmad, but of which uncle does not appear, succeeded both in Turkistán and Máwará-un-Nahr but in the year 490 H. Dabkúli-i-Tughán Khán, son of Kara Khán marched an army against him and slew him.

The XVIIth was Kadrkhán, or Kunduz Khán, bin 'Umr Khán, bin Aḥmad Khán (No. XV). In 495 H. he invaded part of Khurásán, and in Shábán of the same year, Sanjar son of Sultán Malik Sháh defeated him near Tirmiz and put him to death.

The XVIIIth Muhammad Khán, or Arsalán the third, by some called Aḥmad, a son of a sister of Sanjar's by Sulímán bin Dáud bin Bughra (No. X) and who for some time before had been in exile succeeded in 495 H. In 523 Sayyid Ashraf the 'Alawi with the people of Samarqand rebelled against him and some say slew his son Naṣr; others that the two septs of Kárlúghíah and Ghuzz Turks who formed a large part of Arsalán's army, combined with Naṣr were induced by the Samarqandis to revolt, and the latter was executed. Arsalán had called upon his uncle Sanjar for aid, but suppressed the outbreak before any arrived, he had, however, fallen under suspicion of plotting against the Saljúkí, and Sanjar advanced against Samarqand, took it in 524, and deported Arsalán to his brother-in-law, at Merv. Arsalán was restored to the throne by Sultán Sanjar in 526. The year of his death is not recorded. It is also noticeable that in 522 Aghúz the Chíní with a vast horde invaded Kashghar. He was driven out, but the same authority speaks of his successor as the Gúr Khán, a name that shortly became famous.

The XIXth Ḥasantigín bin 'Alí bin 'Abd-ul Múmin, more commonly called Abú-l-Ma'alí Kuliji-i-Tamgháj, a man of the same family, was then raised to the throne by command of Sultán Sanjar but died shortly afterwards.

The XXth Rukn-ud-dín Maḥmúd Khán, bin Arsalán (No. XVIII) and great nephew of Sultan Sanjar, sometimes also called Kháqán, was raised to the throne by his great uncle's support in 526. In 531 he encountered the Gúrkhán of the Karakhitái in battle within the limits of Khujand, but was defeated and compelled to retire to Samarqand. Sultán Sanjar advanced with a large force to his assistance but was also defeated in 534, and about this time it may be said the suzerainty of Máwará-un-Nahr was transferred from the Saljuks to the tribes of Northern Turks once more. Maḥmúd Khán forsaking his country and possessions, went to Khurásán with Sultán Sanjar, and remained at his court till the latter was taken captive by the Ghuzz, when as a temporary measure he was raised to the sovereignty of Khurásán. Shortly after Sanjar escaped and died in 552, when Maḥmúd had a stormy reign of 5½ years as nominal sovereign again, he was finally blinded by a former slave of Sanjar's, Mu'ayyid-ud-din, and died in 558 H.



The XXIst a Tamgháj Khán bin Muhammad Khán, but what Muhammad does not appear. He became the governor of Máwará-un-Nahr after Sanjar's imprisonment by the Ghuzz, but possessed little beyond nominal power, and his reign was short and stormy. He was tributary to the Kara Khitáís, who continued to hold sway until finally driven out by Muhammad Khwarazm Sháh. He was subsequently slain by the Kárluks or Kárlúghs, and his corpse cast into the desert in 550 or 551. Tamgháj it may be mentioned appears as the name of a territory in Turkistán, and is also a dynastic name.

The XXIIrd Jalál-ud-din 'Alí son of Hasantigin (No. XIX) also entitled Khizr Khán, and by some Jaghar Khán, succeeded with the support of the Kara Khitáís, but as in the case of his predecessor, and subsequently of his successor, who was styled the Khákán of Máwará-un-Nahr, was entirely subordinate to the Gúr Kháns, and when Iyal Arsalán Khwárazm Sháh marched an army to Bukhára and Samarkand in 553 the *Ilak* of the Turkán with 10,000 men was sent by the Gúrkhán to his assistance. The length of his reign which must have been long is uncertain, as is the date of the accession of his son.

The XXIIIrd Sultán 'Ugmán bin Jalál-ud-din, who on account of the antiquity of his race was styled Sultán us Salátín, and who was said to be a second Yúsuf in beauty. He solicited the hand of a daughter of his suzerain in marriage, but the Gúr Khán refused, for which very reason Sultán Muhammad Khwárazm Sháh gave him a daughter of his own in 606. Great friendship arose between 'Ugmán and his father-in-law, which was afterwards turned to equal resentment, for 'Ugmán threw over Muhammad and was making overtures to the Gúr Khán, when the former marched against Samarkand, and at the instigation of his own wife, Khán Malik by name, 'Ugmán was put to death in 609 H. and with him finally ended the Afrásiyáb dynasty. Sultán 'Ugmán it was who is said to have interceded with the Kara Khitáís, and saved the life of Sultán Mu'izz-ud-din Muhammad bin Sâm Ghúri after his defeat at Andkhúd in 601 H. and enabled him to escape.\*

#### THE DYNASTY OF THE ŠAFFÁRÍS. 255—300 H.

In immediate subjection to the Sámání kings, and subsequently more or less closely identified with the Ghaznavi rulers to whom in

\* In the genealogical tree appended I have endeavoured to show as far as possible, in a tentative way, the relationship of these Turkistán khána. There is, however, much still wanting to make an intelligible account of them possible. Perhaps numismatic material may exist in some of our Indian cabinets to supplement, and in many respects correct this.

turns they became subordinate, were the semi-independent governors of Sijistán or Nimroz, who succeeded, and were allied to, the dynasty of the Šaffáris. The following short summary may help to make their connection with the period clearer.

According to the *Ṭabaqát*, Ya'kúb, 'Amrú, 'Alí and Mu'addil, were four brothers the sons of Laiš, the Saffár or worker in brass, who was the head of the braziers of Sijistán in the days when Ibrahím was the governor and Šálih the deputy governor on the part of Muḥammad Ṭáhir, the last of the Ṭáhiris, then Amir of *Khurásán*. Laiš is described as a restless refractory fellow with a large following, and his character seems to have descended to his son Ya'kúb, who caused Šálih to be put to death, armed his followers, seized the deputy governor's palace, declared himself Amir, and raised an army that in a brief space not only made him master of the situation, but enabled him to start a career of conquest of his own. Having raised his army he led it towards Bust, and Zawulistán, Zamín-i-Dáwar and Ghaznín, subduing the whole of them, thence advanced into *Ṭulḥáristán* an ancient district of *Balkh*; *Balkh* itself, and on to Kábul, with uniform success. In 256 he returned to Sijistán and subsequently advanced to Hirát which cost him much fighting before he obtained possession of it. After this he took Bádghais, Búshanj, Jám, Bálḥurz, and in 259 Nishápúr, where he seized Muhammad-i-Ṭáhir with his treasure and followers, and having visited Gurzán and Tabaristán, and extorted tribute, again returned to Sijistán, setting free Muhammad-i-Ṭáhir who found a refuge at the court of the Khalifah in 261. His brother 'Amrú he made governor of Hirát, and after one more excursion into 'Iráq he died at *Khandah-i-Shápúr* a town of *Ahwáz* in 265 H.

The Hind was 'AMRÚ, the brother, who on succeeding withdrew his forces from 'Iráq and the year following (266) moved to Hirát and thence to Nishápúr before the gates of which he was defeated by one of the Ṭáhirí Amirs and fell back on Hirát. In 271 the Khalifah deposed him, and declared the government of *Khurásán* given back to Muḥammad-i-Ṭáhir, sending one Ráfi' bin Haršamah as his deputy, who joined his forces with the Ṭáhir Amir's. But in 284 'Amrú defeated them and sent Ráfi's head to the Khalifah at Baghdád with a request that he, 'Amrú, might now be recognised as the governor of Máwará-un-Nahr, *Khurásán*, Nimroz, Fárs, Kirmán, *Ahwáz*, and the guardian of the entrance of the Palace of the Khalifahs; moreover that the name of 'Amrú should be mentioned in the *Khuṭbah* and inserted on the coins of Makkah, Madínah, and Hijáz. All of which demands

seem to have readily agreed to by the Khalifah's court and the usual "dresses of honour and counter-marks of favour and distinction" sent him. At the same time, it will be remembered the Baghdád court had just conferred similar favours on Ismá'il Sámání. No sooner had Amrú proceeded to take possession of Máwará-un-Nahr, than Ismá'il advanced from Bukhárá and crossed the Oxus to prevent him. How 'Amrú was defeated under the walls of Balkh in 287 and sent a prisoner to the Khalifah, and the fate he met with in Baghdád has already been noticed. Arraján is his only mint represented in the British Museum.

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The IIIrd TÁHIR the grandson of 'Amrú was then set up, and after a somewhat chequered career, in which he was once or twice in possession of Fárs, was defeated by a rebel slave, a Sigizí, and together with a brother of Ya'qúb's, deported to Baghdád and there made a public show of like his grandfather, dying in 296 H. Two of his known mints are Fárs and Zaranj.

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The IVth LAIṢ bin 'Alí another son of the Brazier, who entered Fárs from Sijistan, attacked and drove out the Sigizí slave but was again driven out by the Sigizí reinforced by troops of the Khalifah. Soon after, however, this Sigizí withheld the Khalifah's share of the revenue and was in his turn driven out to the wilds of Khurásán. In the same year, 296, Abu Naṣr-i-Aḥmad Sámání obtained possession of Sijistán, taken prisoners several of the Saffáris, and leaving his cousin Abú Ṣálih Maṣṣúr as governor. Laiṣ bin 'Alí is said to have died in Fárs in 298 H. Bust is his only mint in the British Museum.

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The Vth MU'ADDIL the brother of Laiṣ (No. IV) assumed the sovereignty in 299 driving out the Sámání governor, upon which Aḥmad Sámání despatched a large army under some of his principal nobles, Hasain 'Alí, Marw-ar-Rudí, Ahmad bin Sahl, &c., to whom Mu'addil surrendered at discretion and was taken to Bukhárá and thence sent to Baghdád, which city would seem to have served as the Jericho of the time.

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The VIth 'AMRÚ, great-grandson of the 'Amrú the son of the Brazier attempted the sovereignty in 300 H. when again Aḥmad Sámání despatched a force under the above-mentioned nobles, but after a defence of 9 months 'Amrú surrendered his capital, and the territory of Sijistan received a Sámání governor; who is not mentioned.

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THE GOVERNORS OF SIJISTÁN. 300—393 H.

Ist. Shortly after the above events AḥMAD said to have been the grandson of Ṭáhir, (No. III above) who was living in distress at Hírát, attracted the notice of Naṣr the II, Sámání, and had bestowed upon him the government of his native country, Sijistán. From Aḥmad there follows a period regarding which there appears little beyond numismatic evidence, and that very scanty. How long Aḥmad was governor was unknown, but from a coin in the British Museum, struck at Sijistán in 306 No. II KAṢAYYAR bin Aḥmad would appear to have been then governor. Whether immediately after or no is not known but he must have been followed by

No. III KHALAF, whose coinage both gold and copper shows him to have ruled at Sijistán from at least 325 to 334 H. and during the Khalifat of Al Mustakfi and Al Muti'. This of course may have extended either or both ways. The copper coin now figured as No. XXVII is very nearly identical with the one in the National Collection, with the exception that the date reads 334, as compared with 325. A Khalaf is mentioned as the son of 'Abú Ja'far bin Laiṣ, but which Laiṣ is uncertain, and this Khalaf as being the father of a Muhammad who again was the father of an Aḥmad. Giving this genealogy for what it is worth the

(? IVth) Aḥmad bin Muḥammad, would, from another British Museum coin, appear to have been the governor of Sijistán in 340 H. but as regards the length of his rule all dates are wanting. His successor was presumably

(? Vth) Khalaf bin Aḥmad, whose biography has been noticed at length by several contemporary writers. At times in direct subjection to the Sámánís, making a pilgrimage in 353 to Makkah, leaving his son-in-law, Ṭáhir bin Ḥusain, to act as his deputy; obtaining aid from Maṣṣúr bin Nuh on his return to drive out the deputy, Al Ḥusain bin Ṭáhir, who in the meantime had succeeded his father, and usurped. Again on the withdrawal of the Bukhárú troops asserting supremacy and engaging in expeditions of his own. Rebelling against Nuh bin

Manşúr, by whom his capital was invested. Intriguing with and against the Ghaznavis. Joining Sabuktigín with a contingent, who sends back his forces with honour and consideration only to find him intriguing with Ilak. Subsequently seizing provinces of Mahmúd's, whose uncle Bughrájak was slain by Khalaf's son Táhír at Fushanj in 390. By Mahmúd he is besieged in the fortress of Ták, reduced and has to make abject submission. Anon in 393 abdicating in favour of his son Táhír,\* but thinking better of this, treacherously putting the latter to death. Again besieged by Mahmúd whom he flatters by addressing as "Sultán" and has Júzjánán assigned as his residence. Intriguing once more in 398 with Ilak, and dying the following year in close confinement in the fortress of Juzdez. He was reputed a learned and intelligent man, and by his command a commentary on the Kur'án in 100 volumes at a cost of 100,000 dinars, was compiled.

Al Husain bin Táhír whose coin is in the British Museum is most probably the man who was deputy for a brief period, for after Khalaf the sovereignty of Sijistán or Nimroz remained in the possession of the rulers of Ghaznín for some time, until, by the support of the Saljúk Sultáns, Alp Arsalán and Malik Sháh a great-grandson of Khalaf, by name Táhír bin Muhammad bin Táhír bin Khalaf, obtained the government of the country, and became the first of the "Maliks of Sijistán and Nimroz" as chronicled in the *Tabákat*.†

#### THE EARLY RULERS OF GHAZNÍN. 322—388 H.

It has already been noticed that the earlier Muhammadan rulers in Ghaznín were governors subordinate to the Sámání sovereigns, and it is in association with the latter that most notices of Alptigín and Sabuktigín occur. That they were termed "Turkish slaves" does not necessarily imply that they were slaves in the common acceptation of the term. Although described as purchased by the Sámání nobles, they filled the position of trusted advisers, were entrusted with high civil and military commands, ranked among the chief personages in the State, and in fact very soon became its masters. It is unnecessary to recapitulate the few particulars given regarding these two more famous names, while to attempt any complete outline of the reign of Mahmúd or his successors in Ghaznín would be beyond the scope of this already lengthy paper, but in connection with some of the coins figured it is

\* After this date money was coined in Sijistán in the name of Mahmud.

† A genealogical tree showing the relationships of the Suffaris and Sijistán governors is appended. [See also Major Raverty's article on "the Kings of the Saffárfún dynasty" in *J. A. S. B. Pt. I. for 1885, p. 139.—Ed.*]

necessary to briefly notice such scanty information as is available relating to the early governors, who have been almost entirely omitted from general history.

Of the origin of Alptigín, or Albtigín, beyond that he was a "Turk" the *slave* of the Sámání dynasty, no reliable account is forthcoming. According to Faṣihí and others, he was born in 267 H., a date more than doubtful, as it would make him 79 when appointed commander-in-chief in Khurásán. There is more evidence to show that he displaced "Lawík\*" and captured Ghaznín first in 322 H., and from that time had more or less to do with the administration of affairs there, although it is exceedingly improbable that his residence was continuous. In 346 he is spoken of as the Ḥájib and commander-in-chief of 'Abd-ul-Malik Sámání and by him also entrusted with the governorship of Hirát to which place he sent Ishák-i-Táhirí as his deputy. In 350 he had become one of the most, if indeed not the most, powerful Amir at the Sámání court, holding among other offices the governorship of Nishápúr. After some little friction with the court in connection with the election of Mansúr the first to the throne, he went to Ghaznín in 351, and in 352 H. he died there, and was succeeded by his son Ishák.

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The governor Lawík, long a competitor for power in Ghaznín, almost immediately attacked Ishák who was either defeated or considered it more desirable to retire on Bukhárá, whither he was "accompanied (in 353) by his father's *slave* Sabuktigín". At Bukhárá he obtained the formal investiture of government, and returned reinforced, Faṣihí says the following year, to Ghaznín, Lawík taking to flight. After a year at Ghaznín Ishák died (early in?) 355 H., and was succeeded by Balkátigín, formerly chief of the Turkish troops under Alptigín.

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Balkátigín as a successor of Ishák has been passed unnoticed by most historians. In Muhammad 'Ufí's *Jámi'ul Hikáyát* he is in two stories spoken of as ruler in Ghaznín, a brave but hard-drinking Amir, with Sabuktigín as his watchful Ḥájib and general-in-chief, who on one occasion at least saves Balkátigín's life. And in the *Ṭabaqát-i-Násiri*, Minhaj-i-Siráj quoting from the last volumes of Abú-l-Faẓl-i-Baihaki, who wrote in the time of Mahmúd, gives a circumstantial account of his

\* The question as to who was Lawík, the Wáli of Ghaznín, is full of interest, but unfortunately history is a blank regarding him.

elevation to power as follows: "Baihaki states, that during the reign of Abd-ul-Malik-i-Núh, the Sámání, there was a merchant named Naşr, the Hájí who purchased Sabuktigin and brought him to Bukhárá. Perceiving in his countenance evident signs of capacity and energy, the Amír-i Hájib, Alptigin, purchased him. He accompanied his master into Tukháristán, when the government of that territory was entrusted to him; and subsequently, when the government of Khurásán was made over to Amír Alptigin, Sabuktigin attended him thither also. After some time had passed away, Alptigin, through the vicissitudes of fortune, retired towards Ghaznín, and subdued the territory of Závulistán, and wrested Ghaznín out of the hands of Amír Abú-Bakr-i-Lawík.

"Eight years subsequent to these events Amír Alptigin died, and his son, Ishák, succeeded to his father's authority. He entered into hostilities against Lawík, but was defeated, and retired to Bukhárá, to the court of Amír Manşúr, son of Núh, Sámání, and there continued until that ruler directed that aid should be afforded to him, when Ishák came back again to Ghaznín, and regained possession of it. After a year Ishák died, when Balkátigin, who was the chief commander of the Turkish troops, was raised to the government. He was a just and pious man, and one of the greatest warriors of his time. He exercised the authority for a period of ten years,\* and died. Sabuktigin was in his service.

"After the death of Amír Balkátigin, Píri succeeded to the authority. He was a great villain; and a body of people wrote from Ghaznín to Abú 'Alí-i-Lawík, and invited him to come there. Abú 'Alí-i-Lawík acceded to their request, and brought along with him the son of the Sháh, or king, of Kábul to assist him. When they reached the vicinity of Charikh, Sabuktigin with a body of 500 Turks, suddenly fell upon them, and defeated them, he also captured ten elephants, and brought them to Ghaznín.

"Such a great success having been gained by Sabuktigin and all having become quite sated with the villanies and misdeeds of Píri, with one accord they raised Sabuktigin to the direction of affairs. On Friday, the 27th of the month of Sha'bán 366 H., the sovereignty of that province was settled upon him."

Mr. Thomas in the 2nd of his papers on the coins of the kings of Ghaznín,† puts the date of Alptigin's conquest of that city as 351 H., which is also the date given by Ferishta, and no doubt represents the

\* Copies of the work differ in regard to the number of years he reigned.

† Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. IX, article IX, March, 1847, and Vol. XVII, article V, read March, 1858.

date of his final visit, and quoting the *Ṭabaḳát* sentence beginning—"Eight years subsequent to these events" fixes his death in 359 H. But there is no reason why "these events" should specially refer to Alptigin's going to *Ghaznín*, and might equally relate to Sabuktigin's purchase. Indeed a few pages further on, the *Ṭabaḳát* gives the date of the birth of Maḥmúd as occurring "on the night of 'Ashúrá, the 10th of the month Muḥarram in the year 361 H., in the seventh year of the government of Amír Balkátigin at *Ghaznín*. Mr. Thomas mentions the occurrence of Balkátigin's name on certain coins struck at Balkh in 324, but considering how frequently the governors of these cities were changed, there is nothing at all improbable in his having held that charge, and inserted his name on the coinage there, as he subsequently did on the coinage of *Ghaznín*. Among the coins noticed by Mr. Thomas in the same paper is one described by M. Dorn\* as struck in 359 H. by Balkátigin as ruler of *Ghaznín*, with the name of his Sámání suzerain, Maṅṣúr bin Núḥ. The description is as follows:

Obverse	بلا تكدین	لا شريك له	الله وحده	لا اله الا
Margin	بسم الله [ضرب هذا] دعوة سنة تسع وخمسين وثلاثمائة			
Reverse	بن نوح	منصور	الله	رسول

Margin illegible.

"The name of the mint *عربه* can stand for nothing but *Ghaznah*."

The legends of the coin now figured as No. X are very similar, though the mint and last figure of the date are wanting, what is left looks more like the final of *خمس* than anything else, which would make it 355 H. Major Raverty in his notes to the *Ṭabaḳát* gives the death of Balkátigin as occurring in 362 H., but does not quote his authority, the ill-conditioned Pírí succeeding him. In the following year (363) Pírí, or rather Sabuktigin for him, is said to have fought a battle with an army advancing from India for the purpose of seizing *Ghaznín* and to have completely defeated it. In 366, as given in the extract from the *Ṭabaḳát* above quoted, he was deposed, and Sabuktigin installed.

The acknowledgment of the Sámání line as Suzerains or Lords Paramount, by the insertion of their names on the coinage, still continued, and was common to all the *Ghaznaví* rulers, Sabuktigin, Ismá'íl, and Maḥmúd himself, at any rate until 389 H. when the house assumed independency; Sabuktigin being a particularly loyal supporter of the house. No. XI of the coins now figured is however an interesting novelty, probably a very early coin of Sabuktigin's struck for

\* In the Bulletin de l'Académie des Sciences de Saint Petersburg in 1855.



Indian circulation, possibly as the *Hājib* of *Balkātigin*. In the first of his papers above referred to, Mr. Thomas notices the early appropriation by the *Ghaznavi* monarchs of the device of the bull of *Siva* (*Nandi*), superscribed by the words *Sri Samanta Dev*, as first used on the coins of the Brahmanical kings of *Kábul*, and shows that the *Ghaznavis* had associated themselves in this way with their Indian possessions, by the combination of Mahometan titles with the old Hindu designs at least as early as the time of *M'adúd* in 432 H. In the second paper he gives examples of very similar pieces with the names in Kufic letters of *Mas'úd* 421 H., and of *Muhammad*, his brother and predecessor.\* In the coin now figured—from the *Akra* mounds near *Edwardes-abád*—the elephant and lion device of the Brahmanical kings has been rudely copied, with on the obverse the name in Kufic of *Sabuktigin*, and on the reverse *حاجب* *hājib*, the chamberlain or commander.† The three rings were possibly symbols of strength and unity, or as ingeniously suggested by *Vambéry*, “typical of power encircling the three zones, borrowed from the heraldry of ancient *Irán*,” and subsequently adopted as a sign mark on the coinage of *Timur*. Some Indian cabinets may very possibly possess other similar *Ghazni* coins. Mr. Thomas notices four published in the earlier *Journals* of this Society, on which the *Sanskrit* inscription had not been clearly made out, but having the special title of *Sabuktigin* “*Nāṣir-ud-din-allah*” clear in *Persian*.

Such coins might reasonably be expected to be even common. The Muslim conquerors for many reasons would probably find it both politic and convenient to continue for some time the local monies of the various provinces, and as a matter of fact, all over India, the coinage of newly conquered States, more especially the copper or mixed coinage in current use, remained in most cases long unaltered. Pure silver and gold was more easily recalled and re-issued, but even with this a very favourite plan, particularly with the Central Asian dynasties, was counterstriking the coin.

*Sabuktigin* ruled *Ghaznín* for a period of twenty years dying in 387 H., at the age of 56, at the village of *Madrú-múe* on the frontier of *Balkh*. His sons were *Ismá'il*, *Nāṣr*, *Maḥmúd*, *Ḥusain*, *Ḥasan*, and *Yúsuf*. *Ismá'il*, who is always mentioned as playing a very subor-

\* A woodcut of the former is given at page 58 of his *Pathan kings*. The obverse having the recumbent Bull with श्री समन्त देव, the reverse the horseman with مسعود in Kufic above the horse's head.

† Along for comparison is given the obverse of a copper coin of similar size of *Sri Samanta Deva*. Both are rude, but there is a sad falling off in the *Ghaznavi* lion, while the elephant is hardly recognizable.

dinate part, and in all his father's campaigns seems to have been ignored, but who was in Ghaznín when his father died, succeeded, and was dethroned by his brother Maḥmúd in 388, after an offer of the sovereignty of Balkh which he refused. Subsequently in 389\* he was sent to the fortress of Júzjánán, and nothing further is heard of him.

Maḥmúd was now recognised by the Khalifab, who in forwarding the robe of honour, added to his former titles that of Yamín-ud-daulat wa Amín ul-millat, 'right hand of the Empire and Guardian of the religion, and, the Ṭabaqát adds, styled him "Sulṭán."† His son Mas'úd became another "right hand of the Empire," a "defender of Orthodoxy," a guardian of the true religion and of the true believers, the regulator of the Faith, and the friend of the Lord of the Faithful." In the same year 389 H. Maḥmúd had also returned to Khurásán.

The chief events of his reign there have already been dealt with. His accession to the throne of Ghaznín marks his almost immediate rise to the supreme Muhammadan power in the East. "During these days," as Al 'Utbi puts it, "the victories of the kingdom and royalty of Yamín-ud-daulat and Amín al Millat commenced, and subsequently as time advanced, the tablet of his kingdom was gladdened, and the flame of his Empire blazed, and the star of his prosperity rose to a degree of happiness and power, until the pulpits of Islám became illuminated by the might of his august surnames, and his decree was current as destiny in all tracts and portions of the world; for God maketh royalty to come unto whom he willeth, and God is bounteous and wise."

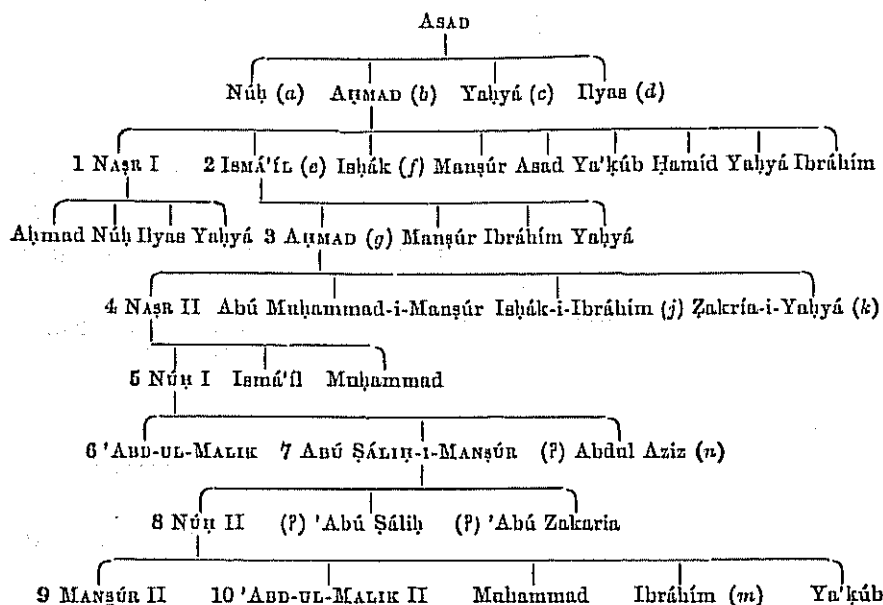
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\* These are the dates given by Faṣihí and may be accepted as most probable.

† There is, however, no evidence that he ever adopted the titles.

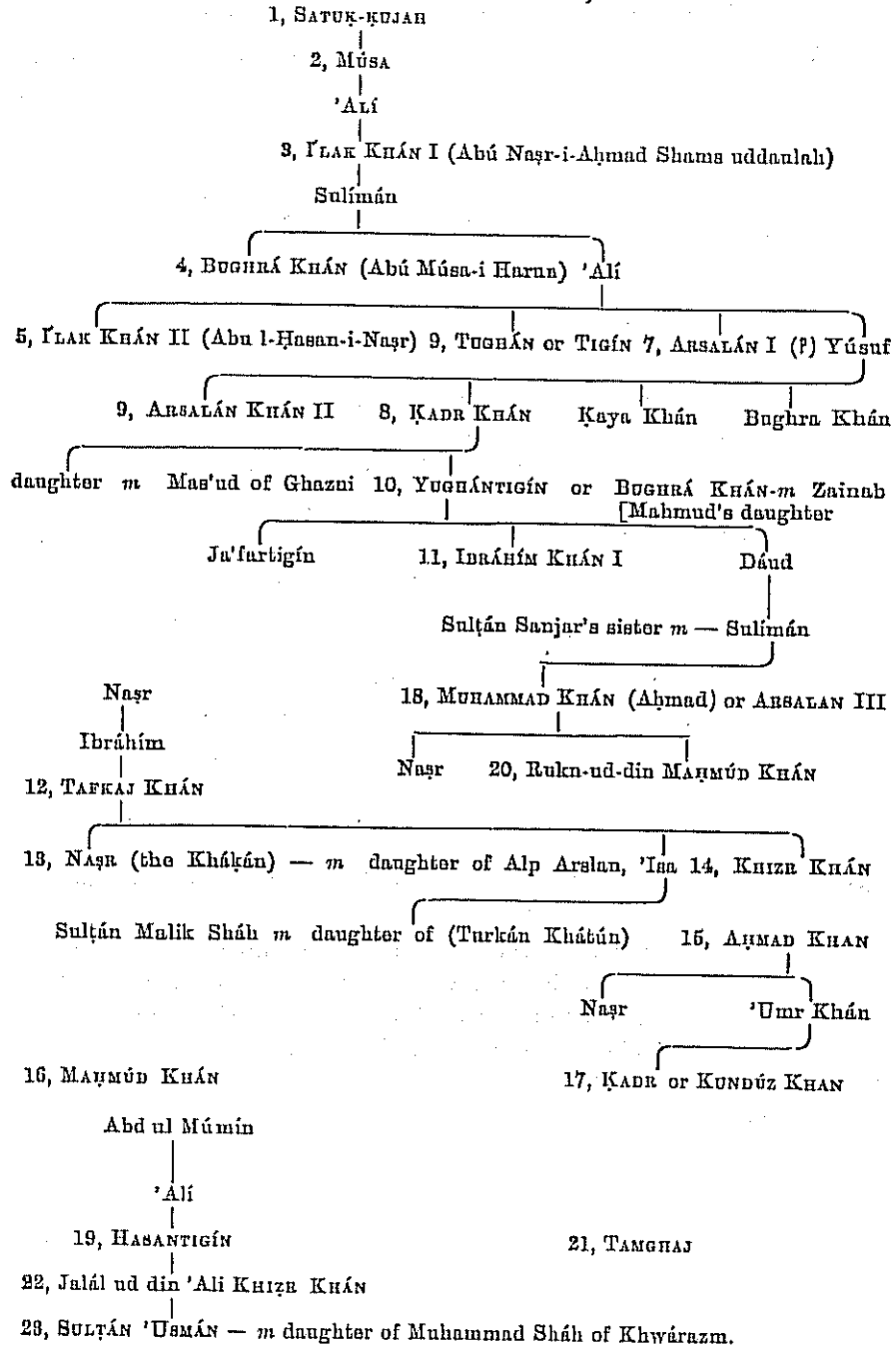
GENEALOGY OF THE SAMĀNI DYNASTY.

Which, according to the *Ṭabaqát*, is from Midád, by Karkin, Bahrán, Jash Nash, Bahrán Chúbín, Núshad, Núshir, Tamghān, Jashmān, and Sámán-i-*kh*addát to



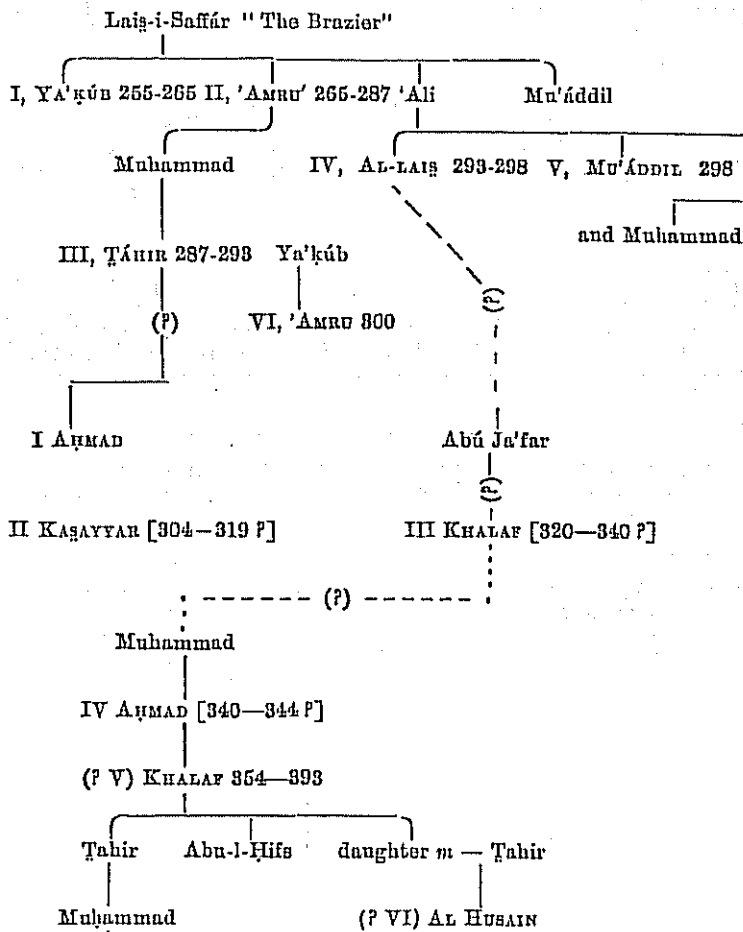
(a) Governed Samarkand. (b) Farghānah and afterwards also Samarkand, Kashghar and part of Turkistán. (c) Hirát and adjacent parts. (d) Shash and Isfanjab. (e) Governed Bukhárá before succeeding Naṣr. (f) Abú Šālih Mansúr, the son of this Ishák governed Rai and subsequently Sijistán, where the people revolted and shut him up in Ark. Both Ishák and Mansúr revolted in the reign of Naṣr II 302 H. (g) Governed Gurgan before succeeding. (j) Seized the highlands of 'Irák and Khurásán 335 H. (k) Attacked Hirát 319 H. (m) Abú Ibráhím-i-Ismá'il, called Muntaṣir, who for several years carried on a desultory warfare. (n) Said to have been left as Regent at Bukhárá by Bughra Khán in 383 H.

SKETCH TREE OF THE TURKISTAN KHANS.  
(HOUSE OF AFRÁSIYAB.)



This table is only given as tentative. It does not agree entirely with Major Raverty's dynastic list, and in some other respects alterations may be necessary. But it may serve for comparison with other information and inscriptions on other coins.

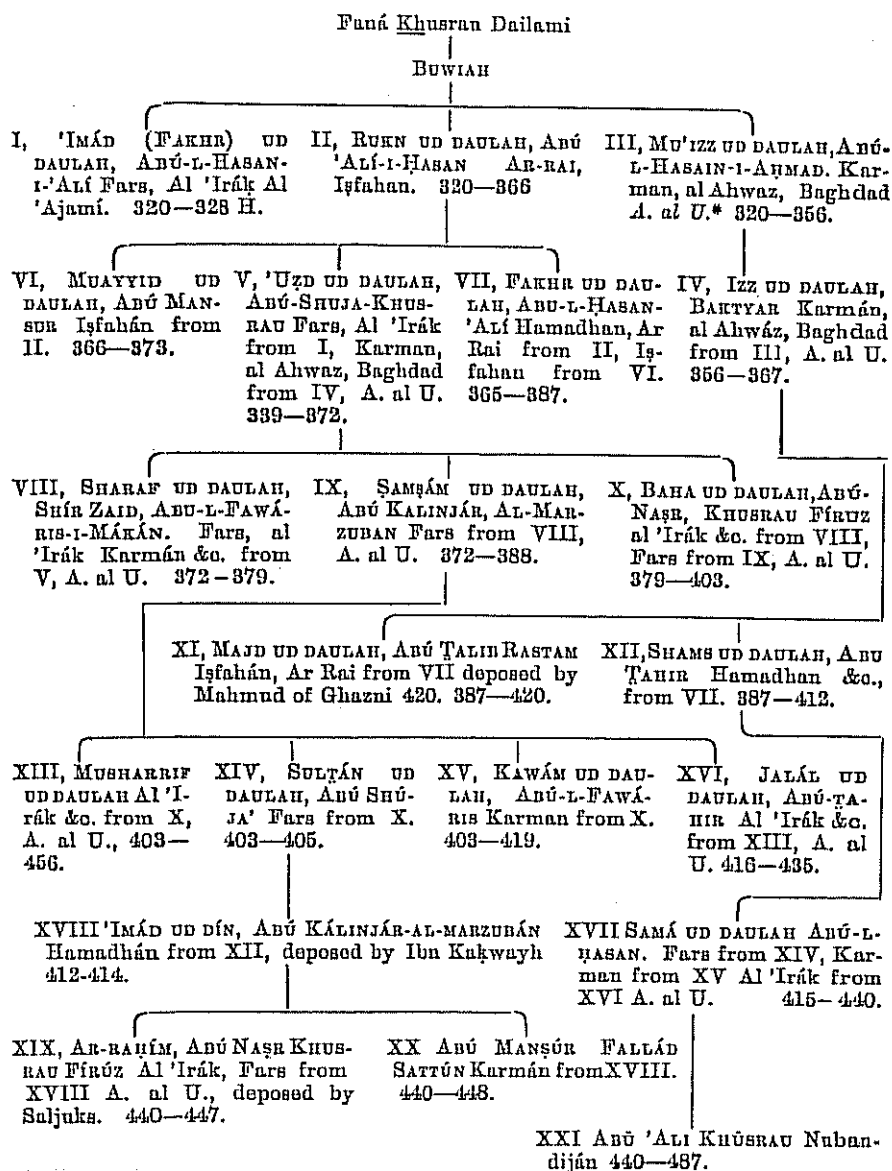
SKETCH TREE  
OF THE ŠAFFARĪS AND SIJISTĀN GOVERNORS.



ṬĀHIR made a governor under the Saljuks. The first of the rulers of Sijistān and Nimroz in the chronicle of the Ṭubakāt.

GENEALOGY OF THE DAILAMIS OR BUWIAHS.

(After Stanley Lane Poole)



NOTE.—A. al U. = Amīru'l Umrā, "Lord of Lords." Sometimes the title of the Chief Commander of the army of the Khalīfat.

COMPARATIVE CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

KHALIFS OF BAGHDAD.	SĀMĀNĪS.	SAPPĀRĪS AND SIJISTĀN GOVERNORS.	RULERS IN GHAZNI.	TURKISTĀN KHĀNS.
Al Muhtadī 255—256		Ya'qūb 255—265		
Al M'utamid 256—279	Nasr bin Aḥmad 261—279	'Amrū 265—287		
Al Mu'tazid 279—289	Ismāil bin Aḥmad 279—295	Tāhīr 287—299		
Al Muktaḥ 289—295		Al Laīq 293—298		
Al Muktadir 295—320	Aḥmad bin Ismāil 295—301	Mu'addil 298		
Al Kāhīr 320—322	Nasr II bin Aḥmad 301—331	'Amrū 300	Alptigin 322—352	
Ar Rāzī 322—329		Aḥmad		
Al Muttakī 329—333	Nūḥ I bin Naṣr 331—343	Kaṣayyar 304—319		Ṣatūq Khujah
Al Mustakfi 333—334		Khulaf 320—340		Mūsa
Al Mutīf 334—363	'Abd al Malīk I 343—350	Aḥmad 340—344	Ishāk 352—355	Ilak Khān I
Aḥ Tāī'lillah 363—381	Mansur I bin Nūḥ 350—366	Khulaf 354—393	Balkātigin 355—362	Buḡhrā Khān 383
Al Kādirillah 381—422	Nūḥ II bin Mansur 366—387		Pīrī 362—366	Ilak Khān II 383—403
Al Kāīm biamrillah 422—467	Mansur II 387—389		Subuktigin 366—387	Tuḡhān 403—408
	Abdul Malīk II 389		Ismāil 387—388	Arsalan 408
	Muntasir 389		Mahmūd 388—421	Kadr Khān 423
				Arsalan Khān II
				Buḡhra Khān II 439

SĀMĀNĪS.

I. Ismā'il bin Aḥmad 289—55 grains Samarkand 280 H.

Obv.	Rev.
لا اِلهَ اِلاَّ اللهُ وَحْدَهُ لا شَرِيكَ لَهُ	الله رسول الله س
Margin بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ نَرْبِ هٰذَا الفَلَسِ بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ سَنَةِ ثَمَانِيْنَ وَعَمَاتَيْنِ	Margin مِمَّا اَمْرًا بِهِ الِاصْبِرُ اسْمَاعِيلُ بْنُ احمد عزه الله

II. Naṣr II bin Aḥmad Æ 96—41 grains Bukhárá 315 H.

Obv.		Rev.
لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له		الله محمد رسول الله بني
Margin بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلوس ببخارا سنة خمس عشرة وثلثمائة		Margin لله الامر من قبل ومن بعد ويومن بفتوح المومنون بنصر الله

III. Ditto Æ 97—47 grains Bukhárá 322 H.

Obv.		Rev.
لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له		الله محمد رسول الله بني
Inner Margin Outer ,, بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلوس ببخارا سنة اثنين و عشرين وثلثمة		Margin (same as in No. II.)

Compare No. 377, Vol. II Catalogue of British Museum, Oriental Coins.

IV. Nuḥ bin Naṣr Æ 95—62 grains Bukhárá 336 H.

Obv.		Rev.
○ ○ لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له		الله محمد رسول الله [ سهل بن نوح ]
Margin بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلوس [ ارا ] سنة ست وثلثين وثلثمائة		Margin (same as in No. II.)

V. 'Abd al Malik Æ 75—32 grains Bukhárá [3]50 H.

Obv.		Rev.
لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له		عبد الملك بني
Margin بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلوس [ ارا ] سنة خمسين و . . .		Margin (same as in No. II but partially effaced.)



VI. *Manşúr I bin Núh* Æ 1.1—61 grains *Bukhárá* 358 H.

<p>Obv. [ فابق ] لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له</p>	<p>Rev. الله محمد رسول الله الطبع لله منصور بن نوح</p>
<p>Margin <i>بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلس ببختارا سنة ثمان و خمسين و ثلثماية</i></p>	<p>Margin <i>مما امر به الامير السيد الملك المظفر ايداه الله علي يدي ابي بكر المهزح</i></p>

VII. *Ditto* Æ 1.15—56 grains. *Farghánah* 358 H.

<p>Obv. لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له</p>	<p>Rev. الله محمد رسول الله الملك المظفر منصور بن نوح</p>
<p>Inner margin <i>علي يدي... صالح منصور سنة ثمان و خمسين و ثلثماية</i></p>	<p>Margin <i>مما امر به الامير احمد بن منصور مولى امير المؤمنين</i></p>
<p>Outer <i>بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلس بقر غانه [ فا و لله ابعو ] التليفه احمد على</i></p>	<p>Margin <i>مما امر به الامير احمد بن منصور مولى امير المؤمنين</i></p>

Compare No. 411 Vol. II, Cat. B. M. Oriental coins. The inner margin of coin drawn reads *Abú Súliḥ-i-Manşúr* instead of *عبدالله السامعي*

VIII. *Ditto* Æ .8—38 grains. Mint illegible, 350 H.

<p>Obv. لا اله الا الله به يضرب احمد</p>	<p>Rev. الله محمد رسول الله منصور بن نوح</p>
<p>Margin <i>...الله ضرب...فلس... ...خمسين و ثلثم...</i></p>	<p>Margin <i>الله الامر الخ</i></p>

This coin may possibly have been struck by one of the many governors or refractory princes who in the early years of *Núh* were constantly setting up for themselves petty kingdoms. There are 2 or 3

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coins in the B. M. catalogue struck at Andarábah having the name of  
نوح بن منصور on the obverse. Possibly another.

IX. Núh II bin Mansúr  $\text{Æ}$  8—30 grains. Bukhárá (3) 80 H.

<p>Obv. [ نكثرون ] لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له [ الص...د ] [ ه ] Margin بسم الله ضرب ... ببختارا ... سنة ثمانين ...</p>	<p>Rev. الله محمد رسول الله نوح بن منصور ..... الله الامر الخ</p>
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GHAZNAWYS.

X. Balkátigín.  $\text{Æ}$  97—56 grains. Mint wanting 35 [5] H.

<p>Obv. لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له Margin بسم الله ضرب هذا له ..... ن و خمسين و ثلاثمائة</p>	<p>Rev. محمد رسول الله منصور نوح بلكانكئين الله الامر الخ</p>
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XI. Subuktigín.  $\text{Æ}$  70—29 grains (Ghaznah ?) no date.

<p>Obv. حاجب above a rude elephant with 3 rings, ... غذ on the body, possibly part of غذنه.</p>	<p>Rev. سبكتكين above a rude lion as on the coins of Brahman kings of Kabul.</p>
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XII. A copper coin of Sri Samanta Deva  $\text{Æ}$  70—42 gra.

KHANS OF TURKISTAN.

XIII. Ylak Khán II Nasr,  $\text{Æ}$  1.1—44 grains. Farghánah 401 H.

<p>Obv. In centre of circle 4 times re- peated لله Between circle and outer margin    الله وحده    لا اله الا لا شريك له نصر الله Outer margin بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلس بقر غانه سنة احدى و اربعمائه</p>	<p>Rev. الله محمد رسول الله نصر بن علي Margin مما امر به الامير نصر بن علي مولي امير المؤمنين</p>
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XIV. Ditto Æ 1·1—48 grains. Samarkand (403).

Obv.		Rev.
In centre ornament. As triangle لا اله الا    الله وحده    لا شريك له		In centre ornament. As triangle الله محمد    رسول الله    ايلك
Margin بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلوس بسمرقند سنة [تلك واربعمائة]		Margin مما امر به الامير السيد الملك ..... نصر ايداه الله

XV. Ditto Æ 1·1—42 grains. Mint wanting 4 xx H.

Obv.		Rev.
لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له		الله محمد رسول الله القادر بالله نصرين علي ايلك
Margin بسم الله ضرب ..... ..... واربعمائة		Margin لله الامر الخ

With the name of the Khalif Al Kādir B'illah.

XVI. Ditto Æ 1·05. Bulkhārā 4 xx H.]

Obv.		Rev.
Three lines between star, orna- ments under ..... الا    الله وحده    لا شريك له		الله محمد رسول الله ايلك
Margin of date.		Margin بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلوس ببخارا ... واربعمائة

XVII. Saif-ud daulah (Jafri ?) Tigīn Æ 1·1—54 grains. Bulkhārā  
407 H.

Obv.		Rev.
ن لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له		ن محمد رسول الله سيف الدوله [ جفريتكين ]
Margin بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلوس ببخارا سنة سبع واربعمائة		Margin مما امر به الامير السيد ابي علي الحسين بن منصور ايداه الله

The coin described by M. Tiesenhansen in his notice of Count Stroganoff's collection, No. 31, is almost identical, except the year reads 406 H.

XVIII. Arsalán Ylak—Yúsuf  $\mathbb{A}$  1·2—68 grains. Bukhárá.

<p>Obv.</p> <p>In centre <b>ايلك</b></p> <p>محمد Six times repeated, forming stars.</p> <p>Margin <b>بسم الله ضرب هذا الفيلس</b></p> <p><b>ببخارا</b></p> <p>The date unread.</p>	<p>Rev.</p> <p><b>له</b></p> <p>محمد</p> <p>رسول الله</p> <p>[ ارسالان ] <b>ايلك</b></p> <p>يوسف</p> <p>لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له [ملك]</p>
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Compare a coin described by M. Tiesenhansen (No. 32 of above notice) of Arsalán Ylak—Yúsuf bin 'Alí struck at Kash 429 H.

XIX. Ditto (?)  $\mathbb{A}$  1·2—76 grains. Bukhárá.

<p>Obv.</p> <p>Beneath an ornament <b>ارسالان</b></p> <p>Margin <b>هذا الفيلس بخارا</b></p> <p>..... سنه</p>	<p>Rev.</p> <p><b>ايلك</b></p> <p>Margin .....</p> <p>شريك له [العدو] .....</p>
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A similar coin is described in M. Tiesenhansen's notice. No. 35.

XX. Ditto  $\mathbb{A}$  1·2—64 grains. Bukhárá 4 xx H.

<p>Obv.</p> <p><b>ن</b></p> <p><b>ايلك</b></p> <p>Margin <b>بسم الله ضرب هذا الفيلس</b></p> <p><b>ببخارا سنه ..... وار .. مائة</b></p>	<p>Rev.</p> <p><b>ن</b></p> <p><b>ارسالان</b></p> <p>Margin <b>لا اله الا الله .. حده لا شريك له</b></p> <p>..... [ له ]</p>
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XXI. Arsalán Khán—Yúsuf  $\mathbb{A}$  1·2—68 grains 428 H.

<p>Obv.</p> <p><b>الله</b></p> <p>[ — ]</p> <p>Inner margin <b>لا اله الا [ الا ] الله وحده</b></p> <p><b>لا شريك له</b></p> <p><b>بسم الله ضرب ... [ سنه ] ..</b></p> <p><b>ثمان عشر [ ين ] و [ ار ] بعباية</b></p>	<p>Rev.</p> <p><b>له</b></p> <p>محمد</p> <p>[ رسول ] <b>ن الله</b></p> <p>[ ارسالان ] <b>خان</b></p> <p>يوسف</p> <p>Margin illegible.</p>
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XXII. Arsalán Tigin   Æ 1·28—53 grains. Bukhárá 426 H.	
Obv.	Rev.
In ornamented triangle [ شمس ] ادولة	[ عد ] محمد رسول الله
Margin   بسم الله ضرب هذا الفاش ببخارا سنة ست وعشرين و اربعماية	Margin   [ ارسلان ] تكين لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له القائم بامر الله
With the name of the Khalif Al Káim Biamrillah.	

XXIII. Arsalán ( ..... P   Æ 85—54 grs. Mint and date doubtful.	
Obv.	Rev.
ملك لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له المشوف	ابو شجاع محمد رسول الله القائم بامر الله ارسلان [ بها ] [ ن ]
Margin   بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم .....	Margin   الله الاموال الخ
Also with the name of the Khalif Al Káim Biamrillah.	

XXIV. Tughán Khán.   Æ 1·05—71 grains. Mint wanting 4 xx.	
Obv.	Rev.
[ ١٤ ] لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له	الله محمد رسول الله القادر با الله الملك طغان خان
Margin   بسم الله ضرب هذا الدر ..... سنة ..... و اربعماية	Margin   محمد رسول الله الخ
With the name of the Khalif Al Kádir B'illah.	

XXV. Kádr Khán ..... Yúsaf   Æ 1·1—55 grains. Mint and date obscure.	
Obv.	Rev.
شهاب لا اله الا الله .. ده لا ... يك له دولة	محمد رسول الله القادر ..... يوسف .....
Margin   بسم الله ضرب هذا الدر ..... سنة .....	Margin   محمد رسول الله الخ

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XXVI. Tamghaj (?) Æ 1·16—44 grains Samarkand.

	Obv.		Rev.
In centre	[ .. ب الد ]	In centre	طمغاج
Margin	بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلج بسر قند سنه .....	Margin unread	

GOVERNOR OF SIJISTAN.

XXVII. Khalaf Æ ·98—40 grains Sijistan 33 x H.

	Obv.		Rev.
	لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له		الله محمد رسول الله خلف
Margin	بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلج بسيستان سنه ... وثلثين وثلثمائة	Margin	الله الامر الخ

BUWAIHI.

XXVIII. Æ 1·05—41 grains— 404 H.

	Obv.		Rev.
	[ مكر ] الدوله الطابع		محمد رسول الله [ احمد بن علي ]
Margin	بسم الله ضرب ... ذا الفلج [ بالسلك ] سنه اربع - اربع مائة	Margin	الله الامر الخ

MAHMUD OF GHAZNI.

XXIX. Mahmúd bin Amir Sabuktigín Æ ·80—46 grains Nishápúr  
[38] 6 H.

	Obv.		Rev.
	لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له الطابع لله نوح بن منصور		الله محمد رسول الله الولي سيف الدولة محمود بن امير سبكتكين محمد
Margin	هذا دارهم بنيسا پور سنه ست .....	Margin	الله الامر الخ

XXX. Maḥmúd Æ 90—4 grains.

لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له

محمد  
رسول الله  
القادر بالله  
محمد

XXXI. Maḥmúd Abū-l Kaṣim Æ 95—58 grains. Ghaznah.

In centre of circle within square.

[ ضرب ] || [ هذ القاس ] || بغزنة ||

Outside square.

لا اله الا [ الا ] || الله وحده || لا شريك له || القادر بالله [ لله ]

محمد  
رسول الله  
يدين الدولة  
ابو القاسم  
Margin illegible.

XXXII. Maḥmúd Æ 95—60 grains.

In centre of circle محمد لله

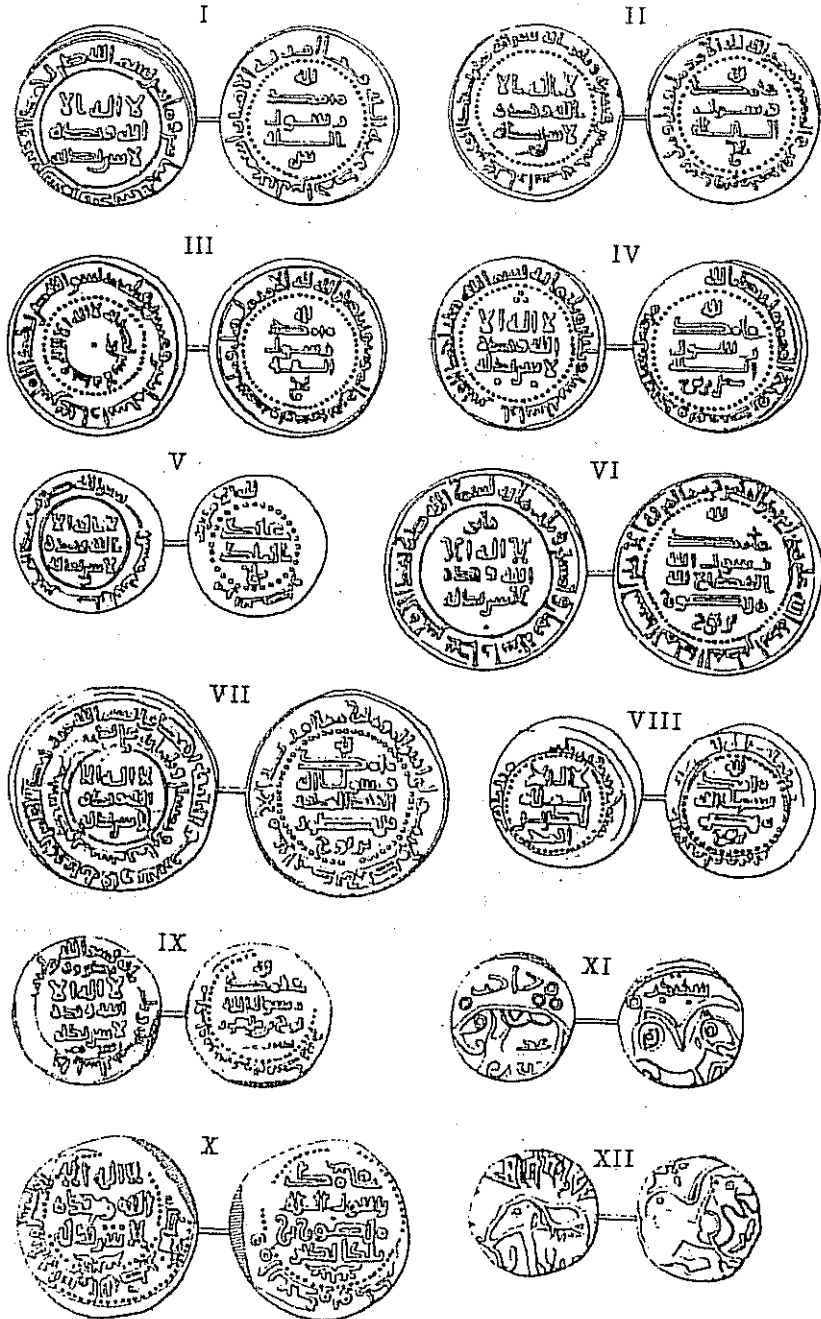
Margin لا اله الا || الله وحده .. || لا شريك ... || .....

الله  
محمد رسول الله  
القادر بالله  
يدين الدولة  
Margin illegible.

I have to express my acknowledgement and best thanks to Messrs. Rodgers, Gosset, Stulpnagel and many other numismatic friends who have kindly placed their cabinets at my disposal. To the first named gentleman, the present Archæological Surveyor of the Punjab, but whose numismatic fame is of long standing, I am specially indebted for assistance in many ways, and not a few of the coins in these plates are the result of his many years of patient collection and research. Nos. XIII, XXIV and XXV are from the collection of Col. Gosset.

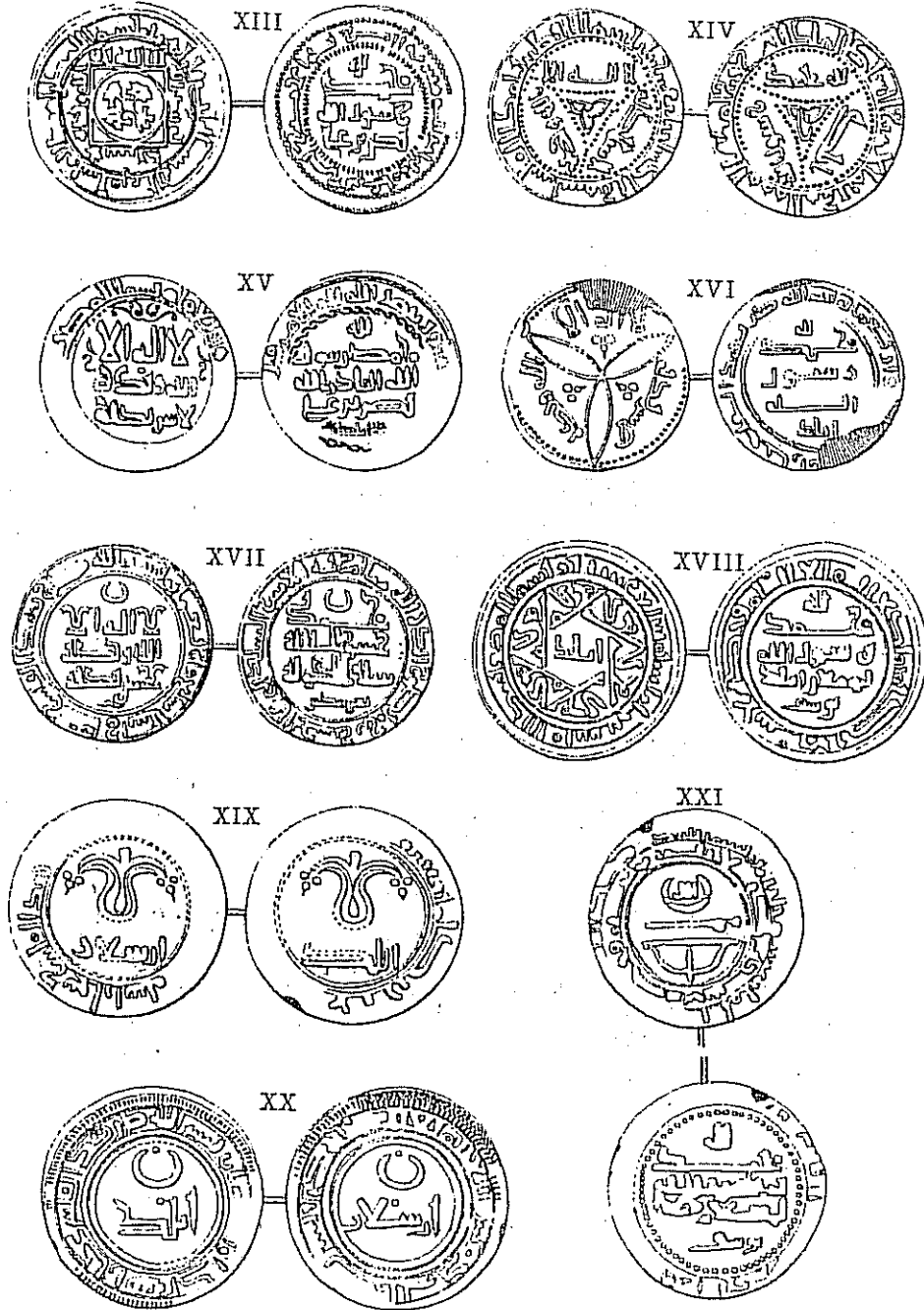
ERRATUM.

Coin No. II. Reverse margin second line for يومئذ يفرح read يومئذ يفرح

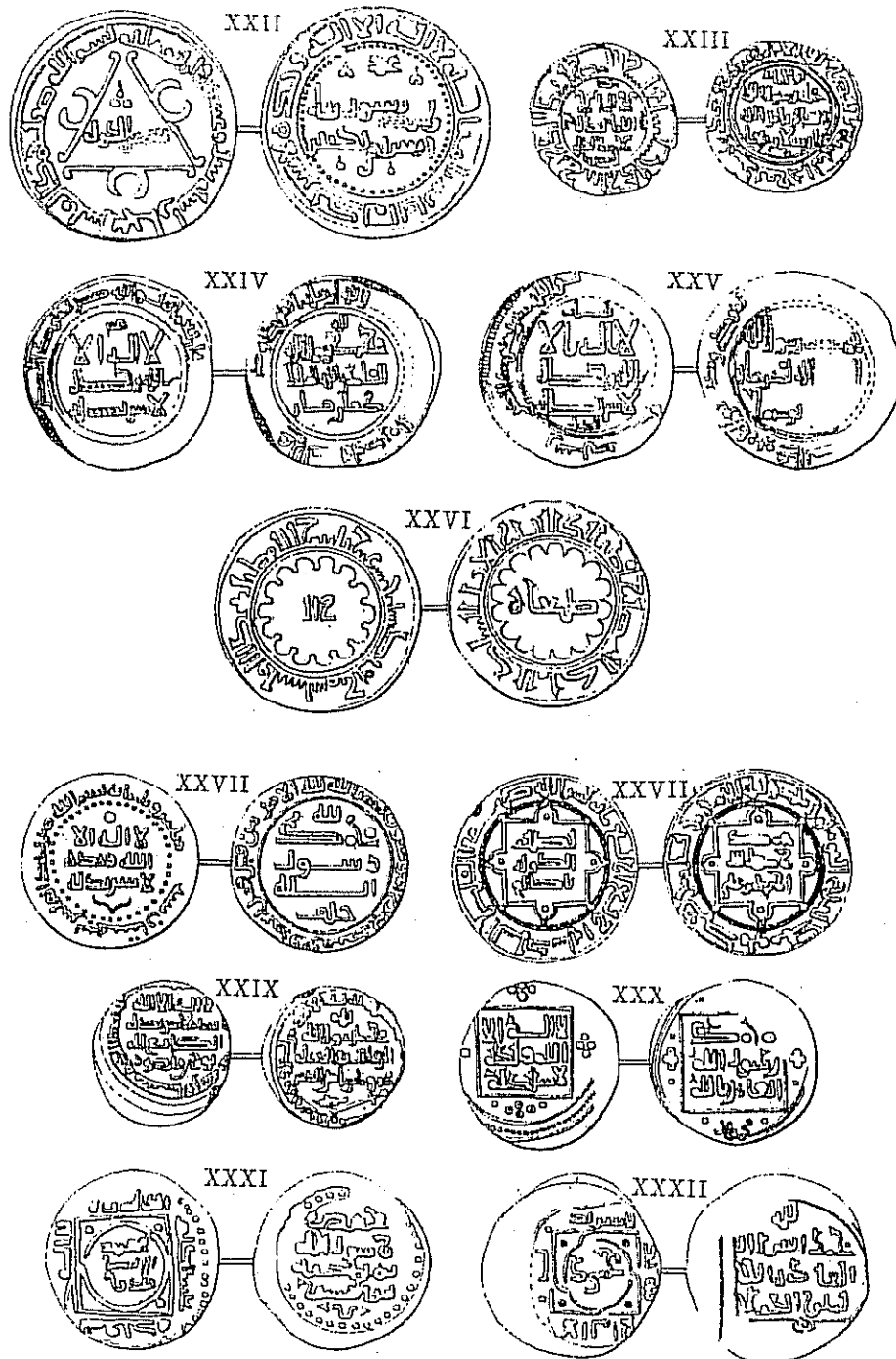


PHOTOZINCGRAPHEN AT THE SURVEY OF INDIA OFFICE, CALCUTTA, MAY 1886.





PHOTOZINOGRAPHED AT THE SURVEY OF INDIA OFFICE, CALCUTTA, MAY 1896.



PHOTODUPLICATION AT THE SURVEY OF INDIA OFFICE, CALCUTTA, MAY 1886.

## Чистопольскій кладъ изъ куфическихъ монетъ второй половины X вѣка открытый въ 1885 году.

Извѣстно, что наше отечество изобилуетъ находками куфическихъ монетъ; но къ сожалѣнiю не всѣ такія находки становятся доступными для изслѣдованiя и большая часть изъ нихъ, безвѣстно и бесплодно для науки, исчезаетъ въ плавильномъ горшкѣ, превращаясь въ безформенный слитокъ металла. А, между тѣмъ, стоить подумать сколько, такимъ образомъ, могло уже быть уничтожено интереснѣйшихъ для науки историческихъ памятниковъ, пособiе которыхъ, при изученiи исторiи народовъ мусульманскаго Востока, является существенно необходимымъ.

Не смотря на то, что уже было изслѣдовано большое число кладовъ съ куфическими монетами, все таки, каждая новая находка такого клада возбуждаетъ живѣйшiй интересъ, ибо всегда подаетъ надежду, среди груды монетъ, отыскать что нибудь замѣчательное. Хотя топографiя кладовъ съ куфическими монетами можетъ считаться уже достаточно опредѣлившейся, но новыя находки могутъ расширить свѣдѣнiя и въ этомъ отношенiи, не говоря уже о томъ, сколько можетъ еще встрѣтиться монетъ доселѣ не бывшихъ извѣстными, или новыхъ вариантовъ, которые могутъ дополнять и обогащать восточную нумизматику.

Между куфическими монетами, въ отношенiи ученой разработки, особенно посчастливилось только нѣкоторымъ отдѣламъ. Такъ, въ ученыхъ изданiяхъ встрѣчается много свѣдѣнiй о находкахъ древнѣйшихъ куфическихъ монетъ, именно *халифскихъ* и за тѣмъ *саманидскихъ*. Оба эти отдѣла значительно разработаны, благодаря трудамъ нашихъ извѣстнѣйшихъ ориента-

листовъ: Х. Д. Френа, В. В. Григорьева, П. С. Савельева и В. Г. Тизенгаузена, которымъ даже обработаны особыя монографіи обоихъ этихъ отдѣловъ (См. В. Г. Тизенгаузена «О Саманидскихъ монетахъ» въ Трудяхъ Вост. Отд. Имп. Арх. Общ. Ч. I, СПб. 1855 и «Монеты Восточнаго Халифата» СПб. 1873). Весьма вѣроятно, что такое предпочтеніе, выказанное учеными въ обработкѣ именно этихъ отдѣловъ куфическихъ монетъ, находилось въ зависимости сколько отъ наибольшей древности этихъ монетъ, столько же и отъ того, что клады изъ нихъ чаще встрѣчаются въ русской почвѣ и, слѣдовательно, матеріалъ для разработки представлялся болѣе изобильнымъ.

Рѣже другихъ попадаются клады, относящіяся ко второй половинѣ и къ концу X вѣка, между которыми главный контингентъ составляютъ монеты Бувейгидовъ или Буидовъ. Если заключать о рѣдкости такихъ кладовъ по извѣстіямъ объ ихъ находкахъ появляющимся въ печати, то слѣдовало бы признать ихъ крайне рѣдкими, ибо извѣстій о нихъ въ печати почти не встрѣчается. У Френа (въ *Recensio Nummorum* и *Nova Supplementa ad Rec.*) описано очень не много монетъ этого отдѣла. П. С. Савельевъ описалъ подъ именемъ «Казанскаго клада» только одинъ кладъ, найденный въ 1855 году въ Казанской губерніи, содержавшій диргеми Буидовъ (См. Труды Вост. Отд. И. А. О. Ч. III), а между тѣмъ эти монеты представляютъ значительный интересъ, ибо царствованіе этой династіи продолжалось болѣе ста лѣтъ (933—1058) и имѣло огромное вліяніе на судьбу Восточнаго халифата, ибо Буиды *de facto* владѣли Багдадомъ, подъ титуломъ «Эмиръ эль умера». Ихъ монеты отличаются особеннымъ изобиліемъ украшающихъ ихъ надписей и это обстоятельство вызвало на попытку правильного ихъ классифицированія и составленія отдѣльной монографіи ихъ. Такой попыткой составленія монографіи Буидскихъ монетъ былъ трудъ датскаго ученаго Линдберга, появившійся въ 1844 году, въ *Mémoires de la société royale des Antiquaires du Nord*. («Essai sur les monnaies coufiques frappées par les Émirs de la famille des Bouides et les princes de leur dépendance»; par Jac. Chr. Lindberg.) Въ настоящее время это сочиненіе, вслѣдствіе ограниченнаго числа монетъ Буидовъ, бывшихъ извѣстными въ то время, оказывается уже недостаточнымъ для классификаціи монетъ этой династіи и, еще болѣе, потому, что авторъ имѣлъ въ виду только одну главную вѣтвь фамиліи, оставляя прочія въ сторонѣ; а между тѣмъ, въ кладахъ попадаются монеты и эмировъ, неупомянутыхъ Линдбергомъ.

Въ Казанской губерніи, время отъ времени открываются клады, относящіяся ко второй половинѣ и къ концу X вѣка. Въ нихъ встрѣчаются монеты послѣднихъ Саманидовъ, Дайлемитовъ и Буидовъ. Кромѣ упомянутого

«Казанскаго клада», найденнаго въ 1855 году и описаннаго П. С. Савельевымъ, мнѣ известно еще три случая находки такихъ кладовъ. Первый былъ открытъ въ 1856 году въ дачѣ сельца Маклашеевки, Трехъ-озерской волости, Спасскаго уѣзда. Насколько можно судить по рассказамъ, то по количеству монетъ этотъ кладъ былъ очень значителенъ; но всѣ монеты изъ него куда то сгинули безслѣдно, кромѣ одной, которую спустя нѣсколько мѣсяцевъ послѣ находки, мнѣ удалось получить и то съ большими затрудненіями и опасеніемъ, какъ бы не провѣдалъ становой о происхожденіи этой монеты. Второй, извѣстный мнѣ кладъ, былъ найденъ въ 1862 году въ дачѣ сельца Бальмеры, Трехъ-озерской волости, Спасскаго уѣзда. Въ этомъ кладѣ были диргемы цѣльныя и разрубленныя на части. Количество монетъ было тоже значительно; но я не имѣлъ возможности видѣть весь кладъ въ полномъ составѣ, ибо находчики тотчасъ же подѣлили его между собой и успѣли многое продать какимъ то татарамъ заволжскимъ, разбѣзжающимъ по базарамъ. Мнѣ удалось розыскать и купить изъ этого клада всего только 48 цѣльныхъ диргемовъ и нѣсколько разрубленныхъ на части. Преобладающимъ контингентомъ втораго клада были диргемы династін Буидовъ. Впрочемъ то-же было и въ первомъ кладѣ. Свѣдѣнія объ этихъ обоихъ кладахъ были сообщены мною въ 1866 году въ Императорское Археологическое Общество и напечатаны въ VI т. «Извѣстій» этого Общества (стр. 243—244, отд. 2. «Извѣстіе о нѣкоторыхъ кладахъ Восточныхъ монетъ, въ Казанской губерніи»).

Недавно я узналъ объ открытіи еще одного клада изъ такихъ монетъ, въ предѣлахъ Казанской губерніи. Въ февралѣ 1886 года въ Казани, въ витринѣ у одного мѣнялы были замѣчены «восточныя» монеты. Получивъ объ этомъ свѣдѣніе, я выразилъ желаніе ихъ разсмотрѣть и онѣ были ко мнѣ доставлены въ числѣ семи экземпляровъ. Изъ этихъ монетъ шесть оказались буидскими и одна дайлемвтская. Такъ какъ всѣ экземпляры были четкіе, то я и купилъ ихъ. По словамъ мѣнялы эти монеты лежали у него уже болѣе полугода и никто, въ теченіи этого времени, не пожелалъ ихъ купить. Онъ сообщалъ, что монеты происходятъ изъ клада, который былъ найденъ въ Чистопольскомъ уѣздѣ, лѣтомъ 1885 года; но свѣдѣнія не шли далѣе и казалось, нельзя было имѣть надежды узнать, что нибудь болѣе подробно объ этомъ кладѣ. Спустя нѣкоторое время, однакоже, обнаружилось, что купленные мною монеты не были собственностью этого мѣнялы, а лишь поручены ему для продажи однимъ изъ городскихъ казанскихъ татаръ, занимающихся скупкой и перепродажей стараго серебра для переплавки. Они разбѣзжаютъ, въ извѣстное время года, по всей губерніи и скупаютъ цѣныя находки у крестьянъ. Въ татарскихъ деревняхъ у нихъ

есть свои агенты, которые собирают для них такие находки в окрестных селениях и на базарах у русских находчиков. Как скоро сделалось известным, что восточные монеты у мьялы были проданы мѣ, то действительный их хозяин, купивший их в г. Чистополѣ у находчика, или своего агента, успѣшил обратиться къ нему за тѣмъ, чтобы купить весь кладъ, который и былъ доставленъ въ концѣ марта въ Казань. За тѣмъ, онъ былъ принесенъ ко мѣ и я имѣлъ возможность разсмотрѣть его въ полномъ составѣ. Кладъ этотъ оказался не великъ: онъ состоялъ только изъ 52 диргемовъ, которые были все цѣльные; разрубленныхъ на куски монетъ здѣсь не было; только нѣкоторые экземпляры, преимущественно изъ наиболее древнихъ, были просверлены, или пробиты однимъ, или нѣсколькими отверстіями, изъ чего должно заключать, что нѣкоторое время въ древности, они служили какъ предметы для убранства. Это очень характерно для здѣшняго края, ибо въ этомъ замѣчается совершенная аналогія съ тѣмъ, что можно наблюдать на джучидскихъ монетахъ, находимыхъ въ почвѣ, въ кладахъ, и съ тѣмъ, что мы видимъ здѣсь и нынѣ. Между серебряной ходячей монетой, обращающейся въ здѣшнемъ краѣ, нерѣдко можно встрѣтить экземпляры пробитые, между которыми попадаются и старинныя монеты и. пр. изъ прошлаго столѣтія. Эти пробитые экземпляры употреблялись у инородческихъ племенъ, нѣкоторое время, какъ предметы убранства женскаго наряда; а затѣмъ, по мѣрѣ обѣдненія, снимались владѣльцами съ убора и снова пускались въ обращеніе. Вотъ обычный, который существуетъ въ здѣшнемъ краѣ уже около тысячи лѣтъ!

Большая часть монетъ въ кладѣ состояла изъ четкихъ экземпляровъ и только 15 штукъ оказалось не четкихъ. Исключивъ изъ клада эти послѣдніе, я купилъ все четкіе экземпляры для своей коллекціи. Между монетами династїи Бупдовъ не часто встрѣчаются совершенно четкіе экземпляры, ибо вообще эти диргеи были чеканены безъ особенной аккуратности; а между тѣмъ штемпели ихъ бывали очень хорошо вырѣзаны и изобилуютъ легендами. Находку въ кладѣ четкихъ экземпляровъ можно было признать очень удачною. Весь этотъ небольшой кладъ состоялъ изъ диргемовъ саманидскихъ и подражаній имъ въ видѣ брактеатовъ, диргемовъ буидскихъ и дайлемитскихъ. Старѣйшая изъ монетъ относится къ 303 году гиджры (= 915, 6 Хр. л.); новѣйшая — къ 384 г. г. (= 994 Хр. л.). Но самое образованіе клада должно было послѣдовать между 367—384 г. г., ибо древнѣйшія монеты попали въ кладъ случайно, будучи сняты съ уборовъ и снова пущены въ обращеніе, какъ это было объяснено выше. Сокрытіе же клада могло послѣдовать не ранѣе 384 г. г. Обстоятельства, при которыхъ былъ найденъ кладъ, остались совершенно неизвѣстными, также, какъ и

болѣе опредѣленнаго указанія на мѣсто находки мы не могли добиться отъ продавца татарина, а потому оставляемъ за этимъ кладомъ наименованіе «*Чистопольскаго*».

Приступая къ описанію монетъ изъ этого клада, считаемъ необходимымъ упомянуть, что четкими экземплярами кувическихъ диргемовъ считаются тѣ, на которыхъ сохранились собственные имена эмировъ, халифовъ, годовыя даты и названіе мѣста, гдѣ была чеканена монета. Все остальное можно считать несущественнымъ, такъ какъ всѣ эти диргеи были чеканены по одному образцу. Верхняя круговая легенда на лицевой сторонѣ и круговая легенда на оборотѣ содержатъ постоянно одинъ и тѣ-же надписи, взятая изъ корана: такъ, на Л. воспроизводится всегда 4 и 5 стихъ изъ 30-й суры; а на О. изъ 9-го стиха 33-ей суры и 9-го же стиха 61-й суры. Начало внутренней круговой легенды на Л. тоже всегда содержитъ одну и ту же фразу: «Во имя Аллаха выбитъ этотъ диргеиъ». Поэтому при описаніи монетъ, придерживаясь общепринятаго правила, мы приводимъ только одинъ существенныя части монетныхъ легендъ.

Купленные мною монеты распредѣляются въ слѣдующемъ порядкѣ:

## САМАНИДЫ.

Насръ, сынъ Ахмеда.

цар. 301—331 г. г. (= 914—943 Хр. л.)

№ 1.

*Самаркандъ* 303 г. г. (= 915, 6 Хр. л. См. Рес. р. 73, № 156. Tornberg, «Numi Sifici numophyl. Holm.», № 247. В. Г. Тизенгаузенъ «О Саман. мон.» стр. 141, № 2. — Этотъ экземпляръ пробитъ двумя отверстиями. Вѣсъ: 68 долей.

\*№ 2.

*Шанъ* 308 г. г. (= 920, 1 Хр. л.). Это брактеевъ, скопированный съ Л. неизданнаго диргеи Насра. Въ Рес. р. 81, № 195 описанъ шанскій диргеиъ 308 г. г.; но легенда на нашемъ брактеевъ, содержащая указаніе мѣста чекана и годовой даты, отличается отсутствіемъ соединительнаго, между числительными именами<sup>1)</sup>. Монетная пластинка настолько толста, что

1) Сравни. Fraehn, Рес. р. 54, n° 69.

вѣсь ея, въ 66 долей, почти равняется настоящему диргему. Брактеатъ этотъ не пробитъ и это очень странно, ибо назначеніе подобныхъ куваческихъ брактеатовъ, повидимому, было именно служить предметами убранства для женскихъ нарядовъ.

**Нухъ, сынъ Насра.**

цар. 331—343 г. г. (= 943—954 Хр. л.)

№ 3.

*Самаркандъ* 333 г. г. (= 944, 5 Хр. л.). Брактеатъ, копированный, вѣроятно, съ Л. диргема описаннаго у Tornberg, Num. Suf. № 492 и В. Г. Тизенгаузена 1. с. стр. 187, № 3. Этотъ экземпляръ пробитъ двумя отверстіями. Вѣсь: 45 долей.

№ 4.

*Самаркандъ* 339 г. г. (= 950, 1 Хр. л.). На Л. подъ символомъ  $\text{عع}$  (или  $\text{عع}^?$ ). См. Rec. p. 572, № 258, а. Tornberg 1. с. № 519. В. Г. Тизенгаузенъ, стр. 199, № 1. Этотъ экз. не пробитъ; но съ одной стороны край его обломанъ и потому можно думать, что тутъ было придѣлано ушко, которое отломали, пуская снова въ оборотъ эту монету. Вѣсь: 90 долей.

**Нухъ, сынъ Мансура.**

царств. 366—387 г. г. (= 976—997).

№ 5.

*Шахъ* 367 г. г. (= 977, 8 Хр. л.). На Л. сверху надъ символомъ  $\text{عع}$ ; въ низу:  $\text{بایق}$ . См. Tornberg, 1. с. № 577. В. Г. Тизенгаузенъ, стр. 228. Этотъ экз. пробитъ двумя отверстіями. Вѣсь: 64 доли.

№ 6.

*Самаркандъ* 374 г. г. (= 984, 5 Хр. л.). На Л. сверху надъ символомъ  $\text{عع}$ ; въ низу:  $\text{بیتق بالله}$ . См. П. С. Савельева, «Доп. къ опис. Сам. мон.», № 13. Вѣсь: 72 доли.



\*№ 7.

Л. Въ полѣ:

لا اله الا	т. е.	«Нѣтъ бога кромѣ
الله وحده		Аллаха Единого
لا شريك له		Нѣтъ ему товарища».

Съверху عدل; вънизу شحذ т. е. سع<sup>1)</sup>. Во внутренней круговой надписи читается: بثلاثمائة و سبعين و ثلثماية, т. е. «въ Самаркандѣ, годъ триста семьдесятъ пять» (= 985, 6 Хр. л.).

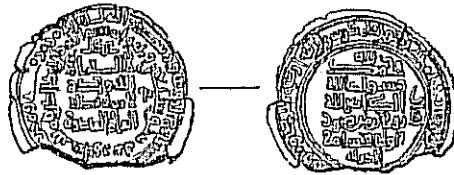
О. Въ полѣ:

الله	т. е.	«Аллаху!
محمد رسول الله		Мухаммедъ посолъ Аллаха
الطابع لله		Эт-Тан-Дилляхъ
الملك المنصور		Царь побѣдоносный
نوح بن منصور		Нухъ сынъ Мансура».

Въ полѣ, вънизу, подъ буквой ن слова بن, есть маленькая буква, или знакъ و (?).

Незаданный. Вѣсъ: 77 долей.

\*№ 8.



Л. Въ полѣ символъ, какъ на предыдущемъ, съверху عدل, т. е. «Правосудіе»; вънизу الملك المنصور т. е. «Царь побѣдоносный»; съ права знакъ ع (или ح?). Во внутренней круговой надписи читается: بنيسابور سنة ست و سبعين و ثلثماية, т. е. «въ Нисабурѣ, годъ триста семьдесятъ шесть» (= 986, 7 Хр. л.).

1) Это слово, которое можетъ означать или имя собственное «Савдъ», или нарицательное «благополучіе», встрѣчается также на самаркандскомъ дирхемѣ 376 года, принадлежащемъ Импер. Эрмитажу. (D. T.)

О. Въ полѣ:

الله	т. е. «Аллаху! <sup>1)</sup>
محمد	Мухаммедъ
رسول الله	посолъ Аллаха
الطابع لله	Эт-Тап-Дилляхъ
نوح بن منصور	Нухъ сынъ Мансура
الولى حسام	Правитель Хусамъ
الدولة	эд-дауле ( <i>Мечь Государства</i> ).

Съ права въ полѣ вертикально поставленное слово *اقبال* «благоденствіе»<sup>2)</sup>. Этотъ диргеми отличается очень красивой и старательной рѣзкой штемпелей. Титуль «Царь побѣдоносный», поставленный на Л, подъ символомъ, относится къ имени эмира Нуха II, стоящему на О. подъ именемъ халфа. Помѣщенное ниже «Правитель Хусамъ эд-дауле» подразумѣваетъ полководца Нухова, Абуль-Аббасъ Таши.

За исключеніемъ нѣкоторыхъ мелкихъ подробностей этотъ диргеми, по содержанию легенды сходенъ съ описаннымъ П. С. Савельевымъ, тоже нисабурскимъ диргемомъ; но тотъ экз. относится къ 377 г. г. (См. Извѣстія И. А. О. т. III, стр. 401, № 7.)

Неизданный. Вѣсъ: 77 долей.

\*№ 9.

Л. Напольная легенда, какъ на предъидущемъ. Во внутренней круговой надписи читается: ..... *بنيسابور سنة تسع و سبعين*, т. е. «въ Нисабурѣ годъ (триста) семьдесятъ девять» (= 989, 90 Хр. л.).

О. Въ полѣ:

الله	т. е. «Аллаху!
محمد	Мухаммедъ
رسول الله	посолъ Аллаха
الطابع لله	Эт-Тап-Дилляхъ
نوح بن منصور	Нухъ сынъ Мансура».

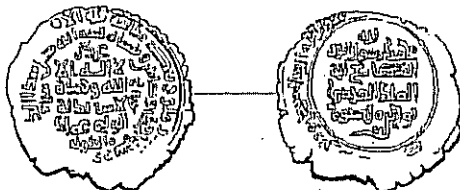
1) Т. е. *الله القدره* или *الله الحمد* и т. п.

2) Срав. Tornberg, Num. Cuf. n° 539, Pl. XII. Fraeln, Num. Cuf. n° 51.

Въ полѣ въ низу *اقبال*; съ лѣва вертикально: *حسم* (т. е. вѣроятно = *حسام*); съ права также: *الدولة*. Буква *و* не видна здѣсь потому, что въ этомъ мѣстѣ монета пробита. Повидимому на этомъ диргемѣ тоже читается титулъ «Хусамъ эд-дауле», принадлежавшій Абуль-Аббасу, который, по историческимъ извѣстиямъ, умеръ въ томъ же 379 г. Хотя этотъ диргемъ битъ тоже въ Нисабурѣ и тѣмъ же лицомъ, но рѣзьба штемпелей отличается отъ предыдущаго. Этотъ экз. пробить двумя отверстками.

Неизданный. Вѣсъ: 92 доли.

\*№ 10.



Л. Въ полѣ символъ въ трехъ строкахъ какъ на предыдущемъ. Подъ символомъ:

<i>الولى عماد</i>	т. е.	«Правитель Имадъ
<i>الدولة</i>		эд-дауле».

Послѣдняя строка начертана мелкимъ шрифтомъ и, вѣроятно въ видѣ украшенія, въ началѣ ея прибавлено *о*. Съ верху надъ символомъ стоитъ *عدل*; съ лѣва вертикально: буква *س*, или *سيم* (?); съ права: *حر*. Концы этихъ буквъ украшены арабесочными орнаментами.

Во внутренней круговой надписи читается: *...سنة احدى وثمانين وثلثمائة* т. е. «... годъ триста восемьдесятъ одинъ» (= 991, 2 Хр. л.).

О. Въ полѣ:

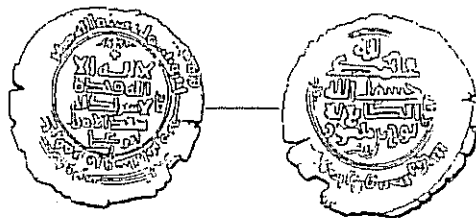
<i>الله</i>	т. е.	«Аллаху!
<i>محمد رسول الله</i>		Мухаммедъ посолъ Аллаха
<i>الطابع لله</i>		Эт-Тай-Лилляхъ
<i>الملك المنصور</i>		Царь побѣдоносный
<i>نوح بن منصور</i>		Нухъ сынъ Мансура».

Конецъ буквы *ن* слова *بن* протянуть къ низу и заканчивается арабесочной завитушкой. Имя Халифа начертано здѣсь особенно вычурнымъ шрифтомъ. Къ сожалѣнню мѣсто чекана остается неизвѣстнымъ.

Лице, упоминаемое здѣсь подъ именемъ *Имадъ эд-дауле*, т. е. «Подпора государства», долженъ быть извѣстный саманидскій полководецъ Абу Али изъ фамиліи Симджуръ, которому, по извѣстію Ибнъ Халдуна, Нухъ II далъ этотъ титулъ. Абу Али отличался очень мятежнымъ духомъ и былъ антагонистомъ другаго полководца саманидовъ Абуль-Аббасъ Таша, титулъ котораго, *Хусамъ эд-дауле*, читается на двухъ предъидущихъ нисабурскихъ диргемахъ. До сихъ поръ еще не было извѣстно саманидскаго диргема, чеканеннаго Абу-Алиемъ съ этимъ титуломъ и несомнѣнной годовой датой. Академикомъ Фрэнгомъ (во 2 т. Bull. hist. phil. p. 117—118) упоминается одинъ диргема, чеканенный въ Шашѣ; но съ сомнительнымъ годовымъ числомъ 368, или 389. По описанію содержаніе наноленной легенды на Л. походить на нашъ диргема; но Френъ сомнѣвался, слѣдуетъ ли имя Имадъ эд-дауле отнести къ Абу-Алию Симджуръ или же къ сопернику Бундскому эмиру. (См. В. Г. Тизенгаузена, о Сам. мон. стр. 235). П. С. Савельевъ тоже говоритъ, что этого титула не встрѣчается на монетахъ съ именемъ Абу-Алія и, только на одной, шашской монетѣ 368 — 378 г. г. находится, подъ символомъ, нечеткое имя Имадъ эд-дауле, можетъ быть, упомянутый титулъ Абу-Алія (См. Извѣстія И. А. О. т. III, стр. 402). Нашъ экземпляръ диргема, за исключеніемъ имени мѣста чеканки, представляетъ совершенно ясное чтеніе легенды и кромѣ того, что на Л. читается: الولی عباد الدوله, въ разбросанныхъ по полю букввахъ: <sup>1)</sup>سیمع, не слѣдуетъ ли читать *Симджуръ*, какъ точное указаніе лица, которому принадлежалъ титулъ «Имадъ эд-дауле»? Такимъ образомъ нашъ диргема представляетъ значительный интересъ, какъ нумизматическій документъ, подтверждающій извѣстіе Ибнъ Халдуна.

Неизданный. Вѣсъ: 96 долей.

\* № 11.



1) Это имя пишется обыкновенно سیمجور; но здѣсь, м. б. для краткости, опущены гласныя: <sup>س</sup> въ первомъ слогѣ и <sup>و</sup> во второмъ?

Л. Въ полѣ сверху орнаментъ; подъ нимъ:

لا اله الا	т. е.	«Нѣтъ бога, кромѣ
الله وحده		Аллаха Единаго
لا شريك له		Нѣтъ ему товарища.
سيد الامرا		Глава Эмировъ
ابو علي		Абу-Али».

Съ права, въ полѣ есть еще что-то въ родѣ монограммы  $\text{عباد}^{\text{ع}}$  (?); съ лѣва — сглажено.

Во внутренней круговой надписи читается:  $\text{سنة اثنان وثمانين}^{\text{س}}$  (sic)  $\text{بمسرو}^{\text{ب}}$  (sic), т. е. «въ Мерви, годъ триста восемьдесятъ два» (= 992 Хр. л.).

О. Въ полѣ:

الله	т. е.	«Аллаху!
محمد		Мухаммедъ
رسول الله		посоль Аллаха.
الطابع لله		Ат-Тайп-Лилляхъ.
نوح بن منصور		Нухъ, сынъ Мансура».

По обѣимъ сторонамъ въ полѣ находятся еще какія-то вертикально поставленныя слова, начертанныя мелкимъ шрифтомъ и не совсѣмъ ясныя въ слѣдствіе того, что были неудачно оттиснуты при чеканкѣ; но кажется однакоже, что это извѣстная формула «уповаетъ на Аллаха», начинающаяся появляться на саманидскихъ диргемахъ съ царствованія эмира Мансура I, сына Нуха I. Здѣсь съ лѣва стояло  $\text{يثق}$ , съ права —  $\text{بالله}$ .

Упоминаемый на Л. этого диргема Абу-Али долженъ быть тотъ же Абу-Али ибнъ Абилъ Хасанъ Симджуръ, который подъ именемъ «Имадъ эд-дауле» уже встрѣтился на предъидущемъ диргемѣ. Онъ былъ настолько опасенъ своимъ стремленіемъ къ самовластію, что Нухъ II былъ вынужденъ отдать ему въ управленіе Хорасанъ, гдѣ онъ вскорѣ поставилъ себя на высоту почти независимаго правителя. П. С. Савельевъ, описывая другой мервскій диргемъ, чеканенный въ 383 г. г., читая на Л. подъ символомъ  $\text{سيف} \parallel \text{الامة} \parallel \text{ابو علي}$  т. е. *мечъ народа* (мусульманскаго) *Абу-Али* и, ссылаясь на Мархонда, говорить, что Нухъ II б. Мансуръ, надѣясь болѣе

1) Тутъ или штемпель соскочилъ или-же первая буква есть окончаніе *лима*, обращенное вверхъ.

привлечь къ себѣ Абу-Алія, дать ему титулъ *أمیر الامرا*, т. е. «эмира надъ эмирами» и почетное прозвище *الموید من السبا*, т. е. «оспомоществующій небомъ». Что касается до перваго титула «Эмиръ эль-умера», то онъ былъ придуманъ въ 324 г. г. (= 935 Хр. л.) багдадскимъ халифомъ Эр-Рады-билляхомъ и, кажется, исключительно раздавался самими халифами. По этому едва ли владѣтельные эмиры могли осмѣлиться вступитъ въ конкуренцію съ халифомъ въ раздачѣ этого титула. Но наша монета указываетъ, что былъ придуманъ, въ данномъ случаѣ, другой титулъ, по значенію своему не только не уступавшій «Эмиръ эль-умера», но, даже, какъ бы болѣе сильный: «Сейидъ эль-умера» или «Глава эмировъ». Такимъ образомъ тщеславіе Абу-Алія было удовлетворено въ полной мѣрѣ, безъ нарушенія уваженія къ халифу. Не слѣдуетъ ли полагать, что Мирхондъ смѣшалъ здѣсь оба титула, что было не трудно, такъ какъ «Эмиръ эль-умера» былъ титулъ очень извѣстный, а «Сейидъ эль-умера», равносильный по значенію, былъ специально придуманъ для Абу-Алія Симджура. П. С. Савельевъ, описывая два диргема (мервскій и эндерабскій), на которыхъ предполагаетъ читать *الامة سيف*, т. е. «мечъ народа (мусульманскаго)», упоминаетъ, что въ титулѣ Абу-Алія не совсѣмъ ясны буквы: *سيف* слова *سيف* и конечное *ة* слова *الامة*, такъ что первое слово *можно бы, пожалуй, читать не сейфъ, а سيد* «владыка»; но такой титулъ едва ли можно допустить» (См. Извѣстія И. А. О. т. III, стр. 402). Онъ не рѣшался допустить такой титулъ въ связи съ слѣдующимъ словомъ, которое ему казалось *الامة*; но наша монета, по ясности начертанія, не допускаетъ никакого сомнѣнія въ томъ, что это послѣднее слово есть *الامرا*. Что касается до перваго слова, то оно также несомнѣнно есть *سید*; но объ этомъ, какъ видно, догадывался уже самъ П. С. Савельевъ. Такимъ образомъ нашъ диргеми составляетъ важный нумизматическій документъ, который побуждаетъ оставить чтеніе титула «мечъ народа (мусульманскаго)» и принять другое: «Глава эмировъ», что можетъ послужить и къ исправленію невѣрнаго извѣстія у Мирхонда.

Неизданный. Вѣсъ: 89 долей <sup>1)</sup>.

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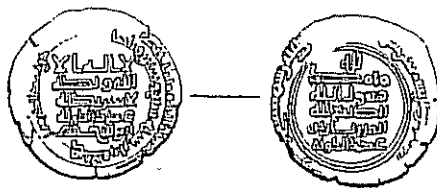
<sup>1)</sup> Срав. подобный-же Нисабурскій диргеми 376 года, описанный Ленъ-Пуземъ. Catal. II, n<sup>o</sup> 418. (В. Т.)

БУИДЫ.

Азадъ <sup>1)</sup> эд-дауле.

нар. 366 — 372 г.г. (976 — 982 Хр. л.)

\*№ 12.



Л. Въ полѣ:

لا اله الا	т. е.	«Нѣтъ бога, кромѣ
الله وحده		Аллаха Единого
لا شريك له		нѣтъ Ему товарища.
عضد الدولة		Азадъ эд-дауле
ابو شجاع		Абу Шоджа'».

Во внутренней круговой надписи читается: *...من الاهواز سنة سبع و ثمانين و ثلثماية*, т. е. въ (Густерѣ) что въ *эль-Ахвазъ*, годъ триста шестьдесятъ семь» (= 977 Хр. л.).

О. Въ полѣ:

الله	т. е.	«Аллаху!
محمد		Мухаммедъ
رسول الله		посоль Аллаха
الطابع لله		Эт-Тан-Лилляхъ.
المرزبان بن		Эль-Марзабанъ, сынъ
عضد الدولة		Азадъ эд-дауле».

Это весьма интересный диргеми, выбитый Азадъ эд-даулемъ, въ-роитво, по случаю отдачи въ управленіе своему старшему сыну Абу Ка-

<sup>1)</sup> Имя этого эмира Линдбергъ и П. С. Савельевъ читаютъ *Ададъ*. Френцъ — *Asad*. Кажется, что наиболее точное произношеніе должно быть *Азадъ*.

лиджаръ (или Калинджаръ) Марзабану. Но, можетъ быть также это сопоставленіе имени Марзабана съ именемъ Халифа не означаетъ ли, что онъ считался назначеннымъ наследникомъ престола? Онъ дѣйствительно, по смерти Азадъ эд-дауле, въ 372 г. г. былъ избранъ ему преемникомъ подъ именемъ Самсамъ эд-дауле.

Неизданный. Вѣсъ: 108 долей.

\*№ 13.

Л. Въ погѣ:

لا اله الا الله (sic)	т. е.	«Нѣтъ бога, кромѣ Аллаха
وحده لا شريك له		Единого, нѣтъ Ему товарища.
الملك عضد الدولة		Царь Азадъ эд-дауле
وتاج الملة		Вѣнецъ религіи
ابو شجاع		Абу Шоджа
بويه		Бувейгъ».

Съ верху, надъ символомъ поставлена буква  $\delta$ .

Во внутренней круговой надписи читается: .....بمدينة السلام سنة تسع  
т. е. «въ Мединѣ эсселамъ (Багдадъ) годъ (триста шестьдесятъ) девять»  
(= 979 Хр. л.). Сотенное и десятичное числа не вышли на кружкѣ монеты.

О. Въ погѣ:

الله	т. е.	«Аллаху!
محمد		Мухаммедъ
رسول الله		посоль Аллаха
صلى الله		да благословить его Аллахъ
عليه وسلم		и да спасетъ его.
الطابع لله		Эт-Тап-Дилляхъ».

По содержанію и расположенію легендъ этотъ диргеми сходенъ съ № 72 Lindberg, l. c.; но отличается отъ него тѣмъ, что здѣсь на Л. надъ символомъ находится знакъ въ видѣ буквы  $\delta$ , о чемъ у Линдберга не упоминается, а также неправильностью начертанія слова «الله» въ первой строкѣ символа; оно здѣсь начертано безъ | въ началѣ. По этому можно думать, что нашъ экземпляръ составляетъ новый вариантъ.

Въ 369 г. г. Халифъ Эт-Тап-Дилляхъ вступилъ въ супружество съ дочерью Азадъ эд-дауле, который, по этому случаю, былъ удостоенъ Ха-



лифомъ особыхъ почестей. Въ это время, по сказанію Эльмакна (Hist. Sarac. p. 236 — 237) Азадъ эд-дауле принялъ титулы **تاج الله** и **الملك**. Последнее слово во второмъ титулѣ на всѣхъ, видѣнныхъ нами, диргемахъ Азадъ эд-дауле вездѣ пишется **الله**, совершенно такъ, какъ оно записано у Френа (Schediasm. p. 42) и Линдбергъ совершенно напрасно сомнѣвался въ правильности транскрипціи Френа. По мнѣнію Линдберга эти диргема были выбиты Азадъ эд-даулемъ по случаю принятія имъ новыхъ титуловъ и онъ помѣстилъ свое имя отдѣльно отъ имени Халифа, которое стоитъ вмѣстѣ съ именемъ Пророка, для того, чтобы этимъ своимъ смиреніемъ, выразить большее почтеніе къ Халифу. — Судя по легковѣсности нашего диргема, слѣдовало бы заключать, что это половинный диргема.

Неизданный вариантъ. Вѣсъ: 48 долей.

\*№ 14.

Л. Въ полѣ:

لا اله الا	т. е.	«Нѣтъ бога, кромѣ
الله وحده		Аллаха Единаго
لا شريك له		нѣтъ Ему товарища.
الطابع لله		Эт-Тан-Дилляхъ».

Вокругъ этой легенды, въ полѣ, разставлены еще слова: съ верху «...; съ права **حو**, съ лѣва **ح**.

Во внутренней круговой надписи читается: **بأمر سنة سبعين**, т. е. «въ Амоль годъ (триста) семьдесятъ» (= 980 Хр. л.).

О. Въ полѣ:

الله	т. е.	«Аллаху!
محمد رسول الله		Мухаммедъ посолъ Аллаха
عضد الدولة		Азадъ эд-дауле
وتاج الله		Вѣнецъ религін
ابو شجاع		Абу Шоджа».

Городъ Амоль былъ главнымъ городомъ Табаристанской области, которая вмѣстѣ съ Джорджаномъ въ то время составляла владѣнія Дайлемитскаго эмира Кабуса, подъ верховной властью Азадъ эд-даула. Владѣнія Дайлемитовъ были у нихъ завоеваны еще Рокнъ эд-даулемъ, отнявшимъ у нихъ Испагань, Рей и Джебаль. Изъ прежнихъ владѣній эмирамъ этой династіи были предоставлены только двѣ вышеупомянутыя области,

которыми они владѣли, хотя въ зависимости отъ Буидовъ, но съ правомъ чеканить монету, выставляя на ней и свое имя. На этомъ диргемѣ имени Кабуса не значится, также какъ и на другой извѣстной монетѣ, чеканенной въ томъ же 370 г. г. въ Джорджавѣ. (См. Lindberg, l. c. № 74). Это можетъ объясниться тѣмъ, что Азадъ эд-дауле, въ отпущение Кабусу за то, что онъ принялъ и укрылъ у себя брата его Фахръ эд-дауля, изгнаннаго Азадомъ въ 369 г. г. изъ его владѣній, Гамадана и Джебалл, направилъ свои войска на владѣнія Кабуса и отнялъ ихъ у него. Абульфеда (Ann. Musl. II, p. 548) относитъ это событіе къ 371 г. г. Но монеты служатъ доказательствомъ, что это должно было произойти уже въ 370 г. г. и вѣроятно въ концѣ этого года, ибо есть джорджанскій диргемъ, битый Кабусомъ въ томъ же 370 г. г. На это указываетъ Линдбергъ.

Неизданный. Вѣсъ: 92 доли<sup>1)</sup>.

#### Мувейедъ эд-дауле

подъ верховной властью Азадъ-эд-дауля.

\*№ 15.

Л. Въ полѣ:

لا اله الا الله	т. е.	«Нѣтъ бога, кромѣ
الله وحده		Аллаха Единого,
لا شريك له		нѣтъ Ему товарища.
مريد الدولة		Мувейедъ-эд-дауле
ابو منصور		Абу-Мансуръ».

Съверху надъ символомъ поставлена буква ڪ (? د).

Во внутренней круговой надписи читается: *يقومس سنة ثمان وستين و ثلاثمائة*, т. е. «въ Куμισѣ, годъ триста (шестьдесятъ) восемь» (= 978 Хр. л.).

О. Въ полѣ:

(الله	т. е.	«Аллаху!
محمد رسول الله		Мухаммедъ посолъ Аллаха)
الطابع لله		Эт-Тан-Ляляхъ
الملك السيد		Царь Властелинъ
عضد الدولة		Азадъ эд-дауле
وتاج الله		Вѣнецъ религiи».

1) Spahn, Fraehn, Bullet. scientif. IV, стр. 311, n<sup>o</sup> 13.

Мы привели выше, при описаніи монеты № 13 соображеніе Линдберга (l. c. p. 245), что титулы: **الملك** и **تاج الملك** Азадъ эд-дауле получилъ отъ Халифа по случаю выдачи своей дочери въ замужество за Халифа Эт-Тап-Лилляха. Но это событіе случилось въ 369 г. г.; а на этомъ диргемѣ, чеканенномъ несомнѣнно въ 368 г. г. уже находятся оба упомянутые титулы, изъ которыхъ первый **الملك السيد**, очевидно, принять въ подражаніе Саманидамъ, которые титуловали себя: **الامير السيد الملك الظفر**. Второе же почетное прозвище «Вънецъ религіи» было присвоено Азаду Халифомъ въ 368 г. г., слѣдовательно за годъ до женитьбы Халифа на дочери Азада, ибо Эльмакинъ, на котораго ссылается Линдбергъ, именно свидѣтельствуетъ, что въ 368 г. г. Эт-Тап-Лилляхъ возложилъ на *царя* Азадъ эд-дауля чтеніе актеинъ, каждую третью пятницу, — честь, которой до него не пользовался никто, даже тѣ лица, которыхъ Халифы назначали своими наследниками и соправителями. Кромѣ того Халифъ распорядился, чтобы сигналъ молитвы подавался барабаннымъ боемъ пять разъ въ сутки, съ вершины дворца, обитаемаго Азадъ эд-даулемъ (Hist. Sarac. p. 236—237). Это была другая почесть, которой до Азада эд-дауля никто не удостоивался. Линдбергъ говоритъ по этому поводу: «ce fait intéressant nous explique suffisamment la raison pourquoi il (Adhad) fut revêtu du titre d'honneur *l'ornement principal de la religion*» (Lindberg, l. c. p. 246). Совершенно справедливо; только наша монета, подтверждая извѣстіе Эльмакина, доказываетъ, что это почетное прозвище уже было принято Азадъ эд-даулемъ въ 368 г. г., т. е. годомъ ранѣе, нежели полагалъ Линдбергъ.

*Кумисъ* — мѣсто чекана, читаемое на этой монетѣ, есть имя провинціи въ Табаристанской областѣ (Ibn-Haukal, The Oriental Geogr. ed. Ouseley p. 175, 194). Слѣдовательно это была также отторгнутая часть владѣній Дайлемитовъ.

Неизданный. Вѣсъ: 56 долей.

\*№ 16.

Л. Надпись въ полѣ, какъ на предыдущемъ; но надъ символомъ нѣтъ никакого знака. Во внутренней круговой легендѣ содержится: **بالحمدية سنة تسع وستين وثلثمائة**, т. е. «въ Мухаммедіи, годъ триста шестьдесятъ девять» (= 979 Хр. л.).

О. Въ полѣ легенда, какъ на предыдущемъ.


Неизданный. Вѣсъ: 72 доли.

\*№ 17.

Содержаніе напольныхъ легендъ, какъ на предыдущемъ. Во внутренней круговой надписи содержится: *بک.....نة تسع وستين وثلثایة*, т. е. «*сз Д.....*, (го)дъ триста шестьдесятъ девять» (= 979 Хр. л.). Къ сожалѣнію названіе мѣста чеканки здѣсь неясно: можно разобрать только двѣ первыя буквы *ب*. Судя по размѣру пространства, занимаемаго словомъ, здѣсь могло бы быть *Дамеганъ* (?).

Неизданный. Вѣсъ: 118 долей.

\*№ 18.

Л. Надпись въ полѣ та же. Съ верху надъ символомъ орнаментъ . Съ лѣва, въ полѣ, вертикально поставлено слово *حال*<sup>1)</sup>. Во внутренней круговой легендѣ содержится *..... و سبعین و احدى سنة احدى*, т. е. «*сз Саріе*, годъ (триста) семьдесятъ одинъ» (= 981 Хр. л.).

О. Легенда въ полѣ, какъ на предыдущемъ. Штемпеля этого диргема вырѣзаны очень старательно и красиво.

Неизданный. Вѣсъ: 72 доли.

\*№ 19.

Л. Какъ на предыдущемъ и годовая дата та же; по имя мѣста чеканки не вышло.

О. Какъ на предыдущемъ.

Судя по характеру рѣзбы штемпелей и по близкому ихъ сходству во всѣхъ подробностяхъ съ штемпелями предыдущаго диргема, можно бы, кажется, заключать, что и этотъ экземпляръ чеканенъ въ Саріе, только вѣсъ его почти вдвое тяжелѣе предыдущаго.

Неизданный. Вѣсъ: 134 доли.

\*№ 20.

Л. Надпись въ полѣ, какъ на предыдущемъ. Съ верху надъ символомъ знакъ, похожій на букву *ص*. Во внутренней круговой легендѣ содер-

1) Крайне сомнительно (В. Т.).

жится: *وثلثاية و بامل سنة احدى وسبع*, т. е. «*оз Амоль*, годъ триста семь (десять) одинъ» (= 981 Хр. л.).

О. Какъ на предъидущемъ.

Неизданный. Вѣсъ: 95 долей<sup>1)</sup>.

\*№ 21.

Л. Напольная легенда та же, что на предъидущемъ. Во внутренней круговой надписи читается: *باصبهان سنة اثنتين وسبعين وثلثاية*, т. е. «*оз Исмаганъ*, годъ триста семьдесятъ два» (= 982 Хр. л.).

О. Какъ на предъидущемъ.

Неизданный. Вѣсъ: 110 долей.

\*№ 22.

Л. Въ полѣ та же легенда. Во внутренней круговой надписи читается: *..... بامل سنة اثنتين وسبعين*, т. е. «*оз Амоль*, годъ (триста) семьдесятъ два» (= 982 Хр. л.).

О. Какъ на предъидущемъ.

Неизданный. Вѣсъ: 92 доли.

\*№ 23.

Какъ предъидущій; чеканенъ тоже *оз Амоль* и въ томъ же 372 г. г.; но другіе штемпеля, лучше вырѣзанные; этотъ экземпляръ значительно легче вѣсомъ.

Неизданный. Вѣсъ: 74 доли.

Фахръ эд-дауле

цар. 373 — 387 г. г. (= 984 — 997 Хр. л.).

\*№ 24.

Л. Въ полѣ:

<i>لا اله الا</i>	т. е.	«Нѣтъ бога, кромѣ
<i>الله وحده</i>		Аллаха Единаго,
<i>لا شريك له</i>		нѣтъ Ему товарища.
<i>الطابع لله</i>		Эт-Тап-Дилляхъ».

1) Ср. Tiesenhansen, Mém. n° 61.

Съверху надъ символомъ, въ видѣ орнамента сгруппированы три точки (•••).

Во внутренней круговой надписи читается: *بجرجان سنة خمس وسبعين و* ثلاثماية, т. е. «въ Джорджанъ, годъ триста семьдесятъ пять» (= 985 Хр. л.).

О. Въ полѣ:

الله	т. е.	«Аллаху!
محمد رسول الله		Мухаммедъ посолъ Аллаха.
الامير السيد		Эмиръ Властелинъ
فخر الدولة		Фахръ эд-дауле
وفلك الامة بن		Небосклонъ народа, сынъ
ركن الدولة		Ронкъ эд-дауле».

Титулъ *الامير السيد*, читающійся здѣсь, который присвоилъ себѣ Фахръ эд-дауле, прямо заимствованъ у Саманидовъ, изъ которыхъ, кажется, Насръ II б. Ахмедъ былъ первымъ, принявшимъ этотъ титулъ, появившійся на его монетахъ съ 303 г. г. (См. Реє. р. 73, № 157).

Неизданный. Вѣсъ: 80 долей.<sup>1)</sup>

#### № 25.

Л. Напольная легенда какъ на предъидущемъ. Во внутренней круговой надписи читается: *باستراباد سنة ثمان وسبعين وثلثماية*, т. е. «въ Астрабадъ, годъ триста семьдесятъ восемь» (= 988, 9 Хр. л.).

О. Содержаніе напольной легенды, какъ на предъидущемъ; но съ той разницей, что здѣсь слово *بن* поставлено въ началъ послѣдней строки. Вѣроятно этотъ диргемъ соответствуетъ описанному П. С. Савельевымъ. См. Извѣстія И. А. О. т. III, стр. 407, № 7. Вѣсъ: 84 дол.

#### № 26.

Диргемъ того же 378 г. г., чеканенный въ Джорджанъ *بجرجان*. Напольная легенды на обѣихъ сторонахъ, какъ на предъидущемъ. Подобный описанъ П. С. Савельевымъ, тамъ же № 6. Вѣсъ: 114 долей.

1) Сравн. Fraehn, въ *Bullet. histor.* IV, стр. 44, n<sup>o</sup> 2.

\*№ 27.

Л. Надпись въ полѣ, какъ на предъидущемъ. Во внутренней круговой надписи читается: *بِالدَامَغَانَ سَنَةِ تِسْعٍ وَسَبْعِينَ وَتَلْثَمِائَةٍ*), т. е. «*въ Дамеганъ, годъ триста семьдесятъ девять*» (= 989 Хр. л.).

О. Въ полѣ:

الله	т. е. «Аллаху!
محمد رسول الله	Мухаммедъ посолъ Аллаха.
الامير السيد	Эмиръ Властелинъ
فخر الدولة	Фахръ эд-дауле
وفلك الامة	Небосклонъ народа
بن ركن الدولة	сынъ Рокнъ эд-дауле.
نصر بن الحسن	Насръ сынъ Эль-Хасана.

Въ полѣ съ права есть знакъ, или буква *ق*. Дамеганъ былъ главный городъ области Кумисъ. Насръ, сынъ Эль-Хасана, имя котораго читается въ послѣдней строкѣ напоольной легенды на О. этого диргема, вѣроятно, былъ правителемъ этого города при Фахръ эд-дауле<sup>1)</sup>.

Неизданный. Вѣсъ: 110 долей.

\*№ 28.

Л. Напоольная легенда та же. Во внутренней круговой надписи содержится: *بِاسْتِرابَادِ سَنَةِ ثَمَانِينَ وَتَلْثَمِائَةٍ*), т. е. «*въ Астрабадъ, годъ триста восемьдесятъ*» (= 990 Хр. л.).

О. Въ полѣ:

الله	т. е. «Аллаху!
محمد رسول الله	Мухаммедъ посолъ Аллаха
الامير السيد	Эмиръ Властелинъ
شاهانشاه	Шаханшахъ
فخر الدولة	Фахръ эд-дауле
وفلك الامة	Небосклонъ народа,
بن ركن الدولة	сынъ Рокнъ эд-дауле».

<sup>1)</sup> Это, должно быть, тотъ самый Насръ, сынъ Эльхасана, сына Эльфирузана (*نصر بن الحسن بن الفيرزان*), который въ Эльдизеганѣ въ 378 году, по словамъ Ибнъ-Эль-Атира, возмутился противъ Фахръ-эдъ-дауле. *Ibn-el-Athir, Chron. IX, 41.* (В. Т.)

Титулъ *Шаханишахъ* повидимому былъ принятъ Фахръ эд-даулемъ въ 380 г. г., ибо на его диргемахъ онъ начинаетъ появляться только съ этого года. П. С. Савельевымъ былъ описанъ Астрабадскій диргема совершенно этого типа; но съ потертой годовой датой (См. I. с. № 13). Можетъ быть нашъ диргема представляетъ только болѣе полный экземпляръ того; однакоже утверждать этого нельзя, не видавъ самой монеты.

Неизданный. Вѣсъ: 110 долей.

\*№ 29.

Л. Надпись въ полѣ та-же; но здѣсь съверху надъ символомъ стоитъ *ع*. Во внутренней круговой надписи читается: *باسراباد سنة ثلث وثمانين* (sic) *وثلثماية*, т. е. «въ Астрабадѣ, годъ триста восемьдесятъ три» (= 993 Хр. л.).

О. Какъ на предыдущемъ и также съ титуломъ *Шаханишахъ*.

Неизданный. Вѣсъ: 102 доли.

\*№ 30.

Л. Напольная легенда та же; но съверху, надъ символомъ, здѣсь поставлено *ص*. Во внутренней круговой надписи содержится: *ببجران سنة اربع وثمانين وثلثماية*, т. е. «въ Джерджанѣ, годъ триста восемьдесятъ четыре» (= 994 Хр. л.).

О. Какъ на предыдущемъ и то же съ титуломъ *Шаханишахъ*.

Неизданный. Вѣсъ: 84 доли.

### Хосру-Фирузъ

подъ верховной властью Фахръ эд-дауле.

\*№ 31.

Л. Напольная легенда, не вполне отбившаяся при чеканкѣ:

لا اله الا.....	т. е.	«Нѣтъ бога кромѣ (Аллаха)
وحده لا.....		Единого, нѣтъ (Ему товарища).
الطا.....		Эт-Та(и-Лиллахъ)
خسر فيروز بن.....		Хосру-Пирузъ сынъ (Рокнъ эд-дауле).



Съверху надъ символомъ какой то знакъ к. Въ 4-й строкѣ надъ буквой *ل* помѣщенъ орнаментъ и послѣдняя строка, для того, чтобы помѣстить на ней все имя, начертана очень сжатымъ шрифтомъ. Во внутренней круговой надписи читается: *بأمر سنة ثلث وسبعين وثلثمائة*, т. е. «*амль*, годъ триста семьдесятъ три» (= 983 Хр. л.). Эта легенда вполне четкая и ясная.

О. На этой сторонѣ также неудачно отбита напольная легенда:

الله	т. е.	«Аллаху!
محمد رسول الله		Мухаммедъ посолъ Аллаха.
امير الامرا		Эмиръ Эмировъ
.....		..... (Власте)лингъ
ولة.....		..... уле».

Здѣсь не вышло собственнаго имени эмира; но можно догадываться, по сравненіи съ ниже слѣдующими, что оно должно быть Фахръ эд-дауле, ибо едва ли возможно предполагать, что здѣсь стояло имя Мувейедъ эд-дауле, умершаго въ этомъ же 373 г. г. Онъ жилъ не долго послѣ Азадъ эд-даули, и до сихъ поръ еще не было извѣстно монетъ, чеканенныхъ отъ его имени, какъ верховнаго эмира. У Мирхонда сохранилось извѣстіе, что по смерти Мувейедъ эд-даули, третьяго сына Рокнъ эд-дауля, былъ избранъ на царство второй сынъ — Фахръ эд-дауле, находившійся тогда въ Нисабурѣ; къ нему было отправлено посольство съ извѣщеніемъ о его избраніи, а до его прибытія, правителемъ, въ качествѣ намѣстника, былъ поставленъ четвертый и самый младшій сынъ Рокнъ эд-дауля — Хосру Фирузъ (См. П. С. Савельева. Извѣстія И. А. О. т. III, 1. с. стр. 407). Можетъ быть въ это-то время и былъ выпущенъ Хосру Фирузомъ этотъ диргеми въ имя Фахръ эд-дауля, какъ верховнаго эмира и потому ему присвоенъ здѣсь титулъ *Эмиръ эль-умера*. Все таки нельзя не пожалѣть, что этотъ интересный диргеми такъ неудачно отчеканился, тогда какъ штемпеля его были вырѣзаны очень тонко и старательно.

Неизданный <sup>1)</sup>. Вѣсъ: 126 долей.

1) Въ коллекціи проф. Карабачека находится Амольскій диргеми 373 года, но другаго типа, съ словомъ *كامل* надъ символомъ, которое Штиккель (Handbuch II, 31) приводитъ въ связь съ словомъ *كيل* (В. Т.).

\*№ 32.

Л. Въ полѣ:

لا اله الا	т. е.	«Нѣтъ бога, кромѣ
الله وحده		Аллаха Единаго
لا شريك له		нѣтъ Ему товарища:
خسر فيروز (sic)		Хосру Пирузъ
بن ركن الدولة		сынъ Рокнъ эд-дауле».

Во внутренней круговой надписи читается: *باصبهان سنة ثمان وسبعين*, т. е. «въ Испаннѣ, годъ триста семьдесятъ восемь» (= 988 Хр. л.).  
و ثلثماية

О. Въ полѣ:

الله	т. е.	«Аллаху!
محمد رسول الله		Мухаммедъ посолъ Аллаха
الطابع لله		Эт-Тап-Дилляхъ
الامير السيد		Эмиръ Властелинъ
فخر الدولة		Фахръ эд-дауле
وفلك الامة		Небосклонъ народа
بن ركن الدولة		сынъ Рокнъ эд-дауле».

Обыкновенно на диргемахъ Фахръ эд-дауле имя Халифа выставляется на Л. подъ символомъ, что и составляетъ особенность его монетныхъ легендъ, ибо въ сущности это неправильно. Трудно объяснить вслѣдствіе какихъ соображеній было это сдѣлано. Но на этой монетѣ, чеканеной Хосру Фирузомъ, имя Халифа совершенно правильно поставлено на О. подъ второй частью символа, вмѣстѣ съ именемъ Пророка и надъ именемъ царствующаго Эмира; въ этомъ отношеніи она составляетъ исключеніе изъ прочихъ монетъ, битыхъ при Фахрѣ эд-дауле.

По предсмертному распоряженію Рокнъ эд-даули, Испанганъ былъ отданъ въ удѣлъ Мувейедъ эд-даулю. Гамаданъ и Джебаль получили Фахръ эд-дауле. Но Азадъ эд-дауле въ 369 г. г. отнялъ у этого брата его владѣнія. По смерти Мувейедъ эд-дауля въ 373 г. г. Фахръ не только возвратилъ себѣ свои прежнія владѣнія, но завладѣлъ также и Испанганомъ, который вѣроятно былъ отданъ имъ въ управленіе младшему брату Хосру

Фиррузу. Описанный выше диргеъ доказываетъ, что въ 378 г. г. Хосру Фиррузъ управлялъ Испаганомъ. Кажется только у Мирхонда встрѣчается извѣстiе объ этомъ четвертомъ сынѣ Роквъ эд-даули. Линдбергъ, не пользовавшiйся пособiемъ этого историка, при составленiи краткаго очерка исторiи Буидовъ, вовсе не упоминаетъ о Хосру Фиррузѣ. Точно также не находимъ мы его имени и у Дегвина, въ его хронологическихъ и историческихъ таблицахъ царствовавшихъ на Востокѣ династiй. Но сомнѣнiе въ дѣйствительномъ существованiи этого принца становится невозможнымъ, когда имѣешь передъ глазами монеты съ его именемъ, гдѣ ясно обозначено, что онъ «сынъ Роквъ эд-даули».

Неизданный. Вѣсъ: 97 долей.

\*№ 33.

Л. Въ полѣ:

لا اله الا الله	т. е.	«Нѣтъ бога кромѣ Аллаха
وحده لا شريك له		Единого, нѣтъ Ему товарища.
الطابع لله		Эт-Тап-Млляхъ
خسرو فيروز		Хосру Фиррузъ
بن ركن الدولة		сынъ Рокнъ эд-дауле».

Во внутренней круговой надписи содержится: *بامل سنة ثمانين و ثلثماية*, т. е. «въ Амоль, годъ триста восемьдесятъ» (= 990 Хр. л.).

О. Въ полѣ:

الله	т. е.	«Аллаху!
محمد رسول الله		Мухаммедъ посолъ Аллаха.
الامير السيد		Эмиръ Властелинъ
شاهانشاه		Шаханшахъ
فخر الدولة		Фахръ эд-дауле
وفلك الأمة		Небосклонъ народа,
بن ركن الدولة		сынъ Рокнъ эд-дауле».

Эта монета доказываетъ, что Амоль находился также подъ управленіемъ Хосру Фирюза. На этомъ диргемѣ имя Халифа снова поставлено на Л., какъ на всѣхъ диргемахъ Фахръ эд-дауля; но подъ нимъ стоитъ имя Хосру Фирюза. Неизвѣстно, имѣеть ли это сопоставленіе именъ какое либо почетное значеніе для Хосру Фирюза, или же оно должно быть объяснено, просто, недостаткомъ мѣста для помѣщенія имени Халифа на Q.; по случаю прибавленія въ легендѣ лишней строчки съ титуломъ «Шаханшахъ». Вообще легенды титуловъ Фахръ эд-дауля такъ многословны, что для нихъ на штемпеляхъ едва доставало мѣста.

Неизданный. Вѣсъ: 102 доли.

\*№ 34.

Тамъ же и въ томъ же году выбитый диргемъ; но другихъ штемпелей и значительно меньшаго вѣса.

Неизданный. Вѣсъ: 83 доли.

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## ДАЙЛЕМИТЫ.

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### Бисутунъ

356 — 366 г. г. (= 966 — 976 Хр. л.)

подъ верховной властью Романъ эд-дауля.

\*№ 35.

Л. Въ полѣ:

لا اله الا	т. е.	«Нѣтъ бога, кромѣ
الله وحده		Аллаха Единаго,
لا شريك له		нѣтъ Ему товарища.
بيستون بن		Бисутунъ, сынъ
وشمكير		Вашмегира».

Передъ буквой و въ послѣдней строкѣ поставлены три точки (•••) Съ права, въ полѣ, вертикально начертано عدل.

Во внутренней круговой надписи читается: بامل سنة تسع وخسين وثلثماية : т. е. «въ Амолѣ, годъ триста пятьдесятъ девять» (= 969 Хр. л.).

О. Въ полѣ:

الله	т. с.	«Аллаху!
محمد		Мухаммедъ
رسول الله		посоль Аллаха.
المطيع لله		Эль-Мути-Дилляхъ.
رکن الدولة		Рокнъ эд-дауле
ابو علي بويه		Абу-Али Бувейгъ».

Бунды, обязанные своимъ возвышеніемъ владѣтельнымъ князьямъ Дайлемитскимъ, въ послѣдствіи оплатили имъ тѣмъ, что отняли у нихъ, въ концѣ концовъ, всѣ владѣнія. Борьба Рокнъ эд-дауля съ Вашмегиромъ, братомъ Мердавиджа, привела къ тому, что въ 351 г. г. (= 962 Хр. л.) и послѣднія владѣнія Дайлемитовъ, Табаристанъ и Джорджанъ, перешли во власть Вундовъ. Но Рокнъ эд-дауле не рѣшился, однакоже, пзгнать оттуда Вашмегира и оставилъ эти владѣнія ему и его дѣтямъ, съ подчиненіемъ верховной власти Бундовъ. Бисутунъ, старшій сынъ Вашмегира, наслѣдовалъ отцу въ 356 г. г. Около 361 г. г. онъ припаялъ титулъ «Загиръ эд-дауле» и съ того времени сталъ именоваться на монетахъ «Загиръ эд-дауле Абу Мансуръ Вашмегиръ». Нашъ диргемъ принадлежитъ къ первымъ годамъ его властвованія, когда онъ еще просто называлъ себя: «Бисутунъ, сынъ Вашмегира». Этотъ экземпляръ составляетъ варіантъ къ описанному у Линдберга № 53, находящемуся въ Датскомъ королевскомъ мицкабинетѣ, диргему (См. Lindberg, 1. с. Tab. XI, fig. 11). На нашемъ легенды тѣ же; но на О. нѣтъ орнамента въ полѣ съ права; а на Л. передъ именемъ وشكبير поставлены три точки (.), чего нѣтъ на томъ.

Неизданный варіантъ. Вѣсъ: 126 долей.

### Набусъ

366 — 371 г. г. (= 976 — 981 Хр. л.)

подъ верховной властью Азадъ эд-дауле.

\*№ 36.

Л. Въ полѣ:

لا اله الا	т. с.	«Нѣтъ бога, кромѣ
الله وحده		Аллаха Единого,
لا شريك له		нѣтъ Ему товарища.
قابوس بن وشكبير		Кабусъ, сынъ Вашмегира».

Послѣдняя строка вырѣзана мелкимъ шрифтомъ.

Во внутренней круговой надписи читается: *بأستراباد سنة سبع ستين ثلثاية*, т. е. «въ Астрабадѣ, годъ триста шестьдесятъ семь» (= 977 Хр. л.). Здѣсь числительныя начертаны безъ соединительныхъ *و* и вообще очень сжато по недостатку мѣста такъ, что *يه* слова *ثلثاية* сливается съ началомъ слова *بسم*.

О. Въ полѣ:

الله	т. е. «Аллаху!»
محمد رسول الله	Мухаммедъ посолъ Аллаха.
الطابع لله	Эт-Тап-Лилляхъ
عضد الدولة	Азадъ эд-дауле,
وتاج الملك	Вѣнецъ религiи,
ابو شجاع	Абу-Шоджа».

Послѣдняя строка и здѣсь начертана мелкимъ шрифтомъ:

За исключенiемъ годовой даты, этотъ диргемень во всемъ остальномъ сходенъ съ описаннымъ у Линдберга № 79.

Неизданный. Вѣсъ: 63 доли. Этотъ экземпляръ пробить однимъ отверстiемъ.

\*№ 37.

Л. Символь въ трехъ строкахъ, какъ на предъидущемъ. Подъ нимъ болѣе мелкимъ шрифтомъ: «Кабусъ, сынъ Вашмегира», тоже въ одну строку. Во внутренней круговой легендѣ читается: *بجرجان سنة ثمان ستين ثلثاية*, т. е. «въ Джорджисанѣ, годъ триста шестьдесятъ восемь» (= 978 Хр. л.). Здѣсь между числительными тоже пропущены *و*; но слова начертаны болѣе свободно и вполнѣ четко.

О. Въ полѣ легенда такая же, какъ на предъидущемъ диргеменѣ; подъ второй частью символа имена Халифа Эт-Тап-Лилляха и Азадъ эд-дауле Абу Шоджа, съ присоедиенiемъ титула «Вѣнецъ религiи».

Неизданный. Вѣсъ: 118 долей.

Между этими диргемами Кабуса замѣчается огромная разница въ вѣсѣ; но неизвѣстно, слѣдуетъ ли астрабадскiй диргемень считать за  $\frac{1}{2}$  диргема или джорджавскiй принимать за двойной диргемень. Подобная значительная разница въ вѣсѣ замѣчается и въ диргемахъ династiи Бундовъ, описанныхъ выше, и даже чеканенныхъ въ одномъ и томъ же мѣстѣ въ одинъ и тотъ же годъ. Ср. н. пр. № 18 и № 19, въ которыхъ первый вѣситъ только 72 доли,

тогда какъ во второмъ оказывается 134 доли. Было бы интересно разгадать причину такого колебанія въ вѣсѣ монетъ; но для этого необходимы особыя изслѣдованія, которыхъ, по настоящее время, производимо еще не было. Въ видахъ облегченія этой задачи въ будущемъ мы сочли полезнымъ сообщить вѣсъ каждой изъ описанныхъ здѣсь монетъ.

Для болѣе полной характеристики этого клада слѣдуетъ прибавить, что изъ 15-ти нечеткихъ экземпляровъ, 12 штукъ принадлежали Фахръ эд-даулю, а три остальные диргема — Мувейедъ эд-даулю.

Изъ описанныхъ здѣсь монетъ поваго «Чистопольскаго» клада можно видѣть, какъ много интереснаго содержалъ этотъ сравнительно небольшой кладъ. Всѣ монеты, которыя можно считать неизданными, въ описаніи отмѣчены звѣздочкой. Въ двухъ другихъ кладахъ изъ диргемовъ, относящихся къ той же эпохѣ, между монетами, которыя мнѣ удалось купить, я тоже нашелъ значительное число весьма интересныхъ монетъ. Такіе факты поддерживаютъ увѣренность, что каждый кладъ, относящійся къ этой эпохѣ, еще надолго, можетъ быть, будетъ въ состояніи представлять чтѣнибудь новое, доселѣ неизвѣстное наукѣ; но дѣло въ томъ, что не представляется никакой возможности услѣдить за находкой каждаго такого клада. Изъ приведенныхъ здѣсь извѣстій о находкѣ въ почвѣ Казанской губерніи кладовъ, относящихся ко второй половинѣ X вѣка, съ диргемами Саманидовъ и Бундовъ, можно заключать, что такія находки бывають очень рѣдки. Но мое сообщеніе касается только тѣхъ находокъ, о которыхъ было мнѣ лично извѣстно. Весьма возможно, что въ теченіи этого промежутка времени были открыты и другіе подобныя клады; но о нихъ я ничего не знаю. Обыкновенно такія находки безвѣстно пропадаютъ, будучи въ тихомолку переплавлены на металлъ; серебро послѣднихъ Саманидовъ, также какъ и Бундовъ, по большей части впрочемъ бываетъ такого плохаго качества, что торговцы, занимающіеся покупкой кладовъ съ цѣлью ихъ переплавки, относятся къ нему презрительно и если покупають его у находчиковъ, то по весьма низкой цѣнѣ, приравнивая его къ олову. Много такимъ образомъ, пропадаетъ интересныхъ монетъ безъ пользы для науки; но и не особенно обогащаются тѣ, которые ихъ превращають въ металлъ. Вся цѣнность этихъ монетъ заключается въ надписяхъ, ихъ покрывающихъ, если онѣ хорошо сохранились, а вовсе не въ кускѣ металла, изъ котораго онѣ выбиты. Разумѣется, что любовь къ наукѣ и памятникамъ древности побуждаетъ спасать отъ истребленія то, что заслуживаетъ спасенія. Но не за всѣмъ можно услѣдить, и при томъ, какъ скоро ставовится извѣстнымъ, что эти невзрач-

ныя монеты покупаются любителями, такъ тотчасъ же цѣны на нихъ поднимаются на столько высоко, что доходятъ уже до безобразія и спасеніе монетъ отъ гибели обходится слишкомъ дорого. Это служить также не малой преградой къ спасенію интересныхъ памятниковъ древности.

Извѣстно, что куфическія монеты въ кладахъ не появляются поздне 1012 года Хр. л. Въ пеходѣ XI вѣка, въ нѣкоторыхъ мѣстностяхъ Россіи куфическія монеты были замѣнены европейскими деньгами, которые начинаютъ появляться въ кладахъ съ арабскими диргемами уже въ X вѣкѣ. Но эти западно-европейскія монеты, повидному, не заходили въ предѣлы Волжской Булгаріи, ибо, на сколько мы знаемъ, до сихъ поръ еще не было извѣстно въ границахъ Казанской губерніи ни одной находки европейскихъ монетъ XI—XII вѣка. Въ періодъ прекращенія ввоза въ Волжскую Булгарію куфическихъ монетъ съ половины XI вѣка до нашествія Монголовъ здѣсь ходячую монету должны были замѣнить различнаго вида и вѣса слитки серебра, которые уже неоднократно попадались въ кладахъ и отдѣльно. Замѣчательно, что эти слитки бывали находимы съ различными драгоценными предметами убранства, въ видѣ серегъ, браслетовъ, перстней и т. п. изъ золота, явно обличающими свое Восточное происхожденіе и, слѣдовательно, привозимыми изъ азіатскихъ странъ; но при этомъ, однакоже, монетъ не бываетъ находимо. Если можно было привозить какіе либо азіатскіе товары, то что же могло препятствовать привозить, одновременно съ тѣмъ, и чекавную монету азіатскую, вмѣсто слитковъ серебра? Этотъ странный фактъ остается доселѣ не вполне удовлетворительно объясненнымъ.

Интересно, что казанскіе татары не смотрятъ на клады съ куфическими монетами, какъ на результатъ происходившихъ иѣкогда международныхъ торговыхъ сношеній. Они полагаютъ, что эти деньги присылались Халифами для поддержанія существовавшихъ въ здѣшнемъ краѣ, въ прежнія времена, мечетей и медресѣ.

Относительно топографіи кладовъ съ куфическими монетами въ предѣлахъ Казанской губерніи слѣдуетъ замѣтить, что до сихъ поръ, сколько извѣстно, все они были находимы въ мѣстности между Волгой и Камой, въ Спасскомъ и Чистопольскомъ уѣздахъ.

А. Лихачевъ.

Казань.  
Январь 1887.



## MONNAIE DES ASSASSINS

### DE PERSE

Dans la *Revue numismatique belge* <sup>1</sup>, Bartholomæi a, pour la première fois, signalé un dinar au nom de Mohammed Bouzourgoûmid, troisième grand maître des Assassins de Perse. Mais il n'a pu aller plus loin et déchiffrer, avec exactitude, les légendes, d'ailleurs insolites, de cette curieuse monnaie. Plus heureux que lui, j'ai pu, par la comparaison de trois exemplaires du même dinar, entrés récemment au Cabinet des médailles de la Bibliothèque nationale, en établir la lecture, et en tirer quelques éclaircissements nouveaux sur cette secte si célèbre.

Voici la description du dinar :



Légende circulaire :

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ ضَرِبَ هَذَا الدِّينَارَ بَكْرَسَى الدِّيْلَامِ سَنَةِ  
اِثْنَيْنَ وَارْبَعِينَ وَخَمْسَمِائَةَ

(exemplaire de Bartholomæi)

ثَمَانِ وَارْبَعِينَ، اِحْدَى وَخَمْسِينَ، خَمْسَ (?) وَخَمْسِينَ

(exemplaires de la Bibliothèque nationale).

1. 3<sup>e</sup> série, tome III, p. 432. — Bartholomæi a cédé la pièce en question au musée de l'Ermitage.

Dans le champ :

لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

IX. Légende circulaire.

امير المؤمنين صلوات الله عليه وعلى ابائه الطاهرين وابنائهم الاكرمين

Dans le champ :

علي ولي الله  
المصطفى  
لدين الله  
نزار

Poids : exempl. Bartholomæi ?

Bibliothèque nationale 1 gr. 14

1 gr. 20

1 gr. 01

Traduction :

*Au nom de Dieu, frappé au « Siège du Deïlem » en l'année 442 (Bartholomæi), 448, 451 et 455 (?) Bibliothèque nationale).*

*Il n'y a de Dieu que Dieu. Mohammed est le prophète de Dieu.*

*Mohammed ibn Bouzourgoïmid.*

*IX. Aly est le favori de Dieu.*

*El Mostafâ lidin Allah, Nizâr, chef des croyants, que les bénédictions de Dieu soient sur lui, et ses ancêtres les purs, et ses descendants les illustres.*

Pour bien comprendre les particularités de ce texte, il est nécessaire d'avoir une idée bien nette de l'histoire des Assassins de Perse. Après les savants travaux de S. de Sacy, de Hammer, de Defre-

mery, de Guyard, de Goëje, etc., il est facile d'en présenter un résumé court, mais parfaitement précis<sup>1</sup>.

Tout le monde connaît la division profonde des musulmans en Sunnites ou orthodoxes, et Chiites ou hérétiques. Les doctrines de ces derniers, nées en Perse et alimentées par les antiques croyances de l'Iran, se résument surtout dans la théorie d'une perpétuelle incarnation de la Divinité en un *Imâm*. Cet Imâm est de la famille de Mohammed, et le premier, sans conteste, est Ali, gendre de Mohammed. La série des sept premiers imâms est également incontestée; mais, depuis, les Chiites cessèrent de s'entendre sur les divers personnages dignes de ce titre. De là autant de sectes. Au bout de quelques générations, un membre quelconque de la famille du prophète, ou un aventurier se prétendant tel, pouvait revendiquer le titre d'imâm, et provoquer une guerre civile. Le nouvel imâm qui prenait aussi le titre de *Mahdi* « le dirigé par Dieu » arrivait quelquefois à fonder une dynastie. Les deux exemples les plus célèbres, en Orient, sont la dynastie des Fatimides et celle des Assassins. Cette pratique subsiste encore aujourd'hui : qui ne connaît l'histoire du Mahdi d'Egypte, dont le successeur règne actuellement au Soudan?

Les Fatimides, dont je viens de parler, s'appelaient ainsi de Fatima, fille du prophète et femme d'Ali, dont ils se prétendaient descendus. Leur puissance, née dans le Maghreb, au x<sup>e</sup> siècle de notre ère,

1. Lire surtout le lumineux exposé de Guyard. *Un grand maître des Assassins au temps de Saladin* (extr. du *Journal asiatique*). E. Leroux, 1877.

s'étendit en Sicile, en Egypte, en Syrie, jusqu'à la Mecque, et même, un temps, jusqu'à Bagdad. Durant l'année 450 (1058), l'autorité de l'imâm fatimide fut reconnue au siège même de l'orthodoxie. Mais, depuis, cette puissance ne fit que décroître sous les attaques des Turcs Seldjoukides, des Normands et des Croisés. Enfin les Assassins formèrent une secte nouvelle, qui contribua, pour sa part, à l'affaiblissement de l'imâm fatimide.

Voici dans quelles circonstances :

Un Persan, nommé Hasan ibn Sabbâh, s'affilia, vers 1070 de notre ère, aux sociétés secrètes qui reconnaissaient comme imâm le fatimide el Mostanser billah, et, en l'année 1078, alla en Egypte se présenter directement à lui. Or el Mostanser billah avait deux fils, l'un qui devait lui succéder, sous le nom d'el Mostali billah, l'autre, Nizâr, qui avait plus de droits au trône, et se faisait appeler par ses partisans, el Mostafâ Lidîn Allah. Hasan ibn Sabbâh se déclara pour ce dernier. Ibn al Athir rapporte qu'il demanda à el Mostanser « qui sera mon imâm après toi ? » et el Mostanser répondit : « ce sera mon fils Nizâr. » L'historien ajoute : *les Ismaïliens, jusqu'à ce jour* (vers 1220 de notre ère), *reconnaissent l'imâmat de Nizâr*<sup>1</sup>.

Ce nom d'*Ismaïliens* s'applique ici aux *Assassins*<sup>2</sup>, mais, d'une manière générale, il s'applique à ceux des Chittes qui reconnaissent un imâm Ismaïl

1. Ibn al Athir, *texte arabe*, édit. Tornberg, IX, 305, X, 161.

2. Je n'ai pas besoin de rappeler l'origine de ce nom de *hachichis* (baveurs de hachich), dont nous avons fait *Assassins*, et qui a prévalu en Occident pour désigner les partisans d'Hasan ibn Sabbâh.

non reconnu par d'autres. Le lecteur aura une idée un peu claire de ces schismes se greffant les uns sur les autres par le petit tableau suivant :

- Imāmat d'Alī* — Secte principale des Chiïtes.  
*Imāmat d'Ismaïl* — Secte principale des Chiïtes.  
 — division des Ismaïliens.  
*Imāmat de Nizār* — Secte principale des Chiïtes.  
 — division des Ismaïliens.  
 — sous-division des Assassins.

Il résulte de là que la véritable désignation des Assassins, au point de vue doctrinaire, est celle de *Nizâriens*. Elle leur est, en effet, donnée par quelques historiens arabes. Mais après la disparition de la dynastie fatimide, cette sous-division n'eut plus de raison d'être, et les Assassins redevinrent des Ismaïliens, purement et simplement. Or, pendant la période où est frappée notre monnaie, l'imām fatimide règne en Egypte, et l'antagonisme est bien marqué. Il éclate, d'une façon bien curieuse, dans le texte même de notre monnaie. Ainsi se trouve confirmée l'assertion d'Ibn al Athir, à laquelle on n'avait pas pris garde jusqu'ici. En l'année 555, de l'Hégire (551 au moins), le nom de Nizār, avec son titre de Khalife : *el Mostafâ lidîn allah<sup>1</sup>*, celui de chef des croyants, etc., est mis en la place d'honneur sur une monnaie. Or il y a longtemps que Nizār est mort, puisque son frère el Mostali, en 487, s'est installé sur le trône et a fait disparaître l'imām rival. Ce

1. Les Khalifes, en montant sur le trône, prenaient un titre officiel, rappelant leurs fonctions spirituelles, régulièrement terminé par le nom d'Allah. Voir les noms des Khalifes abbassides, à partir du huitième, ceux des Khalifes fatimides, etc.

culte de l'imâm est des plus caractéristiques. Pour les Assassins ou Nizâriens, Nizâr est l'imâm définitif celui qui n'a pas à proprement parler de successeur, qui n'est pas mort, qui reviendra quelque jour comme le Messie. C'est ainsi qu'une secte, presque aussi célèbre, celle des Druzes, reconnaît comme dernier imâm un autre fatimide, je veux parler du fameux el Hâkem biamr Allah<sup>1</sup>. Hamza a enseigné aux Druzes qu'el Hâkem n'était que disparu et non mort; cette croyance vit encore chez eux. Par analogie, on peut affirmer qu'Hasan ibn Sabbâh a enseigné aux Assassins que Nizâr n'était que disparu, et cette croyance s'est maintenue, au moins jusqu'à l'époque de notre monnaie.

C'est ainsi qu'il faut interpréter la phrase d'Ibn al Athir, citée plus haut, et notre monnaie. Remarquons, en effet, que Nizâr n'est point seulement mentionné comme Mohammed, comme Ali, comme les premiers Khalifes ou d'autres personnages historiques, déjà morts, sur les monnaies et inscriptions arabes. Il porte le titre de « chef des croyants », ce qui ne convient guère qu'à un prince régnant. Il est fait allusion à « ses fils les illustres ». Évidemment, si Nizâr était considéré comme mort, ce titre ne pouvait plus convenir qu'à un de ses successeurs. La fiction admise est donc que Nizâr règne toujours.

C'est donc cette monnaie, dont on apprécie dès lors toute l'importance, qui nous renseigne exactement sur un point que Guyard avait laissé dans l'obscurité.

1. Voir S. de Sney, *Exposé de la religion des Druzes*.

Guyard dit, en effet : « nous savons que Hasan ne rompit jamais les liens qui le rattachaient aux grands pontifes du Caire (les imâms fatimides), » et plus loin : « les grands pontifes du Caire, les imams avaient toujours conservé une autorité nominale sur les grands-maitres<sup>1</sup> ». Notre monnaie contredit formellement ces paroles, mais en revanche elle confirme admirablement ce que le savant orientaliste avait soupçonné quand il expliquait la doctrine d'Hasan en ces mots : « se donner lui-même pour l'imâm, il ne l'eût point osé ; mais il lui suffisait d'en être le lieutenant et de prétendre n'agir que par les ordres du pontife<sup>2</sup>. » Or ce pontife, c'est Nizâr, qui est vivant, dit-on, mais que nul ne peut voir. Je répète qu'en cela Hasan ne faisait que copier les procédés de Hamza, apôtre des Druzes.

La formule de souhait qui accompagne le nom de Nizâr sur la monnaie est assez curieuse. Cette formule est réservée au prophète et à sa famille. Les Sunnites disent : « les bénédictions de Dieu sur Mohammed, sa famille et ses compagnons. » Les Chiïtes ajoutent à « sa famille » « les purs ». Ils disent aussi : « les bénédictions de Dieu sur Ali. » Ici elle est plus complète et détache Nizâr dans toute la famille du prophète de la façon la plus remarquable. Nizâr est le point de départ : Ali et le prophète lui-même sont confondus dans la dénomination d'ancêtres ; toute la gloire de la race est en lui. S'il existait quelque monnaie des Druzes, j'imagine que le nom d'el Hakem y jouerait le même rôle.

1. Op. cit., p. 22 et 25.

2. Op. cit., p. 21.

Si nous ajoutons que, par un phénomène insolite, il n'y a aucun verset du Coran sur ces dinars, nous aurons constaté l'originalité exceptionnelle de ce monument numismatique, ce qui n'a pas lieu de surprendre les lecteurs versés dans l'étude des sectes musulmanes. Les Assassins, comme les Druzes, sont plus que des hérétiques : ils ne reconnaissent pas la loi du Coran, ou en altèrent le texte par l'interprétation « ésotérique » ; d'où le nom qui leur est encore donné de *Baténiens* « les ésotériques, les partisans du sens *caché* ».

Ainsi, pour me résumer, Hasan ibn Sabbâh apportait, comme innovation, dans la secte fatimide (dérivée elle-même de la secte ismaïlienne) la reconnaissance de Nizâr comme imâm. C'était une différence non de dogme, mais de discipline. Par comparaison avec les divisions de l'Eglise chrétienne, on peut dire qu'Hasan se couvrait du nom d'un antipape, mais gardait les mêmes doctrines. C'est ce qu'établit très bien la lettre écrite en 567 par les prétendants fatimides, qui appelaient à leur secours les Assassins de Syrie. « Ils écrivirent à Sinân, chef des Hachtichis, lui représentant que leur doctrine était la même, qu'ils étaient unis par le même dogme, qu'il n'y avait entre eux divergence que sur des points qui ne pouvaient ni créer un schisme, ni l'empêcher de leur porter secours<sup>1</sup>. » Hasan et ses successeurs feignirent de croire en la perpétuité de Nizâr, c'est ce qui nous est prouvé par la monnaie. Toutefois, les

1. Abou Chama *Kilâb al raudatâin* (texte arabe, édit. de Boulak, I, p. 221). Cf. *Journal asiatique*, mars-avril 1891, p. 327 et *Mémoires de la Mission archéologique française du Caire*, VI, p. 422.



historiens nous apprennent qu'en 557, à la mort de Mohammed ibn Bouzourgoûmid, son fils Hasan se déclara imâm en personne, et renonça, par conséquent, à cette fiction. On peut donc prédire que si l'on retrouve la monnaie de ce quatrième grand-maître des Assassins, le nom de Nizâr ne s'y trouvera plus à la place d'honneur que nous lui voyons ici.

On sait quelle fut la tactique d'Hasan et de ses successeurs : s'emparer par surprise de forteresses inaccessibles, de là envoyer les *fidawis* ou sectaires, ivres de hachich, contre leurs ennemis, tel fut le plan exécuté avec une infernale audace pendant un siècle et demi par les grands maîtres des Assassins en Perse et en Syrie.

En 1090 Hasan ibn Sabbâh s'empara d'Alamoût qui resta le siège de la puissance des Assassins de Perse, jusqu'en 1256, époque de l'invasion des Mongols. Alamoût est situé, à quelque distance de la mer Caspienne, dans la région appelée *Deilem*, qui était depuis longtemps le foyer des doctrines chiites. Il est donc à peu près certain que la ville dont parle notre monnaie كرسى الديلم « le siège du Deilem » n'est autre qu'Alamoût. Soret avait proposé, d'après l'exemplaire décrit par Bartholomæi : كرىج الدنار pour كرىج دينار, mais sur nos trois exemplaires le م final est absolument certain, et de la comparaison ressort l'incontestable lecture que je donne. Quoi de surprenant, d'ailleurs, à ce que les Assassins aient ainsi désigné la citadelle, qui était effectivement le siège

de leur puissance? Nous avons ainsi le nom *officiel*, inconnu jusqu'ici, de la capitale des Assassins.

Hasan Ibn Sabbâh mourut en 518 de l'Hégire (1124). Son lieutenant Bouzourgoûmid, qui lui succéda, régna jusqu'en 532 (1138). Les historiens arabes orthographient son nom بزرك اميد, ce qui ne diffère que par la forme, et non par la prononciation, du nom inscrit sur la monnaie de son fils. On joint d'ordinaire à son nom le titre de كيا qui, en persan, signifie « prince », si on prononce *Kia*, et « diable » si on prononce *Keya*. Ce n'est probablement pas sans quelque intention satirique que les Orientaux, assez friands de ces jeux de mots, ont choisi ce titre équivoque pour désigner un chef de bandits. Ce titre de *Kia* paraît caractéristique, car Ibn el Athîr ne connaît Mohammed ibn Bouzourgoûmid, fils et successeur du précédent, que sous le nom « du *Kia*, de la secte d'Ibn Sabbâh, maître d'Alamoût, et chef des Ismaïliens<sup>1</sup> ».

الكيا الصباحى صاحب الموت مقدم لاسماعيلية

C'est le même dont le nom est sur les monnaies qui font le sujet de cet article. Son règne s'étend de 532 à 557 (1138-1162). Après lui, comme nous l'avons vu, son fils Hasan se déclara imâm. Je renvoie aux divers écrits sur les Assassins pour les détails relatifs aux successeurs de Mohammed ibn Bouzourgoûmid : car ils n'offrent plus de relation avec la curieuse monnaie, dont je me suis efforcé de démontrer la valeur historique.

P. CASANOVA.

1. Edit. Tornberg, XI, 190.



## LES SYMBOLES ASTROLOGIQUES SUR LES MONNAIES DE LA PERSE

**L**ES symboles astrologiques sont fréquents sur les monnaies orientales et particulièrement sur celles de la Perse ancienne et moderne. Il serait intéressant d'en faire un inventaire à part et de les étudier, car ils ont une signification tantôt purement astrologique, tantôt et surtout historique, donnant la date d'un événement, par la concordance avec les phénomènes célestes. Je me borne, pour le moment, à présenter quelques observations au sujet des symboles que l'on rencontre sur les monnaies de l'Irân ancien et de la Perse moderne.

1. Le plus ancien sujet astrologique qui se trouve sur les monnaies de l'Irân est celui de la rencontre dans le ciel ou *conjonction* des deux planètes Vénus et la Lune. Ce phénomène céleste est représenté par le croissant lunaire et une étoile; il figure pour la première fois sur les drachmes de Phraate IV, fils d'Orde, roi Arsacide qui a régné de l'an 37 av. J.-C. à l'an 4 après. Le groupe stellaire est devant la tête du roi; derrière, un aigle portant une couronne ou une bandelette dans son bec. Sur les successeurs de Phraate ou du moins sur quelques-uns l'étoile est en dessous du croissant ou bien la tête du roi est entre le croissant et l'étoile, ou entre deux étoiles (1).

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(1). V. Longpérier, *Rois parthes Arsacides*, 4<sup>e</sup>. Paris, 1882, pl. VII, IX, XII, XIII, XIV. — P. Gardner, *Parthian Coinage*, 4<sup>e</sup>. London, 1877, pl. IV, et les ouvrages de Prokesch Osten et Markoff. Cette figure symbolique ne se trouve que sur les drachmes.

La conjonction de Vénus et de la Lune était signe de bonheur et de prospérité; aussi est-ce par une sorte d'ironie que Phraate IV le parricide et le fratricide, celui que Justin, en parlant de tous les crimes des rois Parthes, appelle *sceleratissimus omnium*, avait choisi ce symbole.

L'astrologie perse avait été empruntée avec son organisation savante aux Babyloniens; l'*Avesta* et la littérature pehlieve font souvent mention de pratiques astrologiques à côté de phénomènes cosmologiques et météorologiques.

La Lune dans les inscriptions cunéiformes est *ilu Sin* « le dieu Sin », dans l'*Avesta* c'est le dieu *Māonha* devenu en perse *Māh*. Le nom de Vénus, dans l'*Avesta*, est *Anāhita* « immaculée, sans tache », divinité étrangère empruntée également aux Chaldéens. Dans les textes cunéiformes son nom est *Damqitou* (de *damagou*, « être pur »), elle est la déesse des eaux, épouse de *Iao*, dieu de l'Océan, l'élément pur par excellence. Les Grecs ont transformé *Damqitou* en *Δαυκή* et les Perses ont traduit le nom dans leur langue; mais ils ont changé l'attribution et ils ont appliqué à la planète Vénus, à cause de son brillant éclat, le nom de la déesse chaldéenne de la pureté. *Anāhita* était particulièrement adorée en Perse; le *Zend Avesta* contient une hymne très poétique à cette déesse : « La haute et puissante immaculée qui est descendue des astres sur la terre. » C'est de l'époque de l'introduction du culte de cette divinité étrangère par Artaxercès Mnémon (404-361 av. J.-C.) que date l'usage chez les Perses des idoles à forme humaine (1). C'est ainsi qu'on peut expliquer la présence de la figure d'*Anāhita* sur les intailles sassanides. Dans les premiers siècles de notre ère, *Anāhita* se confond avec *Artémis*. Dans l'astrologie chaldéenne le nom de cette planète est *Ishtar* (la déesse du ciel, *bélit shame*), célèbre dans la mythologie assyro-babylonienne et qui est devenue l'*Astarté*

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(1) V. James Darmesteter, le *Zend Avesta*, 4<sup>e</sup>. Paris, 1892, t. II, yasht 5, p. 363 à 397. — La divinité *Anāhita* est mentionnée pour la première fois dans l'inscription cunéiforme d'Artaxercès à Suse; la forme *anzañite* dans la même inscription est *Annaïtta*.

des religions sémitiques postérieures. Pendant la période perse et pehlvie le nom de Vénus reste Anâhita, mais depuis, les Persans ont adopté le mot arabe *Zahera* qui a le même sens d' « éclat ». Le mot pehlvi qui désignait la conjonction astrologique était *nazdake* (avest. *naзда*); le mot arabe est *eqterân* et aussi, comme on le verra plus loin, *qirân*, employé en persan moderne. Le nom de l'astrologue en chaldéen était *asu* (*rab âsu*, le chef astrologue); le mot pehlvi ne nous est pas connu; en persan comme en arabe le nom est *moundedjem*.

Dans l'histoire des Sassanides, il est souvent question d'horoscopes et de consultation des astres par les souverains; l'on trouve, en effet, sur les intailles ou pierres précieuses gravées, de nombreux sujets astrologiques, notamment les signes du zodiaque, et, comme on l'a vu plus haut, l'image d'Anâhita, la seule déesse qui soit représentée; mais le signe de la conjonction ne réapparaît que sur les monnaies de Péroze dès la troisième année de son règne (460 de J.-C.). Ce symbole reste sur le revers des monnaies de ce souverain et de ses successeurs au-dessus de l'autel du feu (*atesh gadah* ou pyrée) jusqu'à la fin de la dynastie. En outre il est figuré, sur la face, à droite et à gauche de la couronne royale à partir de Kavât ou Qobâd (488 de J.-C.). Enfin, à dater de l'an 13 du règne de ce même monarque, le symbole de la réunion de Vénus dans le croissant est figuré à trois endroits sur la marge de l'avvers de la pièce, et il fait désormais partie du type sassanide jusque bien après la conquête et sous les gouverneurs arabes de la Perse. On sait que ces gouverneurs ont adopté pour leurs monnaies le type de la pièce sassanide avec des légendes en pehlvi et la figure de l'autel du feu, si contraire cependant à la religion de Mahomet. Le pyrée et le symbole disparaissent des monnaies purement arabes en caractères coufiques, mais la figure astrologique devient l'emblème de l'Islamisme, telle est l'origine du croissant sur l'étendard de Mahomet.

Les Sassanides étaient originaires du Pârsistân ou Perside et, avant eux, les dynastes de cette province tantôt indépendants, tantôt soumis aux Arsacides, ont émis pendant plus de quatre siècles (de 250 av. J.-C. à 225 après) plusieurs séries de

monnaies, dont il nous reste un assez grand nombre de spécimens. Sur quelques-unes de ces pièces, notamment sur celles de Namopat, on rencontre le symbole de la conjonction, très vraisemblablement emprunté des Arsacides (1). Il ne serait pas impossible de retrouver cette même figure astrologique sur d'autres monnaies frappées par des dynastes de Mésopotamie à l'imitation du monnayage perse.

(A suivre.)

E. DROUIN.

— 2063 —

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(1) V. mon article *Notice sur trois monnaies de la Perse* dans le *Bulletin de Numismatique*, décembre 1900.



## LES SYMBOLES ASTROLOGIQUES

### SUR LES MONNAIES DE LA PÉRSE

(suite)

II. Une autre figuration de phénomène céleste, due à une influence astrologique, est l'image du lion surmonté du soleil qui est encore aujourd'hui l'emblème adopté par les shâhs de Perse sur leurs monnaies, sur leur écusson royal et sur leur drapeau (1). L'origine remonte seulement au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle et si elle a pris naissance en Asie mineure c'est, comme on le verra, sous l'influence de la civilisation persane.

C'est sur les monnaies d'argent de l'un des sultans de la dynastie des Seljouïdes de Roum ou d'Iconium que se rencontre pour la première fois le symbole astrologique du soleil (*khorshid*) dans la constellation du Lion (*arslân*).

Les Seljouïdes étaient d'origine turque et avaient pour ancêtre Seldjouq. L'un de ses fils, Toghroulbeg, pénètre en Perse, s'empare de Bagdad en l'an 1055 et fonde la dynastie dite des grands Seldjouïdes de la Perse qui dure jusqu'en 1157. D'autres branches de la famille se séparent et fondent les dynasties Seljouïdes du Kirman (1041-1187), de Syrie (1094-1117), de l'Irak (1127-1194) et enfin de Roum ou d'Asie mineure dont la capitale était à Iconium. C'est celle qui a régné le plus longtemps, de 1077 jusqu'à 1300 date de l'invasion mongole. On possède des monnaies de presque tous les souverains. Quoique turcs d'origine, les Seljouïdes embrassèrent de bonne heure l'islamisme et adoptèrent la langue et la civili-

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(1) On sait qu'il existe « l'Ordre du Lion et du Soleil de Perse ».

sation persanes. C'était l'époque où Firdousi († en 1020) venait de composer son *Shâh nâme* ou histoire légendaire de l'Irân, en vers persans et les noms de l'épopée iranienne étaient à la mode. Aussi plusieurs sultans de Roum s'appellent-ils Kai Khosrou, Kai Qobad, Kai Kaous à côté de leurs noms musulmans.

Les pièces d'argent sur lesquelles se trouve la figure du soleil et du lion entouré d'étoiles, représentant cette constellation dans le Zodiaque, appartiennent au règne de Ghiats eddin Kai Khosrou II ben Kai Qobâd (1236-1245), le douzième sultan de Roum (1). C'est l'abbé Barthélemy qui a décrit le premier une de ces monnaies (2) et donné en même temps l'explication de la scène astrologique qui se trouve sur la face, d'après l'historien syrien Aboul Faradj Bar Hebraeus qui était presque contemporain (1226-1286). A l'instar des sultans Ortoquides dont les monnaies portent des figures, Kai Khosrou voulut faire représenter sur ses propres monnaies le portrait de sa femme princesse de Géorgie et il consulta un astrologue persan. Celui-ci tira l'horoscope du sultan et calcula que ce dernier était né pendant que le Soleil parcourait la constellation du Lion, un des signes du Zodiaque, il proposa alors de remplacer le portrait de la sultane (chose défendue par le Coran) par l'image du soleil désignant l'éclat et la beauté de la princesse, et par le lion, symbole de force et de puissance, accompagné d'étoiles indiquant en même temps la constellation.

Parmi les successeurs de Kai Khosrou, Kai Qobâd III, un des derniers Seljouqides (1300) est le seul sur les monnaies duquel on voit le lion marchant à droite avec une étoile (3).

On retrouve encore ce même symbole du soleil et du lion accompagné d'étoiles sur quelques rares monnaies de cuivre

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(1) V. Marsden, *Numismata Orientalia* 1823, t. I, n° 89. — Catal. du British Museum, vol. III, 1877, n° 190 et sq. — Ghalib Edhem. *Numismat. Seljoukide* (en turc). Constantinople, 1309 H. pl. III.

(2) *Mém. de l'ancienne Acad. des Inscriptions*, t. 26 (17, 59.), p. 567. V. Marsden l. c.

(3) Ghalib Edhem, ouvrage cité, pl. V.



frappées à Erivan, à Tébriç et à Ispahan au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle et sur une autre monnaie de cuivre portant le nom de Ghâzan Khân (1295-1304) de la dynastie des Mongols de la Perse (1).

III. Il faut franchir un espace de trois siècles et se transporter dans l'Inde pour retrouver le même dessin astrologique du lion et du soleil. Il s'agit des belles pièces d'or (dites *mohr*) du poids de onze grammes frappées par ordre de Nour eddin Djehân Gîr Shâh, fils d'Akbar, le troisième grand mogol de l'Hindoustan (1605-1627) (2). Sur l'avcr ou droit de ces mohr, on voit le buste du sultan à gauche, la tête coiffée du turban et radiée; et, sur le revers, le soleil surmontant un lion courant, mais sans étoiles. La réapparition de cette figure céleste, après une longue lacune, peut s'expliquer soit par la conservation de dirhems seljouqides dans le trésor des rois de Perse, soit par des trouvailles qui auraient été faites dans le sol du Nord de l'Inde. Le type avait dû en outre rester en usage, quoique nous n'en ayons pas de trace, à la cour de Téhéran.

C'est aussi sous le règne de Nour eddin Djehân Gîr qu'ont été frappées les pièces d'or et d'argent dites du *Zodiaque*. D'après les historiens musulmans, le sultan avait ordonné que l'on fit figurer sur ses monnaies, pour en fixer la date, le signe du Zodiaque dans lequel se trouvait le soleil au moment de l'émission. Mais, d'après les traditions populaires (3), cette imagerie monétaire serait due à la princesse *Nour Djehân* (la lumière du monde), femme de haute valeur qui était en fait la vraie régente de l'empire et qui aurait distribué dans toutes les provinces, en une seule journée, toute la série avec son nom sur les monnaies, à côté de celui de son

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(1) Pietraszewski, *Numi mohamedani*, 4<sup>e</sup>, Berolini 1843, tab. XV et n<sup>o</sup> 462.

(2) Marsden, *Num. Oriental*, n<sup>o</sup> 836. — Catal. du British Museum 1892, n<sup>os</sup> 312 et sq.

(3) Ces traditions sont rapportées par les voyageurs du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle, Tavernier, Bognert et autres. Les monnaies du Zodiaque sont très rares; c'est Marsden qui les a le premier fait connaître. Le British Museum possède la série complète. V. le Catalogue de Poole. Londres, 1892.

époux ; mais cette légende est inexacte (1) puisque toutes les pièces du Zodiaque que l'on possède aujourd'hui portent des dates différentes variant entre 1027 H. (1617) et 1034 (1624). Il est plus probable de supposer que cette émission se rattache, comme celle des pièces au lion, à des idées astrologiques. L'astronomie et l'astrologie étaient en grand honneur à la cour des grands mogols : Akbar le père de Djehân Gîr (1556-1603) avait réformé l'usage du calendrier musulman, qui est lunaire, en adoptant le calendrier solaire appelé *ilahi* « divin ». Sur les monnaies d'Akbar comme sur celles du Djehân Gîr, la date est exprimée à la fois en années de l'Hégire et de l'Ilahi et, en outre, avec l'indication des anciens noms de mois zoroastriens.

IV. Un autre exemple de l'influence astrologique sur l'iconographie monétaire est le titre de *sâhib qirân* « maître de la conjonction » pris par Shâh Djehân, le successeur de Djehân Gîr (1628-1658). Rappelons d'abord que Tamerlan avait déjà pris le premier ce titre. C'est ce que nous apprennent ses Mémoires ou Institutions (*touzoukât*) et les historiens, car sur ses monnaies il n'a pas cette épithète. Quoique grand dévastateur, Tamerlan avait songé à faire de Samarcande une capitale civilisée et il y avait transporté et attiré des savants et des astrologues. Sous ses successeurs Schâh Rokh et Oulough beg, l'observatoire de Samarcande devint le centre de grands travaux astronomiques restés célèbres dans l'histoire de la science chez les Orientaux. Pendant le règne de Tamerlan, les astrologues lui décernèrent par flatterie le titre de « seigneur de la conjonction » par allusion à la rencontre des deux planètes Saturne et Jupiter qui venait d'avoir lieu dans le ciel, et comme ce phénomène ne se produit que tous les trente ans, ils augurèrent que le règne du monarque durerait au moins trente années et en firent son horoscope; Tamerlan a régné

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(1) Il existe cependant quelques monnaies d'argent frappées en 1034 H. avec le nom de la sultane *Nûr Djehân pâdishah begûm*, mais précisément elles ne portent aucun signe du Zodiaque. V. Mursden, n° 872, et le Catal. du British Museum, n° 513 à 526.

par le fait de 1369 à 1405. Aucun de ses successeurs n'a pris le titre de *sâhib qirân*, ils n'ont eu du reste chacun d'eux jusqu'à Mahmoud le dernier (en 1494), qu'un règne très court.

C'est un des descendants de Tamerlan dans l'Inde, Shâh Djehân, qui, deux siècles plus tard, a pris dès la première année de son règne le titre de « deuxième seigneur de la conjonction *Sâhib qirân tsâni*. Ce titre lui a porté bonheur, car Shâh Djehân a régné en effet trente ans. On trouve cette appellation sur une monnaie d'argent de l'an 1037 (1) et sur presque toutes ses monnaies d'or et d'argent ainsi que sur les médailles (*nitsâr*) de ce prince. Le même horoscope est mentionné dans toutes les titulatures de Shâh Djehân.

Parmi les successeurs de ce sultan, les seuls qui aient pris le titre de *Sâhib qirân'tsâni* sont Shâh Shâdjâ, qui n'a régné que deux ans (1658-1660) et Mohammed Shâh Nasreddin (1719-1748), le malheureux vaincu de Nâdir Shâh.

Je dois signaler, en terminant, une particularité concernant Djehân Gîr. Les poètes persans contemporains qui étaient à la cour de ce sultan et célébrèrent son avènement en 1605, disent bien qu'il monta sur le trône au moment où avait lieu la seconde conjonction (ce qui est faux astronomiquement), mais Djehân Gîr n'a jamais pris ce titre sur ses monnaies ni dans ses protocoles. Je dois cependant mentionner ce fait que, en 1896, il a été présenté au cabinet de France (qui n'en a pas fait l'acquisition) un rubis rapporté du Turkestan et sur lequel était gravée une inscription que j'ai cru pouvoir lire de la manière suivante : *Djehân Gîr shâh Akbâr shâh sâhib qirân tsâni* 1019, ce qui prouverait, si la pierre est authentique, que ce souverain aurait pris avant son fils Shâh Djehân, le titre de « deuxième maître de la conjonction ».

Paris.

E. DROUIN.

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(1) Catal. du Brit. Mus., n° 279 et suiv. L'an 1037 H. correspond à l'an 1627 de notre ère.



## XXV.

## COINS AND SEALS COLLECTED IN SEISTAN, 1903-4.

By G. P. TATE.

THE sources whence have come all the coins and seals obtained in Seistan are the extensive ruins situated to the east of the Helmand, in Afghan Seistan, which it has not been possible to explore thoroughly.

The trade is in the hands of a small section of the people numbering about 150 families, who live on the edge of the deserted tract, on the eastern verge of the flood area of the Helmand. There they cultivate small holdings, raising wheat and barley and patches of water-melons; and their flocks of goats, sheep, and the few cattle they possess graze upon the fodder that springs up so luxuriantly wherever water touches the soil. When the Winter has set in, and after rain has fallen, and water stands in the hollows in the clay soil, these people set out for the deserted sites of towns or forts and ply their trade as treasure-seekers. They are known as 'Dagāl Gardis.' The word Dagāl or Dagāl is Baluchi for 'land, soil, ground,' etc., and Gardi (as will be obvious) is in the same dialect 'the act of wandering about.' These persons are Baluchis, who for generations have eked out a livelihood by the pursuit of this calling,<sup>1</sup> until at last they have developed a preternatural keenness of vision. One of these persons, as he goes on at a rapid trot, will suddenly swoop down and pick up a tiny bead, or a minute turquoise, discoloured and covered with earth-stains to such an extent as to be unrecognisable by an ordinary individual.

Their ancestors wandered into Seistan when the prosperity of the country had already very considerably declined. Large

<sup>1</sup> They form regularly organised communities, dwelling under their *kud-khudas*, and pay revenue on their lands, flocks, and the value of their finds.

tracts had been abandoned by water and become desert, to all of which the newcomers entered into possession. The latter found extensive ruins, the names of which no one knew; and these localities were at once renamed (for convenience of reference) by names based on some local peculiarity of shape, design, or even the colour of the decaying materials. These names are handed about from one to another, and often in a corrupt form are preserved in travellers' narratives. Those few ancient places whose names are preserved in the writings of past generations of chroniclers are located by writers of the present day by means of these modern names, and often by some fancied resemblance between the two.

The district most thickly covered with these remains of a bygone condition of prosperity is called by the Baluch treasure-seekers 'Ghulghula,' because the ruins are as numerous as the stars in the sky, to which the same word also is applied.

The ruins are partially concealed by drifts of loose sand; and it is due to this that the traces of an ancient civilization are so well preserved from the action of the elements and the ravages of human beings. Every year under the impulse of the wind of 120 days these drifts continue their march towards the east; their ultimate destination being the *Wadis* that score the sun-baked under-features of the *Dasht-i-Mārgo* and break its terminal edge into deep re-entrants and bastions of gravel-capped clay. As these *Barkhans* move they hide portions of the ruins which have been exposed, and lay bare other parts which may have been hidden for years. In this way the area available for exploration continually changes.

It is not the larger ruins that yield the finds. The larger tumuli and masses of crumbling bricks could only be dealt with by means of systematic excavation. This the '*Dagāl Gardis*' cannot undertake. They search the patches of lighter débris of crumbling bricks and potsherds that mark the sites of individual homesteads. These are called *kacholi*, as this is the general term used for broken pottery and

fragments of brick. The alternate effect of the Summer and Winter temperatures breaks up these débris heaps into coarse dust, and when this has been washed away by heavy rain or melting snow all sorts of quaint and artistic things are picked up. Coins and seals, fragments of copper vessels, and strange shapes of birds and beasts, which were evidently fixed as handles to caskets or utensils; turquoises, very much discoloured by being buried in the earth; garnets, pale sapphires, and amethysts; agate and cornelian beads; occasionally tourmaline and rock crystals, shaped and cut or in the rough. These are not by any means plentiful. Many a time do these people return with nothing of the least value. Sometimes small hoards of coin and some really good seals are found. These are infrequent, and such occurrences are preserved and handed down in the traditions and tales with which these people occupy their leisure. In this way the reputed discovery of 700 gold pieces in the ruins of Kurdo, in the days of Ibrahim Khan, Sinjarāni of Chakānsur, is talked about, though probably sixty years and more have elapsed since then. Such finds rarely benefit the discoverers. News of it gets to others stronger than they, through some disappointed member of the party, and the weaker are compelled to disgorge more than they have actually found, as the value of the find increases at each repetition of the tale.

In addition to the articles already mentioned, fragments of fine porcelain and beads made out of composition are the most numerous. The former is a fine vitreous and white biscuit covered with a very pale olive-green glaze, the latter being sometimes  $\frac{1}{16}$  of an inch thick—a white porcelain, with the pattern in a blue colour not unlike what is made in China at the present day—Canton, say—after the pattern of the blue and white porcelain of the time of the Emperor Kang-hi. The porcelain found in Seistan has, however, only a floral pattern, the decoration being confined to sprays of foliage or to a mere scrolled decorative pattern; there is, however, a 'fuzziness' of outline that takes away from the effect of the design and good colour that is seen

in some of the fragments. Glazed earthenware strews the slope of every mound, and is not worthy of mention, as, though the pieces were well baked, the glaze is very thin.

None of the beads show any attempt to portray animal forms. A solitary exception was found in the case of an agate-bead, which was shaped like a squatting frog; a finely bored hole running through it lengthways showed exactly for what it was originally used. The representation was perfect, not a touch too much, and no over-elaboration of detail. Another fine piece of work is the head of a ram, in baked clay. It is hollow, and evidently formed the spout of an ewer or jug, the head being some  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches long. The facial markings and the detail of the horns were most perfectly done with a few bold touches of some blunt tool when the paste was damp. The effect is lifelike, and shows that a very high standard of artistic skill must have been reached, to be employed in decorating what was probably an utensil in every-day use. The agate frog was discovered at an ancient site called Khana-i-Gaur, to the east of Chakānsur, at the point where the Khāsh Rud enters the plain of Seistan. The ram's head was found in one of the ruined sites of Ghulghula. Another representation of a frog was found in this district: it is cut out of a piece of that thick shell of which mention has been made; through the nose (it is a back view of a frog sitting up) a fine hole has been bored, and this bead or pendant was one of a number forming a necklace. Down the back, on either side of the spine, there are three cup-like markings of small circles enclosing dots which had been picked out with black colouring matter.

The seals are cut on cornelians, garnets, some on very pale amethysts, and milky translucent agates. Some are cut on dark green and grey stones, but the latter do not show the same skill or finish, and probably the stones are softer and do not lend themselves to very great elaboration of detail. The forms represented are for the most part those of animals; some few have representations of the human form, or of human heads, but these are rare. Cabalistic



diagrams or signs are very common. So are inscriptions of varying length and style, many of the more elaborate being marked by a star. I gave two seals to the British Commissioner which were brought in, one from Kadah and the other from Chihilburj, localities not very far from Chakānsur. One was a beautiful intaglio of a human head facing to the left. A chaplet of leaves bound the hair, which fell down the neck in three heavy curls. There was a collar or necklace, below which the representation did not go. The intaglio was about  $\frac{1}{10}$  of an inch along the greater axis of a regular ellipse; the head having been carved in this direction, the small vacant spaces containing two sentences in some ancient script. The intaglio was on the flat surface of the stone, the other being convex. The detail of the face, hair, and chaplet is very beautiful, and the inscription is also very distinct. The beauty of the workmanship can only be judged by examination through a magnifying-glass.

The other was of similar size and shape as to the stone. But the design, in this case a cabalistic sign, was cut on the curved side. It was enclosed on either side by an inscription in the same character as that on the seal previously described. This also I gave to the British Commissioner, who in the midst of a busy career finds recreation in a variety of pursuits. These seals have been sent by him to the Director of the Archæological Survey of India. There is also a third specimen in my possession. It is a head facing left, wearing a heavily crested helmet. It is also very beautifully cut and finished, but bears no inscription. It came from the Chihilburj ruins. The face is distinctly of an European type, whereas the former shows the features of an Eastern type of countenance. A class by itself is the more simple form of engraving, generally cut on a milky and translucent agate, the bird, fish, or other object being delineated by a few touches of the graver's tool. Some of the objects which it was intended to represent are not at all easy to make out, but I have a seal of this class with a very spirited representation of a man, with

a pigtail evidently, and other details of dress and figure very Chinese in their general effect. Some of the small intaglio seals are very beautiful, the detail of the horns and body of the animals being most carefully carried out. The animals are probably intended to represent the signs of the Zodiac.

The coins that are discovered bear the face and head of ancient monarchs, and the features and details of dress vary. These coins are now with the Society, and their exact significance can be clearly distinguished. Suffice it to say that the coins with effigies come from the ruins which extend from Sār-o-Tūr, in the south, past Chakānsur and up to the ruins known as Post-i-Gau<sup>1</sup> and Chāpu, embracing the ancient sites at Kadah and Khana-i-Gaur, and Brindās, these localities being situated to the east of Chakānsur.

With these ancient mintages are found the coins of the Caliphs and the earlier Muhammadan coins. I have seen a very much defaced copper coin (apparently of Mahmud of Ghazni) which was found in the ruins of Sār-o-Tūr itself. Copper coins, as a rule, are ruined by bad usage at the hands of the 'Dagāl Gardis' themselves. They place the coins they collect into a fire, and the oxydised crust is burnt off, leaving only a thin wad or ingot of metal behind. The latter comes out quite plain; the inscriptions, effigy, or whatever the coin had originally stamped on it are either altogether removed, in the case of a much corroded piece, or too far obliterated to be of any interest or value. Sometimes silver coins are also subjected to this treatment; but generally the greater value of the metal secures it better treatment.

As a rule, the more modern coins are found nearer the Helmand and across it inside Persian Seistan. But I have seen a coin of Kutb-ud-din, the Kaiani Malik of Seistan,<sup>2</sup> a contemporary of the celebrated Tamerlane, which was

<sup>1</sup> Both these are perhaps modern and Baluchi names. But this is not beyond doubt, as associated with them and close by is a ruin which still bears a name preserved in the writings of Istakbri, and the place so mentioned is probably the existing ruined site now visible.

<sup>2</sup> Taken prisoner by Timur in the month of Shawal, 785 A.H., and liberated after his death in 803 A.H.

brought in from Post-i-Gau. Coins of the Maliks of Seistan are not very numerous. Copper coins bearing the title of several princes of this family have been found, with the words "struck in Nimroz" or "the country of Nimroz." These are useful for verifying the names of those princes which appear in the *Shijrat-ul-Muluk*, a manuscript genealogy of the family, which, however, preserves little but a list of names of the ruling chiefs who have held authority in Seistan.

One very handsome gold piece bore on the obverse the legend "*Al Malik al A'sam 'Iz-ud-dunya wa ud-din Kai(ani).*" It formed part of an ornament belonging evidently to a lady of some position, whose husband was able to afford to buy gold coins for such a purpose. Another of these (on the same article) was a gold coin struck by the same, or another, Malik. This was a much more elaborate piece. The inscription was very full and cramped, and it could not be deciphered in the very short time the coin was in my hands. The word *Al Malik* stood at the head by itself, and in many of the copper coins the same arrangement is found to exist. So that, although the mint town is not named, there can be but little doubt that they were struck in Seistan, at the capital. Both coins were of the same weight. Each weighed equal to a rupee of Indian currency,<sup>1</sup> including the brass loop welded on so as to allow of their being strung on a necklace or other article of personal adornment.

The author of the *Rauzat-ul-Jannat fi Ausaf-i-Madinati-l-Herat*, Mulla Muin Zamji Isfirari, mentions a Malik, Muiz-ud-din Husen, who made himself very unpopular for many reasons, one of which was an alteration in the currency. Flying to the "island of the Zirreh" (Koh Khwaja) for refuge from the troops of Babar Mirza, Prince of Herat, he was put to death by the leading men of Seistan. This was in 859 A.H. Silver coins with the name "*Iz-ul-Haq*" and *wa ul-din* are fairly numerous, and on a copper coin are the words "*Iz-ul-Haq*" and "struck in Nimroz." So perhaps these coins may belong to the period of that Malik. In

<sup>1</sup> The rupee = 180 grs. troy.

the Shijrat ul Muluk he is called Malik Husen, is said to have had a glorious reign, and at last to have suffered from the caprices of fortune.

Some of the copper coins have very clear but abbreviated inscriptions. It was necessary to curtail these as the coins are very small, being mere wads of copper stamped on either face.

Copper was the metal universally used. Cattle brands are brought in, and seals of this metal are very common; a lamp was brought to me from Sār-o-Tār. Several fragments of censers or incense-burners, pitchers and ewers, ladles, mortars, and fragments that look like portions of body armour, or which may have been parts of copper caskets, are also very common. I have an arrow-head made of copper; and iron seems to have been either not used or kept solely for implements of agriculture and warlike weapons. It was probably difficult to get. The trade of a coppersmith must have been a lucrative one owing to the demand for his wares. And thus grew up the tale preserved in the Shijrat ul Muluk that Lais the coppersmith by his daily toil supplied his vagrant sons Yakub and Amru with the means of entertaining their fellows, who spent the father's daily earnings every night. And the sons of the coppersmith of Karyetein in Seistan spread the name and craft of their father throughout the world of Islam. The coins with effigies of an European type come from the tract of country about the embouchure of the Khāsh Rud and the ruins around the fort of Chihilburj.

To the west of the Helmand but few coins are found. During the year 1903-4 only some half-dozen coins were found in the ruins of Zāhidān. One of these had a loop attached to it, and was evidently used for decorative purposes long ago. It is an ancient coin, possibly struck during the Caliphate.

The name also of the town and country has altered, on coins of the Maliks, from the reigns of Malik Kutb-ud-din and his successors. Struck in Nimroz (or the town or country *فے بلاد نیمروز*) of Nimroz takes the place of Zaranj.

In order to induce the Dagāl Gardis to bring in their finds to the Mission Camp, it was necessary to offer them some inducement in the shape of higher prices than those they command in the vicinity of their abodes, especially as the journey included a swim across the Helmand in flood. There is a steady demand for ancient coins and seals, which find a ready market. For one thing, they are regarded with a certain amount of awe, as being endowed with certain properties that render them operative against ailments. The pendants cut out of the thick sea-shells are called 'Gwāti.' 'Gwāt' in Baluchi means wind; and the ornaments are believed to be a specific for pains and aches due to rheumatism or neuralgia, and they are worn in order to ward off these attacks. The old coins of the Caliphate or early Muhammadan mintage are distinctly held in reverence. In those days, before Islam was rent by the two great schisms, men say their ancestors' religious zeal burnt clear and steadily, and the profession of faith stamped on the ancient coins was more sincerely believed in than is the case in these degenerate days, and a greater potency is ascribed to it, which render these old coins objects of a sentimental regard. Then, again, coins and intaglios have a value as ornaments. They are bought largely by the richer classes of the people. Sardars and Kalāntars and wealthy traders generally have some.

The late Kalāntar, or Mir as he was called, of Iskil had a collection of seals and coins large enough to fill two or three small trunks. This collection is said to be very remarkable. I believe no European has ever been able, or allowed, to see the whole of it,<sup>1</sup> so it is not possible to form any idea of its extent or value. His sons have inherited the collection and property generally. The late Mir Abbas was in many ways a very remarkable man. His family and two others had the title of Mir handed down from their ancestors. The Mirs of Chakānsur, sometimes also called Mir-i-Arab, and the Mirs of Daulatabad have, however, fallen into evil days, and sunk in the social scale. The

<sup>1</sup> It is hoped the British Commissioner will be able to examine this collection before the work of the Mission closes.

late Kalāntar of Iskil displayed great enthusiasm in forming this collection; and, as he was always willing to give a fair return for what he took, and as his residence was on the high road to the city as soon as the river had been crossed, he commanded the supply of these articles. He took great pride in his collection, and used to occasionally present a few coins or seals to officers who visited him.

In the company of ancient coins, tokens of brass are often brought for sale as gold coins. Among these I have observed a brass imitation of the Venetian sequin, on which there was still legible a portion of the inscription, "Sit tibi, Christe, datus, quem Tu regis iste ducatus," and the well-known brass card-counters—(1) imitation of the spade-guinea of George III, with inscr. "In memory of the good old days"; (2) *obv.* head of Queen Victoria; *rev.* the Duke of Cumberland on horseback galloping, with inscr. "To Hanover."

Lastly, I have had brought to me the following gold coins (ducats) of the Netherlands: two of the province of Holland (eighteenth century), and one of King William I, 1837.

No detailed account of the ancient coins has been attempted, because they are in the hands of those more qualified to speak with authority on such a subject. And this note has been put together in the intervals of official work, from observations recorded at various times, in the hope that the matter may perhaps be not uninteresting.

CAMP KUHAK.

April 9, 1904.

## XXVII.

NOTE ON MUSALMAN COINS COLLECTED BY  
MR. G. P. TATE IN SEISTAN.

By O. CODRINGTON, M.D., F.S.A.

THE following coins were sent by Mr. Tate, together with those described by Professor Rapson in the preceding article :—

UMAYYAD KHALIFS.	Dimashk.	A.H. 80.	Æ.
	al-Taimarah.	„ 94.	„
	Wāsīt.	„ 94.	„
‘ABBĀSID KHALIF.	Madinat Balkh.	„ 194.	„

Khalif coins of Taimarah mint are rare, but one of the year 94 is given in Tiesenhausen, No. 402.

GHAZNAWID.	Sabaktigin, as B.M. Cat., vol. ii, No. 453.	Æ.
	Mahmūd. Four coins of ordinary types.	„

SIJISTĀN MĀLIK (?). Quṭb al Din. No mint. Year 74—

*Obv.* In square لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

Circle surrounding the square with floral ornament in the four spaces.

Margin : In four divisions made by loops from the corners of the square — اربعين — وسبع مائة

*Rev.* In plain circle السلطان العادل تطب الدنيا والدين

Two outer circles ; one of dots and one plain.

Pl. 11. Æ ; Size 1·1 ; Wt. 80.

This is no doubt the coin referred to in Mr. Tate's article as one of "Kutb-ud-din, the Kaiani Malik of Seistan." There is some doubt whether he was reigning as early

as 74—, but there seems to be no other Qutb al Dīn, of the date, to whom to attribute the coin. The top word on *Rev.* is certainly سلطان, not ملك.

CHAGATAI. Buyān Quli (A.H. 749–760). Herāt, year 75—.

*Obv.* In square لا اله الا الله || محمد || رسول الله

Around: names of four Khalifs.

*Rev.* In circle السلطان العادل || بويان قلى خان || خلد الله

Characteristic symbol between the two words of last line.

Margin, within a plain and a dotted circle

ضرب هرات . . . . خمسين وسبعماية

Pl. 14. *R.*; Size 1·1; Wt. 125.

KARTS OF HERĀT. Ḥusain (A.H. 732–771). Herāt, year 752.

1. As B.M. Cat., vol. vi, No. 592. *R.*

2. Two others of similar type, except that في سنة ٧٥٢ is omitted from the *Rev.* legend. *R.*

HERĀT. (Doubtful.)

1. *Obv.* In square of double lines, لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله in square Cufic characters arranged as in B.M. Cat., vol. vi, No. 592a.

Margin in four compartments within circle, names of four Khalifs.

*Rev.* In square of double lines, with loops in the middle of each side, arranged in the same manner as the *Obv.*, محمد رسول الله صلى الله عليه ضرب هرات

Margin in eight divisions, in poor lettering, nothing legible but ضرب.

Pl. 12. *R.*; Size 1·25; Wt. 124.

The word above هرات is somewhat doubtful, owing to the bad lettering, but is, I think, ضرب.



2. Three others of the same pattern, but of more corrupt lettering; traces of date can be seen in the marginal legend of one of them. *R.*
3. One of the same pattern, except that the *rev.* area is in eight-foil. *R.*
4. Herāt, year 775.  
*Obv.* As preceding coins.  
*Rev.* In sixfoil, in three lines محمد || صلى الله عليه || ornament above and below.  
 Margin : ضرب هراة . . في شهر سنة خمس سبعين وسبعمايةه  
 Pl. 13. *R.*; Size 1·2; Wt. 148.

In "Catalogue of Coins collected by C. J. Rodgers and purchased by the Government of the Panjab," pt. iv, p. 27, two coins are described which are, it would seem, similar to these, but as they are not figured one cannot be certain. The *Rev.* central legend on them is read as ending in وسلم instead of ضرب هراة, and the marginal legend is given on

No. 1 ضرب || بلدة || هراة || في سنة || اثني || ثمانين || وسبع || مائة ||  
 and on No. 2 . . . في سنة ver في بلدة هراة ضا . . .

The identity of the latter to the marginal legend on coins of Ḥusain, B.M. Cat., vol. vi, No. 592*a*, mentioned above, leaves no doubt of the coin being also one of that ruler, and from the general likeness in pattern of No. 1, dated ten years after Ḥusain's time, to that of No. 2, it may fairly be attributed to Ghīyath al Dīn Pīr 'Alī, successor of Ḥusain, who was in power at Herāt from A.H. 772 until the capture of that place by Tīmūr in 783. In all probability these now described were also coins of the same ruler.

TĪMURID. 1. Abu Sa'īd (A.H. 855-872).

Sāri. No date.

*Obv.* In plain circle, with outer circle of dots in three lines

... || أبو سعيد || ...

Counter-struck in cartouches <sup>به</sup> <sup>بلخ</sup> and <sup>بود</sup> <sup>بود</sup>

*Rev.* ... || خلد الله || سلطانه || ضرب سارے

Pl. 15. *AR*; Size .85; Wt. 66.

2. Samarqand. No date; as B.M. Cat., vol. vii, No. 112.

Counter-struck on *Rev.* <sup>به</sup> <sup>بلخ</sup> *AR*.  
<sup>بود</sup>

3. Baisanghar (A.H. 900-902).

[Samarqand.] Year 901.

*Obv.* In looped square لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

Margin in four looped cartouches

ابوبكر الصديق - عمر الفاروق - عثمان عفان - علي المرتضى

Counter-struck . . . . . (?)  
لالعز

*Rev.* In circle ٩٠١ غازي || بايسنغر || سلطان

Margin, within plain circle and another dotted one,

السلطان الاعظم خلد الله تعالى . . . . .

*AR*; Size .95; Wt. 70.

This coin is similar to one described and figured by Tiesenhausen, in "Nouveautés Numismatiques," published in the Proceedings of the Imperial Russian Archæological Society, tome vi, pp. 229-264, on which is the whole of the *Rev.* marginal legend ending

تعالى ملكه وسلطانه ضرب سمرقند

Husain Baikara (A.H. 873-913).

1. Astarâbâd, as B.M. Cat., vol. vii, No. 126. Four coins without date. *AR*.

2. Herāt, year 895, as B.M. Cat., vol. vii, No. 123, and six  
 Ṛ of the same pattern without date, one of which is  
 counter-struck *بایسنغر*. Ṛ.
3. Balkh. No date. Similar to the above Herāt coins, but in  
 the centre *بلخ* instead of *هرآة*.  
 Ṛ; Size '9; Wt. 70.

This is a rarity, no Timurid coin struck at Balkh having  
 been, as far as I know, published hitherto.

SHĪRWĀNID. 'Izz al-Ḥaqq Kirmān b. Maḥmūd. Mint and  
 date not legible.  
 Similar to B.M. Cat., vol. x, No. 2487, p. 180. Four coins. Ṛ.

These coins are those referred to in Mr. Tate's article as  
 silver ones, with the inscription "Iz-ul-Ḥaqq wa-ul-din."  
 The specimens in the British Museum are also all without  
 legible dates and mint places, but Marv has been read  
 doubtfully on one and Barda' on another. C. J. Rodgers  
 read the mint Nimroz on some he described in J.A.S.B.,  
 1896, vol. lxx, p. 226.

SHĀHS OF PERSIA. Isma'īl I (A.D. 907-930).

1. Herāt, year 916. As Brit. Mus. Cat., Shah of Persia, No. 1.  
 2. Herāt, year 916.

*Obv.* Area in circle *لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله*

Margin in six-looped cartouches within plain circle—

*محمد على محمد على محمد على  
 حسن حسن حسين جعفر موسى محمد*

*Rev.* Full legend, as in B.M. Cat., No. 1, but without dividing  
 lines, and ending *۹۱۶ ضرب هرآة*

Ṛ; Size 1·1; Wt. 141.

Ṭahmāsp I (A.H. 930-984).

Herāt. No date. As B.M. Cat., No. 26. Ṛ.

## Sultān Husain (A.H. 1105-1135).

1. Isfahān. Year 1131. As B.M. Cat., No. 117. A.H. Ṛ.
2. Meshhed. Year 1132.

*Obv.* As B.M. Cat., No. 88.

*Rev.* حسین کلب استان علی مشهد ۱۱۳۲

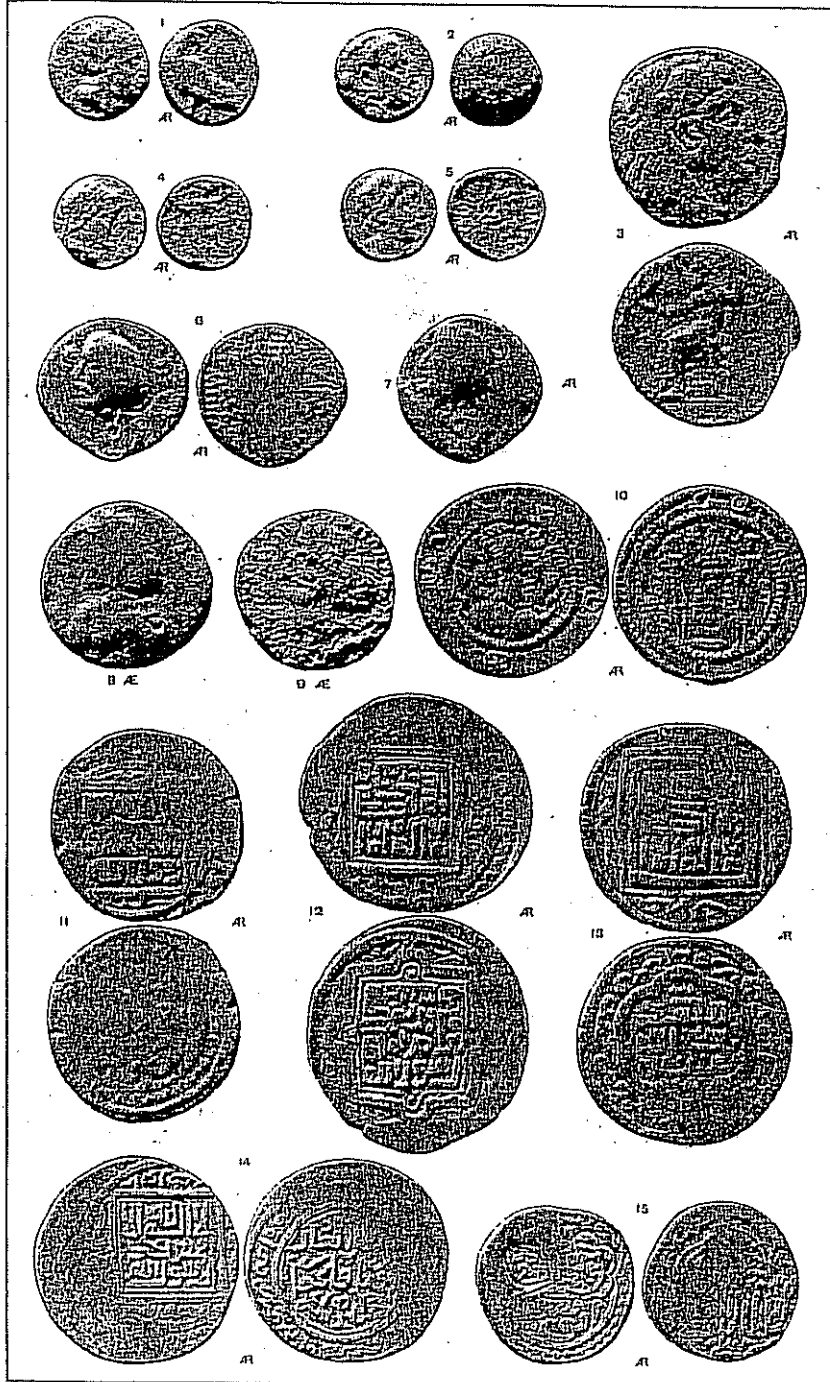
Ṛ; Size 95; Wt. 78.

## ‘Abbās III (A.H. 1144-1148).

Without mint or date. As B.M. Cat., No. 213a. Ṛ.

## ‘Ādil Shāh (A.H. 1160-1161).

Meshhed. Year 1160. As B.M. Cat., No. 282. Ṛ.



COINS FROM SEISTAN.



## XXI.

FURTHER NOTE ON MUSALMAN COINS COLLECTED  
BY MR. G. P. TATE IN SEISTAN.

By O. CODRINGTON, M.D., F.S.A.

SINCE the note on these coins was published in the Society's Journal last year, p. 681, Mr. A. G. Ellis has been so good as to prepare the following list of the Sijistān or Nīmrūz Maliks from about A.H. 460 to 885, taken from the *Ihyā al-Mulūk*, by Shāh Husain b. Ghiyāth al-Dīn :—

## KINGS OF NĪMRŪZ.

RESTORATION OF THE ŠAFFĀRĪ LINE AFTER THE DEATH OF KHALAF  
B. AḤMAD (A.H. 399) AND THE GHAZNAVI OCCUPATION.

	A.H.
Tāhir b. Muḥammad b. Tāhir b. <u>Khalaf</u> .. .. .	c. 460-480
Amīr Shāhīnshāh .. .. .	480
Bahā al-Daulah Tāhir b. Naṣr b. Aḥmad .. .. .	480 (?) - 481
Tāj al-Dīn Abu al-Faḍl Naṣr b. Tāhir b. Muḥammad	483-559
Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Tāj al-Dīn.	
'Izz al-Mulūk (Muḥammad) b. Tāj al-Dīn.	
Tāj al-Dīn Ḥarb b. 'Izz al-Mulūk .. .. .	-612
Shams al-Dīn (Yamīn al-Daulah) Bahrām Shāh	
b. Nāṣir al-Dīn b. Tāj al-Dīn .. .. .	612-618
Nuṣrat al-Dīn b. Bahrām Shāh .. .. .	(618)
Rukn al-Dīn b. Bahrām Shāh .. .. .	(618)
Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Nāṣir al-Dīn .. .. .	(619-622)
[Tāj al-Dīn Niyāltigīn] .. .. .	[622-627]
Shams al-Dīn 'Alī b. Mas'ūd b. <u>Khalaf</u> b. Mihrbān	
b. Tāhir b. Naṣr b. Aḥmad .. .. .	630-652
Naṣr al-Dīn b. Abi al-Faṭḥ b. Mas'ūd .. .. .	652-728
Shāh Nuṣrat b. Naṣr al-Dīn .. .. .	728-731
Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Rukn al-Dīn Maḥmūd	
b. Naṣr al-Dīn .. .. .	731-747

	A.H.
Tāj al-Dīn b. Quṭb al-Dīn .. .. .	747-751
Sultān Maḥmūd b. Shāh 'Alī b. Naṣr al-Dīn ..	751-753
'Izz al-Dīn b. Rukn al-Dīn Maḥmūd .. ..	753-784
Quṭb al-Dīn b. 'Izz al-Dīn .. .. .	784-788
Shāh Shāhān Tāj al-Dīn b. Quṭb al-Dīn b. 'Izz al-Dīn	788-805
Quṭb al-Dīn b. Shāh 'Alī b. Shāhzādah .. ..	806-822
Shāh Shāhān Shams al-Dīn 'Alī b. Quṭb al-Dīn	822-842 (852 ?)
Niẓām al-Dīn Yaḥya b. Shams al-Dīn .. ..	842 (852 ?)-885
Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Niẓām al-Dīn ..	885-
Sultān Maḥmūd .. .. .	-

From this it will be seen that there was a King of Nīmrūz reigning from A.H. 731 to 747 named Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad. The coin bearing the name Quṭb al-Dīn, dated 74x, described on p. 681, may therefore be attributed to him and not to Quṭb al-Dīn b. 'Izz al-Dīn, who was deposed and executed by Timūr.

Mr. Ellis has also sent me a translation of the account of this king's reign given in the *Iḥya al-Mulūk*, from which the following is an extract:—

“Malik Quṭb al-Dīn b. Shāh Rukn succeeded his uncle Shāh Nuṣrat on the throne of Sīstān in A.H. 731, having been duly elected by the votes of the princes of the royal house and great men of the State. His investiture with the sovereignty of Nīmrūz took place on Monday, Rabī' I, S., on which occasion much largess was judiciously distributed. Quṭb al-Dīn was an excellent ruler, firm, politic, just, liberal, brave, devout, a patron of learning, genius, and piety, an enemy of vice and profligacy. He was wont to encourage worth by conferring of stipends, and every day there used to issue from his kitchens thirty ass-loads of bread and ten of meat, with other necessaries in proportion, which were distributed to strangers and the poor. All Sīstān acknowledged his sway. When he had completed the organisation of his kingdom, certain traitorous persons incited Malik Ḥusain Ghūrī, ruler of Harūt, to invade Sīstān, who in consequence in A.H. 734 led an army more numerous than ants or locusts against the king. When the news of this invasion reached Malik Quṭb al-Dīn he gathered a force of 80,000 veteran troops, foot and horse, together with elephants, and set out from the city of Sīstān to meet the army of Khurāsān. When the troops of Sīstān had reached كرخ كرد, the army of Khurāsān being encamped by the stream



of Panj Dih, Amīr Iqbāl Sābiq, one of the trusted adherents of Shaik 'Alā al-Daulah Sīstānī, came to Malik Quṭb al-Dīn and besought him to halt his army that he might go to the King of Harāt and dissuade him from this enterprise, attacking Moslems without just quarrel. The king said, 'Go, and tell him that I have no fear or dread of him, but that I am loth to shed the blood of Moslems. If he will not relinquish this enterprise our dispute must be settled on the field of battle.' Mīr Iqbāl delivered this message to Malik Ḥusain, and showed him the overwhelming superiority of the army of Sīstān. Malik Ḥusain accepted his advice, and at once returned to Harāt by double marches. Thus the two kings returned home without fighting."

This is interesting, and bears on the subject of this collection in that coins of Malik Ḥusain of Harāt (A.H. 732-771) are included in it, as mentioned in my former note, p. 682.

Mr. Tate has lately sent another small collection which he has made in Seistan, containing some Musalman coins requiring notice, viz. :—

SĀMĀNID. Maṅṅur b. Nuh.

Two copper fals of Bukhara dated A.H. 357, of the pattern of No. 405, B.M. Cat., vol. iii, of the year 354.

GOVERNORS OF SIJISTĀN. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad.

1. Gold. Sijistān. A.H. 343.

*Obv.* Area in plain circle || محمد رسول الله || لا اله الا الله

المطيع لله || احمد بن محمد || خلف

Margin in plain circle بسم الله ضرب هذا الدين

بسيستان سنة ثلث واربعين وثلث مائة

*Rev.* Area in plain circle || الصمد لم يلد ولم || الله احد الله

يولد ولم يكن له || كفوا احد

Margin in plain circle محمد رسول الله ارسله بالهدى  
 ودين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله ولو كره المشركون  
*AV* .9; Wt. 33 (looped).

A thin gold coin of good workmanship, with clear, well-formed lettering. This is, I think, the first dinar of *Aḥmad* which has been edited.

2. Four copper fals, *Sijistān*, A.H. 343; B.M. Cat., vol. iii, No. 35.

3. Fals. *Sijistān*, date illegible.

*Obv.* Area in plain circle, arabesque letters

المطيع || لله || خلف

Margin . . . ضرب هذا الفلّس بسجستان . . .

*Rev.* In plain circle مما امر به || الامير . . . || احمد بن

محمد || ايده الله || ●

Margin illegible.

*Æ* .85; Wt. 20.

Khalaf b. Aḥmad.

1. Gold. *Sijistān*, A.H. 3[7]9.

*Obv.* Area in plain circle, two leaf ornaments below

الله || محمد || رسول الله || الطائع لله

Margin illegible, lettering corrupt.

*Rev.* Area in plain circle, two leaf ornaments below

الدولة || لا اله الا || الله وحده || خلف بن احمد

*AV* .7; Wt. 25.

2. Copper fals. *Sijistān*, no date.

*Obv.* Area in plain circle, arabesque lettering الله || المطيع

Margin . . . بسجستان . . .

*Rev.* Area in looped circle, arabesque خلف بن || احمد

Margin illegible.

*Æ* .85; Wt. 21.

Ḥarb b. Muḥammad. Copper.

*Obv.* لا اله الا الله || محمد رسول الله || الناصر لدين الله || محمد

*Rev.* In plain circle حرب || °°

Margin illegible.

B.M. Cat., vol. ix, p. 269.

This coin was first described in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1881, by H. Sauvaire, in an article "Sur un Fels Saffârîde inédit," which contains an excellent summary of the history of these governors, rightly called by the writer "la seconde branche des Saffârîdes."

KINGS OF NĪMRŪZ. Naṣr al-Dīn. Copper.

*Obv.* In circle الملك الاعظم || نصر الدنيا || والدين

*Rev.* ضرب || في البلد || نيمروز

‘Izz al-Dīn.

1. *Obv.* In quatrefoil الملك || الاعظم عز || الحق والدين

*Rev.* In circle ضرب || نيمروز

2. *Obv.* In circle with ⊙ above and circle of dots outside it

عز || الحق و || الدين

*Rev.* In circles as *obv.* ضرب في البلد || نيمروز

3. *Obv.* As No. 2.

*Rev.* As No. 1.

4. *Obv.* In circle الملك || الاعظم عز الحق || والدين

*Rev.* As No. 2.

5. *Obv.* .. || الاعظم عز || الحق || والدين || سكه

*Rev.* As No. 1.

Quṭb al-Dīn.

*Obv.* In circle السلطان || العادل قطب || الدنيا والدين

*Rev.* In circle ضرب || نيمروز

## Doubtful king.

1. *Obv.* In circle السلطان || دل يمين (?) || الدنيا والدين
- Rev.* In dotted circle ضرب || نيمروز
2. *Obv.* . . . || العادل || تان
- Rev.* . . . || ضرب || نيمروز . . .

These coins are all about .6 inch in diameter and weigh about 46 grains; in appearance they resemble coins of the Dehli kings of a period of from the latter end of the seventh to that of the eighth century of the Hijra. They bear only the laqab of the king and the mint name. Mr. C. J. Rodgers described some of the same type in his Catalogue of Coins in the Lahore Museum, p. 137, "Sistān Coins"; in the Catalogue of Coins purchased from him by the Panjab Government, 1895, part iv, p. 19, "Sijistan or Nimroz Coins"; in the Proceedings of the Bengal Asiatic Society, 1884, p. 75, "Some Coins from Candahar"; and in Bengal As. Soc. Journal, 1896, pt. 2, p. 226, "Coins of Nimroz, including coins of Tāj al-Dīn Ḥarb, Rukn al-Dīn b. Bahrām Shāh, and Nuṣrat al-Dīn b. Bahrām Shāh." A difficulty I felt in attributing these coins to the kings of Nimrūz caused by the word الحق being part of the laqab on them and not so in the list taken from the Iḥyā al-Mulūk has been removed by the dated inscription of Shams al-Dīn 'Alī published by Mr. Ellis in the Society's Journal, 1904, p. 173, where that Malik's name is given as شمس الحق و الدنيا والدين, and by Mr. Ellis finding that Naṣr al-Dīn, the successor of Shams al-Dīn, is called in the Iḥyā al-Mulūk first نصر الدين بن مسعود, then نصر الحق والدين, then نصر الحق, and finally نصر الدين والدنيا.

I attribute these coins, subject to confirmation, to Naṣr al-Dīn b. Abi al-Faṭḥ, 652-728; 'Izz al-Dīn b. Rukn al-Dīn, 753-784; and Quṭb al-Dīn b. Shah 'Alī, 806-822, respectively.

## NĪMRŪZ COINS WITHOUT RULER'S NAME.

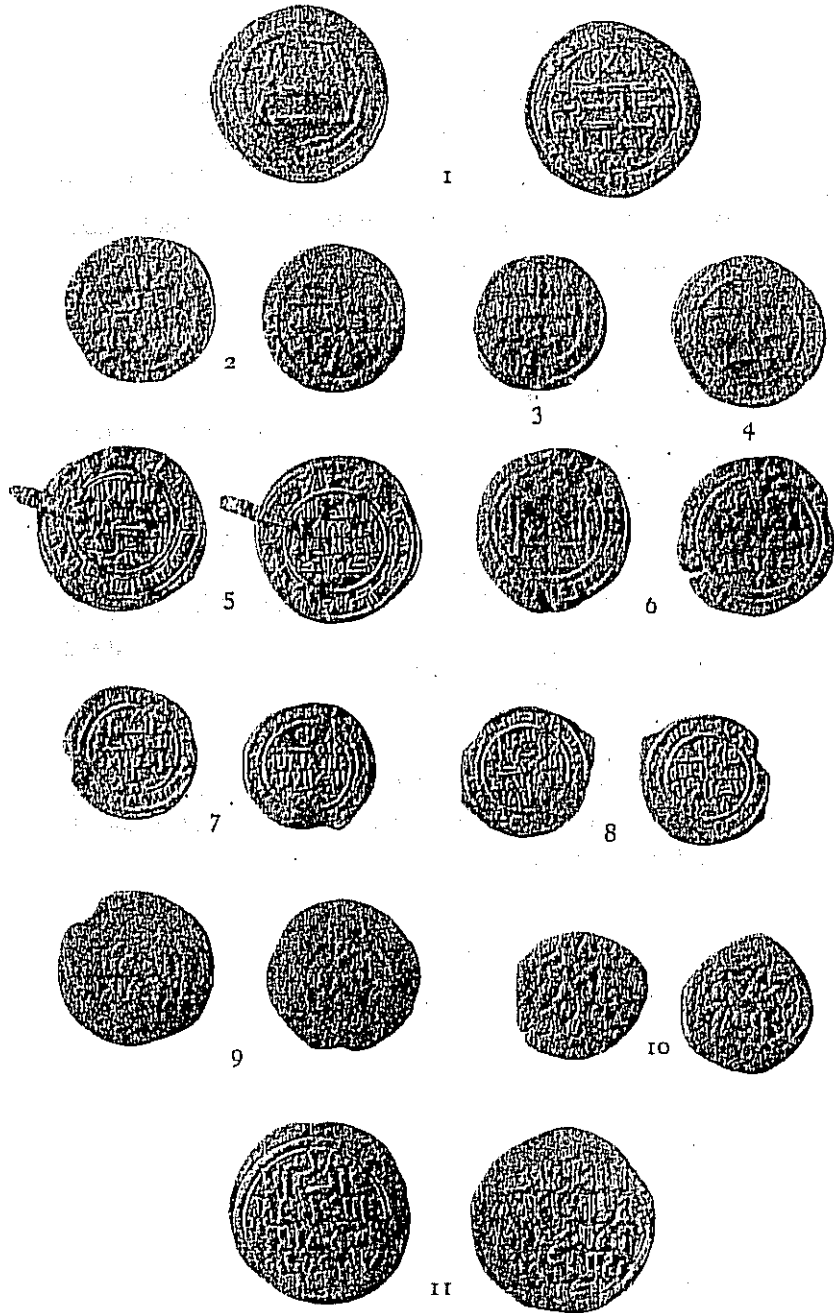
1. *Obv.* In two interlaced triangles ضرب || روز || نیم
- Rev.* In eight-foil with outer band of loops and leaves سنة ٨٨٥  
Æ ٠7; Wt. 50.
2. *Obv.* In double hexagon within circles of lines and dots ضرب
- Rev.* In quatrefoil within circles of lines نیمر || وز  
Æ ٠65; Wt. 52.
3. *Obv.* In plain circle ضرب || نیمروز || ٨٣٦
- Rev.* Arabesque ornamentation.  
Æ ٠7; Wt. 55.
4. *Obv.* In circle within arabesque حاک (?) || ضرب || نیمروز
- Rev.* Illegible.  
Æ ٠65; Wt. 29.
5. *Obv.* Area in square, Kufic lettering arranged in the square  
بادشاه . . . .

Margin illegible.

*Rev.* In crenated circle ضرب || نیمروز || ٥٢٨ || سنة

The figure before the ٢ of the date is a small circle, and may be a ٩ without a tail or the second cipher of ١٠٢٨, of which the first cipher does not appear.

Æ ٠65; Wt. 36.



COINS FROM SEISTAN.

## XXIII

COINS COLLECTED BY SIR A. HENRY McMAHON,  
K.C.I.E., IN SEISTAN

By O. CODRINGTON, M.D., F.S.A.

SOME time after the descriptions of the coins collected by Mr. G. P. Tate were published in the Journal for 1904 and 1905 Sir Henry McMahon brought home the collections which he had made during the time he was the Boundary Commissioner in Seistan, but unfortunately there has been much delay in giving a description of them.

The varieties of classes of coins represented were as numerous as those gathered by Mr. Tate, and although the great majority were in poor condition and many hardly recognizable, some rarities were found, as will be seen by the following list; and again the wondrous field for numismatic finds offered by that wind-swept region of shifting sands is evidenced.

UMAYYAD KHALIFS. *AR.* Wāsiṭ, A.H. 96, 105, 123. Eight pieces apparently cut to divide dirhems into fractional parts, which is not a common practice, it is thought, with Musalman coins.

ABBASID KHALIFS. *AV.* A.H. 167.

Sijistān. *AR.* A.H. 174 (Tiesenhausen, 1184). No date. *Æ.* A.H. 367.

Madinat al-Salām. *AR.* A.H. 167, 183.

Basrah. *AR.* A.H. 182.

Madinat Zarinj. *Æ.* A.H. 192.

Balkh. *AR.* A.H. 183.

No mint. *Æ.* A.H. 163.

SASSANIAN. Hormaz II. 1 *AR.*, 1 *Æ.* Firuz. 1 *AR.* Vargharsh. 1 *AR.* Kobad. 1 *Æ.* Hormaz IV. 1 *AR.* Ardeshir II and Shapur III. 4 *Æ.*, uncertain, 2 *AR.*, 1 *Æ.*

PARTHIAN. Orodes I. 3 *AR.* Mithradates IV. 4 *AR.* Goterzes. 1 *AR.* Vardanes II. 2 *AR.* Vologeses I. 1 *AR.*

SAMANID. Mansūr b. Nūh. *Æ.* Bukhāra, A.H. 354; no

mint, A.H. (3)56; 1 no mint or date. Nūh b. Mansūr. Æ.  
No mint, A.H. 376.

KART OF HARAT. Ḥusain. Harāt, no date (B.M. Cat.,  
No. 592).

TIMURID. Tīmūr. 1 Æ. Shāh Rukh. Æ. 1 no mint,  
A.H. 830; 1 overstruck doubtful.

TĀHIRID. Silver dirhem. Ṭalḥa. Madīnat Zarinj,  
A.H. 209. (Fig. 1.)

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

Margin. بسم الله ضرب هذه الدرهم بمدينة زرنج سنة تسع  
وماثنتين.

Rev. Area. محمد رسول الله | مما امر به | الامير  
طلحة | عبد الله | بنج \* بنج

Margin. (لله) ارسله بالهدى ودين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله  
ولو كره المشركون.

Obv. Annulets ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○. Size 9. Weight 41.

E. von Zambour devotes several pages of *Contributions à la Numismatique Orientale, Deuxième partie*, to the history and coinage of the Tahirids, and gives a list of pieces known to him struck between A.H. 200 and 211, none of which seem to correspond with this one. The rev. of the coin of Zarinj, dated A.H. 209 in his list, is thus described in Tornberg, *Numi Oufici*, p. 130, Area II: بنج \* بنج | عبد الله | رسول | الله | محمد. Other coins in the list have طلحة above or below the Area legend, but on this coin the name is in the adjectival form with the article ال attached, indicating, it is supposed, Ṭalḥa's coinage. Whether the name 'Abd Allah is added as an indication of Ṭalḥa's acting under the authority of his brother, or whether it is the name of some other person, a governor or prefect such as the Muhammad on the coin of Tornberg, is doubtful. The former seems probable.

According to Tabari's account, on Tāhir's death, A.H. 207, Mā'mūn named Ṭalḥa governor as deputy for his brother 'Abd Allah, then at Rakka fighting Naṣr b. Shabath, but



sent the patent of governor over Khurasān and all that Ṭāhir had held to 'Abd Allah in Syria, and further that Mā'mūn sent his vizier to Khurasān to establish Ṭalḥa in his office. Kindi's history shows that 'Abd Allah returned to Baghdad from Egypt only in A.H. 212. The *Kitāb al-Dijārāt* of Shabasti says that 'Abd Allah remained a year at Court and was then sent, against his wish, by Mā'mūn to fight Babak, stipulating that, this done, he was to remain at Court and choose as his deputy over Khurasān any one of his brothers; and the account adds that his stay in Khurasān at the date of his death, A.H. 230, had lasted fifteen years, that is, he went there in A.H. 215. It is evident, therefore, that he was not in Khurasān nor in countries beyond it in the East in A.H. 209.

GHAZNAVID. Maḥmud. 6  $\mathcal{R}$  of common type. Mas'ud. 1  $\mathcal{A}$ .

## GOVERNORS OF SIJISTAN

Abū Ja'far Aḥmad b. Muḥammad. 1. A number of copper coins similar to No. 34, B.M. Cat., vol. iii, with dates 339, 340, 341, 344.

2. Zarinj (?), A.H. 334.  $\mathcal{A}$ . (Fig. 2.)

*Obv.* Area. لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له || ابو جعفر

*Margin.* Within a plain circle and an outer one of annulets. . . . بزرج سنة اربع وثلثين وثلثمائة

*Rev.* Area. لله || محمد || رسول الله || احمد بن محمد

*Margin.* Illegible inscription. Size 9. Weight 48.

3. A considerable number of small copper coins with the name Abū Ja'far on them. All are in poor condition, but Figs. 3 and 4 may give a general idea of the *obv.* and *rev.* of two different coins. There are three or four varieties of a common type.

*Obv.* Area. لا اله الا الله || وحده لا شريك له || ابو جعفر

*Margin.* . . . ضرب هذه فلس بزرج سنة . . .

*Rev.* Area in a circle of annulets. لله || محمد || رسول الله || ابو جعفر

One has the *obv.* filled with a star of six leaves radiating from a central circle with pellets between the rays and a marginal circle of annulets between two of plain lines. *Rev.* as above, its date being سنة ثمان و ثلثين و ثلثمائة. Æ. Size .9. Weight 48.

Doubts as to the attribution of these Abū Ja'far coins have been removed by the kindness of Mr. Amedroz, who has found the following passages concerning Aḥmad b. Muḥammad:—

Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Laith was in the service of the Samanid Aḥmad b. Isma'il at his (Isma'il's) death, A.H. 301. (Ibn al-Athir, viii, 58, l. 19.)

Khalaf b. Aḥmad is noticed by Dhahabi in *Tarīkh i Islām* as Amir of Sijistān, and son of its Amir. Born A.H. 326, died A.H. 399. (Dhahabi, B.M. Or. 48, 257a.)

The poet Badi' al-Zamān al-Hamadhāni (d. A.H. 398), in lines quoted in *'Uṭbi Kitāb Yamīni*, lith. Sprenger, 207, describes Khalaf as descended from both the Ṣaffārīds 'Amru and Ya'kūb, sons of al-Laith, and Ibn al-Athir, ix, 57, makes him to be great-grandson of 'Amru by his grandmother Banū, daughter of 'Amru.

Ibn Miskawaih, in the *Tajārib al-Umam*, sub A.H. 354, describes the investiture of Khalaf thus: "In this year Abū Aḥmad Khalaf b. Abī Ja'far, the son of Banū, attended on the Khalif by the introduction of Mu'izz al-Daula, and the Khalif appointed him Governor of Sijistān and conferred on him a robe of honour and a banner" (Bodl., Marsh, 357, 37a). And Khalaf is mentioned again later on (ib., sub A.H. 357, fol. 72a): "And when 'Adud al-Daula had terminated the conquest of Kirman, and the news of this had reached the ruler of Sijistān, the latter wrote to him and an exchange of letters followed, and he came to terms with him, acknowledging him as his overlord. The ruler in question was Abū Aḥmad Khalaf b. Abī Ja'far, who was known as the son of Banūya."

In the *Irshād al-'Amr*, iii, 100, l. 11, the grammarian

Abū Sa'īd al-Sirāfi (*ob.* A.H. 368) is described as receiving a letter from "Abū Ja'far Malik Sijistān", containing a list of Kuranic and literary queries. It is evident from the dates that Abū Ja'far was the Malik in Sijistān a short time before Khalaf, whose rule began in A.H. 354, and from all the above extracts that he was the father of Khalaf b. Aḥmad and his predecessor; but it is remarkable that the known gold, silver, and one type of copper coins should be struck in the name of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, and another type of copper in that of Abū Ja'far. Possibly the explanation is that the latter was a local currency for Sijistān.

The gold coin of Aḥmad in the Tate Collection described in JRAS., 1895, but not then figured, is now given (Fig. 5), as is also No. 2 copper of Mr. Tate, the reading of the *rev.* of which is now made out to be *مما امر به الامير ابو جعفر احمد بن محمد ايداه الله* (Fig. 6).

Khalaf b. Aḥmad. Gold. Sijistān, A.H. 378, as B.M. Cat., No. 40, but marginal legend in full: *ضرب سبستان سنة ثمان وسبعين وثلثمائة* (Fig. 7.) Fig. 8 is the gold coin of the Tate Collection described JRAS., 1905, p. 550, which differs somewhat from this one. Copper. 3 as No. 2 of Tate Collection, JRAS., 1905, p. 550. (Fig. 9.)

Ḥarb b. Muḥammad, Copper. 2 as B.M. Cat., Nos. 42*f* and 42*m*.

KINGS OF NIMRUZ. 'Izz al-Dīn. Copper. 70 as in JRAS., 1905, p. 551. Quṭb al-Dīn. Copper. 13 as in JRAS., 1905, p. 551. Qān al-'Adil. Copper. 1 as in JRAS., 1905, p. 552. Without a king's name, but dated in the time of Shams al-Dīn 'Alī b. Quṭb al-Dīn. Copper.

*Obv.* Arabesque pattern of interlacing curved lines with floriated ends.

*Rev.* *ضرب نيمروز ٨٣٦* in plain circle. *Æ.* Size .75. Weight 53. (Fig. 10.)

KHAWARIZM SHAH. 'Ala al-Dīn Muḥammad. Gold. No mint or date.

*Obv.* Area in plain circle, ornament above, annulet and pellets at sides. لا اله الا الله محمد ر || سول الله || الناصر. Margin illegible.

*Rev.* Area in circle with annulet and pellets at side. لله || السلطان الاعظم || علا الدنيا والدين || ابو الفتح محمد || بن السلطان || تكش. No marginal inscription. *AV.* Size 1. Weight 50. (Fig. 11.)

SHAHS OF PERSIA. Gold. 'Abbas I. Isfahan. Silver. Isma'īl I. Nimruz, no date. Tahmasp I. Harat, no date. Sulaimān I. Huwayza, 1086. Husain. Tabriz, 1133. 'Abbas III. No mint or date. Maḥmūd. Isfahan, no date. Copper. Fals of Nimruz with *obv.* two curled fishes.

AFGHANISTAN. Fals of leaf pattern and one of Kandahar, A.H. 92x.

GANDHARA. Copper. Samanta Deva.

GRECO-BACTRIAN. Pacores. Copper.

GREEK. Athens. Owl. Silver, corrupt.

English brass token. "To Hanover."

Imitation of a sequin of Doge Aloyses Mocenigo. Stamped "Made in Austria". This curious piece would appear from its stamp to have been made in Austria for the British market. We know that the Venetian sequin has been a popular ornament in India for three centuries or so, being used to decorate horse harness, as well as the persons of men and women, that the poorest woman in Bombay and Western India usually has one of sorts hung round her neck, and that imitation pieces are largely made in the native bazaars; but that they should be made in Europe for export to the East is somewhat of a surprise.

By Sir Henry McMahon's desire the above coins which are of sufficient value to be so kept are to be deposited in the British Museum.

## XV.

## ON A DIRHAM OF KHUSRU SHAH OF 361 A.H., Etc.

By H. F. AMEDROZ.

AMONG the uncertain Arabic coins in the British Museum are two dirhams of the years 361 and 363 A.H., which are described by Professor Stanley Lane-Poole (J.R.A.S., 1876, p. 295) as bearing the name of the Caliph al-Muṭṭiʿillah and of the sovereign (?) *خسرة شاه بن ماناكر*. The mint place on one of the coins is illegible; that on the coin of 361 A.H. was identified by Dr. O. Codrington as "Rūdhbār," and his collection contains a similar but more perfect specimen; there is also one at Paris, in the Cabinet des Médailles, struck at Rūdhbār; and one was published by Tornberg in the *Rev. Num. Belge*, 5th series, ii, 243. He read the mint Rūdhbār, and the name of Khusru Shāh's ancestor as *ماناكر*, adding that there was a dinar of the same type and mint in the collection of Baron Chaudoir, and that Millies possessed a dirham which he surmised to belong to the Dailamite dynasty of Wahsūdān.

No Khusru Shāh seems to be recorded in Oriental history as reigning at this date, but his existence is disclosed in the life of a physician in the *Tārīkh al-Ḥukamā* of al-Qifti (ed. Lippert, Leipzig, 1903, p. 149). The physician, Jibrīl b. 'Ubaid Allah b. Bakhtīshū', having succeeded in curing of an illness the vizier at al-Rayy, the Ṣāhib Ibn 'Abbād, was, at his request, sent from Baghdād by 'Adud al-Daula at some date not earlier than 360 A.H. to attend on "Khusru Shāh Malik al-Dailam," who had applied to the Ṣāhib to procure him a competent physician. Jibrīl attended him with success and returned to Baghdād. Later, at the invitation of the Marwanid ruler Mumahhid al-Daula (reigned

386-401 A.H.), he removed to Mayyāfāriqīn, and died there in 396 A.H. In the interval he was again summoned to attend Khusru Shāh, but was dissuaded from going.

A life of Jibrīl is also given by Ibn abi Uṣaibi'a (ed. Müller, Cairo, 1882, i, 144), a contemporary of al-Qiftī, dying twenty-two years after him, in 668 A.H. By his account Jibrīl did not go to Mayyāfāriqīn until after 392 A.H., for he says that after serving the Oqailid ruler of Mosul he returned to Baghdād, where he gained the favour of "al-'Amīd," who is presumably 'Amīd al-Juyūsh al-Ḥasan b. Ustādḥ Hurmuz, who was appointed governor of 'Irāq by Bahā al-Daula in 392 A.H. (Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 121). From this it would appear that Khusru Shāh was living as late as some date between 392 and 396 A.H.

Ibn abi Uṣaibi'a terms Khusru Shāh "Malik al-Dailam" and ابن مبادر, this spelling being confirmed by two MSS. of the work in the British Museum (Add. 7,340, fol. 59a, l. 10, and Add. 25,376, fol. 42a, l. ult.). It does not accord, however, with the inscription on the coins, one alif being wanting, and I believe it to be incorrect; for one of the volumes of the valuable British Museum MS. of the "Turjumān al-'Ibar" of Ibn Khaldūn (Add. 23,272), where the marginal notes are autograph of the author, contains on fol. 254b an account of the Ziyārid dynasty of Jurjān, headed—

دولة وشمكير وبنيه من الجيل اخوة الديلم

and continues:

قد تقدم لنا ذكر مرداويج وأنه كان من قواد الاطروش وبنيه وأنه  
من الجيل [من آل مانادر ملوكهم من اولهم وكانوا ينزلون مدينة  
الروذبار منذ دولة الاسلام وخرزايينهم في قلعة أكموت التي صارت  
لدعاة الاسماعيلية والجيل] كانوا اخوة الديلم وكانت حالهم واحدة الخ

By reason of the well-timed omission of the scribe, the words within brackets are in the handwriting of Ibn Khaldūn,

the name ماتدر being fully pointed. It seems reasonably clear that this is the name of the ancestor on the coins, for it will be observed that the tribe to which the Mānādhīr family belonged is stated to have been kin to the Dailamites over whom Khusru Shāh ruled; that the family is said to have long been of princely rank; and that their residence was Rūdhbār. This place is called by Yāqūt, in the *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, ii, 831, قصة بلاد ديلم, and his authority is a historian of Rūdhbār who was living at this period, Abu Sa'd Maṣūr b. al-Ḥusain al-Ābi, vizier at al-Rayy under Majd al-Daula, died 421 A.H. (Broekelmann, *Gesch. Arab. Lit.*, i, 351).

Millies' attribution of the dirham of Khusru Shāh to the Dailamite dynasty of Wahsūdān may well be correct. This dynasty's rise is noticed in an extract published by Dorn (*Muh. Quellen*, iv, 474) from the MS. of an abridged history, the *Tārīkh al-Ṣālihi*, in the Asiatic Library at St. Petersburg (Cat. Rosen, No. 163, p. 99), where, after an account of the Dailamite revolt in 315 A.H., when Isfār b. Shīrwāh seized al-Rayy and defeated the troops sent against him by Muqtadir (see *'Arīb Tab. Cont.*, 137), it is stated that, according to some authorities, the first Dailamite sovereign was Wahsūdān b. al-Marzubān, whose capital was Shāhrūstān, and that he was followed by three sons in succession, Justān, 'Alī, and Khusru Fīrūz, the two latter being killed by Muḥammad b. Musāfir, who also ousted Khusru's son and successor, Mahdi.

A certain Nūḥ b. Wahsūdān was in possession of Samīrān in 379 A.H. (Yāq., iii, 148), where, it appears from a letter of the Ṣāḥib Ibn 'Abbād, that Wahsūdān, during a reign of forty years, had seen his power decrease before that of the 'Kunkar' family. Samīrān was acquired from Nūḥ by Fakhr al-Daula, their respective fathers having quarrelled over the possession of Ṭarm, another Dailamite stronghold (Yāq., iii, 533), and it is possible that Khusru Shāh's independent position at Rūdhbār was due to the friendship of the Ṣāḥib Ibn 'Abbād. But I am unable to connect him with the Wahsūdān family.

The name "Mumahhid al-Daula" suggests noting what seems to be an erroneous attribution of a coin in the British Museum to this ruler (see *Cat. Or.*, iii, p. 25, No. 50). The date is illegible, but the reverse bears the name of 'Aḍud al-Daula; it must consequently have been struck before his death in 372 A.H. This date attracted the notice of M. van Berchem, now engaged on the inscriptions of Mayyāfāriqīn and its neighbourhood, as too early, having regard to the dates of Mumahhid al-Daula's reign given in the history of Mayyāfāriqīn by Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqi (see *J.R.A.S.*, 1903, p. 126). On the obverse of the coin the "Abū Maṣṣūr" in the second line is clear, but above it "Mumahhid" should, more probably, be read "Mu'ayyid," for although the word is much effaced, the second letter has the semblance of a و. It would then belong to the coinage of the Buwayhid Mu'ayyid al-Daula, not otherwise represented in the collection, who reigned at Iṣfahān 368-373 A.H. He also was Abu Maṣṣūr, and is known to have placed on his coinage the name of his brother 'Aḍud al-Daula. A coin of his so inscribed was published by S. Lane-Poole in the "Fasti Arabici," viii (*Num. Chron.*, 1892, 3rd series, vol. xii, p. 170).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Some of the coins of the Marwanid dynasty published by Tornberg (*Num. Cuf. R. N. Holm.*, class xix) seem to admit of emendation. No. 8, struck at Baṣra in 397 A.H., is attributed to Mumahhid al-Daula Abu-l-Ḥasan, whereas he was Abu Maṣṣūr. It may be that the name should be read مهذب الدولة, who was Abu-l-Ḥasan ('Alī b. Naṣr) and ruled *circa* 376-409 A.H. over the Baṭība, the swampy district between Wāsiṭ and Baṣra, which latter place was an unlikely Marwanid mint. He had succeeded his uncle, the Ḥājjib Muzaffar b. 'Alī, who had ousted the issue of 'Imrān b. Shāhīn, the outlaw who had asserted his independence against Mu'izz al-Daula, and it was at his court that al-Qādir had found a refuge against his predecessor, al-Tā'i. The second name on the coin, the Amīr Rukn al-Daula b. Dā'ūd (?), I cannot recognize. A coin very similar to the above is, I think, contained in the Paris Cabinet des Médailles, and two have been published by S. Lane-Poole in the "Fasti Arabici," vi and vii (*Num. Chron.*, 1887, p. 337, and 1892, p. 165). The mint of the former, read Ṣinnabra (?), may well be Baṣra, as is that of the latter, which also bears a second name, the Amīr "Baṭār al-Daula Abu Kida," unexplained.

Again, No. 11, which is read أبو الدواك عبد المسلم, would seem to belong to the first Oqailid ruler of Mosul, and to read أبو الدواك بن المسيب. He was still ruling in 381 A.H., the date of the accession of the Caliph al-Qādir,



If Mu'ayyid al-Daula's coin be of a proper standard, it contrasts favourably with the gold pieces of his father and predecessor Rukn al-Daula, which in 420 A.H. were in bad repute at Baghdād. Ibn al-Jauzi, relating in the "Muntazim" (Berlin, No. 9,436, fol. 178a) how in that year an inundation had stopped the mills from working, says that the price of grinding a *kara* measure of grain rose to three of Rukn al-Daula's dinars, and that these were the equivalent of one dinar, for they were half copper (السن) and eventually were composed entirely of this metal.

That base money was struck neither covertly nor under stress of necessity is shown by an incident which occurred at Damascus late in 530 A.H., recorded in the history of Abu Ya'li Hamza b. Asad al-Qalānisi (Bodl. Hunt., 125, fol. 141a). A certain al-Aṣma'i attended on the Dīwān, and asked leave to strike dinars to consist, as to one-half, one-fourth, and one-eighth respectively, of gold, and as to the rest, of copper (النحاس). The request was pressed until it was granted, and it was decided that the dinars should bear the names of the Caliph al-Rāshid billah, of the Saljuq Sultan Mas'ūd, and of the ruler of Damascus, Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Tāj al-Mulūk Būri b. Atābeg Tuḡhtigīn. The issue must have been a limited one, for the short Caliphate of al-Rāshid was nearing its close. There is but a single coin bearing his name in the British Museum collection (Cat. Or., Suppt., vol. ix, p. 280, No. 86<sup>r</sup>), struck at Baghdād by the Sultan Mas'ūd.

The above-mentioned vizier, al-Ābi, lived to see the deposition of Majd al-Daula and the seizure of his dominions by Maḥmūd b. Subuktigīn in 420 A.H., but he

whose name appears thereon. No coin of this ruler seems to be elsewhere recorded.

And No. 12, struck at Naṣībīn, bears the name of the Caliph al-Muṭi'; it must therefore be prior to 363 A.H., and anterior to the Marwanid dynasty.

The name *أبو تغلب سعيد بن فضل الله منصور* should perhaps be read *أبو تغلب* *فضل الله الغصنفر*, and the coin thus belong to the Hamdanid dynasty.

A very similar coin of Abu Taghlib is described, B.M. Or. iii, No. 18; and the next, No. 19, was struck at Naṣībīn.

was not then in office. Ibn al-Athīr's narrative (ix, 261) is brief, and makes no mention of a vizier. But a fuller account is given in the MS. Munich Arab., 378c, fol. 79b—a historical fragment of uncertain authorship covering the years 402–436 A.H., and drawing largely on the contemporary history of Hilāl al-Ṣābi.<sup>1</sup> It is there stated that the mutinous conduct of the Dailamite troops, which led Majd al-Daula to appeal to Maḥmūd, was caused by the refusal of the vizier, Abu-l-'Alā b. Kulail, to meet their claims from the treasure left by Fakhr al-Daula, except to the extent of the proceeds of fines (مصادرات). Maḥmūd was offered the overlordship and control of the government. He was then at Nisābūr dealing with revolting Turkish soldiery. From Jurjān, where Minuchīhr b. Qābūs b. Washmaghīr had

<sup>1</sup> The Munich MS. Arab. 378c was obligingly sent by Dr. Leidinger, head of the Munich MSS. Department, to the India Office Library for my use. Each year's narrative comprises political occurrences and a necrology. The author says under the year 434 A.H. (fol. 135b) that down to this date he had perused and made extracts from the history of Hilāl b. al-Muḥassin al-Ṣābi from the copy in the Waqf of the late Maḥik al-Ashraf (reigned, at Damascus, 626–636 A.H.), but that it failed him from this point, and down to the year 449 A.H., inasmuch as Ghara al-Ni'ma, his son, had recorded under 448 A.H. that his father's history extended to that date.

[The Waqf in question seems to be that described in a previous passage in the MS. (fol. 66b), where, after recording a death in 417 A.H., the author says that a son of the deceased possessed a shoe said to have belonged to the Prophet, which passed into the possession of the late sovereign al-Ashraf Mūsa b. Abu Bakr b. Ayyūb, who bought a house in Damascus, constituted it a Waqf, placed the shoe therein, and conveyed there a number of books, on which he settled an endowment.]

He says also in the notice of the Sharīf al-Raḍī (fol. 28a) that he had been told an anecdote relating to him by the vizier of the Caliph al-Musta'ṣim at Baghdād in 644 A.H. [The anecdote is told by Ibn Khallikān, in his life of al-Raḍī (De Sl. Eng., iii, 120), as derived from a certain compilation.] And in the notice of the Sharīf al-Murtadā (fol. 138a), after mentioning some strange tenets he held, and his reflections on the orthodoxy of the Ṣuḥāba, he proceeds:

ثم ذكر جدى من هذا الجنس فصلاً واجاب عنها وقال الخ

The 'grandfather' must be Ibn al-Jauzi, for Hāji Khalifa says (iii, 287, No. 5484) that Ibn al-Jauzi had given mischievous extracts of this character from the Sharīf's writings. The Munich MS. is thus the work of the Sibṭ Ibn al-Jauzi, and a part of his "Mirāt al-Zamān." It is, however, to be noticed that two quotations, at least, of the "Muntazim" of Ibn al-Jauzi which occur in the B.M. MS. of the Mirāt al-Zamān—Or. 4,619—are not to be found in the corresponding passages in the Munich MS., whilst the "Kitāb al-Mawḍū'āt" (Broekelmann, i, 503, No. 26) is mentioned therein on fol. 60b as the work, merely, of "the Shaikh Ibn al-Jauzi," and not of "my grandfather." The Munich MS. is far fuller than B.M. Or. 4,619; it must, therefore, be a later recension of the work.

avoided awaiting his arrival, but had left, with excuses, ample supplies for his use, he sent to Majd al-Daula friendly assurances provided his advice were acted on. Majd al-Daula promising this, he sent off a force to al-Rayy under Abu-l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Khashāwand, and Majd al-Daula came out, as agreed, to his camp with a Dailamite escort. Hesitating to dismount, he was reassured, and afterwards arrested with his son, the escort dispersing. Soon arrived Maḥmūd in person; and a letter written from outside Qarmīsain by Ḥusām al-Daula Ibn Abi-l-Shawārib to the Ḥājib Abu-l-Muzaffar announced his arrival accompanied by his son Mas'ūd and with a force of 50,000 horse, 200 elephants, and 40,000 donkeys carrying munitions and treasure, and that his intention was to advance on Baghdād. He forthwith repressed the Dailamites severely, banished and ill-treated the people, and, after torturing Majd al-Daula to extort treasure from him, sent him with his son to a prison in Khurāsān under the escort of an Indian prince. And it was he, and not Maḥmūd, as stated by Ibn al-Athīr, who cited to the prisoner the game of chess as a warning against one sovereign trusting himself to another. The vizier Abu-l-'Alā, under pressure of a money demand which he could not satisfy, killed himself, and Maḥmūd, who that same day had stayed the proceedings and ordered him marks of honour, cursed the rash act as a reflection on his own conduct.

Then follows his letter to the Caliph (fols. 81a, 83a), of which Ibn al-Athīr gives one passage. Its purport, less rigorously condensed, is that he has found al-Rayy to be a mere stronghold of the Bāṭiniyya and other heretics, owing to the favour of Majd al-Daula and his predecessors, who had tolerated all their excesses, such as setting up an idol, and seeking to know their allotted fate by means of divining arrows (prohibited by Qur. V, 4). Majd al-Daula had come out to the camp, he said, unconditionally, على حكم الاستسلام. As to the Dailamites, Bāṭiniyya, and other heretics, their guilt was established by a legal decision which he had procured, and had acted on, to the effect that—

يجب عليهم القطع والقتل والنفي على مقدار خياناتهم ومراتب  
حالاتهم

He then stated the domestic irregularities of Majd al-Daula, mentioned by Ibn al-Athīr, and his defence, which was as follows:—

ان الرسم الجارى بسلفه فى ارتباط الجراير كان مستمرا على هذه  
الجملة فاعترف ان امر الديلم لم يكن اشده وانهم ما كانوا فى دينهم  
على بصيرة وان هذا مذهب المزدكية واهل التماسخ<sup>1</sup>

And he concluded by saying that he had burnt fifty loads of philosophical, heretical, and astrological works, thus dispelling the clouds which obscured the true Faith.<sup>2</sup>

To return to the vizier al-Ābi. He was the author of a work which has come down to us—a collection of anecdotes entitled “*Nathr al-Durar fi-l-Muhādarāt*.”

Hāji Khalīfa, No. 13,581 (vol. v, 300), describes it as divided into four parts, and gives the headings of the five chapters of the first part. There is a MS. of the entire work in the Khedivial Library at Cairo (Cat. iv, 336), others of the first part and of a portion of the fourth part at Berlin (Ahlwardt, Nos. 8,329 and 8,331), and another

<sup>1</sup> See Shahrastāni, ed. Cureton, i, 192-3.

<sup>2</sup> Mahmūd held firmly to his attitude as upholder of orthodoxy and of its Caliph (Yamīni, Delhi ed., pp. 383-9). In 408 A.H. he imitated, exceeded rather, the Caliph's efforts to discourage heresy. See Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 216, and, more fully, Munich MS., fol. 356:—

فيها استتاب (استتاب) القادر بالله اهل البدع  
والاهواء من المقالات الفاسدة ونهى عن المناظرة والجدال فى علم  
الكلام وما يتعلّق بالمذاهب الخارجة عن الاسلام واخذ خطوطهم  
بذلك وانهم متى عادوا حلّت دماؤهم . وبلغ محمود بن سبكتكين  
ففعل فى بلاده مثل ذلك ونفا الشبهة والجهمية وغيرهم وامر بلعنهم  
على المنابر وصار ذلك سنة فى الاسلام

For the “*Jahmiyya*” sect, see Shahrastāni, i, 60-1.

recently acquired by the British Museum, a thirteenth century Baghdād MS. (Or. 5,769), containing fragments of the third and fourth parts. Its publication being probably remote in view of the difficulty of deciphering much of the text, and of the added difficulty of publishing some of that when deciphered, I append a few anecdotes from the third part of the work which bear on Moslem coinage.

The first extract, A, relates the genesis of a dirham. "My father's residence," says the narrator, "was outside the city and adjoined a cucumber plot. I was then a big boy with comrades of my own age, and I asked my father for a dirham to buy some cucumber for them. He answered me thus: 'Are you aware of what a dirham was and is?—how hidden in the depth of some hill it is attacked with pickaxes and extracted, ground up, put into the pot, washed, mixed with quicksilver, then passed through the furnace, coming out as bullion, when it is inscribed on the one face with the Unity of Allah and on the other with the name of his Prophet; how it then becomes the property of the Caliph, who has it placed in the treasury in charge of the fair-haired crooked-capped guards (viz. alien mercenary soldiers), and eventually bestows it on some beauteous maiden (and you are uglier than a monkey), or, it may be, on some man of valour (and your valour is below that of a mouse—in the Arabic 'nightingale'). What claim have you to finger a dirham except it be in remuneration for services rendered?'"

The smallest tangible fraction of a dirham was the 'Ḥabba,' or its equivalent, 'Sha'ira,' viz. a grain of barley, forty-eight of which constituted the weight of the silver coin. A coin containing two Ḥabba was called Ṭassūj, that doubled a 'Qīrāt,' and that again doubled a 'Dāniq,' six of these last making up the 'Dirham.' And they were comprehensively designated as 'Fals,' 'Fulūs.' (See Sauvaire on "Moslem Coinage, Weights and Measures," in the *Journal Asiatique*, 7th series, vols. 3, 4, and 5, and 8th series, vols. 14, 15, 18, and 19.) All these will now appear before us.

In extract B we have an instance of remuneration by commission at the rate, and strictly calculated, of  $\frac{1}{100}$  per cent. The poet Marwān b. abi Ḥafṣa was of a very niggardly disposition. He told an Arab woman that if the Caliph gave him 100,000 dirhams he would give her one dirham. He did get 70,000, and he gave the woman four dāniq. This story occurs also in the life of the poet in the "Kitāb al-Aghāni" (ix, p. 40, l. 11), and it is told by al-Khaṭīb al-Baḡhdādī, who was contemporary with al-Ābi, in his "Kitāb al-Buḡhalā (B.M. Or. 3,139, fol. 19b). In the former version the poet had been the recipient of the woman's hospitality, so that the promised dirham was a remuneration rather than a guerdon, not merely on Costard's distinction of the terms, but on their strict interpretation; and in both versions the sum received by the poet is 60,000 only, in which case the four dāniq did indeed suffice to discharge the liability or promise. On Ābi's figure the woman was underpaid to the extent of one-thirtieth part of a dirham.

In extract C we have an instance of owelty of exchange, reckoned on an unexpected basis. A tradesman was asked to exchange one ḥabba-worth of bread for its equivalent in cheese. He did so, saying, "You are indebted to me in the sum of one Ṭassūj," viz., two ḥabba, one, presumably, for the surrendered bread and the other for the substituted cheese.

In extract D is recorded a loan transaction, but not one savouring of prohibited usury, rather the reverse. A money-changer borrowed of a neighbour two dirhams and one Qirāt. After some months' interval he repaid him with two dirhams and three Ḥabba, i.e. one Ḥabba short of the amount lent. On the lender protesting against such conduct from a rich towards a poor man, he replied: "I did not imagine your calculating powers to be so small. You lent me in Summer-time two dirhams plus four grains (Sha'ira), which were then dry, as befitted the season. I am repaying you three of them in Winter-time, when they are swollen by moisture, and I make no doubt that you are

a gainer by the transaction." The borrower's remark was humorous, turning on the literal sense of 'Ḥabba,' for he must have been tendering some small copper pieces, but it had a serious basis in fact. For Sauvaire (8th series, vol. 3, p. 411) quotes a learned authority for the statement that the number of Ḥabba going to make up the weight of a dirham varied according to the size of the grain, and by reason of difference of country, soil, or season, rainy or otherwise, and that there was often a discrepancy between the Summer and Winter weight owing to damp. Apart from etymology, the English term 'groat' might have occasioned a similar play of fancy.

Extract E is a case of defacing the Caliph's coinage, which should have been illegal. Al-Kindi, on seeing a man splitting a dirham in two, said: "Do not separate Allah and his Prophet"—the names occurring on two consecutive lines of the inscription on the coinage. To interpret 'splitting' here in the sense in which it was used by Mr. Jingle when he deprecated splitting a guinea for the ball tickets, and suggested tossing a sovereign instead, although it would, appropriately enough, be discouraging the spending of a part even of the dirham, would also result in depriving al-Kindi's remark of its point.

The two following extracts, F and G, are numismatic only as instances of lofty thoughts prompted by the sight or touch of a coin.

In extract F an Arab, finding a dirham in a Kūfa refuse heap, said: "Rejoice, O dirham, and take wing. Times enough, for your sake, have men plunged into depths of water, crossed expanses of land, and undergone danger of fire."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In connection with the words *فتفراراك*. Professor D. S. Margoliouth refers me to the passage in *Hariri Maqāmāt iii* (de Sacy, 2nd ed., i, 37)—

وشر ما فيه من الخلايق  
ان ليس يعني عنك في المضايق  
الا اذا تفرار الآبق

and the gloss thereon (ib. ii, 83) by al-Rāzi, i.e. *Shams al-Dīn Abu Bakr*

In extract G a miser, when fingering a dirham, was wont to address it and commune with it as though with a long-expected guest, saying: "What journeyings you must have known! What pockets have helped to wear! How some you must have exalted and others brought low! With me you shall know neither nakedness nor heat" (an allusion to Qur. xx, 116, 117). Then, placing it in his purse, he said: "Your resting-place henceforth will be a settled and an abiding one."

The last extract, H, is in a lighter vein. It occurs in the next preceding chapter of part iii, that headed "Lunatics." One of these, asked why a dinar was more valuable than a dirham, and that, again, than a Fals, replied that the values depended on the number of letters the words contained, 'Fals' consisting of only three letters, whereas 'dirham' contained four, and 'dinar' five. The last, therefore, was the chief. His questioner would have produced an explanation doubtless more profound, but perhaps not much more satisfying.

## A.

قال محمد بن المعافى : كان ابى سخياً عن المدينة وكانت الى جنبه مزرعة فيها قثا، وكنت صبياً وقد ترعرعت مجانى صبيان من جيراننا اقران لى وكلمت ابى لييب لى درهماً اشترى به لهم قثا، فقال لى : اتعرف حال الدرهم ؟ كان فى حجر فى جبل فضرب بالمعاول حتى استخرج ثم طحن ثم أدخل القدر وضبت عليه الماء وجمع بالزبيب ثم أدخل النار فسبك ثم أخرج وضرب فى احد شقيه " لا اله الا الله وحده " وفى الاخر " محمد رسول الله " ثم صير

Muhammad b. Abi Bakr (Hāji Khalifa, No. 733); see *ib. i*, *Introd.*, p. vii—  
وقال الرازى : هو ماخوذ من قول الحسن البصرى : بئس الرفيقان الدرهم والدينار لا ينفعانك حتى يفارقانك.



الى امير المؤمنين فامر بادخاله بيت ماله ووكل به عوج القلانيس  
صهب السبال ثم وهبه لجارية حسناء جميلة (وانت والله اقبح من  
قرد) او وهبه رجلاً شجاعاً (وانت والله اجمن من صفر) فبئس ينبغي  
ان تمس الدرهم الا بشوب (Fol. 68b.)

## B.

وكان مروان (بن ابي حفصة) من اجمل الناس اجتاز مرةً بامرأة  
من العرب فقال لها : على ان وهب لي امير المؤمنين مائة الف  
درهم ان اهب لك درهماً . فاعطاه سبعين الفاً فاعطاها اربعة دوانق  
(Fol. 64b.)

## C.

فرايت واحداً في الكوفة قد دنا من بقال فاعطاه مقدار حبة خبز  
فقال : اعطني بها جبتاً . فقال له البقال : انصرف ويبقى عليك  
طسوج (Fol. 62b.)

## D.

استسلف بعض الصيارفة من بقال كان على يابه درهمن وتيراطا  
فقضاه بعد اشهر منه درهمنين وثلاث حباب فقال البقال : سبحان  
الله الا تستحي انت رب مائة الف درهم وانا بقال لا املك مائة  
فلس تنقصني بعد هذه المدة الطويلة . فقال : ما توهمت فيك  
ما ظنم لي من قلة معرفتك بالحساب اسلفني ابقاك الله في  
الصيف درهمنين واربع شعيرات يابسة صيفية واعطيتك ثلث  
شعيرات شتوية وهي تندنا بالسنة وما اشك ان معك فضلاً فيما  
(Fol. 64a.)

## E.

نظر الكندي الى رجل يكسر درهماً صحيحاً فقال : لا تفرق بين  
الله ورسوله (Fol. 59a.)

## F.

اصاب اعرابي درهماً في كناسة الكوفة فقال : ابشرايها الدرهم  
وفتر فرارك فطال ما خيض فيك الغمار وقطعت فيك الاسفار  
وتعرض فيك بالنار (Fol. 65b.)

## G.

وكان بعض البخلاء اذا صار الدرهم في يده يخاطبه وناجاه ونداه  
واستبطاه وقال : بابى وامسى انت كم من ارض قطعت وليس  
خترقت وكم من حامل رفعت ومن رفيع اخملت لك عندي  
لا تغرى ولا تصحى . ثم يلفته في كيسه فيقول : آسكن على اسم الله  
في مكان لا تنزل عنه ولا تزعم منه (Fol. 66a.)

## H.

قيل لهجنون : لىما صار الدينار خيراً من الدرهم والدرهم خيراً من  
الفلس ؟ قال : لئن الفللس ثلثة احرف والدرهم اربعة احرف  
والدينار خمسة احرف فهو سيدهم (Fol. 54b.)

# Monnaies trouvées à Suse

## au cours de la campagne de fouilles 1926-1927

C. ALLOTTE DE LA FUYE

La campagne de fouilles 1925-1926 a été particulièrement féconde au point de vue numismatique; une trouvaille d'une centaine de monnaies musulmanes réunies dans un vase, nous a livré une intéressante collection des monnaies des Bouïdes frappées pour la plupart dans la région de Suse; la numismatique antique n'était pas moins bien représentée, et parmi plusieurs centaines de monnaies de bronze, il s'en est trouvé beaucoup d'inédites, parmi lesquelles je citerai la remarquable pièce de Xerxès, roi d'Arsamosate, qui a fait l'objet d'une communication à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres le 8 avril 1927.

La campagne de 1926-1927 fut courte: Monsieur de Mœcquenem n'en a pas moins rapporté quelques monnaies intéressantes. Si le nombre en est restreint, la qualité en est particulièrement remarquable, les trois monnaies d'or musulmanes qu'il m'a communiquées, toutes très bien conservées, viennent compléter la série des monnaies des Bouïdes recueillies l'année dernière; l'une à fleur de coin, de Medjed ed daulah est absolument inédite et d'autant plus intéressante qu'elle fait connaître le nom d'un atelier monétaire que je crois absolument inconnu.

Parmi les monnaies d'argent, je citerai, pour l'époque Séleucide, deux tétradrachmes de conservation médiocre, l'un de Antiochus VII et l'autre qui, bien que portant le nom d'Alexandre, a été frappé longtemps après sa mort et vraisemblablement dans le deuxième siècle avant l'ère chrétienne. Pour l'époque de la dynastie Sassanide, M. de Mœcquenem n'a recueilli qu'une seule monnaie; mais, il a eu la main heureuse, car elle est de la plus grande rareté, étant de Kobad II Chiroïé qui n'a régné que quelques mois, elle est presque à fleur de coin, mais malheureusement d'une extrême fragilité et fragmentée.

## Description des Monnaies


*Période séleucide*

Antiochus VII, Evvrgôte. 138 à 129 av. J.-C.

Tétradrachme de conservation médiocre, le revers très indistinct, ne laisse apercevoir que quelques lettres et des traces du type bien connu d'Athéna nicephore debout à gauche.

Tétradrachme sur flan large aux types d'Alexandre, de conservation passable.

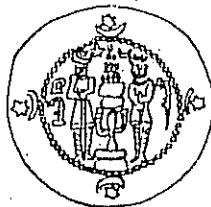
R. Jupiter aetophore assis à gauche. Légende ΑΑΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ, à droite dans le champ.

Le symbole  et le monogramme [Α].

Ce tétradrachme, frappé longtemps après la mort d'Alexandre, a été attribué par Müller à Tomnos en Æolide (n° 956). — Barclay Head admet cette attribution et place son émission vers le milieu du deuxième siècle avant l'ère chrétienne, il serait donc à peu près contemporain du tétradrachme d'Antiochus VII.

*Période sassanide*

Kobad II chiroïé. — 628 apr. J.-C.



Buste à droite de Kobad, coiffé de la tiare surmontée d'un croissant avec flamme intérieure, effigie jeune, vêtement richement orné, pendants d'oreille et collier de perles.

Légende à droite KAVATU

„ à gauche PIRUTCHI

c'est-à-dire Kawât le victorieux.

Le tout dans un cercle de grainetis, avec 3 croissants avec étoile.

R. L'autel du feu outre deux mobeds de face, à droite le nom de l'atelier AUT, à gauche l'année de règne TeRIN « deux ».

Ar. — de la plus grande rareté, pièce très fragile, manque un fragment de la marge.

Kawât, désigné par les auteurs arabes sous le nom de Kobâd Chiroïé, fit périr son père Khosroës II dans des circonstances particulièrement dramatiques, racontées par Tabari, d'où l'épithète de parricide que lui donnent les historiens; son vrai nom *Chiroïé*, diminutif de *Chîr*: « lion », ne figure pas sur les monnaies, il s'y donne le nom de *pîrutchi* « le victorieux ». Toutes les pièces que l'on connaît de ce prince, portent la date de l'an 2 (TeRIN). Il n'a régné que quelques mois, de Février à Septembre 628, mais l'année perse ayant commencé le 17 juin, le règne de Kobâd se trouve avoir entamé l'année 2. La brièveté de son règne explique la grande rareté de ses monnaies, pour lesquelles on ne connaît qu'un petit nombre d'ateliers; le nom de l'atelier indiqué sur la monnaie de Susa, est un peu incertain en raison de l'incertitude de la 1<sup>re</sup> lettre; la fragilité de la pièce ne permet pas de tenter un léger nettoyage qui lèverait certainement toute incertitude; la lecture AUT ou ANT paraît très probable, elle est du nombre de celles, qui ont soulevé de nombreuses controverses, sans amener aucune certitude; le dessin Fig. 1 et 2, reproduit celui du Manuel de Morgan, avec la marque d'atelier DA.

## Période musulmane

## Dynastie des Bouïdes

\*ADHOD ED DAULAH. 338-372 H (949-982 J.-C.)  
Abou-Sudjâ, Khousrou.

N° 1. Souq-el-Ahwâz — année 367.

	لله
لا اله الا الله	محمد
وحده لا شريك له	رسول الله
الملك عضد الدولة	الطابع لملك
وتاج الملك	المرزبان بن
ابو شجاع	عضد الدولة

D. — Légende de champ en 5 lignes, \*Adhod s'y intitule: *El malik 'adhod ed daulah wa tadj-el melah abou-sudjâ*. Autour, deux légendes circulaires.

1<sup>er</sup> lég.: mention de l'atelier et de la date.

2<sup>e</sup> lég.: peu distinct. Coran XXX, 3. 4 . . . .

R. — Légende de champ en 6 lignes donnant le nom du Calife Abbaside *El Thâï lillah* suivi de la mention du fils d'Adhod, lequel fils est désigné sous le titre de *El Marzbân ben 'Adhod ed daulah*. Ce nom de Marzbân précédé de l'article est un titre, tel que «gouverneur d'une région frontière», il est fort possible que ce dinar ait été frappé en son nom à Souq-el-Ahwâz, du vivant de son père.

Autour de la légende de champ, entre deux cercles linéaires, la légende Coran IX, 33 . . . .

A/. — Poids 4 gr 25. Cp. B. M. 655 — année 368.

BAHÂ ED DAULAH. 379-403 H. (989-1012 J.-C.)  
Abou-naqr, Firouz.

N° 2. Souq-el-Ahwâz — année 399.

و	لله
لا اله الا الله	محمد رسول الله
وحده لا شريك له	القادر بالله
الملك بها الدولة	شاهان شاه
وضيف الملك	قوام الدين
ابو نص	

D. — Légende de champ en 5 lignes, Bahà s'y intitule: *El malik bahà ed daulah wa dhà el Melah abou naçr*. Autour, deux légendes circulaires comme les légendes du N° 1, sauf en ce qui concerne la date.

R. — Légende de champ en 5 lignes, on y lit le nom du Calife Abbasside *El Qadir billah*, suivi des titres *šahân šah*, *qawâm ed-din* qui appartiennent à Bahà ed daulah. Il est à noter que le premier parmi les Bouïdes, ce prince prend le titre persan Chahan Cha « roi des rois » qu'il cumule avec le titre plus modeste de Melek « roi ».

A/. — Poids 4 gr 30. BM. 672.

MEDJD ED DAULAH. 387-420. H. (997-1029 J.-C.)  
Abou-Thâlib, Rustam.

N° 3. Chôustor — année 397.

د	لله
لا اله الا الله	محمد رسول الله
وحده لا شريك له	مجد الدوله
القادر بالله	وكهف الامه
بدر بن خسرويه	ابو طالب
	اتر يز

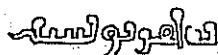
D. — Légende de champ de 5 lignes, on y lit le nom du Calife Abbasside *El-Qadir billah*, la dernière est de lecture très incertaine, le premier mot se prête à plusieurs lectures, parmi lesquelles « bedr » me paraît seul acceptable, il est suivi du mot (voir ci-dessous) fils et d'un mot difficilement lisible pour lequel Monsieur Bataille, du Cabinet des Médailles, m'a suggéré la lecture Khasrou, je lirais plutôt Khusravih qui se rapproche beaucoup de la forme Khusravi qui se lit sur les monnaies sassanides. La dernière ligne se lirait donc «bedr» fils de Khosroès, ce dernier nom n'est pas étranger à la dynastie de Bouïdes, il a été porté par 'Adhod-ed-daulah, oncle de Medjd ed doulah, la lecture bedr fils de Khosroès, si elle est exacte, reste d'une interprétation difficile. J'en donne un fac-simile amplifié qui en précise les difficultés.

بدر بن خسرويه

Autour de la légende de champ, une légende circulaire unique, comprise entre 2 cercles de grainetis en dehors du 2° cercle, une large marge sans inscription, limitée par un 3° cercle, cette disposition diffère de celle qu'affectent les dinars de ce prince du British-Museum et du Cabinet de France.

Légende circulaire: Mention de l'atelier et de la date.

Le nom de l'atelier est douteux, on y peut lire à la fin *touster* qui représenterait le nom de Chouster, qui d'ordinaire à cette époque est écrit *tuster*, le mot est précédé par *bmā* . . dont la 2<sup>e</sup> lettre est indistincte et les deux dernières de lecture incertaine. Une lecture *bmah?* est possible, le nom complet de l'atelier en admettant qu'il se termine par *touster*, serait dans tous les cas absolument nouveau; à l'appui de ma lecture je reproduis un fac-simile amplifié de l'écriture originale qui se distingue par certaines particularités de celle qui est employée sur les monnaies bouddes émises par d'autres ateliers.



R. — Légende de champ en 6 lignes, on y lit: *medjd ed-doulah wa kahaf el amah abou thalib*, au-dessous le mot que je lis *ateziz*, comme le lit le catalogue du British-Museum, n<sup>o</sup> 669 de Baba ed Jaulah; j'en ignore la signification.

Δ/. — Poids 4<sup>er</sup> 50. — inédit.

A la suite de cette description des monnaies les plus intéressantes trouvées à Suse, il me paraît utile de signaler deux petits monuments d'un intérêt au moins égal:

Le premier est une empreinte sur argile, dont l'attribution à l'époque séleucide ne saurait faire l'objet d'aucun doute, car nous y trouvons un très bon portrait du roi de Syrie Seleucus IV qui fut vraisemblablement l'un des derniers souverains de cette dynastie, exerçant une autorité effective sur l'ancienne capitale achéménide.

L'effigie du roi, tournée à droite est tout à fait semblable à celle des beaux Tétradrachmes de ce prince; le modelé à haut-relief, est traité avec une maîtrise qui atteste que c'est la main d'un artiste grec, qui a gravé l'intaille, dont nous avons ici l'empreinte; par une heureuse exception, elle nous arrive dans un parfait état de conservation, qui nous permet d'apprécier la valeur de l'œuvre.



On connaît beaucoup d'empreintes de sceaux de l'époque séleucide trouvées en Babylonie, et une trouvaille faite il y a quelques années à Warka, l'ancienne Erech, nous en a fait connaître un grand nombre; elles étaient généralement apposées sur la tranche des tablettes de cette époque, par les témoins qui étaient cités dans l'acte juridique consigné sur la tablette. M. Pierpont Morgan qui a acquis une partie de la trouvaille de Warka, a publié<sup>1</sup>,

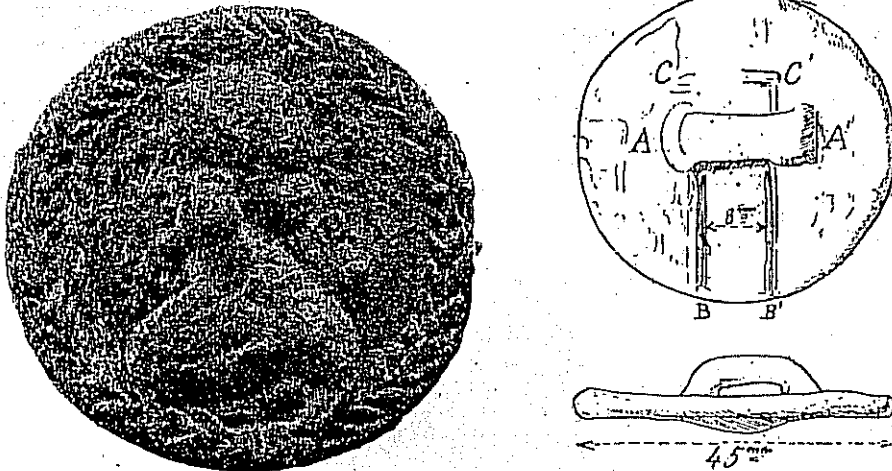
<sup>1</sup> *Babylonian records in the Library of Pierpont Morgan. Part II, New-York, 1913.*

en reproduction photographique, 228 de ces empreintes; elles sont généralement plus petites que celle de Suse et affectent la forme d'un ovale très allongé, de manière à pouvoir être apposée sur la tranche des tablettes.

Dans cette même trouvaille de Warka, on a trouvé également, de ces mêmes empreintes qui, au lieu d'être apposées directement sur les tablettes, l'étaient sur de petites bulles étiquettes, qui vraisemblablement étaient placées dans les archives en regard des tablettes, mentionnant comme témoins, les personnages propriétaires des sceaux. Je possède dans ma collection un certain nombre de ces bulles, marquées chacune, d'une dizaine d'empreintes: parmi celles-ci se trouve le portrait d'un roi de Syrie, qui me paraît différent de Séleucus IV.

L'empreinte de Suse présente une forme ovale, de 0,022 sur 0,020; elle est plus grande que celle de Warka, son relief est plus fort, et on ne saurait affirmer que son usage fut le même que celui des empreintes de Warka. Contentons-nous de signaler qu'au dernier temps de la domination Séleucide à Suse, il existait encore des artistes grecs capables de produire des œuvres de glyptique de pareille valeur.

Un autre objet d'art d'un caractère différent me paraît digne d'une mention toute spéciale.



C'est un disque métallique, en bronze semble-t-il, de 45 millimètres de diamètre. On y voit un buste féminin de haut relief, tourné vers la gauche; le profil, par la pureté de la ligne, nous donne l'impression de l'art classique, un peu conventionnel, qui nous a transmis, pour l'époque séleucide, les traits des divinités grecques et des nombreuses Tychés, qui personnifient les cités. Certains détails, un peu empâtés par l'oxyde, sont malheureusement trop indistincts pour nous permettre de préciser l'attribution. La tête, bien certainement féminine, porte une coiffure, relevée sur le front, épousant en arrière la forme de la tête, qui manque un peu d'ampleur, et terminée par une grosse touffe tombant sur la nuque,



il semble bien qu'un lien ou un mince diadème vient enserrer la coiffure dans sa partie moyenne. Cette coiffure qui semble recouvrir entièrement l'oreille était peut-être complétée par une longue tresse pendant sur la joue et sur le cou, si toutefois la trace que je crois en voir, n'est pas une incrustation postérieure.

Le buste était-il nu? On ne saurait l'affirmer. Le contraire semble plus probable, bien que l'état actuel de monument ne permette pas de discerner les détails du vêtement qui devait laisser découvert tout au moins le cou. Si le buste était entièrement nu, on devrait renoncer à chercher là une déesse et nous serions amené à y voir un buste d'Apollon, malgré le développement de la poitrine, qui indiquerait plutôt une femme.

Dans l'hypothèse la plus plausible, celle d'une représentation féminine, quelle effigie pouvons nous y trouver? Je dirai d'abord que tout dans ce monument me porte à y voir un travail grec, de la même époque que le camée que j'étudiais précédemment: s'il en est ainsi, une représentation féminine ne peut être que celle d'une déesse ou de la reine de Syrie, qui bien souvent sur les monnaies est représentée seule ou avec son époux; mais rien dans l'effigie, dans la coiffure ne nous rappelle celles des reines de Syrie que nous connaissons; nous ne pouvons donc voir dans ce buste que celui d'une déesse: mais là s'arrête nos suppositions; si nous étions tenté de préciser davantage, c'est à Diane, dont les traits, bien souvent figurés sur les monnaies séleucides, ne sont pas sans analogie avec ceux de notre déesse, mais pour confirmer l'attribution, il nous faudrait trouver sur l'épanou de la déesse un carquois, son attribut inséparable: j'ai peine à en trouver des traces dans le champ de notre monument; j'y vois bien quelques incrustations, mais trop indistinctes pour chercher à y retrouver des indications apportant quelques éléments nouveaux à nos recherches.

Autour de l'effigie qui occupe le champ, nous voyons, minutieusement gravée et bordant la périphérie du monument, une couronne de feuilles de laurier, constituée par deux palmes circulaires, qui viennent se relier, entre elles, en bas, et se développé de chaque côté circulairement pour venir se terminer en haut du monument. C'est là un motif fréquent sur les monnaies des rois de Syrie; nous le voyons apparaître sur les monnaies de Démétrius I<sup>er</sup> où il entoure la tête du roi; puis il se perpétue, avec une disposition absolument semblable sur les revers des rois de Syrie, si bien que nous le trouvons sur le tétradrachme d'Antiochus VII trouvé à Suse. La couronne y entoure la représentation d'Athéna Parthenos et cette similitude de détail confirme et précise semble-t-il l'hypothèse de voir dans notre monument, un produit de l'art grec de l'époque séleucide, contemporain peut-être du camée de Séleucus IV.

Quelle pouvait être la destination de ce disque de bronze du poids de 34 gr 50?

L'examen du revers nous fournit quelque indication.

Il est, ou paraît être uni, sans traces de dessin artistique, mais au milieu, dans l'axe transversal qui partage en deux le sujet du droit, se dresse, fortement soudée, une pièce de bronze de 5 millimètres d'épaisseur (AA' du croquis), faisant saillie de 8 mm et percée en son milieu d'une ouverture de 8 mm de largeur et de 4 mm de hauteur; correspondant à cette ouverture, se voit une rainure de même largeur, creusée dans le métal de 1 mm (BCB'C'). On peut supposer que cette rainure était destiné à recevoir une mince lame métallique, passant par l'ouverture ménagée dans la pièce AA' et permettant ainsi de fixer

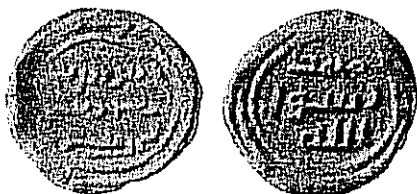
notre monument à une partie d'un costume d'apparat : ce monument n'est en somme qu'un large bouton ou une agrafe, de dimension peu ordinaire ; on pourrait supposer aussi, en raison du mode de fixation, assez difficilement explicable pour une agrafe de vêtement, que nous avons là un ornement appliqué sur une partie du harnachement ou de l'armure d'un cheval. Très vraisemblablement cet ornement quelqu'en fut l'usage était primitivement doré ou argenté ; il devait être du plus bel effet décoratif. En examinant avec une forte loupe la surface de l'objet du côté de l'effigie, on peut apercevoir de légères fissures, qui ne s'expliquent guère que par l'emploi d'un placage de métal appliqué sur le bronze.



## UNE MONNAIE MUSULMANE D'UN TYPE INÉDIT TROUVÉE A SUSE

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*Communication faite à la Société de Numismatique le  
3 décembre 1927.*



Les fouilles de Suse ont fourni une abondante moisson de monnaies, dont les plus importantes seront décrites dans les Mémoires de la Mission de Perse. Parmi celles qui ont été recueillies au cours de la campagne 1926-1927, par M. de Mecquenem, au milieu d'un lot de petites monnaies de bronze de conservation médiocre, j'ai eu la grande satisfaction de découvrir deux exemplaires d'une monnaie qui mérite une mention toute spéciale, parce qu'elle représente un type resté inconnu dans la Numismatique musulmane. Des deux exemplaires, l'un est incomplet et ébréché, l'autre, figuré ci-dessus, est, par une heureuse exception, de très bonne conservation ; en voici la description.

Légende centrale : trois lignes d'écriture pahlvie. Deux cercles concentriques de grènelis ; dans l'intervalle des cercles, cinq annelets également espacés ; deux seulement sont visibles.

℞. Légende centrale : trois lignes d'écriture arabe, savoir :

*Mohamed* — Mohammed

*Rasoul* — envoyé

*Allah* — de Dieu

A l'entour, deux cercles concentriques de grénelis dans l'intervalle desquels devaient s'intercaler cinq annelets, dont deux seulement sont nettement visibles.

Al. Diam : 23 mm. Poids : 2 gr. 25.

Par l'écriture arabe, la disposition des légendes, celle des cercles et des annelets, cette pièce se classe très vraisemblablement parmi les *felous* des califes Ommeyyades ou des premiers Abbassides. Un *fels* abbasside, également trouvé à Suse, avec légendes centrales arabes des deux côtés, en diffère notablement par la légende marginale, qui indique une date semblant pouvoir se lire : 163. Le deuxième exemplaire de notre *fels* bilingue n'en diffère que par quelques variantes à l'écriture pehlie.

Ce qui constitue l'intérêt exceptionnel de cette pièce, c'est sa légende pehlie, associée à une légende musulmane, et cela, à une époque postérieure à la réforme d'Abd-el-Melek, qui, dès 74 de l'hégire, a créé la monnaie spécialement musulmane ; avant cette date et dès les débuts de la conquête, les Arabes se servaient de dirhems présentant des légendes pehlies, auxquelles sont associées quelques courtes formules pieuses écrites en arabe, mais les légendes pehlies sont toujours inséparables de l'effigie d'un souverain sassanide et de la représentation du pyrée. C'est la première fois que l'on trouve une légende en pehlie-sassanide, libérée des types sassanides et, ainsi que nous l'avons dit, cette innovation se produit au temps des califes Ommeyyades. Disons néanmoins qu'il existe au

British Museum et au Cabinet de France deux autres pièces arabes dont nous reparlerons, qui, exceptionnellement, intercalent un mot de pehlvi dans une légende arabe.

On sait quelles difficultés représentent la langue et l'écriture pehlyies. Dans les premiers temps de la monarchie Sassanide, l'écriture ne comporte que des caractères isolés nettement distincts, mais elle s'altère progressivement et, à l'époque qui nous occupe, un même signe admet quelquefois cinq ou six lectures différentes; si on ajoute à cela que plusieurs des lettres se lient entre elles pour former des groupes, comme on le voit se généraliser dans l'écriture des manuscrits, on comprendra la difficulté de l'interprétation d'un texte pehlvi.

Fort heureusement la deuxième ligne de notre légende pehlyie ne comprend que des caractères d'une lecture assurée. J'en distingue trois et je lis sans hésitation :

— 𐬰𐬀𐬎 = Š U Š

C'est le nom pehlvi « Chouch » de la ville de Suse<sup>1</sup>; les géographes arabes le lisent « SUS » et le plus souvent السوسر en substituant un *sin* au *chin*, comme ils le font en écrivant *sabour* au lieu du pehlvi *sahpour*, dont la correction est assurée par l'étymologie « fils du chah. »

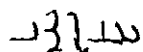
La lecture du nom de l'atelier d'émission en deuxième ligne simplifie singulièrement le problème de l'interprétation complète de la légende.

Au premier abord, avant d'avoir reconnu la mention du nom de l'atelier, j'étais tenté d'y chercher quelque légende pieuse, telle que *lâ ilah ila Allah*, « pas de Dieu si ce n'est

1. Le Père Scheil veut bien me faire savoir à ce sujet que la prononciation achéménide est *šušān*; à une époque plus ancienne on trouvera *šusun* et même *susun* — avec deux *s* comme en arabe.

le Dieu (unique) », qui figure au droit des *fels* ommeyyades qui ont au revers, *Mohamed rasoul allah* ; c'est dans une autre voie qu'il faut chercher.

Les dirhems du monnayage mixte arabo-sassanide qui a précédé la réforme d'Abd-el-Melek portent uniformément d'un côté une effigie sassanide, de l'autre le pyrée et deux légendes pehlvies, donnant, à gauche une date, à droite le nom de l'atelier d'émission. Si on lit ces légendes horizontalement, la date se trouve au-dessus du nom de l'atelier ; n'en serait-il pas de même pour notre monnaie et ne devons-nous pas chercher une date dans la première ligne de la légende pehlie ? Dans cette hypothèse, le groupe initial de cette ligne se prête à deux lectures : AI ou SI.

Avec la première, on peut trouver pour la ligne entière une lecture AIUKII  qui, sauf le redoublement

de I final, correspond bien à la forme AIUKI qui se lit sur les rares monnaies des derniers Sassanides, frappées dans la première année du règne.

Avec la seconde lecture SI du groupe initial, la ligne entière se lit assez correctement SIT'chSI ; c'est le nombre 33. Nous verrons jusqu'à quel point, ces dates, 1 ou 33 peuvent se justifier ; ce que l'on peut dire d'une façon certaine, c'est que la facture du groupe initial élimine tout autre nombre. Si donc l'on ne peut admettre l'un ou l'autre des nombres 1 et 33, il faut renoncer à voir une date dans la première ligne, et y chercher une autre interprétation, que je laisse aux spécialistes du pehli le soin de trouver.

Comment expliquer ces dates 1 ou 33 ?

La première, qui ne peut, bien entendu, indiquer l'année 1 de l'hégire, ne s'expliquerait qu'en y voyant la pre-

mière année d'un règne, suivant l'usage adopté dans le monnayage sassanide ; mais ce comput paraît tellement anormal à l'époque du Califat, que je ne crois pas qu'il faille s'y arrêter : je préférerais supposer que le scribe a omis d'indiquer le chiffre des centaines qui précédait l'unité et que la date est à lire 101, date qui répond assez bien aux caractéristiques de la pièce, lesquelles indiquent l'époque des califes Ommeyyades ou des premiers Abbassides.

En ce qui concerne la lecture 33, elle n'est pas absolument impossible si l'on fait abstraction des présomptions d'époque qui se déduisent de la comparaison de notre pièce avec les *felous* des califes ; si la date 33 était admise, nous aurions là un spécimen tout à fait nouveau du monnayage arabe de Suse, dans les premiers temps de la conquête, mais je considère comme infiniment plus probable, que la date 33 est à compléter par le chiffre de la centaine et qu'il faut lire 133, qui correspond au début du monnayage des califes Abbassides.

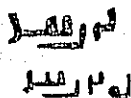
Au sujet de cette date, je ne puis m'empêcher de mentionner que le British Museum possède un *fels* d'une date 13 (2?), qui par une exception unique, présente d'un côté l'effigie d'un monarque sassanide. Cette monnaie, publiée par Stanley Lane Poole sous le n<sup>o</sup> 85 des *fels* abbassides, a été frappée dans un atelier dont le nom est douteux, on peut supposer qu'il se trouve dans une région de la Perse où le sentiment national, encore vivace, expliquerait cette singulière réminiscence de l'ancienne dynastie. L'emploi sur le *fels* de Suse de l'écriture sassanide à une date peut-être absolument identique, établit entre les deux pièces un rapport qui mérite d'être signalé.

Nous avons proposé, à titre essentiellement conjectural, de voir une date dans la première ligne ; la deuxième, nous l'avons dit, donne certainement le nom de Suse ; que pouvons-nous trouver dans la troisième ?



Elle débute par un groupe qui a une polyphonie désespérante : il se lit souvent RU ou DU mais aussi de beaucoup d'autres manières qu'on trouvera énumérées dans le manuel du pehlvi de Mgr de Harlez. Dans ces conditions, l'interprétation de cette dernière ligne semblait singulièrement difficile, et je me serais abstenu de toute conjecture, si je n'avais trouvé quelque secours dans les catalogues des monnaies des califes orientaux du British Museum et du Cabinet de France. Stanley Lane Poole a fait connaître, n° 74, p. 189, un fels ommeyyade, émis à El-Rayy en 116 H., qui porte d'un côté, à la fin d'une légende pieuse arabe, une ligne écrite en pehlvi, où nous trouvons, précédée d'un groupe de deux lettres, notre légende de la ligne 3.

Lavoix a, depuis, publié, n° 1473, un fels identique qui existe en triple exemplaire au Cabinet de France. Je donne ci-dessous une reproduction, agrandie au double, de notre ligne 3, et, au-dessous, celle de la légende pehlvie du British Museum.



On remarquera que la légende pehlvie du fels de l'année 116 se trouve sur une pièce où sont indiqués l'atelier et la date; la mention en pehlvi, qui est en rapport évident avec la nôtre, doit avoir un sens très général, indépendant de toute spécialisation de temps et de lieu, et il me semble qu'on doit y chercher une indication relative à la valeur de la pièce, car le mot *fels*, qui figure dans la légende arabe est commun à toutes les monnaies de bronze et ne suffit pas à en préciser la valeur.

Dans cet ordre d'idées, j'émettrai à titre tout à fait con-

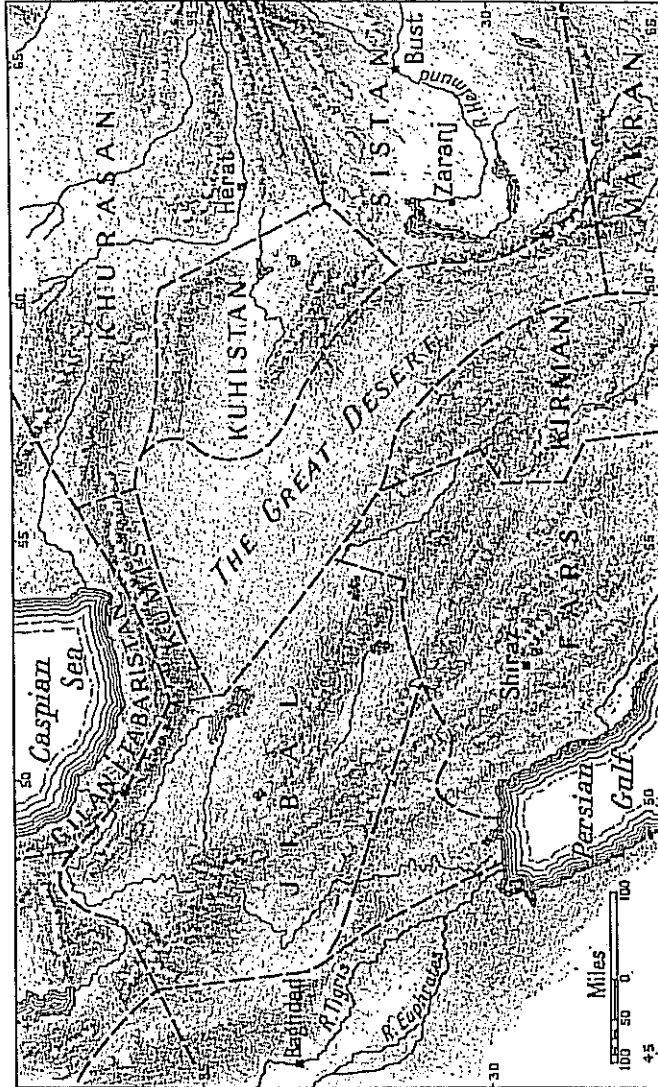
jectural, l'opinion que le groupe initial de ce fels peut être lu LP; je rapprocherai LP de la syllabe grecque ΛΕΦ, que Lavoix croit pouvoir lire sur des fels arabes de Damas et dans laquelle il voit une abréviation du mot ΛΕΠΤΟΝ qui, dans la numismatique grecque, indique une fraction du chalque. Si ce rapprochement, bien audacieux je l'avoue, est admis, il donnera sur la valeur de la monnaie une indication qui me semble pouvoir être complétée par les mots suivants, communs à notre pièce de Suse et au fels de Rayy. Ces mots, que je lis *dou bâr*, se traduisent d'après le lexique de Harlez par « deux fois »; bref, je proposerai, pour la légende complète du *fels* de 116, la valeur exprimée par : *lepton deux fois*, en d'autres termes *dilepton*, terme bien connu dans la numismatique grecque à laquelle les Arabes ont emprunté, je crois, d'autres dénominations monétaires, telles que δραχμή *dirhem* et ὀβολός *fels*. Sur la monnaie de Suse, l'abréviation LP est sous-entendue, et l'indication 2 fois, comparable au ΜΟΡΕΤΑ DVPLEX de nos monnaies françaises, est suffisamment explicite pour marquer la valeur. A noter que le poids 2 gr. 25 est précisément le poids que E. Babelon assigne au dilepton dans son catalogue des monnaies des rois de Syrie.

Si la monnaie a été frappée à Suse en 101 ou en 133, dates qui sont bien en rapport avec la paléographie arabe, il resterait à rechercher quelles sont les circonstances qui ont pu expliquer l'emploi de l'écriture pehlie à cette époque. Notons-le bien, cette émission a dû être abondante. Le fait que le hasard de découvertes fortuites exhume deux exemplaires semblables prouve surabondamment que le sol de Suse en recèle encore beaucoup d'autres; l'explication que nous aimerions à connaître nous échappera probablement toujours, et peut-être faut-il nous contenter de constater que la réforme d'Abd-el-Melek ne visait que l'or

et l'argent et que la fabrication de la monnaie de bronze était soumise à un contrôle beaucoup moins sévère.

J'ai à m'excuser d'avoir retenu si longtemps l'attention du lecteur. J'aurais pu me borner à lui soumettre le fait positif de l'émission à Suse d'une monnaie bilingue pehlie arabe. Si j'ai préféré émettre des hypothèses, bien discutables à la vérité, c'est dans l'espoir de provoquer des critiques susceptibles d'apporter quelque lumière sur une question assurément très digne d'intérêt.

Cel ALLOTTE DE LA FUYE.



THE COINAGE OF THE SECOND  
SAFFARID DYNASTY IN  
SISTAN

BY  
JOHN WALKER



THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY  
BROADWAY AT 156TH STREET  
NEW YORK  
1936



## THE COINAGE OF THE SECOND SAF- FARID DYNASTY IN SISTAN\*

By JOHN WALKER

In 1877 when Lane-Poole published vol. III of his *Catalogue of Oriental Coins* the British Museum contained only 14 specimens of the coinage of the Saffarid Governors in Sistan (A.H. 296-399, A.D. 908-1008). This number has since been more than trebled, which is by far the largest collection of these rare coins in any museum. The additional examples have come from two private collections, namely, (1) that of Mr. G. P. Tate and (2) that of Lt. Col. Sir A. H. McMahon. Although the late Dr. Oliver Codrington published a few cursory notes on most of

\* In the transliteration of Arabic words a very simplified form has been adopted. An apostrophe has been employed to mark that consonant which is so characteristic of Semitic languages, the 'ain. Apart from this no ligatures or logotypes have been used, and no attempt has been made to indicate long vowels. To have followed any precise system would have involved much additional expenditure that would not have been counterbalanced by any great gain in general accuracy.

I am indebted to the authorities of the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, and of the Ermitage, Leningrad, for permission to publish certain coins in their cabinets.

In the publishing of this monograph I have been very generously assisted in the presentation of the material in typescript and the correction of proofs by Mr. Howland Wood. To him, and to the Publications Committee of the American Numismatic Society, are due my sincerest thanks.

these in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1905 (pp. 549-551) and 1911 (pp. 781-3) respectively, he had to confess his inability to read certain of the marginal legends, which had likewise puzzled Lane-Poole. After a careful examination of the assembled material I have managed to decipher these, and as one of them reveals a Koranic text hitherto unknown to Muhammadan Numismatics it provides additional reason for publication. Besides, there are important questions of chronology and attribution involved, and so in the hope of throwing some light on such, I have considered it advisable to collect all the known numismatic data surviving of what is, I am afraid, somewhat arbitrarily termed, the Second Saffarid Dynasty in Sistan.

No attempt has yet been made to assemble the fragmentary information existing in historical records concerning these rulers, regarding whom there has been what amounts to a conspiracy of silence. Juzjani, the author of the *Tabakat-i-Nasiri*, actually passes over all mention of them although he deals with the First Saffarid Dynasty as well as with the later rulers of Nimruz or Sistan. In the Encyclopædia of Islam there is but a brief account of some of these princes by Büchner in his articles on *Sistan* and *Samanids*, while Haig's article on the *Saffarids* dismisses them in a sentence. Lane-Poole's *Mohammadan Dynasties* (1894) is strangely devoid of specific mention of any of the members of this dynasty, although it does refer in a footnote (p. 130) to the historical résumé contained in Sauvaire's *Lettre sur un*



*fels Saffaride.* This omission however is rectified by Zambaur in his *Manuel de Généalogie* (pp. 200-1) where a list is given of the successive rulers of Sistan during this period, as well as a useful genealogical table and bibliography. The skeleton table of the dynasty which I subjoin has been largely based on this, and to a lesser degree on Justi's *Iranisches Nahmenbuch* (1895, p. 439) although the transliteration of the Arabic proper names is necessarily different. I have also included in this series the coins of the two rebellious governors Kathir ibn Ahmad (No. 4) and Husain ibn Tahir (No. 55).

A brief historical synopsis of events is no doubt desirable. The First Saffarid Dynasty was founded by a quondam bandit leader Ya'kub the son of al-Laith surnamed the Coppersmith (al-Saffar), who contrived to gain possession of Sistan c. A.H. 253, A.D. 867. He was succeeded in turn by his brother 'Amr and the latter's grandson Tahir, under whom the First Dynasty may be said to have terminated A.H. 296, A.D. 908. These three rulers are indicated on the accompanying table as A, B, and C. The members of what may be called the Second Saffarid Dynasty struggled during the following century to recapture and maintain their hold on Sistan. Of the six rulers (marked 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 on the table) we possess coins of four besides the issues of the two usurpers above mentioned.

Although it is with *their* period of unstable tenure that we are here concerned, yet a rough tabulation of the coins of the First Saffarid Dynasty in the British

Museum (12 of which are so far uncatalogued) may provide a useful approach to the subject proper. [B.M.C. = British Museum Catalogue, vol. II, or vol. IX; N.C. = not catalogued. In each case I have indicated the appearance on the obverse or the reverse of the name of the 'Abbasid Caliph of Baghdad, the nominal overlord, and/or of the Saffarid Ruler. V. = Vasmer: *Über die Münzen der Saffariden und ihrer Gegner in Fars und Hurasan in Numismatische Zeitschrift*, Vienna, 1930, pp. 131-162.]

At the period with which we are dealing the 'Abbasid Caliphate at Baghdad had fallen on evil days. Although the name of the Caliph is placed on their coins by the various independent Saffarid, Samanid, Buwaihid and Ghaznavid rulers of the day, his overlordship was seldom more than a polite figment. The following is a list of the Caliphs of Baghdad who are recognized on the coins of the Saffarid governors (of the first and second dynasties).

al-Mu'tamid 'ala'llah.	A.H. 256-279	A.D. 870- 892
al-Mu'tadid billah.	279-289	892- 902
al-Muktafi billah	289-295	902- 908
al-Muktadir billah	295-320	908- 932
al-Kahir billah	320-322	932- 934
al-Radi billah	322-329	934- 940
al-Muttaki lillah	329-333	940- 944
al-Mustakfi billah	333-334	944- 946
al-Muti' lillah	334-363	946- 974
al-Ta'i' lillah	363-381	974- 991
al-Kadir billah	381-422	991-1031

Zambaur in his *Contributions* pt. I p. 14 makes the erroneous statement that Tahir, the grandson of 'Amr, was carried off to Baghdad (288) and assassinated (289, A.D. 902) although he is aware (cf. his footnote *ibid.*) that the coins flatly contradict this. In the same article he praises the succinct account of the Saffarids given by Müller in his *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*. It looks very much as if he has been misled by Müller's statement (p. 34): "*Ssedshestan allein überliess Motadid dem Tahir, einem Enkel des Amr; dieser selbst ward 288 (901) nach Bagdad geschafft und kurz nach dem Tode des Chalifen (289 = 902) im Gefängnisse umgebracht.*" Obviously he has confused Tahir with his grandfather 'Amr who was put to death in that year. (Justi wrongly dates his death as A.D. 908.) In Ibn al-Athir (VIII, 42) we read of Tahir's capture by his adversary Subkari (سبکری) and his being sent along with his brother Ya'kub to the Caliph Muktaḍir at Baghdad. According to the same historian (VIII, 100) we find Tahir and Ya'kub being invested with robes of honour by the same Caliph in the year 310.<sup>1</sup>

However with the capture of Tahir and his brother Ya'kub the First Dynasty may be said to have ended, although Ya'kub's son 'Amr, as we shall see, was recognized in 300, A.D. 912 for a brief nine months

<sup>1</sup> These seem to be the same two persons, *pace* Raverty, *Tabakat-i-Nasiri (Bibliotheca Indica)* London 1881 I, p. 185, who regards them as grandsons of Laith ibn 'Ali.

FIRST SAFFARID DYNASTY

Metal	Mint	Year	Reference	Obverse	Reverse
<i>Ya'kub ibn al-Laith</i> (253-265) A.D. 867-879					
يعقوب بن الليث					
⌘	Ahwaz	264	N.C. = V. 10	al-Amir Ya'kub	al-Mu'tamid 'ala'llah
⌘	Banjahir	260	B.M.C. = V. 3	Ya'kub	"
⌘	Faris	264	B.M.C. = V. 6	"	"
<i>'Amr ibn al-Laith</i> (265-288) A.D. 879-900					
عمرو بن الليث					
⌘	Jannaba	275	B.M.C. = V. 36	al-Muwaffak billah 'Amr ibn al-Laith'	al-Mu'tamid 'ala'llah Ahmad son of al- Muwaffak billah
⌘	Arrajan	275	B.M.C. = V. 37	"	"
⌘	Shiraz	280	N.C. = V. 46	'Amr ibn al-Laith	al-Mu'tamid billah
⌘	"	281	N.C. = V. 53	"	"

Æ	Paris	267	N.C. = V. 23	al-Muwaffak billah 'Amr	al-Mu'tamid 'ala' llah
Æ	"	273	N.C. = V. 33	al-Mu'tamid 'ala' llah Muhammad ibn 'Amr <sup>3</sup>	"
Æ	Nisabur	269	N.C. = V. 15	al-Muwaffak billah Mansur <sup>4</sup>	'Amr ibn al-Laith al-Mu'tamid 'ala' llah
Æ	"	282	N.C. = V. 65	Abu Hafs 'Amr ibn al-Laith <sup>5</sup>	'Amr al-Mu'tadid billah

<sup>2</sup> Al-Muwaffak was the brother and the associate of the Caliph al-Mu'tamid. The name of his son Ahmad, who succeeded his uncle as the next Caliph al-Mu'tadid, appears on the reverse.

<sup>3</sup> Muhammad 'Amr's son died in 274 in retreating from the Caliph's army (Ibn al-Athir VII, 298).

<sup>4</sup> Abu Talha Mansur, the representative of 'Amr.

<sup>5</sup> 'Amr is here given the additional name (or *kunya*) of Abu Hafs, i.e., Father of Hafs, his son.

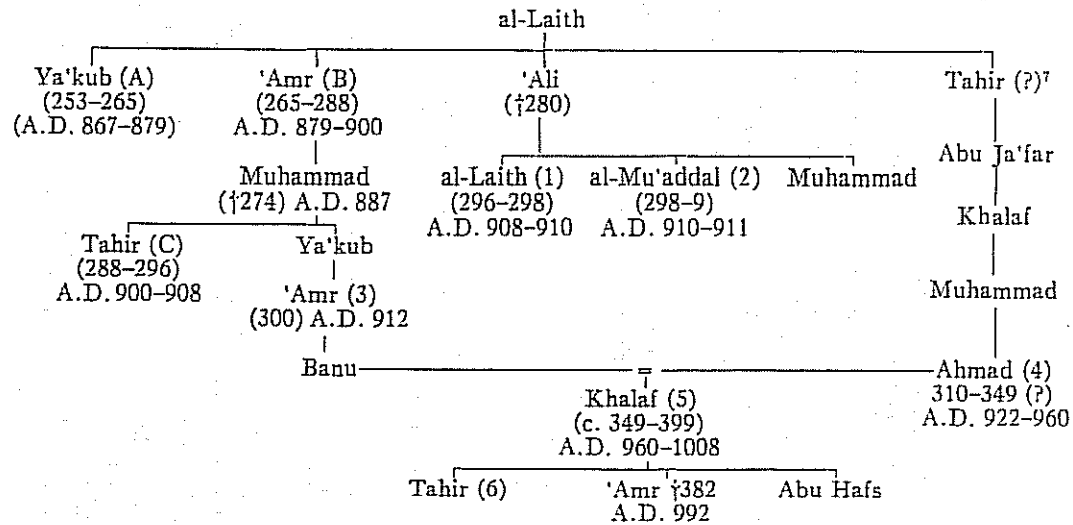
*Tahir ibn Muhammad* (288-296) A.D. 900-908

طاهر بن محمد

℞	Madinat Zaranj	295	B.M.C. = V. 84	al-kadr lillah <sup>6</sup>	al-Muktafi billah Tahir ibn Muham- mad
℞	Faris	290	N.C. = V. 74	Tahir ibn Muham- mad	al-Muktafi billah
℞	"	291	N.C. = V. 75	"	"
℞	"	292	N.C. = V. 76	"	"
℞	"	293	N.C. = V. 77	"	"
℞	"	294	B.M.C. = V. 78	"	"
℞	"	295	N.C. = V. 79	"	"
℞	"	296	B.M.C. = V. 86	"	al-Muktadir billah

<sup>6</sup> I.e., fate rests with Allah. Lane Poole read it as *alkudra lillah* which would be "Power belongs to Allah" and his reading is naturally repeated by Vasmer.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF FIRST AND SECOND SAFFARID DYNASTIES



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<sup>7</sup> See note in Tiesenhhausen's article in the *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, III, p. 178; see also footnote below p. 16. Justi's genealogy is erroneous in this branch.

by the insurgents in Sistan; while his daughter Banu was the mother of Khalaf, the most distinguished member of the Second Dynasty.

Ibn al-Athir (VIII, 43, 44) tells us that in 297, A.D. 909 Laith ibn 'Ali advanced into the rich province of Fars and drove Subkari off to Arrajan. When the tidings reached Baghdad however, the Caliph sent a punitive force under Munis, who successfully routed the troops from Sistan, captured their leader Laith, and carried him off to Baghdad. There are but three coins extant of his mintage. The one in the British Museum (No. 3), although dated 298, A.D. 910 may have been issued from the town of Bust before the news of the recent defeat had arrived or, more probably, as an expression of the citizens' loyalty to their captive prince.<sup>8</sup>

Mu'addal, a brother of Laith, succeeded him as Sahib or Master of Sistan (in 298, A.D. 910), and the same year witnessed the advance of the Samanid<sup>9</sup> power from Bukhara under Husain ibn 'Ali the general of Ahmad ibn Isma'il. A third brother Muham-

<sup>8</sup> He died in 317 A.D. 929, see Vasmer, p. 154.

<sup>9</sup> The Samanids, originally governors in Transoxania, founded a powerful dynastic line whose dominion embraced the greater part of modern Iran. Their sway lasted from A.D. 874-999 after which they were displaced by the Buwaihids. They did much to foster a Persian national literature and were the patrons of great physicians and philosophers such as Avicenna (Ibn Sina) and Rhazes (al-Razi). From their capital Bukhara they maintained a strong opposition to the Caliph at Baghdad whose overlordship was purely nominal.



mad was ordered to protect the territory around the towns of Bust and al-Rukhkhaj in the forefront of the invading forces. The Samanid general was victorious however, and when Mu'addal learned of the defeat and capture of his brother Muhammad, he capitulated. It is not known whether he issued any coins during his brief period of government.

One of the first things the Samanid Amir Ahmad did after the surrender of Mu'addal was to appoint Mansur ibn Ishak (his cousin) as Governor of Sistan for the Samanids. But the country was far from pacified. In 300, A.D. 912 a religious sectarian (one of the ubiquitous Khawarij), named Ibn Hurmuz, provoked a popular rising in favour of the Saffarids. Under a powerful adventurer named Ibn-al-Haffar they seized control, imprisoned the Samanid Governor Mansur and offered Sistan with their allegiance to 'Amr, the son of their captive prince Ya'kub.

This led to a second invasion of the land on the part of the Samanid general Husain ibn 'Ali who this time besieged the capital Zaranj for nine months. Whether it was the premature decease of their religious instigator Ibn Hurmuz, or the rigours of the siege, at all events 'Amr and his generalissimo Ibn al-Haffar sued for terms. In the rôle of captives they pass from the pages of history and a new Samanid Governor Simjur al-Dawati (سيمجور الدواتي) was appointed over Sistan. It is not surprising that there is no numismatic evidence known of this disastrous revolt.

In the year 301, A.D. 913 the Samanid ruler, Ahmad ibn Isma'il, was assassinated, leaving behind him as heir Nasr, his eight year old son. The masterly fashion in which the delicate situation of the succession was handled on behalf of this terror-stricken child by a scion of the Saffarid family named Ahmed ibn Muhammad, who was at the time prefect (متولى امر) in Bukhara,<sup>10</sup> was destined to be rewarded some years later as we shall see. But in the meantime, the Samanid dynastic crisis led to the withdrawal from Sistan of Simjur al-Dawati and the occasion was apparently seized by the Caliph Al-Muktadir to appoint his own representative Badr al-Kabir as governor of the land (Ibn al Athir VIII, 59).

Sistan at this period was never destined to be long at peace. In 304, A.D. 916 a usurper, named Kathir ibn Ahmad,<sup>11</sup> apparently not a member of the Saffarid family, rose in revolt, an act which at once called for reprisals from Baghdad. An army from Fars almost defeated Kathir, but when the inhabitants of Sistan heard that the Caliph's envoy Zaid was bringing chains and fetters for their chief men and increased taxation for themselves, they joined with Kathir, repulsed the Caliph's forces and took Zaid prisoner

<sup>10</sup> Ibn al Athir (VIII, 58) calls him simply Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn al-Laith thus omitting several stages in his genealogy (see table on page 9).

<sup>11</sup> There is no reason why the name should be read in a diminutive form as is done by Lane-Poole (Kutheyyir) and by Weil in his *Geschichte der Chali'en* (Kutheir).

ignominiously. Kathir wrote to the Caliph to exculpate himself and laid the blame on the people. The Caliph's answer was to order Badr ibn 'Abdallah, the Governor of Fars, to advance in person with his troops against Sistan. On hearing this Kathir in apprehension hastened to agree to terms, an annual payment of 500,000 dirhams and the recognition of his status as Governor in Sistan [Ibn al-Athir, VIII, 77]. We have no record of the length of his governorship but coin no. 4 indicates his presence in power two years later (306, A.D. 918).

Sauvaire<sup>12</sup> on the supposed authority of Ibn al-Athir discovers a new Governor of Sistan for the year 307 named 'Amr ibn al-Laith. His error has arisen through failing to understand the passage in Ibn al-Athir (VIII, 86, 87). The Arabic historian under the year 307, A.D. 919, is recounting the story of Ahmad ibn Sahl, the quondam representative of 'Amr ibn al-Laith at Marw, whom 'Amr had arrested and carried off to imprisonment in Sistan. Sauvaire failed to observe that Ibn al-Athir, as the latter expressly states (p. 86 *ولكن نذكر حاله من أوله*), is relating Ahmad's history anterior to the year 307 and that the 'Amr ibn al-Laith who is mentioned, is none other than the second ruler of the First Saffarid dynasty who, as we saw above, was assassinated at Baghdad in 289, A.D. 901.

<sup>12</sup> *Num. Chron.* 1881, p. 132. "Ebn al Athir nous apprend *implicitement*."

In 310<sup>13</sup> the Samanid overlord, Nasr, having now reached his majority, demonstrated his gratitude to Ahmad ibn Muhammad, the Saffarid vassal who had supported his claim to the throne of his father, by appointing him Governor of Sistan. It was a popular choice, since the Sistanese, constantly disaffected at this period, welcomed the return of a member of the Saffarid ruling house. It is ten years later (320, A.D. 932) however, before any numismatic evidence of his rule is forthcoming. Thereafter until his death c. A.H. 349, A.D. 960 his name appears fairly regularly on the coinage of Sistan.

That it was some years before Ahmad established his position as governor of Sistan may be gathered from the scanty references of the historians supplemented by the contemporary records of the coins. We know that in the year A.H. 316, A.D. 928,<sup>14</sup> a nameless Kharijite, or religious sectarian, intended to march an army from Sistan into the province of Fars but before he reached there he was put to death by his own partisans and the expedition abandoned. We also learn from the same source (VIII, p. 164) that in 318, A.D. 930 the Caliph al-Muktadir appointed his son Harun as Governor of Fars, Kirman, Sistan and Makran, while in the following year (319, A.D. 931) we find him investing Abu Bakr Muham-

<sup>13</sup> Sachau, *Verzeichnis* p. 11 (based on the work of Munajjim Bashi). Büchner however, in the *Encycl. of Islam*, art *Sistan* p. 459 gives the date as 309.

<sup>14</sup> Ibn al Athir VIII, 46.

mad ibn Yakut with the governorship of Sistan (*ibid* p. 165). The coins however tell us nothing about these.

On the other hand certain coins of 320–321, A.D. 932 besides bearing the name of Ahmad ibn Muhammad also preserve for us another name, that of al-Husain ibn Bilal who is apparently otherwise unknown in historical documents. Prof. Vasmer of Leningrad, who has given me the benefit of his advice on the matter, informs me that about twelve years ago he lost much time in perusing certain oriental writers in the hope of finding something concerning this personage, but without success. So for the present, at any rate, al-Husain ibn Bilal must remain an enigma. Whoever he may have been, the year 321 saw his name displaced on the coins by that of Abu Ja'far (or Father of Ja'far) which was the additional name or *kunya* of Ahmad ibn Muhammad with reference to his son Ja'far.

There are many points of interest about the coinage of Ahmad ibn Muhammad. One is the presence of the name Khalaf. This occurs with and without the name of the governor himself Ahmad ibn Muhammad, and his *kunya* Abu Ja'far. Khalaf was both the name of his grandfather and of his celebrated son who succeeded him. Perhaps the appearance of the name on the early gold coins (nos. 5, 6, 7) may be accounted for by the fact that Ahmad's son Khalaf was born about that time (326, A.D. 937). Another interesting point, of historical importance, is to be

seen in nos. 20, 41 and 42. The last two coins unmistakably have the date 346, in spite of the fact that Codrington declared it illegible, while no. 20, a fragment in the Ermitage, is of the year 349. They are issued in the name of Ahmad ibn Muhammad, with the Caliph's name and that of Khalaf. Zambaur gives 344, A.D. 955 as approximately the last year of Ahmad's reign, but these coins definitely prove that he was alive and in power at all events as late as 349, A.D. 960. The re-appearance of the name Khalaf at this late date seems to indicate the ascription of a certain measure of political prominence to the heir apparent. But in what year the latter succeeded his father is still wrapped in obscurity. We know from history<sup>15</sup> that Ahmad's son Khalaf was restored to the governorship of Sistan in the year 353, A.D. 964 by the Samanid Mansur ibn Nuh, but the earliest extant examples of his coinage are more than ten years later (nos. 43, 49). In view of these facts it is not at all improbable that Ahmad died c. 353, A.D. 964.

Codrington (Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,

<sup>15</sup> B. de Jenisch: *Historia Priorum Regum Persarum* (ex Mirchond) Vienna, 1782, p. 107. *A Mansuro, filio Nuhi, in regnum Sistaniae a.h. 353 et seq. restitutus*. Hence no doubt, the date given in Justi for the beginning of Khalaf's reign, though he makes the latter the son of Ahmad ibn Isma'il who died in 942 (A.H. 331). This is obviously quite incorrect. See table above p. 9. The investiture of Khalaf by the Caliph is described by Ibn Miskawaih under the year 354 (quoted by Codrington, op. cit. 1911 p. 782).

1911, p. 782) mentions a bronze coin of Ahmad ibn Muhammad with the obverse "*filled with a star of six leaves radiating from a central circle with pellets between the rays and a marginal circle of annulets between two of plain lines.*" He read the date as 338. Unfortunately he did not illustrate this and it is not among the coins from the McMahon Collection that were presented to the British Museum. Its present whereabouts is unknown to me. But judging by his description of the obverse, I have no hesitation in asserting that the coin in question is not Saffarid but 'Abbasid, in fact similar in character if not in date to the one published by Lavoix, *Cat. des Monnaies musulmanes* vol. I, Paris 1887, No. 1593, plate IX, and minted at Sijistan A.H. 194.

Khalaf ibn Ahmad, the next Saffarid governor, has left behind him the reputation of being one of the most enlightened men of his generation.<sup>16</sup> Yakut (III, p. 44) gives his name as Abu Ahmad Khalaf ibn Ahmad ibn Khalaf ibn al-Laith ibn Farkad al-Sijizi, but in so doing he omits several generations (see table above p. 9). He also tells us that besides being a king (ملك) in Sistan, he was amongst the most learned and honourable of men. Al-Biruni<sup>17</sup> in mentioning a certain *contretemps* between him and his Samanid overlord, Nuh ibn Mansur records the fact that

<sup>16</sup> "*Une des gloires du Sedjestan*" C. Barbier de Meynard: *Dictionnaire de la Perse*, Paris, 1861 p. 305.

<sup>17</sup> *The Chronology of Ancient Nations*, ed. Sachau, p. 330.

Khalaf had the title of *Wali al-Daula* (ولي الدولة), which agrees with the Berlin specimen given below (no. 56). His relations with the Samanid power were always rather strained, and the internal politics of Sistan seldom left him much certainty of security of tenure; even his sons as we shall see plotted against him. Finally succumbing before the advance of the great Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna in 393, A.D. 1002, he lingered for a few more years, and died in A.H. 399 (A.D. 1008).

A brief account of the main events of his exciting reign may serve as a setting for the few surviving coins of this period described below. Not long after his accession in 353, Khalaf left the government in the hands of a relative by marriage, named Tahir ibn Husain, and went off on pilgrimage as a pious Moslem, to Mecca. On his return in the following year (354) he was ousted by Tahir, who had fomented a revolt against him. With the help of Mansur ibn Nuh, the Samanid ruler at Bukhara, he managed to regain possession of his domain for a short time, but a second revolt sent him again seeking aid from Bukhara. Tahir at this crucial moment died, to be succeeded by his son, Husain, who carried on the rebellion, and a specimen of whose gold coinage is described below (no. 55). Khalaf, however, once more won back his kingdom and Husain was forced to retire for the time being to the Samanid court. For some time all was well, but as soon as Khalaf



stopped sending tribute money and robes of honour to his Samanid overlord, he found the old civil strife resumed, this time with the Samanid forces in league with the former usurping governor Husain ibn Tahir. Khalaf found himself besieged by them in his citadel at Zaranj for a period of seven years. At length the Samanid ruler Nuh ibn Mansur, sent the famous general Abu'l-Hasan, son of the Simjur al-Dawati mentioned above, to end the protracted campaign. The latter who was friendly with Khalaf devised with him a strategic move which completely succeeded in defeating Husain ibn Tahir and once more leaving Khalaf in undisputed possession of Sistan.

But his dynastic troubles were not at an end. One of his sons 'Amr, who had suffered an ignominious defeat at the hands of the Buwaihid governor of Kirman, and had returned in disgrace to Sistan, was imprisoned and, for some unknown reason, put to death by his father's orders in A.H. 382, A.D. 992. Another son, called Tahir, revolted against Khalaf in A.H. 391, A.D. 1000, who once more found himself taking refuge in one of his citadels. By means of an act of treachery he captured his unfilial son in an ambush and according to one account is said to have killed him with his own hands. It seems a most inhuman act for one who was renowned for his piety and learning. Hence the importance of the unique coin in the Ermitage (no. 57) which, although the mint and date are both unfortunately missing, must have been issued by Tahir ibn Khalaf after 393—

since it bears the name of Mahmud—the year in which Sistan was irrevocably wrenched from Khalaf and he was driven into retirement until he died in 399. If these facts are so, then Tahir must have survived his unsuccessful mutiny. According to the historians, however, Khalaf was succeeded either by another son, named Abu Hafs, or by a grandson named Tahir. But it is difficult to explain away the coin evidence, which clearly indicates that Tahir, Khalaf's son, issued coins, presumably in Sistan, with the name of the Caliph al-Kadir and also that of his overlord Mahmud of Ghazna.

One interesting result of a fresh study of these coins has been the elucidation of a hitherto unrecorded coin legend. It is found on the gold coins of Khalaf (nos. 50, 51, 52, 53) and by patching together the fragments I have been able to read it as follows:

وَمَنْ يَوْقُ شَحَّ نَفْسِهِ فَأَوْلَعَكَ هَمَّ الْمُفْلِكُونَ

This is the end of a verse which occurs twice in the Koran (LIX, 9 and LXIV, 16) and may be translated as follows: "*And those who are saved from their own covetousness shall be prosperous.*" Prof. Vasmer, to whom I communicated my reading, has written to me expressing his agreement. In order to illustrate, and justify, my decipherment of the above legend, and also of the one on the bronze coins (nos. 23, 24 and 30), it is perhaps advisable to tabulate the examples as follows to show how the remnants of one legend supplement the other.

no.23 ~~لله الامراض قبل ومن بعد~~

no.24 ~~لله الامراض قبل ومن بعد~~

no.30 ~~لله الامراض قبل ومن بعد~~

Koran  
xxx.3. لله الامراض قبل ومن بعد

no.50 ..... لله الامراض قبل ومن بعد

no.51. لله الامراض قبل ومن بعد

no.52 لله الامراض قبل ومن بعد

no.53 لله الامراض قبل ومن بعد

Koran  
Lix.9. ومن يوق (باق) شيخ نفسه فاولئك هم المفلحون

## CATALOGUE

AL-LAITH IBN 'ALI

الليث بن علي

A.H. 296-298 = A.D. 908-910 [†A.H. 317]

1. (Madinat) Zaranj. A.H. 296 = A.D. 908. ⌘  
Fraehn: *Recensio*, p. 37, No. 8 = Vasmer 91.
2. Faris. A.H. 297 = A.D. 909. ⌘  
Lane-Poole in *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1892, p.  
162 = V. 92.

Outside obv. and rev. margins:

بالنصر | والظفر | واليمن | والسعادة

With help and victory and success and happiness.

3. (Madinat) Bust. A.H. 298 = A.D. 910. ⌘  
1.05, wt. 40.2 grains (2.6 grams).  
B. M. Cat., II, No. 250 = V. 93.

لا اله الا | الله وحده | لا شريك له |  
الليث بن عليThere is no god except Allah alone. He has no associate.<sup>18</sup> al-Laith ibn 'Ali.

Inner margin:

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بمدينة  
بست سنة ثمان وتسعين ومائتين

<sup>18</sup> Part of the Muslim *credo*. The latter part (taken from Koran VI, 163) is a direct hit at the Christian doctrine of the Trinity which Muhammad confused with some form of syntheism.

SECOND SAFFARID DYNASTY 23

In the name of Allah this dirham was minted in the town of Bust. in the year 298.

Outer margin:

لله الامر من قبل ومن بعد ويومئذ يفرح  
المؤمنون بنصر الله

Authority belongs to Allah before and after, and on that day the believers shall rejoice in the help of Allah (Koran XXX, 3, 4).

Rev. لله | محمد | رسول | الله | المقتدر بالله

To Allah!<sup>19</sup> Muhammad is the apostle of Allah. al-Muktadir billah (the Abassid Caliph at Baghdad who was nominal overlord).

Margin:

محمد رسول الله ارسله بالهدى ودين الحق  
ليظهره على الدين كله ولو كره المشركون

Muhammad is the apostle of Allah, who has sent him with Guidance and the Religion of Truth that he may make it prevail over all religion, even if the syntheists<sup>20</sup> are averse (Koran IX, 33).

Plate I. 1

AL-MU'ADDAL IBN 'ALI

المعتدل بن علي

A.H. 298-299 = A.D. 910-911

No coins known.

<sup>19</sup> For a discussion of the meaning of the phrase see an article by the present writer in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, Fifth Series, XIV, p. 292.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. note 18.

'AMR IBN YA'KUB

عمرو بن يعقوب

A.H. 300 = A.D. 912

No coins known.

KATHIR IBN AHMAD

كثير بن احمد

[Usurper]

c. A.H. 304-306 = A.D. 916-918

4. Sijistan.<sup>21</sup> A.H. 306. R

1.15, wt. 54.8 (3.55).

B. M. Cat., III, No. 29.

والوفا | as No. 3 | كثير بن احمد | بالعدل

As No. 3 but with name of Kathir ibn Ahmad and legend:—With equity and honesty.

Inner margin as No. 3, but

بسجستان سنة ست وثلاثمائة

In Sijistan in the year 306.

Outer margin (Koran XXX, 3, 4).

Rev. Legends as on No. 3, but with \* at bottom of centre legend.

Margin: (Koran IX, 33), as No. 3.

Plate I, 2

<sup>21</sup> I.e., Sistan or Seistan (Sakaštana, the land of the Sakae) also called Nimruz ("mid-day" land, south of Khurasan). The chief mint was at the capital Zaranj.

SECOND SAFFARID DYNASTY 25

(ABU JA'FAR) AHMAD IBN MUHAMMAD

احمد بن محمد

c. A.H. 310-349 (?) = A.D. 922-960 (?)

(a) *Without the Caliph's name*

5. Mint obliterated. A.H. 324, 7 or 9? v  
0.45, wt. 11.7 (0.76).

B. M. Cat., III, No. 32.<sup>22</sup>

There is no god except Allah alone. He hath no associate.

Margin: Date.

*Rev.* As No. 3, but the name of Khalaf added instead of that of the Caliph.

Margin: Part of Koran XXX, 3, partly cut off.

Plate I, 3

(b) *With the Caliph's name*

6. Zaranj.<sup>23</sup> A.H. 332? v  
0.5, wt. 11.5 (0.75).

B. M. Cat., III, No. 30.

There is no god except Allah; Muhammad is the apostle of Allah.

Margin: Mint and date.

*Rev.* To Allah! Al-Muttaki lillah (i.e. the Abbasid Caliph) Khalaf.

Margin: As on No. 3, but only as far as "truth." (Koran IX, 33).

Plate I, 4

<sup>22</sup> Lane-Poole gives the date as 33x, but it is decidedly 32x.

<sup>23</sup> Lane-Poole was unable to read the mint name.

7. Zaranj.<sup>23</sup> A.H. 334. v

0.6, wt. 15.2 (0.98).

B. M. Cat., III, No. 31.

Same as No. 5 but last line Khalaf.

Margin:

بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ ضَرَبَ هٰذَا الدِّيْنَرُ بِزَرْجِ سَنَةِ اَرْبَعٍ  
وَتَلْتَمِئَةً

*Rev.* Muhammad is the apostle of Allah, and the name of the Abbasid Caliph al-Mustakbi-billah.

Margin as preceding.

Plate I, 5

8. Sijistan. A.H. 343.

0.9, wt. 33.2 (2.15).<sup>24</sup> v

Codrington (Tate). J. R. A. S. 1905, p. 549, illustrated in J. R. A. S. 1911, fig. 5.

There is no god etc. and with the names of al-Muti' lillah, the Abbasid Caliph, Ahmad ibn Muhammad and Khalaf.

Margin: As usual, but with mint name Sijistan and date 343.

*Rev.* Allah is one! Allah the Eternal! He begetteth not nor is He begotten, and there is none other like unto him. (Koran CXII, 1-4).

This is regarded as the quintessence of the Koranic teaching. It expressly attacks the

<sup>24</sup> A metal loop has been affixed to the coin, which is badly cracked.



Divinity of Christ. Because it appears so frequently on the coins of the Umayyad Caliphs it is often referred to as the Umayyad symbol.

Margin as No. 3.

Plate I, 6

(a) *With names of the Caliph, al-Husain ibn Bilal and Ahmad ibn Muhammad*

9. Sijistan. A.H. 320. R

1.1, wt. 34.1 (2.21).

Ermitage, Leningrad.<sup>25</sup>

As No. 3 but with name of al-Husain ibn Bilal.

Inner margin similar to above but with date 320.

Outer margin as No. 3, (Koran XXX, 3, 4).

*Rev.* As No. 3, but after the Caliph's name al-Muktadir that of Ahmad ibn Muhammad.

Margin as No. 3, (Koran, IX, 33).

Part of the coin is missing.

Plate II, 7

10. Sijistan. A.H. 321. R

1.25. Kaiser-Friedrich Museum, Berlin. See Weyl: *Verzeichniss der Fonrobert'schen Sammlung*. 1878, No. 6741, and *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, Berlin, 1882, p. 16.

As above, but date 321.

<sup>25</sup> Prof. Vasmer tells me that this coin was found at Friedrichshof in 1913. Cf. *Sitzungsberichte der Gelehrten Estnischen Gesellschaft* 1925, p. 44, no. 24.

*Rev.* As above, only with name of the Caliph al-Kahir billah.

There is an outer marginal band on both obverse and reverse.

Plate II, No. 8

10a. Mint and date cut off. Æ

0.7. Ermitage, Leningrad.

As No. 9, but the epigraphy of the governor's name more cursive.

*Rev.* As No. 9, but the epigraphy more cursive. This fragment, from which all marginal legends are cut off, was found, as Prof. Vasmer informs me, in the hoard of Berozy, district of Dmitrowsk, 1910. Since it bears the name of the Caliph Al-Muktadir it must be not later than 320.

Plate II, 8a

(b) *With names of the Caliph, Abu Ja'far and Ahmad ibn Muhammad*

11. Sijistan. A.H. 321. Æ

1.2, wt. 41.9 (2.72).

Ermitage = Markow p. 109, No. 1.

As above, but fourth line Abu Ja'far (i.e. the additional name or *kunya* of Ahmad ibn Muhammad). Date 321.

*Rev.* As above, but the Caliph's name indistinct.

Plate II, 9

This coin was described by Tiesenhausen (in *Numismatische Zeitschrift III*, p. 178 f.) who

read the name as that of al-Radi billah although this Caliph did not begin to reign until 322. It might be read as al-Kahir billah.

12. Sijistan. A.H. 323. Æ  
 1.2, wt. 32.1 (2.08).  
 Ermitage = Markow, p. 109, No. 2.  
 As above but date 323.  
*Rev.* As above but Caliph's name clearly al-Radi billah.  
 Fragmentary. This is Tiesenhausen (*op. cit.*) No. 22, p. 179. Plate II, 10
13. Sijistan. A.H. 324. Æ  
 1.25, wt. 50.5 (3.27).  
 Ermitage = Markow, p. 109, No. 3.  
 As above but date 324.  
*Rev.* As above.  
 Outer marginal band on obverse and reverse.  
 This is Tiesenhausen (*op. cit.*) No. 23, p. 179. Plate II, 11.
14. Another of same mint and date. Æ  
 1.25, wt. 35.1 (2.27).  
 Ermitage = Markow, p. 109, No. 4. Plate II, 12
- (c) *With name of the Caliph, Ahmad (ibn Muhammad)*
15. (Madinat) Sijistan (?) A.H. 343 or 346. Æ  
 0.65, wt. 5.9 (0.38).  
 B. M. (McMahon) unpublished. With name of the Caliph al-Muti'lillah.

Margin:

سجستان (?) سنة ٤٣٩ (٤٣٩) اربعين وثلاثمائة

*Rev.* With name of Ahmad ibn Muhammad.

Margin:

بسم الله ضرب هذا الد [رهم] بمدينة

The coin is of very thin fabric, and the marginal legend begins on the reverse and is continued on the obverse, which is most unusual.

Plate II, 13

16. No mint. A.H. 339.

⌘

0.4, wt. 4.2 (0.27).

B. M. (McMahon), unpublished.

There is no god but Allah alone. He hath no associate.

Margin: Date 339.

*Rev.* With names of the Caliph al-Muti' and Ahmad.

Margin as on obverse.

Plate II, 14

17. No mint. A.H. 340.

⌘

0.4, wt. 5.3 (0.34).

B. M. (McMahon) unpublished.

As above.

Margin as above but date 340.

*Rev.* As above.

Margin illegible.

Plate II, 15

18. No mint, date illegible.

⌘

0.35, wt. 4.2 (0.27).

B. M. (McMahon) unpublished.  
 As above but margin illegible.  
*Rev.* As above but margin illegible.

Plate II, 16

19. Mint and date illegible. R  
 0.35, wt. 4.6 (0.30).

B. M. (McMahon) unpublished.  
 As above.  
*Rev.* As above.

The above unusual silver denominations are only known during this reign.

Plate II, 17

(d) *With names of the Caliph, Khalaf and Ahmad ibn Muhammad*

20. Sijistan. A.H. 349. R  
 Wt. 24.2 (1.59).

Fragment. Ermitage.

With names of the Caliph al-Muti', Ahmad ibn Muhammad and Khalaf.

Margin shows part of mint name and 49 of the year.

*Rev.* As on No. 8.

Margin: Part of Koran IX, 33, as on No. 3.

Plate II, 18

Prof. Vasmer informs me that this fragment is from a hoard found in 1923 at Vaskovo, district of Velikiya Luki, in the govt. of Pskov, N. W. Russia.

(a) *With name of Khalaf*

21. Sijistan. A.H. 3xx.<sup>26</sup> Æ  
0.95, wt. 41.4 (2.68).

B. M. Cat., III, No. 33.

ولي (?) | لا اله الا | الله وحده | لا شريك  
له | ح ح

ح = initial letter of Khalaf (?).

Margin:

بسم الله ضرب هذا [الفلسر?] بسجستان  
سنة اى ثلثين ثلثما لله (sic)

Rev.

الله | محمد | رسول | الله | خلف

Margin: Koran XXX, 3, 4, as on obverse of No. 3.

Plate III, 19

22. Sijistan. Date illegible. Pierced. Æ  
1.05, wt. 39.5 (2.56).

B. M. (Tate) unpublished.

As above but not so clear in places.

Rev. As above.

Plate III, 20

(b) *With name of Abu Ja'far Ahmad ibn Muhammad.*

23. Zaranj. A.H. 327. Æ  
0.8, wt. 24.3 (1.57).

<sup>26</sup> Lane-Poole reads it as 325 (?). I am inclined to read it as 331, but it is not clear enough.

<sup>27</sup> Not an ornament as Lane-Poole supposed it to be. It possibly refers to Khalafas heir apparent (*wali 'ahd*)

Codrington (McMahon) No. 2, fig. 2.

As No. 11.

Margin with name of Zaranj and date.

*Rev.* As No. 11, but with the Caliph's name omitted.

Margin: Koran XXX, 3.

Plate III, 21

Codrington dates this 334, but the date is certainly either 327 or 329. As for the reverse margin, characteristic of the copper coins of this group, both Lane-Poole and Codrington considered the legend illegible. See page 21.

24. Zaranj. A.H. 327. Æ

0.85, wt. 27.6 (1.79).

B. M. (McMahon).

As above; date clearer. See page 21.

Plate III, 22

25. Zaranj. A.H. 328. Pierced. Æ

1, wt. 32.2 (2.09).

B. M. (McMahon).

As No. 16.

Margin: As above but date 328.

*Rev.* With name of Abu Ja'far.

Margin: (ordered by) the Amir Ahmad ibn Muhammad. May Allah magnify him.

Plate III, 23

26. Zaranj. A.H. 328. Æ

0.75, wt. 29.7 (1.92).

B.M. (McMahon). Codrington, fig. 3 (*obv.*).

He was unable, however, to date coins of this type.

As above but in two lines, below, Abu Ja'far.

Margin as above.

*Rev.* As above.

Margin: Border of annulets.

Plate III, 24

27. Zaranj. A.H. 32[8?] Æ  
 0.85, wt. 34.8 (2.26).  
 B. M. (McMahon).  
 As above, but date not so clear.  
*Rev.* As above.

Plate III, 25

28. Another probably of the same year. Æ  
 0.8, wt. 27.7 (1.79).  
 B. M. (McMahon).  
 As above.  
*Rev.* As above but without  $\text{الله}$  at top.

Plate III, 26

29. No mint or date. Æ  
 0.85, wt. 40.4 (2.62).  
 B. M. (McMahon) Codrington, fig. 4.  
 This interesting freak combines the reverse of  
 No. 27 with the reverse of No. 28.

Plate III, 27

(c) *Without the name of the Caliph or Abu Ja'far*

30. Zaranj. A.H. 319? or 329? Æ  
 0.85, wt. 30.4 (1.97).  
 B. M. (McMahon).



SECOND SAFFARID DYNASTY 35

As No. 16.

Margin: (Within double circle and outer border of annulets) mint and date.

Rev. As No. 9, but with Caliph's name omitted.

Margin: Koran XXX, 3. See page 21.

Plate III, 28

(d) *With the name of the Caliph and Ahmad ibn Muhammad*

31. Sijistan. A.H. 337. Edge partly broken. Æ  
0.8, wt. 25.3 (1.64).

B. M. (Tate) unpublished.

In circle: الله | احمد | ابن, (with point in the centre of the *mim* of Ahmad).

Margin: In the name of Allah this fals (i.e. copper coin) was minted in Sijistan. (The *min* of Sijistan omitted).

Rev. In circle: الله | المطيع (The name of the Caliph al-Muti' lillah).

Margin: In the year 337.

Plate III, 29

I have read the date 337 rather than 339 because the numeral in question is سبع and not تسع.

32. Sijistan. A.H. 339. Æ  
0.8, wt. 26.4 (1.71).

B. M. (Tate).

As above.

*Rev.* As above, but date 339.

Plate III, 30

33. Sijistan. A.H. 339. Æ  
 0.8, wt. 24.3 (1.57).  
 B. M. (Tate).  
 Almost obliterated.

*Rev.* As above. Plate III, 31

A similar coin was described by Bartholomaei in the *Revue de la Numismatique Belge*, 1861, pp. 34-36 (plate III, No. 1) but as he was unable to read the mint name he wrongly ascribed it to the Shahs of Khwarizm.

34. Sijistan. A.H. 340. Æ  
 0.85, wt. 26 (1.68).  
 B. M. Cat., III, No. 34.  
 As No. 31 but mint name written correctly.  
*Rev.* As above but date 340.

Plate III, 32

35. Sijistan. A.H. 340. Æ  
 0.85 wt. 29.3 (1.90).  
 B. M. (Tate).  
 As above, but less distinct.  
*Rev.* As above, but less distinct.

Plate IV, 33

36. Sijistan. A.H. 341. Æ  
 0.85, wt. 30.1 (1.95).

SECOND SAFFARID DYNASTY 37

- B. M. (Tate).  
 As above.  
*Rev.* As above, but date 341. Plate IV, 34
37. Sijistan. A.H. 342. Æ  
 0.9, wt. 41.0 (2.66).  
 B. M. (Tate).  
 As above.  
*Rev.* As above, but date 342. Plate IV, 35
38. Sijistan. A.H. 343. Æ  
 0.85, wt. 36.1 (2.34).  
 B. M. Cat., III, No. 35.  
 As above.  
*Rev.* As above, but date 343. Plate IV, 36
39. Sijistan. A.H. 343. Æ  
 0.85, wt. 36.6 (2.37).  
 B. M. (Tate).  
 As above.  
*Rev.* As above. Plate IV, 37
40. Sijistan. A.H. 344. Æ  
 0.85, wt. 29.5 (1.91).  
 B. M. (Tate).  
 As above, but partly obliterated.  
*Rev.* As above, but date 344. Plate IV, 38

(e) *With the name of the Caliph, Khalaf and Abu Ja'far Ahmad ibn Muhammad*

41. Sijistan. A.H. 346. Æ  
 0.9, wt. 21.9 (1.42).  
 B. M. (Tate).<sup>28</sup>  
 Area in arabesque characters, al Muti' lillah and Khalaf in three lines.  
 Margin as No. 34.  
*Rev.* Area: (This coin is) of what was ordered by the Amir Abu Ja'far Ahmad ibn Muhammad. May Allah strengthen him!  
 Margin as above, but date 346.

Plate IV, 39

42. Sijistan. A.H. 346. Æ  
 0.9, wt. 28 (1.81).  
 B. M. (Tate).  
 As above, with parts of the legend a little clearer.  
*Rev.* As above, but less distinct.

Plate IV, 40

(ABU AHMAD) KHALAF IBN AHMAD

خلف بن احمد

c. A.H. 349 (?)–399 = A.D. 960–1008

<sup>28</sup> Codrington published this in J. R. A. S., 1905, p. 550, and again in 1911, p. 783 (fig. 6) but he was unable to read the date, which is comparatively legible as above.

(a) *With name of the Caliph al-Muti' (334-363)*

43. Sijistan. A.H. 362. AV  
 0.5, wt. 24.4 (1.58).  
 Zambaur, *Contributions*. No. 436.
44. Sijistan. A.H. 366.<sup>29</sup> AV  
 0.5, wt. 18.6 (1.21).  
 B. M. Cat., III, No. 36.  
 In circle: o Muhammad is the apostle  
 of Allah, and ε  
 Margin: There is no god except Allah etc.  
 Rev. In circle: Al-Muti' lillah | Khalaf ibn  
 Ahmad | Equity.  
 Margin: Mint and date 366. Plate IV, 41
45. Sijistan. Date uncertain.<sup>30</sup> AV  
 0.55, wt. 19.3 (1.25).  
 Ermitage.  
 Muhammad is the apostle of Allah.  
 Margin: Traces of legend.  
 Rev. As above.  
 Margin: Mint and part of date. Plate IV, 42
46. Sijistan. 3xx. AV  
 0.5, wt. 18.0 (1.17).  
 B. M. Cat., III, No. 37.

<sup>29</sup> As pointed out by Lane-Poole the Caliph's reign ended in 363 yet the coin is certainly dated 366.

<sup>30</sup> Prof. Vasmer dates this 365, but I am unable to verify this from the cast he very kindly sent me.

As No. 44, but top cut off.  
 Margin as on No. 44.  
*Rev.* As above.  
 Margin. Mint and part of date.

Plate IV, 43

47. Sijistan 3] x 3. AV  
 0.45, wt. 8.7 (0.56).  
 B. M. Cat., III, 39.  
 As above, but below.  $\text{ع}$ , instead of  $\text{ع}$   
 Margin: Traces of same legend as above.  
*Rev.* As above, but margin showing part of  
 date.

Plate IV, 44

48. Sijistan. Date uncertain. AV  
 0.45, wt. 12.0 (0.78).  
 B. M. Cat., III, No. 38.  
 As No. 44.  
*Rev.* Al Muti'lillah | | Khalaf ibn Ahmad?  
 The fourth line may possibly conceal the *kurru*  
 or additional name Abu Ahmad.  
 Margin: Illegible.

Plate IV, 45

49. Sijistan (?) A.H. 361 (?). Æ  
 0.85, wt. 20.1 (1.30).  
 B. M. (McMahon).<sup>31</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Illustrated by Codrington, fig. 9, J. R. A. S., 1911, p. 783, although, when he previously described the specimen in the Tate Collection (J. R. A. S., 1905, p. 550), he was unable to read the marginal legends. I have been unable to trace the whereabouts of the other examples of this *fals*.

SECOND SAFFARID DYNASTY 41

In circle: Khalaf ibn Ahmad. Above, arabesque.

Margin: Traces of inscription with the mint name.

*Rev.* In circle: Al-Muti' lillah. Above, arabesque.

Margin: Date 361 (?).

Plate IV, 46

A better preserved specimen of same mint and date is in Oxford (Lane-Poole, *Cat. of the Mohammedan coins preserved in Bodleian Library*, p. 6).

(b) *With name of Caliph al-Ta'i'*, (363-381)

50. Mint obliterated. A.H. 375. *AV*  
0.55, wt. 29.5 (1.91).

B. M. Cat., III, No. 40.

In double circle: There is no god but Allah alone, Khalaf ibn Ahmad.

Margin: Date 375.

*Rev.* Muhammad etc., and name of Caliph al-Ta'i', ornament below.

Margin: See page 21 for full legend from Koran LIX, 9; LXIV, 16.<sup>32</sup>

Plate IV, 47

---

Codrington is also wrong in reading the mint name where he does. It is interesting to note the fourfold division of the marginal legends by spaces.

<sup>32</sup> Neither Lane-Poole nor Codrington deciphered this fragmentary reverse marginal legend (see No. 51).

51. Mint obliterated. A.H. 373 or 376. *AV*  
 0.5, wt. 13.6 (0.88).  
 B. M. Cat., III, No. 41.  
 As above but partly cut off, eight-pointed star  
 below.  
 Margin: Date 373 or 376. The missing num-  
 ber arguing from the presence of the tail must be  
 either a three or a six.  
*Rev.* As above, but annulet below.  
 Margin: As on No. 50.

Plate IV, 48

In the plate the reverse is above and the obverse  
 is below.

52. Sijistan. A.H. 378. *AV*  
 0.75, wt. 21.5 (1.39).  
 B. M. (McMahon).  
 As No. 50, but within single circle; annulet  
 below.  
 Margin: As above, but complete, struck at  
 Sijistan, the year 378.  
*Rev.* As No. 50, but different ornament below.  
 Margin: As above.

Plate V, 49

Illustrated by Codrington J. R. A. S. 1911, fig. 7

53. Sijistan. A.H. 3[7]9. *AV*  
 0.8, wt. 25.1 (1.63).  
 B. M. (Tate).  
 As No. 52, only above *الدولة* and below *س س*  
 Margin: As No. 52, but date 379



*Rev.* As No. 52, below  $\delta$ .

Margin: As above.

Plate V, 50

Illustrated by Codrington J. R. A. S. 1911, fig. 8. There is an example of this coin in the Ermitage, No. 7C, but the margins have been almost cut off.

Plate V, 51

54. Mint obliterated. A.H. 378. Æ

1.05, wt. 55.3 (3.58).

B. M. Cat., Add. IX, p. 268.

In circle of dots, Help is from Allah!

Inner margin: As on margin of No. 44.

Outer margin: Date 378.

*Rev.* In circle of dots, To Allah! Muhammad is the apostle of Allah, and with the names of the Caliph al-Ta'i' and Khalaf ibn Ahmad, ornament below.

Margin: Authority belongs to Allah before and after, and on that day the believers shall rejoice in the help of Allah. (Koran XXX, end of verse 3 and beginning of verse 4.)

Plate V, 52

Lane-Poole was unable to discern  $\text{ن م ا}$  (8) but with a little cleaning the numeral has become clear. He read the central obverse legend as Nasr ibn Nuh, instead of the Koranic phrase *nasr min Allah* (Help is from Allah).

AL-HUSAIN IBN TAHIR

الحسين بن طاهر

[Usurper]

55. Mint and date cut off. AV

0.5, wt. 18.9 (1.22).

B. M. Cat., III, No. 42.

In circle, as on No. 44, but with "to Allah"  
instead of annulet; ع = initial for عدل equity.

Margin cut off.

*Rev.* In circle, al-Ta'i' lillah, al-Husain ibn  
Tahir in three lines.

Margin cut off.

Plate V, 53

The name of the Caliph al-Ta'i' limits the date to the period between A.H. 363 and 381, but whether the coin was struck during the first or second usurpation (see above p. 18) it is impossible to decide with any certainty.

Zambaur (*op. cit.* p. 201) regards Husain as the grandson of Khalaf. This I feel sure is incorrect.

*With the name of the Caliph al-Kadir (381-422)*

(With Khalaf's title of Wali al Daula)

56. Sijistan. A.H. 384. AR

1.2, wt. 94.1 (6.1).

Berlin Museum.

In centre, in highly ornamental characters:  
There is no god except Allah alone, he hath no

associate. Below eight-pointed star and triangle of annulets, and single annulet.

Margin: In the name of Allah this dirham was minted at Sijistan in the year 384.

Outside circle of dots.

*Rev.* In center, in ornamental script as on No. 54, and with the name of the Caliph al-Kadir billah, and below that Wali al-Daula, and 'adl = equity. All within circle of dots.

Margin: As on reverse of No. 3. (Koran IX, 33).

Plate V, 54

This interesting coin must have been struck shortly after Khalaf had won back his kingdom from the usurper Husain ibn Tahir. It is the only coin, as yet known, that bears his new title of Wali al-Daula (cf. p. 18 above)

TAHIR IBN KHALAF

طاهر بن خلف

[Usurping son of Khalaf]

*With name of Ghaznavid overlord*

57. Mint and date cut off. Billon  
0.85, wt. 35.8 (2.32).

Ermitage = Markow, 4th Suppl. 966, No. 4a.

In centre within plain circle: There is no God but Allah alone, and with name of Tahir ibn Khalaf.

Margin: Fragment of the date inscription.

*Rev.* In centre within plain circle; as on No. 54, and with name of the Caliph al-Kadir billah and below that, the name of Mahmud, the Ghaznavid ruler who had conquered Sistan in A.H. 393 = A.D. 1002.

Margin: As on No. 56 (part of Koran IX, 33).

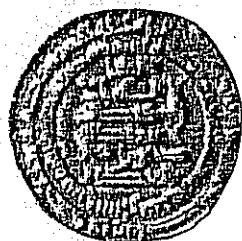
Plate V, 55

SECOND SAFFARID DYNASTY

I



1.  
R



2.  
R



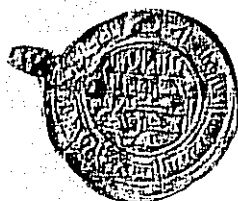
3.  
AV



4.  
AV



5.  
AV



6.  
AV



SECOND SAFFARID DYNASTY



7.  
R



8.  
R



9. R



8. a  
R



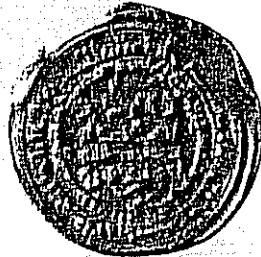
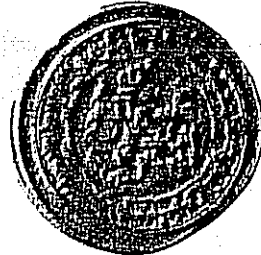
10.  
R



PLATE II



11.  
Æ



12.  
Æ



14.  
Æ



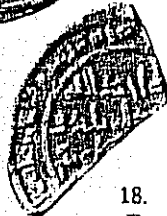
13.  
Æ



15.  
Æ



16.  
Æ



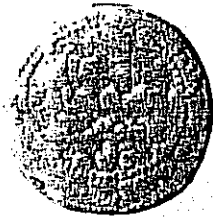
17.  
Æ



18.  
Æ



SECOND SAFFARID DYNASTY



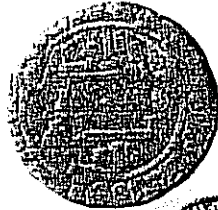
19.  
Æ



21.  
Æ



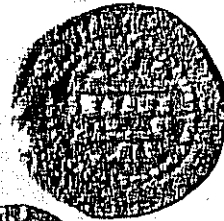
20. Æ



24.  
Æ



22.  
Æ



25.  
Æ



23.  
Æ

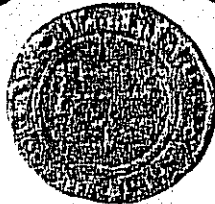




PLATE III



26.  
Æ



27.  
Æ



28.  
Æ



29.  
Æ



30.  
Æ



31.  
Æ



32.  
Æ



SECOND SAFFARID DYNASTY



33.  
Æ



34.  
Æ



35.  
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36.  
Æ



37.  
Æ



38.  
Æ



39.  
Æ



PLATE IV



40.  
Æ



41.  
AV



42.  
AV



43.  
AV



44.  
AV



46.  
Æ



45.  
AV



47.  
AV

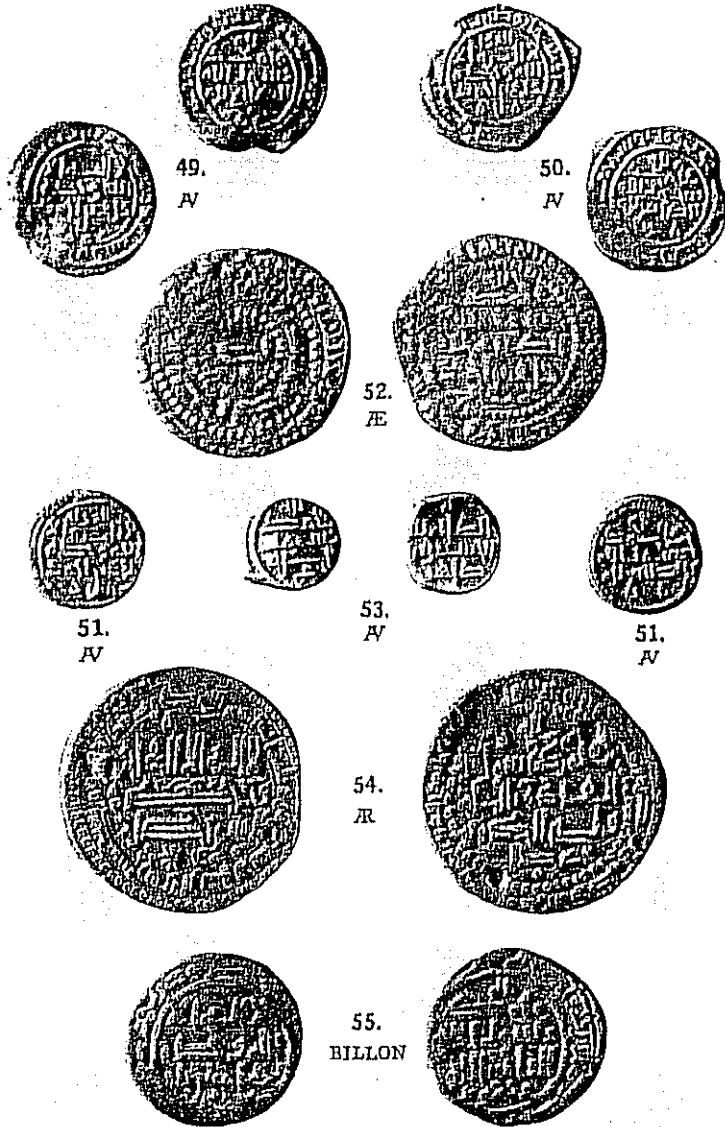


48.  
AV



SECOND SAFFARID DYNASTY

V



## NOTES ON KĀKWAYHID COINS

(SEE PLATE XV)

A few years ago the American Numismatic Society acquired a handsome unpublished dirhem of the Kākwayhid (or Kākōyid) dynasty, that interesting family of princes who ruled over various regions of north central Persia during the period of the collapse of the Buwayhids (Būyids) and the rise of the Seljūqs. This addition brings the total of these rare coins in the Museum's collection to eight, a respectable number considering the limited size of the published corpus. In 1938 I undertook to assemble everything that was known about the coinage of the Kākwayhids and published a little article on the history, geography and coins of this principality.<sup>1</sup> To bring the record up to date I now publish this recent acquisition together with some other additions, corrections and bits of relevant information that have come to my attention since the publication of that article.

*Dirhem. Muḥammad b. Dushmanzār. Iṣbahān. 410 H. = 1019/20 A.D.*

عدل	لله
لا اله الا الله	محمد رسول الله
وحده لا شريك له	شاهانشاه
القادر بالله	مجد الدولة
محمد بن دشمنزار	بن فخر الدولة

Margin: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم

Margin: Qur'ān IX, 33.

باصهبان [sic] سنة عشر وأربع مائة

Borders and scrolls as on

The marginal legend is enclosed

obverse.

<sup>1</sup> "The Coinage of the Kākwayhid Dynasty," *Iraq* V (1938) 89-104, hereafter referred to as *Kākwayhids*.

within an inner linear and an outer beaded border. In the outer margin are four large scrolls, at top and bottom, left and right.

℞ 26 mm., 2.30 gr., ANS  
54.122 (acquired by purchase in Egypt, 1954)

PLATE XV (enlarged two diameters)

The coin is handsomely engraved and bears several ornamental letters (note the second and last letters of the prince's name, and in the reverse area the *hā* of Muḥammad, the *ḡim* of Majd and the *nūn* of bin). In view of the quality of the engraving and the unusual decorative elements in the outer margins it is remarkable that the die-engraver should have committed an error in spelling: a metathesis in the name of the mint, *Iṣhabān* for *Iṣbahān*. One might also remark on a peculiarity in the writing of the name of the prince's father: the *dāl* of Dushmanzār is in Naskhi rather than Kufic script. It would almost seem that the artisan at first forgot to engrave this letter and later squeezed it into a space that would not have accommodated a Kufic *dāl*; but it is a curious fact that this aberration occurs on several other dirhems of Muḥammad b. Dushmanzār's.<sup>3</sup>

No Kākwayhid issue of the year 410 at Iṣbahān (Iṣfahān) has previously been published. The coin fits neatly into the corpus (*Kākwayhids*, 97), between a dirhem in Mr. Philip Thorburn's collection dated 409 (no. 4) and another issue dated 41(1?), represented in the same collection and in the British Museum (no. 5). It is interesting to note that in 409 at Iṣbahān Muḥammad b. Dushmanzār acknowledges the suzerainty of Shams al-Dawlah, Buwayhid lord of Iṣbahān and Hamadhān; whereas in 410 and 411 his allegiance is to Shams al-Dawlah's brother and rival, Majd al-Dawlah of Rayy. Shams al-Dawlah was succeeded by Samā' al-Dawlah in 412, and it is the latter whom Muḥammad b. Dushmanzār recognizes on coins struck at various mints (but not Iṣbahān) between 414 and 421.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Kākwayhids*, nos. 2, 4, 6, 7, and *Numismatic History of Rayy* (ANS Numismatic Studies No. 2, N.Y., 1938), no. 218 B.

There follow a few additions to and amplifications of the corpus of Kākwayhid coins and seals (pp. 96-99 of my little monograph). The numbers refer to the entries in that list, with letters where appropriate to indicate additions.

3a. *Dirhem. Muḥammad b. Dushmanzār. Iṣbahān. 410 H.* (The coin described above).

14a. *Lead seal. Muḥammad b. Dushmanzār. Iṣbahān. 430 H. = 1038/9 A.D.* (P. Casanova, "Sceaux arabes en plomb," in *RN* 1894, p. 117, no. 23).

The titles are: الأمير ال... المجاهد (؟) عضد الدين وعلاء الدولة ابو جعفر

14b. *Lead seal. Muḥammad b. Dushmanzār. Iṣbahān. 430 H. = 1038/9 A.D.* (Khalil Edhem, *Qūrshūn Mūhūr Qatālōghī* (Constantinople, 1321), no. 20).

The titles are: الأمير الس... عضد الدين وعلاء الدولة ابو جعفر

14c. *Lead seal. Muḥammad b. Dushmanzār. Iṣbahān. Date effaced.* (Casanova, op. cit., p. 118, no. 24).

Same titles as on no. 14a?

21a. *Billon dirhem. Toghriḥ Beg and Farāmarz. Iṣbahān. Date effaced.* (Collection of Mr. Philip Thorburn).<sup>3</sup>

Farāmarz bears the simple title الأمير<sup>1</sup>, *al-amīr*.

41a. *Billon (?) dirhem. Muḥammad b. Dushmanzār. Al-Muḥammad-ṣyah (?). 409 H. = 1018/19 A.D.* (Adolph Weyl Auction Catalogue no. 50, Berlin, 1885 (Gagarine Coll.), no. 937).

No description.

43. *Dirhem. Muḥammad b. Dushmanzār. Al-Muḥammad-ṣyah. 421 H. = 1030 A.D.*

In my corpus I referred to Siouffi, *Tables*, Janvier, 1880, on the authority of Zambaur. My friend Dr. Paul Balog, who has a copy of Nicolas Siouffi's *Listes des monnaies musulmanes* (Mosul, 1880), has kindly provided me with the description on page 30 of that publication. This is undoubtedly the same coin.

<sup>3</sup> I am indebted to Mr. Thorburn for information on this and other coins in his collection.

Obv.: العادل | لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له | القادر بالله محمد بن دشمنزار

Rev.: لله محمد رسول الله عضد الدين علا الدولة وفخر الملة وتاج الامة ابو جعفر

44. *Dirhem. Muḥammad b. Dushmanzār. Al-Muḥammadīyah.*  
424 H. = 1032/3 A.D.

The following description also has been furnished me by Dr. Ba-log from Siouffi's *Listes*, p. 30.

Obv.: عدل | لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله القائم بامر الله مسعود  
("à droite de محمد un élif")

Margin: [ب]م الله ضرب ..... ع وعشرين واربع م.....

Rev.: قل هو الله احد الله الصمد لم يلد ولم يولد ولم يكن له كفوا احد  
| محمد بن دشمنزار

46a. *Dirhem. Muḥammad b. Dushmanzār. Al-Muḥammadīyah. Date effaced.* [421-ca. 431 H. = 1030-ca. 1040 A.D.] (Siouffi, *Listes*, p. 30).

Obv.: عدل (?) | لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله القائم بامر الله مسعود  
("à droite de محمد un élif")

Rev.: قل هو الله احد الله الصمد لم يلد ولم يولد ولم يكن له كفوا  
| احد | محمد بن دشمنزار

The dates are limited by the presence of the name of the Ghaznavid Mas'ūd (accession in 421 H.) and a 432 issue at Rayy of the Buwayhid abu-Kālījār Fana-Khosraw (cf. *Numismatic History of Rayy*, p. 194). We know that in 429 Muḥammad was ruling Rayy with Ghaznavid sanction (*Kākwayhids*, no. 45 and p. 101). It is just barely possible that this is the same coin as that in the Cabinet des Médailles, which I attributed to the year 429 (?) at al-Muḥammadīyah (?) and described in the *Numismatic History of Rayy* under no. 221 B; although Siouffi's description carries no date and in my description محمد رسول الله is lacking.



48a. *Dirhem Muḥammad b. Dushmanzār*. [42]I H. = 1030 A.D. (Siouffi, *Listes*, p. 30).

*Obv.*: "Dans cinq  $\mu$  servant de cadres et dans les intervalles qui les séparent": لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له نصر من الله ولا قوة الا بالله  
القادر بالله

Inner margin: امر الاميرا [sic] ... الدولة وسنا الملة .... وبه

Outer margin: بسم ..... الدرهم بهمنان سنة احد .....

*Rev.*: لله محمد رسول الله عضد الدين علا الدولة ابو جعفر

To judge by the description, this coin resembles *BM* iii, no. 43 (mint effaced, 421 H., illustrated on pl. I).<sup>4</sup> There are several differences in Siouffi's and Lane-Poole's descriptions, but the latter's is doubtless correct. He points out that the curious circular figures are actually *lām-abīfs*. The Buwayhid Samā' al-Dawlah is here recognized as over-lord. So far as I know the date of his death is uncertain but these coins would seem to establish the fact that he was still alive in 421.

69a. *Billon dirhem. Muḥammad b. Dushmanzār. Mint effaced*. 4XX H. [ca. 422-433] = ca. 1030-1041 A.D.

بدر	بدر
لا اله الا	محمد رسول
الله وحده	الله القائم بامر
لا شريك له	الله محمد بن
	دشمنزار

Margin: بسم ..... ربع مائة

Margin: traces.

Billon, 28 mm., 7.04 gr. W. Leo Thompson Coll. (from Saudi Arabia).

<sup>4</sup> No. 64 in the corpus.

The date limitations are fixed by the accession of the Caliph al-Qā'im in 422 and the death of Muḥammad b. Dushmanzār in 433. No over-lord is recognized, but it may be that we have in the name Badr (or possibly Bakr) above the obverse and reverse areas a princeling subject to the Kākwayhid. If Badr is the correct reading (the coin is worn very smooth) he might be Badr b. Muhalhil, one of the 'Annāzid family of Kurdistan, or perhaps a certain Badr b. Hīlāl, appointed by the Seljūq Ibrāhīm b. Yinal over Daynawar a few years later.<sup>5</sup>

Finally I owe to Professor V. Minorsky two corrections to the historical sketch in *Kākwayhids*, pp. 100-102. With reference to the famous al-Sayyidah, mother of the Buwayhid Majd al-Dawlah, it appears that Dushmanzār was not her brother but her uncle; thus al-Sayyidah and Muḥammad b. Dushmanzār were first cousins.<sup>6</sup> On p. 101 I refer to the "Kurds of Jūzaqān." Professor Minorsky informs me that this should be Jūr-aqān or Jaur-aqān, present-day Gūr-ān.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> See V. Minorsky, s.v. 'Annāzids, *Encyclopaedia of Islām* (2nd ed.). Cf. Zambaur, *Manuel*, p. 212, now out of date.

<sup>6</sup> See Ibn al-Athīr, IX, 146 and 338.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* 1943, 75-103.



KĀKWAYĪD DIRHEM,  
IŞBAHĀN, 410 H.

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