



ESPACIO, TIEMPO Y FORMA 33

AÑO 2020
ISSN 0214-9745
E-ISSN 2340-1362

SERIE III HISTORIA MEDIEVAL
REVISTA DE LA FACULTAD DE GEOGRAFÍA E HISTORIA

UNED



ARTÍCULOS · ARTICLES

A HISTORICAL AND NUMISMATIC STUDY OF THE DINARS OF THE GHAZNAVID SULTAN MAHMŪD B. SABUKTAKĪN AT NISHĀPUR

ESTUDIO HISTÓRICO Y NUMISMÁTICO DE LOS DINARES DE LA CECA DE NISAPUR DEL SULTÁN GAZNAVÍ MAHMŪD B. SABUKTAKĪN

Mohammed S. Tawfiq, Almudena Ariza Armada, Atef Mansour Mohammad; Ahmed Ameen y Mervat Abd El-Hady Abd El-Latif¹

Recepción: 2019/03/08 · Comunicación de observaciones de evaluadores: 2019/09/18 ·

Aceptación: 2020/01/30

DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.5944/etfii.33.2020.24006>

Abstract

This study of historical numismatics will focus on the dinars of Sultan Maḥmūd of Ghazna coined in the mint of Nishapur. Its objective is to provide thorough information about these dinars, in order to contribute to the knowledge of the political and economic circumstances of the government of Sultan Maḥmūd. Thus, after a historical introduction that contextualizes the golden emissions that are studied, a complete description of a selection of pieces will be presented. The authors have selected ten exceptional gold coins, of which nine are unpublished types and, the tenth, has only been briefly cited in a previous study. Among them, it is worth mentioning a posthumous dinar, coined in the year 423/1031-1032. The criterion for the selection has been based on monetary legends and their correlation with historical events. After the description of the specimens, an in-depth analysis of the monetary legends and their ideological implications is carried out, as well as

1. Mohammed S. Tawfiq: Fayoum University (Egipto). C.e.: mst01@fayoum.edu.eg
Almudena Ariza Armada: New York University in Madrid. C.e.: aago@nyu.edu
Atef Mansour Mohammad: Fayoum University (Egipto). C.e.: ammo6@fayoum.edu.eg
Ahmed Ameen: Fayoum University (Egipto). C.e.: ammoo@fayoum.edu.eg
Mervat Abd El-Hady Abd El-Latif: Fayoum University (Egipto). C.e.: maa07@fayoum.edu.eg

regarding to the ornamental motifs (vegetable, geometric, figurative ...) and the metrology of the dinars of the Sultan Maḥmūd coined in Nishapur.

Keywords

Ghaznavids; Sultan Maḥmūd; Ghazni or Ghazna; Nishapur; Dinars; Numismatics.

Resumen

Este estudio histórico-numismático se centra en los dinares del sultán gaznaví Maḥmūd acuñados en la ceca de Nisapur. Su objetivo es aportar una información lo más completa posible sobre dichos dinares a fin de contribuir al conocimiento de las circunstancias políticas y económicas del gobierno del sultán Maḥmūd. Así, tras una introducción histórica que da contexto a las emisiones áureas objeto del estudio, se presenta una descripción completa de las piezas estudiadas. Los autores han seleccionado diez piezas excepcionales de oro, de las cuales nueve son tipos inéditos y, la décima, sólo ha sido citada brevemente en algún estudio previo. De entre ellas cabe destacar un dinar póstumo, acuñado el año 423/1031-1032. El criterio de selección se ha basado en las leyendas monetales y su correlación con acontecimientos de carácter histórico. Tras la descripción de los ejemplares, se lleva a cabo un análisis en profundidad de las leyendas monetales y sus implicaciones ideológicas, así como de los motivos ornamentales (vegetales, geométricos, figurativos...) y de la metrología de los dinares del Sultán Maḥmūd acuñados en Nisapur.

Palabras clave

Gaznavíes; sultán Maḥmūd; Gazni o Gazna; Nisapur; Dinares; Numismática.

I. INTRODUCTION

Many independent States appeared in the Islamic world under the 'Abbāsid Caliphate. This process started early. In 138/755 a member of the Umayyad dynasty made himself independent master of Spain; in 172/788 a descendant of 'Alī, named Idrīs, established a dynasty in Morocco. In the same period, another dynasty was established in Tunis by Ibrāhīm b. al-Aghlab, while Egypt was lost to the empire in 254/868 by Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn and established the Ṭūlūnid Dynasty.² Persia was also divided into various independent states; the Tāhirid dynasty, the first independent state of the 'Abbāsid Caliphate in contemporary Iran, was established by Tāhir b. al-Ḥusayn, one of the Amīrs of the Caliph al-Ma'mūn, in 205/820, then Ya'qūb b. Layth, ruler of Sistān and Bust, established the Saffārid dynasty in 254/867.³ 'Amr b. Layth, Ya'qūb's brother and successor were defeated in Khurāsān by the Sāmānidīs⁴ in 287/900, who was succeeded by the Ghaznavids.⁵ The rulers of such states minted coins bearing their names. They also attributed themselves to the 'Abbāsid Caliph through keeping his name on the coins as well, and the Ghaznavid state is no exception to that practice.

The Ghaznavid state, an Islamic dynasty of Turkish slave origin, was founded by Alptekin, governor of Ghazna for the Sāmānidīs, in what is now southern Afghānistān in the last quarter of the tenth century (366-582/977-1186). They ruled, firstly, as local governors on behalf of the Sāmānid Amīrs, and then as independent sovereigns. They ruled in the eastern Iranian lands.⁶ The Ghaznavid state, attributed to Ghazna or Ghazni, their first capital, consisted of two houses: Alptekin, the founder of this dynasty, and Sabuktakīn, who was the fifth ruler in it.⁷ Sabuktakīn, a Sāmānid Turkic slave governor in Ghazna in the Afghan mountains, made himself independent of his masters as their central power declined. His

2. NAZIM, M.: *The Life and Times of Sultan Mahmood of Ghazna*, Cambridge, 1931, pp. 18-23.

3. RAMADAN, A. M. M.: *Al-Nuqūd al-Islāmīa wa Ahmiyatha fi Drāsat al-Tārikh wa al-Athār wa al-Hadāra*, 1st ed, Zahra' al-Sharq, Cairo, 2008, p. 104 (Arabic reference).

4. The Sāmānidī dynasty, one of the most important independent states that appeared in Khurāsān that was established by Ismā'il b. Aḥmad al-Sāmānī in 279/892. It is a Persian dynasty that ruled in Transoxiana and then in Khurāsān, at first as subordinate governors of the Tāhirids, and then later as independent rulers. They stemmed from a local family appointed by the 'Abbāsids to rule at Bukhārā and Samarkand. For more about the Sāmānidīs see: SAYYID, A. F.: «Samanids», in *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., vol. 8, E. J. BRILL, Leiden, 1995, pp. 1025-1031; TREADWELL, W. L.: *The Political History of the Sāmānid State*, (unpublished doctoral thesis), Oxford University, 1991; BARTHOLD, W.: *Turkestan Down to the Mongol Invasion*, 2, Gibb Memorial Series, N.S. V, London, 1928; MIRKHOND, M. K. C.: *Histoire des Samanides*, texte Persan, Paris, 1845; ETHEREDGE, S. L.: *The Islamic World*, Islamic history, Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc., Britannica Educational Publishing, 2010, pp. 113-114; IQBAL, A.: *Tārikh Iran Ba'd al-Islām mn Bdāyat al-Dawla al-Tāhirīa hata Nihāyat al-Dawla al-Qājārīa* (The History of Iran after Islam from the beginning of Tāhirid State until the end of Qajar State) 205-1343AH/820-1925AD, MANSOUR, M. A. (Tr.), AL-SIBBĀ 'Y, M. A. (Re.), Dār al-Thaqāfa, Cairo, 1989, pp. 133-134 (Arabic reference).

5. BOSWORTH, C. E.: «The development of Persian Culture under the Early Ghaznavids», in *Iran, Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies*, London, vol. VI, 1968.

6. ETHEREDGE, S. L. (Ed): *Islamic World*, Rosen Digital, New York, 1st ed., 2010, pp. 113-114; RAMADAN, A. M. M.: *Al-Nuqūd al-Islāmīa wa Ahmiyatha...*, Op. Cit., p. 105.

7. IQBAL, A.: Op. Cit., p. 169; SOLIMAN, A.A.: *Tārikh al-Dūal al-Islāmīa wa Mu'āgam al-Ussar al-Hākimma* (The History of Islamic States and dictionary of the ruling dynasties), vol. 2, Cairo, 1970, p. 587 (Arabic reference).

eldest son, Maḥmūd, expanded into Büyid territory in western Iran, identifying himself staunchly with Sunni Islam and presenting himself as a border soldier against the pagans.⁸ The establishment of the Ghaznavid emirate represents the culmination of a process, which had begun in the Sāmānid emirate.⁹

II. YAMĪN AL-DAWLA ABŪ AL-QĀSIM MAHMŪD B. SABUKTAKĪN

Sultan Maḥmūd¹⁰, the eldest son of Sabuktakīn, was born in *Muḥarram* 361/November 971; his mother was the daughter of a nobleman of Zābulistān. Some scholars have mentioned that the birth of Sultan Maḥmūd was connected with an extraordinary situation.¹¹ He had already been commander-in-chief of the Sāmānid forces in Khurāsān during his father's lifetime. On Sabuktakīn's death, Maḥmūd successfully asserted his right to succeed in Ghazna over his brother, Ismā'il (388/998), and after that was in sole control of all the former Sāmānid lands south of the Oxus, comprising Khurāsān and Afghānistān. He was the first ruler who held the title of *sultān* in the Islamic world and secured from the 'Abbāsid caliph al-Qādir legitimation of his independent power and a string of honorific titles, including the one by which he became very well-known, *Yamīn al-Dawla*, and then held other titles such as *Amin al-Milla* and *Niẓām al-Dīn*.¹² He is the first one who inscribed the Testimony with the Sanskrit script on the coins, the first one who entered Islam to India. Sultan Maḥmūd divided the former Sāmānid dominions with Oleg Nasr, who took over all the lands north of the Oxus River for the Qarākhānids and ruled for about thirty-two years.¹³

Sultan Maḥmūd extended his empire by force until it stretched from western Persia to the Ganges valley of India, thus earning enormous contemporary renown as the champion of Sunni orthodoxy and the hammer of the pagan Hindus.¹⁴ This vast empire was entirely a personal creation, and it remained for only a decade after his death; in 421/1030, his western conquests fell into the hands of a wave of Turkmen nomads from the steppes, the Seljuqs and their fellow-tribesmen of the Oghuz.¹⁵

8. KAZAN, W.: *The Coinage of Islam*, private collection, Beirut- Lebanon, 1983, p. 74 (Arabic reference).

9. BOSWORTH, C. E.: «Notes on the Pre-Ghaznavid History of Eastern Afghanistan», in *the Islamic Quarterly*, London IX, 1965, pp. 16-21.

10. Abū al-Qāsim Maḥmūd b. Sabuktakīn b. Juq b. Qara Bajkām b. Qara Arslān b. Qara Mallat b. Qara Nu'mān b. Firuz-l-Bam Sinjān b. Yazdagrid. This genealogy as mentioned in ZIDĀN, A. A. (Tr): *Tabaqāt al-Nāṣirī of Abū 'Omar Minhāj al-Dīn 'Othmān b. Sirāj al-Dīn al-Jawzjānī*, 1st ed., National Center of Translation, Cairo, 2013, p. 70 (Arabic reference).

11. NAZIM, M.: *Op. Cit.*, p. 34.

12. BOSWORTH, C. E.: «The Titulature of the Early Ghaznavids», in *Oriens* XV, 1963, pp. 215-218.

13. HABIB, M.: *Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni*, Aligarh, 1927, p. 175.

14. BOSWORTH, C. E.: «Mahmud of Ghazna in Contemporary Eyes and in Later Persian Literature», in *Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies*, Iran IV, 1966, pp. 85-92.

15. BARTHOLD, W.: *Turkestan Down to the Mongol Invasion*, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 293-304; BOSWORTH, C. E.: *The Ghaznavids, Their Empire in Afghanistan and Eastern Iran 994-1040*, Edinburgh University Press, 1963, pp. 206-268.

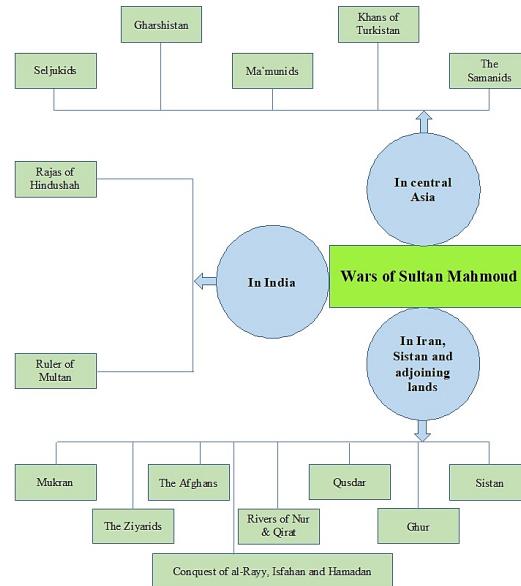


FIG. 1: WARS OF SULTAN MAHMUD IN CENTRAL ASIA, IRAN, AND INDIA, (© M. SAYED)

The wars of the great Sultan, Mahmūd, of Ghazna were concentrated around three main areas in central Asia, Iran, Sistān and adjoining lands, and India. He continued his father's attacks into the plains of India, and his success as a military leader ensured that there was always a numerous body of volunteers, eager for plunder, flocking to his standard from all over the eastern Islamic world.¹⁶ He launched seventeen campaigns into India between 391/1001 and 416/1025, annexing Punjab, establishing a provincial governor at Lahore, and joining northeastern India before looking south. The Indian kingdoms of Nagarkot, Tanesser, Kannawj, and Kalinjar were all conquered and left in the hands of Hindu vassals. He transformed Ghazna into one of the leading cities of Central Asia, patronizing scholars, establishing colleges, laying out gardens, and building mosques, palaces, and caravansaries. In his last Indian campaign in 416/1024, Mahmūd attacked the city of Somnath, destroyed its famous Hindu temple to Shiva and achieved a massive haul of treasures.¹⁷ Sultan Mahmūd returned home in 417/1026 and spent the last four years of his life contending with the influx of Oghuz Turkic horse tribes and opportunistically seizing Rayy 420/1029 and Hamadān from the distracted Būyid Dynasty.¹⁸ He controlled all of the Panjab, parts of Sind, northern

16. BOSWORTH, C. E.: *Ghaznavids*, pp. 78-114.

17. THOMINE, J. S.: «Ghaznavids: Art and Monuments», in *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., vol. II, E. J. BRILL, Leiden, 1991, pp. 1053-1055.

18. NAZIN, M.: *Op. Cit.*, pp. 80-85.

Baluchistān, Afghānistān, Gharjistān, Ghur and most of Persia including Sijistān and Khurāsān. Furthermore, he adopted the traditional Persian administrative system and promoted interest in the development of Persian literature and culture by encouraging writers.¹⁹ Maḥmūd encouraged the use of New Persian, with its reference to pre-Islamic Iranian glory, for administration purposes, and prose as well as poetry. This combination of Turkic identity and Persian language would characterize and empower many other Muslim rulers.²⁰

| Affiliation | Year | Name of the Battle | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------|------|--------------------|---|----------|--------|--------|--------|---|--------|--------|--------|---------|-------------------------|
| | | A.H. | A.D. | Peshawar | Bhatia | Multān | Kwakar | Bahim Naghīr | Nāreen | Multān | Nārdīn | Tanoser | Kannauj & Kashmir |
| As a Sāmānid governor | 384 | 994 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 385 | 995 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 386 | 996 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 387 | 997 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 388 | 998 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 389 | 999 | He wrote the death certificate of the Sāmānid dynasty to be completely extinct from the history in 26th Gamad al-Akhar 389/15th May 999. | | | | | | | | | | |
| As a Ghaznavid Sultan | 392 | 1001 | Mahmūd defeats Jaipāl at Peshawar, and held the title of al-Ghazi | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 395 | 1002 | He broke in the city walls and captured Pijīra | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 396 | 1005 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 397 | 1006 | | | | | | Marched to Indian territories to suppress Nawāsa Shāh, grandson of Anandpāl | | | | | |
| | 398 | 1007 | | | | | | He defeated Iprāhīm, on and the invaders, who retreated to the fort of Bahim Naghr or Nagarkot. | | | | | |
| | 400 | 1009 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 401 | 1010 | He conquered Multan and captured thousands of Carmathians and put them to the sword or sent as prisoners as their ruler, Abu al-Futūḥ Da'īd ibn Nasr. | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 404 | 1013 | He defeated Bhīmpāl and put Nārdīn in charge of Sarugh. | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 405 | 1014 | He defeated its Rāja and took the Idol to Ghazna. | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 409 | 1018 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 416 | 1025 | Mahmūd ordered his soldiers to destroy the upper part of the idol into small pieces and took other parts to put them as a doorstep to the mosque of Ghazna. | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 420 | 1029 | He opened al-Rayy, Isfahan, Hamadan from the Büyid (Daylami) Dynasty | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 421 | 1030 | The death of the great sultan Yāmīn al-Dawla | | | | | | | | | | |

TABLE 1: SULTAN MAHMŪD'S LIFE TIMELINE AND HIS CAMPAIGNS IN INDIA, (© M. SAYED)

A series of powerful rulers followed Sultan Maḥmūd until the reign of Sultan Mas'aud III, but signs of weakness in the state became apparent when Mas'aud III died in 508/1115.²¹ The line of the Ghaznavids continued till Khusraw Malik, the last Ghaznavid ruler, who ruled from Lahore.²² Finally, after a long siege, the Ghurids captured Lahore itself in 583/1187 where they killed Khusraw Malik and his sons, thus ending Ghaznavid rule.²³

19. STOREY, C. A.: *Persian Literature, a bio-Bibliographical survey*, vol. I, part 2, London, 1953, pp. 1006-1007; RYPKA, J., JAHN, K.: *History of Iranian literature*, D. Reidel, Dordrecht, Holland, 1968; BOSWORTH, C. E.: *The Development of Persian Culture, Op. Cit.*, p. 43.

20. NAZIN, M.: *Op. Cit.*, pp. 86-122.

21. LEES, W. N., HOSAIN, K., ABD AL-HAI (Tr.): *The Tabaqāt al-Nāṣirī of Abū Omar Minhāj al-Dīn 'Othmān b. Sirāj al-Dīn al-Jawzī*. Calcutta: College Press, vol. I, 1864, p. 240.

22. KAZAN, W.: *Op. Cit.*, p. 75.

23. BOSWORTH, C. E.: *The Later Ghaznavids: Splendor and Decay, the Dynasty in Afghanistan and Northern India 1040-1186*. Columbia University Press, New York, 1977, pp. 120-131.

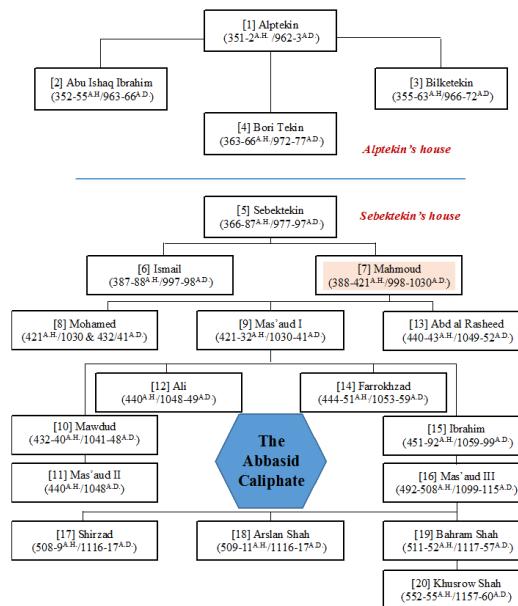


FIG. 2: GENEALOGICAL CHART OF THE GHAZNAVID RULERS, (© M. SAYED)

III. DESCRIPTIVE STUDY

The first type Inscriptions



Pl.1: AV Ghaznavid dinar, Sultan Mahmud, Nishapur 384/ 994-995,
(ha #21686, W. 4.22 gm., D. 24 mm, First publishing)



| | | MARGIN |
|-------|---|--|
| INNER | بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بنيسابور سنة أربع وثمانين وثلاثمائة | محمد رسول الله أرسله بالهدي ودين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله ولو كره المشركون |
| OUTER | الله الأمر من قبل ومن بعد وبهمن يفرح المؤمنون بنصر الله | |

Description

This dinar is related to Heritage Auctions collection. There is another dinar similar to this one among the collection of William Kazan.²⁴

The overall shape of this type is circular; it was inscribed in both obverse and reverse areas. Obverse and reverse marginal legends were inscribed within one lineal circle from the outer side, while there is no circle around the obverse central inscriptions and one circle around the reverse central legend.

The inscriptions of the obverse field came in six lines. The first line was inscribed with the name of Maḥmūd of Ghazni مُحَمَّد وَهُوَ الْمُحَمَّدْ and followed by the legend in three lines of «There is no God but Allāh, alone with no partner» (*Lā ilāha illā/ Allāhu wahdahu/ lā sharīka lahu*, لا إله إلا الله وحده لا شريك له). The central legend agrees with the Prophet's Message or the second *kalima* (*Risālah*), in the phrase «Muhammad is the Messenger of God» (*Muhammad Rasūl Allāh*, محمد رسول الله) that was inscribed in the second line of the reverse area to complete the testimony (*Shahāda*). Both legends represent the main slogan for all the Islamic branches with their different doctrines for Sunni, the Shiites and al-Khawārej over time and location. The fifth and sixth lines of the obverse field were inscribed with Maḥmūd's title *al-Walī*²⁵ (الولى), *Sayf al-Dawla* («Sword of the state»). In the reverse side appeared the name of 'Abbāsid Caliph al-Tā'i' Lillāh (الطائع الله) in the third line²⁶, and the Sāmānid ruler Nūh II b. Manṣūr I²⁷ was inscribed on the fourth and fifth lines of the reverse centre with the title of *Malik*.

24. KAZAN, W.: *Op. Cit.*, (Dinar, No.988, Nishapur, 384A.H, W: 4.16 g., D: 24.5 mm), p. 448.

25. This title was read by Thomas and Lane Poole «Abū Laggā» (أبو لاجة), means an Asylum see: THOMAS, E.: «On the Coins of the Kings of Ghazni», *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, Cambridge, vol.9, 1847, p. 307; LANE POOLE, S. E.: *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum*, II, London, 1876, p. 131. Others scholars read it as «al-Walī» (الولى), see: KAZAN, W.: *Op. Cit.*, p. 410.

26. Al-Tā'i Lillāh (363-381/973-992), 'Abd al-Karīm b. Abū al-Fadl al-Mutī'a, Abū Bakr, he was born in 336/947-948, his mother's name is Hizzar, he ascend the throne of the Caliphate in 363/973-974 after his, father, predecessor Caliph al-Mutī'a. In 381/991-992, Baha al-Dawla captured on Caliph al-Tā'i' Lillāh, who was deposed, and then his successor Caliph al-Qādir bi-Līlāh ascend the Caliphate. He ruled for about eighteen years, and died in 393/1002-1003. See: LEES, W. N., HOSAIN, K., ABD AL-HAI (Tr.): *The Tabaqāt al-Nāṣirī ...*, *Op. Cit.*, p. 238; SHAKER, M.: *Mawṣū'at al-Tārīkh al-Islāmī (Encyclopedia of Islamic History)*, 'Abbāsid Dynasty, vol. 6-2, 6th ed., al-Maktab al-Islāmī, Beirut, 2000, p. 174 (Arabic reference).

27. Nūh II b. Manṣūr I (نوح الثاني بن مנסور الأول), al-Amīr al-Rādī, Abū al-Qāsim, Sāmānid Amīr (366-87976-97 /), he was the last Sāmānid to enjoy a reign of important length, but within it he had little freedom to act independently. Since he succeeded his father when he was just 13 years only. At the beginning, the real power in the state lay with his mother, Nāṣir al-Dawla Abū al-Hassan Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm Simjūrī, Fā'iq Khāssa, Abū al-'Abbās Tāsh and the Vizier Abū al-Ḥusayn 'Abd Allāh b. Ahmad 'Utbī, who was ambitious to restore the power of the great military commanders. Hence in 371/982, he managed to remove the all-powerful Abū al-Hassan Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm Simjūrī from his governorship of Khurāsān; he replaced him with his own candidate, Tāsh, a former *Ghulām* of his father who had been given the honorific title of *Husām al-Dawla*. In this way Abū al-Hassan were forced to retire to his family estates in Qohestān. After that, huge struggles and wars undertaken against the Būyids, but they were defeated. The remaining years of his rule were filled with power struggles amongst the army commanders. In his reign a new factor appeared

The outer margin of the obverse area was inscribed with the Quranic quotation (Q. 30: 4, 5)²⁸ «*Allāh belongs the command before and after. And that day the believers will rejoice in the victory of Allāh*». The mint name and date were inscribed in the inner margin as follows «*in the name of Allāh, this dinar was minted in Nishapur in [the] year 384*» (*Bi-smi Allāh dūrība hadā al-dīnār bi-Nīshābūr sanat arba' wa thamānīn wa thalathamia'*). The reverse margin was inscribed with the Quranic quotation (Q. 48: 28), (Q. 9: 33) and (Q. 61: 9)²⁹ «*Muhammad is the Messenger of Allāh whom he sent with the guidance and the religion of truth to manifest it over all religion, although they who associate others with God dislike it*» (*Muhammad rasūl Allāh arsalahu bi l-hudā wa dīn al-ḥaqqa li-yuzhirahu 'alā al-dīn kullihi wa law kariha al-mushrikūn*). محمد رسول الله أرسله بالهدى ودين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله ولو كره المشركون.

The second type Inscriptions



Pl.2: AV Ghaznavid dinar, Sultan Maḥmūd, Nishapur 387/997-998,
(ha #21687, W. 4,63 gm., D. 24 mm, First publishing)

in the politics and managements in Transoxiana, that of the Turkish Qarākhānids and Ghaznavids. Nūḥ died on 14 Rajab 387/23 July 997 to be succeeded by his son Maṇṣūr (II). See: IBN AL-ATHĪR, A. A. I., *Al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh* (*Complete history*), VIII, p. 673; AL-ŪTBĪ, I, pp. 145, 149, 255; BARTHOLD, W.: *Turkestan Down to the Mongol Invasion*, Op. Cit., pp. 252-253, 263; FRYE, R. N.: «*The Samanids*», in *Cambridge History of Iran, The Period from The Arab Invasion to The Seljuqs*, vol. 4, Cambridge University Press, New York, 1975, pp. 156-158. IQBAL, A.: Op. Cit., pp. 154-160.

28. *Qur'ān Karīm, Sūrat al-Rūm* (30: 4, 5).

29. *Qur'ān Karīm, Sūrat al-Fātihah* (48:28), *Sūrat al-Tawba* (9:33), *Sūrat al-Saff* (61:9).

30. Al-Malik (الملك) it is an Arabic title, related to the supreme president of the state, it was mentioned in the Qur'ān text e.g. *Sūrat al-Kahf* (16: 79) and *Sūrat Yusuf* (12: 43). This title was not known until the 'Abbāsīd dynasty, because of the independence of some governors from the 'Abbāsīd Caliphate but they gave it their allegiance, also this title was used for the Sultans of the eastern and western Islamic world. See: AL-BASHA, H.: *Al-Funūn al-Islāmīya wa al-Waṣā'if 'ala al-Āthār al-'Arabīya* (The Islamic Arts and Functions on the Arab Monuments, Vo. 1, Dār al-Nahḍa al-'Arabīa, Cairo, 1966, pp. 496-500 (Arabic reference). For al-Mu'azzam المظفر see: QALAQSHANDY, A. A.: *Subḥ al-A'shā*, Dār al-Kuttab al-Khediwia, vol. VI, Cairo, 1909, p. 29.

31. Maṇṣūr II b. Nūḥ II (387-389/997-999), he ascended the throne after the death of his father Nūḥ II. He was too young to control his strong associate. The reign of the new *Amīr*, Abū al-Hārith Maṇṣūr II was full of struggles because of the power of the princes Fā'iq and Begtūzūn on one side, and the power of the Qarākhānids and Maḥmūd of Ghazna on the other side. Each force feared the growing of the others and hope to

| MARGIN | | |
|--------|--|----------|
| INNER | بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بنيسابور سنة سبعين وثمانين وثلاثمائة | The same |
| OUTER | The same | |

Description

This dinar is related to Heritage auctions collection.³² There are other dinars similar to this one in the private collection of William Kazan and the online collection of Morton & Eden Auction dated to 385/995-996.³³

This type is similar to the previous one in the overall shape and, partly, in the context of the inscriptions. Nevertheless, there is a slight change in the inscriptions of the obverse field as the *ism* of Sultan Maḥmūd was replaced by the word: «*Adl*» (عدل), «justice», in the first line of the obverse field that refers to declare the legitimacy of this dinar, while his name was inscribed on the last line. On the other side, reverse, the name of Amīr Manṣūr II b. Nūḥ II (منصور بن نوح) was inscribed instead of Nūḥ b. Manṣūr. Additionally, the obverse centre was ornamented with a sword referring to Sultan's title *Sayf al-Dawla*.³⁴

The third type

Inscriptions



Pl.3: AV Ghaznavid dinar, Sultan Maḥmūd, Nishapur 389/ 998-999, (ANS 1963.115.1, W. 4.27 gm., D. 24 mm, published)

control on the political events. His reign lasted only two years before he was deposed and blinded by Fā'iq and Begtūzūn and replaced by his brother Abū al-Fāris 'Abd al-Malik (II) in *Safā* 389/February 999. See: FRYE, R. N.: *The Cambridge History of Iran, The Period from The Arab Invasion to The Seljuqs*, vol. 4, Cambridge University Press, New York, 1975, pp. 158-159; IQBAL, A.: *Op. Cit.*, pp. 160-161; SAYYID, A. F.: «Sāmānids», in *El, Op. Cit.*, p. 1028.

32. <<https://coins.ha.com/item/islamic/world-coins/islamic-dynasties-ghaznavid-mahmud-governor-of-nishapur-ad-384-387-ad-994-997-gold-dinar-463g-24mm-andnbsp-/a/3021-21687?icq=GalleryView-ShortDescription-071515>>.

33. KAZAN, W.: *Op. Cit.*, (Dinar, No. 990, Nishapur, 989A.H, W. 5,64 gm., D. 24,5 mm), p. 410. Morton & Eden > Auction 76, Auction date: 14 December 2015, (Dinar, Nishapur, 985A.H, W.4, 56 gm., D. 24 mm)

34. ATTALLA, S. A. A.: *Nuqūd Nishāpur Mundh al-Fath al-Islāmī Hata Sugūt al-Dawla al-Khwārizmīa (Artistic and Archaeological study)*, (unpublished doctoral thesis), Faculty of Archaeology, Cairo University, 2003, pp. 210-211 (Arabic reference).

CENTER

الله
محمد رسول الله
الأمين السيد يمين
الدولة وأمين ا
لملة أبو القسم ولی
أمير المؤمنین
عَلَى إِلَهٍ إِلَّا
اللهُ وَهُدُو
لَا شَرِيكَ لَهُ
الْقَادِرُ بِاللَّهِ

٢٣

MARGIN

INNTER بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بنيسابور سنة
 ١٣٧٩ وثمانين وثلاثمائة

OUTER The same

The same

Description

This dinar is among the collection of the American Numismatic Society (ANS) in New York, published by Said Attalla.³⁵ Furthermore, there are other dinars similar to this one, with the exception of the place of the two letters م، ع (mīm, 'āīn) among the collection of ANS³⁶ and ZENO collection (No: 87710)³⁷. There are other dinars similar to this one in both shape and inscriptions among the collection in the Istanbul Museum, the private collection of William Kazan, the London private collection and the Jordan Museum, Heritage auction.³⁸

This dinar is similar to the other types in the overall shape; the obverse area is inscribed with the name of the 'Abbāsid Caliph al-Qādir bi-Llāh³⁹ after the *Shahāda*, and two letters (mīm, 'āīn, م، ع) were inscribed on both sides of the obverse legend. On the other side, the reverse field is inscribed with the new titles of Sultan Mahmūd that were granted to him by Caliph al-Qādir bi-Llāh («*al-Amīr al-Sayyid, Yāmīn/ al-Dawla, wa Amīn a/l Milla, Abū al-Qāsim, Wālī /Amīr al-Mu'minīn*»), after the Prophet's Message or the second *kalima* (*Risālah*). His fame grew as the conqueror of India and the ruler of lands from central Persia to the Indus River after his victory over the Sāmānids.⁴⁰

35. *Idem*, pp. 310-311.

36. ANS, Dinar, No. 1972.288.37, Nishapur, 390 AH, W. 4,28 gm., D. 26 mm; No. 1922.211.59, Nishapur, 390 AH, W. 4,28 gm., D. 26 mm.

37. <<https://www.zeno.ru/showphoto.php?photo=87710>>, AV Ghaznavid dinar, Sultan Mahmūd, Nishapur 390 AH, (ZENO 87710, w. 4,30 gm., D. 27 mm).

38. TAWHID, A.: *Mūzza Ḥimāiūn Maskūkāt Qadīma Islāmīa Qatālughī*, section 4, Constantinople, 1903, p. 42; AL-TRAWNA, K. F.: *Al-Maskūkāt al-Islāmīa al-‘Abbāsīa fi Mathaf al-Athār al-Urdūnī*, Annals of the Department of Antiquities and General Knowledge, Oman, vol. XVIII, 1985, pp. 12-13 (Arabic reference); MITCHINER, M.: *Oriental Coins and their Values: the World of Islam*, vol. I, Hawkins, London, 1977, No.775. KAZAN, W.: *Op. Cit.*, (Dinar, No.1110, Nishapur, 389 AH, W. 5,17 gm., D. 24,5 mm), p. 448. <<https://coins.ha.com/item/islamic/world-coins/islamic-dynasties-ghaznavid-mahmud-as-king-ah-389-421-ad-999-1030-gold-dinar-570g-26mm-/a/3021-21688.s?c4=GalleryView-ShortDescription-071515>> (Dinar, No. #21688, Nishapur, 389 AH, W.5, 70 gm., D.26 mm).

39. Al-Qādir bi-Llāh (381-422 AH), Ahmād b. Iṣhāq b. al-Muqtadir, Abū al-‘Abbās, he was born in 336 AH, his mother's name is Tamāni, he ascended the throne of the Caliphate in 381 AH after his predecessor Caliph al-Tā'i Lillāh. In 383/993-994, his son was born, who was named Abū al-Faḍl Muḥammad, and when he was arrived at years of adulthood, he was created *Wālī al-‘ahd*, however he died during the life-time of his father. In the same year, al-Qādir, married Sukinah the daughter of Bāhā al-Dawla. He ruled for about 41 years and died in 422/1030-1031, his successor was Caliph al-Ghalib bi-Llāh. See: ZIDĀN, A. A. (Tr): *Tabaqat-i Nasīrī*, p. 239; SHAKER, M.: *Op. Cit.*, pp. 176-177.

40. ATTALLA, S. A. A.: *Op. Cit.*, pp. 311-312.

The fourth type Inscriptions



Description

This dinar is related to the collection of the American Numismatic Society (ANS) in New York.⁴¹ There are other dinars similar to this one in their inscriptions, titles, and ornaments, related to the William Kazan collection, ANS, the Coin Archives database belonging to Baldwin collection and the Iraq Museum.⁴²

It is similar to the previous one in the overall shape and inscriptions, but the title of Sultan Maḥmūd *Yamīnī* (يميني) is inscribed on the obverse area after the Testimony or the first *kalima* (*Shahāda*), while the name of the 'Abbāsid Caliph (القادر بالله) is inscribed with the other titles of Sultan Maḥmūd on the reverse area: *Yamīn al-Dawla, wa Amin al-Milla, Abū/ al-Qāsim*. The inscriptions of the margins are similar to the previous types, except for the mint date (394/1003-1004).

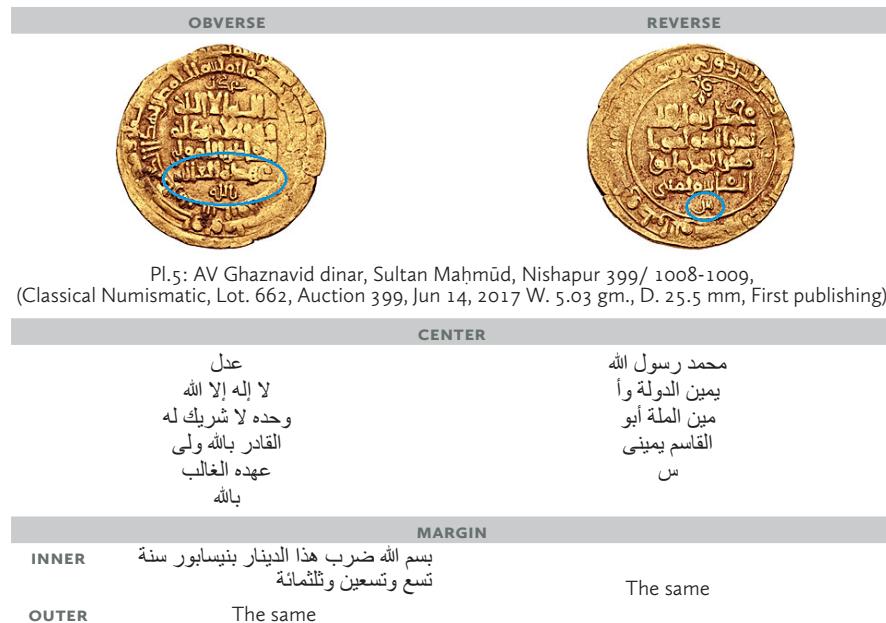
41. <http://numismatics.org/collection/1922.211.62?lang=en> (Accessed: November 17, 2016).

41. <https://numismatics.org/collection/1922.221.01/1a1g-11> (Accessed: November 17, 2019).

42. KAZAN, W.: *Op. Cit.*, (Dinar, No.1112, Nishapur, 389 AH, W, 28 gm., D.24, 5 mm), p. 448; AL-NAQSHABANDY, N.: *Al-Dinār al-Islāmī fī al-Mathāf al-Irāqī*, (the Islamic Dinar in the Iraq Museum), Baghdad, 1953, No. 7403, pp. 303-304; ANS, Dinar, No. 1967.21.8, Nishapur, 394 AH; <https://www.coinarchives.com/w/lotviewer.php?> (Islamic coins, Ghaznavid, Mahmūd, AV dinar, Naysābur, 394 AH, w. 43 gm., A.1662), ATTALA, S. A. A.: *Op. Cit.*, p. 320.

The fifth type

Inscriptions



Description

This dinar is related to the Classical Numismatic auction collection.⁴³ Other dinars with the same mint date similar to this type, but with a few changes in word orders and ornaments are found among the collections of the British Museum and ANS.⁴⁴

The obverse area is inscribed with the name of the 'Abbāsid Caliph al-Qādir bi-Llāh and his successor *Wali al-'ahd* al-Ghālib bi-Llāh⁴⁵ after the testimony (*Shahāda*), and this is the first time for the appearance of the 'Abbāsid Caliph's successor on the dinars of Sultan Maḥmūd. The first word 'Adl (عدل) and the last word bi-Llāh (بِاللَّهِ) are

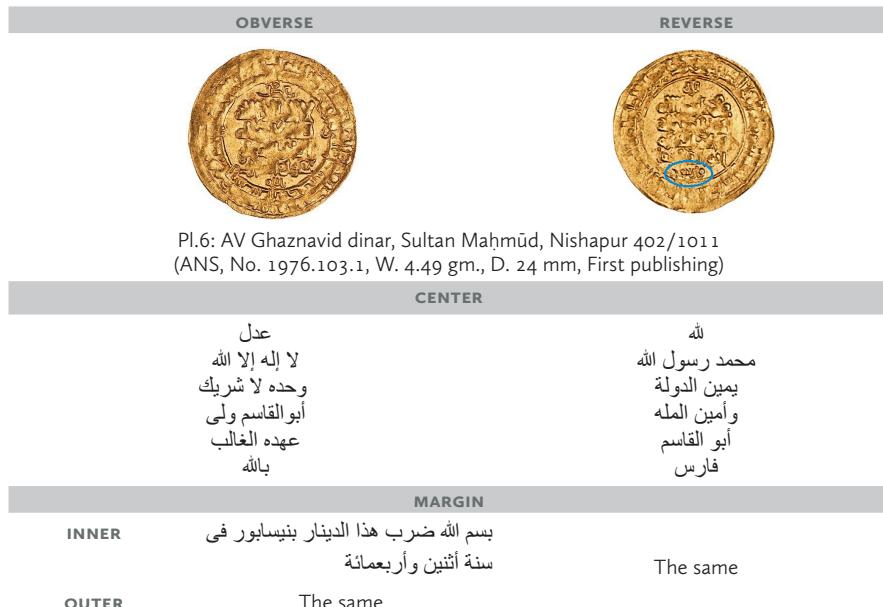
43. <<https://www.cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=338243>> (Accessed: October 11, 2017).

44. THOMAS, E.: «Supplementary Contributions to the Series of the Coins of the Kings of Ghazni», in *Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 17, 1860, p. 154, No. 4; ANS, AV Ghaznavid dinar, Sultan Maḥmūd, Nishapur 399 AH, (No. 1922.211.66). LANE POOLE, S. E.: *Op. Cit.*, II, p. 133; BM II: No. 464, pl. V.

45. Al-Ghālib bi-Llāh, according to the distinct information afforded by the coins of Sultan Maḥmūd, simply amounts to the fact that al-Ghālib bi-Llāh was recognized the successor to the 'Abbāsid Caliphate from 399/1008-1009 to 410/1011-1012. It would also seem probable, from the occurrence of this title on a coin of Mūmehid al-Dawla Marwānī, dated 392/1001-1002, that the nomination of al-Ghālib as *Wali al-'ahd* must have taken place prior to this last epoch. The piece here referred to has been described by Fræhn and Lindberg, and the title of *al-Ghālib bi-Llāh* was imagined by these authors to pertain to the Marwānī Amīr himself; but the more illustrative legends on the Ghaznavid coins indicate clearly the personage to whom the epithet belonged. In 416/1025-1026, 'Abdullāh, the son of al-Qādir, then in the twenty-seventh year of his age, entitled *al-Qā'im bi-Amr Allāh*, was chosen successor, and acceded to the throne in the last month of 422/1030-1031 until 467/1074-1075. See: Zidan, A. A. (Tr.): *Tabaqat-i Nasiri*, p. 239; THOMAS, E.: On the Coins of the Kings of Ghazni, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 274-5; FRÆHN, Ch. M.: *Recensio Numorum Muhammedanorum*, Academiae Imp. Scient. Petropolitanae, St. Petersburg, Russia, 1826, p. 77.

written with smaller characters than the rest of the obverse area inscriptions. On the reverse field, the word of *Lillāh* (الله), that we found in the previous types, was omitted and replaced with a floral ornament, and the letter *sīn* (س) inscribed beneath the reverse legend that refers to the abbreviation of Arabic month. The inscriptions in the margins are similar to the previous types, except for the mint date 399/1008-1009.

The sixth type Inscriptions



Description

This dinar is related to the ANS collection.⁴⁶ It is similar to the fifteenth type in the overall shape and the inscriptions of the obverse area, while the reverse field is inscribed with the Prophet's Message or the second *kalima* (*Risālah*) and is followed by the titles of Sultan Mahmūd. The most remarkable feature in this type is that it was inscribed with the word of *Fārs* (فارس)⁴⁷ beneath the reverse legend. This term, linguistically, means «horseman», or the man who is very skilled in the horseback riding and equestrian sports. It refers to Sultan Mahmūd, who demonstrated his courage and equestrian prowess when he led various expeditions personally to spread the word of Allāh. In this year,

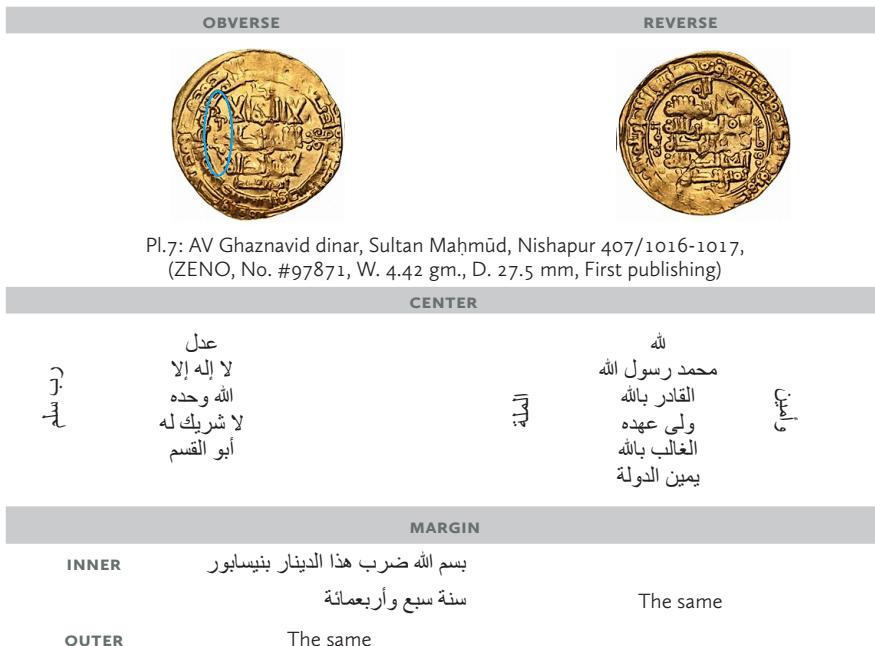
46. <<http://numismatics.org/collection/1976.103.1?lang=en>> (Accessed: November 17, 2016).

47. *Magma' al-lughāt al-'Arabiā: Al-Mu'agam al-Wagīz*, Dār al-Tahrīr, Cairo, 1989, p. 466.

in *Jumādā I* 402/December 1011, he conquered Qusdār.⁴⁸ The inscriptions in the margins are similar to the previous types, except for the mint date 402/1011-1012. This type represents a unique addition to the dinars of Sultan Maḥmūd and Islamic numismatics.

The seventh type

Inscriptions



Description

This dinar is related to ZENO collection.⁴⁹ It follows the previous types in the overall shape. The obverse area is inscribed with the word of 'Adl above the *Shahāda* or the first Kalima and the *kunya* of Sultan Maḥmūd, *Abū al-Qāsim*, beneath it. The right-hand side of the obverse legend was decorated with a floral ornament protruding from two letters of the mint date: the last letter of word *sab'a* [سب] and the letter *wāw* [و] of *w-arba' amāyah* [وأربعمائة]. The left-hand side

48. ATTALLA, S. A. A., *Op. Cit.*, p. 330. IBN AL-ATHĪR, *Op. Cit.*, p. 67. Qusdār is a popular city nearby Ghazna. It was known with Turan that was the mediaeval Islamic name for the district around Qusdār or Quzdār in the east-central part of what is now Baluchistān, the territory in British Indian times of the Khanate of Kalat or Qalāt. See: BABINGER, F.: «Turan», in *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., vol. X, E. J. BRILL, Leiden, 1986, pp. 672-673; BOSWORTH, C. E.: «Rulers of Makrān and Qusdār in the early Islamic period», in *Studia Iranica*, vol. 23, 1994, pp. 199-209; AL-HEMĀWY, S. A. Y.: *Mu'āgam al-Buldān (Countries Dictionary)*, vol. IV, Dār Ṣādir, Beirut, 1977, p. 353 (Arabic reference).

49. <<https://www.zeno.ru/showphoto.php?photo=97871>>.

was inscribed with the words *Rab Salam* (رب سلم), which means «Lord of Peace». This monetary legend held a very important meaning, as it refers to the supplication of Sultan Maḥmūd to the God (Allāh) asking for peace and safety from danger because in this year, in 15th *Shawwāl*, 407/17th March 1017 Maḥmūd led an expedition to Khwārizm and defeated its ruler. Whereas, the other side, the reverse area was inscribed with the word *Lilāh* above and followed by the Prophet's message or the second *kalima* (*Risālah*) in the first line, then the name of the 'Abbāsid Caliph, *al-Qādir bi-Llāh*, and his successor *al-Ghālib bi-Llāh*, and followed by the title of sultan Maḥmūd, *Yāmin al-Dawla*, while the title of *wa Amin a/l Milla* was completed on both sides of the central legend. The margins inscriptions are the same as previously, with the exception of the mint date 407/1016-1017.

The eighth type Inscriptions



Description

This dinar is related to ANS collection.⁵⁰ It is similar to the previous types in the overall shape and the context of the inscriptions, except for the name of the 'Abbāsid Caliph *al-Qādir bi-Llāh* inscribed in both the obverse (5th line) and reverse (3rd line) central legends and the title of *Niżām al-Dīn* (نظام الدين) inscribed on the

50. <<http://numismatics.org/collection/1972.288.44?lang=en>> (Accessed: November 17, 2016).

reverse area with the other titles of Sultan Maḥmūd. The inscriptions in the margins are the same, except for the mint date 420/1021-1022 and the number of four hundred written as أربع مائة instead of أربعين.

The ninth type

Inscriptions



Description

This dinar is related to ANS collection.⁵¹ Another dinar similar to this one is among the collection of the British Museum.⁵²

Obverse and reverse margins were inscribed within one circle from the outer side while there is one circle around the obverse center and a double circle around the reverse center. It is related to the previous types in the overall shape, but it is a unique type in its inscriptions. On the obverse area, the first-word 'Adl (عدل) is written smaller than the rest of the obverse area inscriptions beneath a floral ornament. The Testimony (*Shahāda*) is inscribed incomplete as «There is no God but Allāh» (*Lā ilāha illā/Allāh, لا إله إلا الله*) and followed by the titles and name of Sultan Maḥmūd. On the other side, the reverse area, the name of Mas'aud, son of Maḥmūd and his successor, is inscribed

51. <<http://numismatics.org/collection/1972.210.7?lang=en>> (Accessed: November 17, 2016).

52. THOMAS, E.: «On the Coins of the Kings of Ghazni», No. 21, p. 312. As he mentioned, this coin, may be, struck by Mas'aud, while acting as a local sovereign, during the lifetime of his father Maḥmūd.

on the last line after the name of the 'Abbāsid Caliph al-Qādir bi-Llāh. The inscriptions in the margins are the same, except for the mint date 420/1029-1039.

The tenth type

Inscriptions



Description

This dinar is related to the collection of S. A. Rare Coins, Auction 28, on May 18, 2017.⁵³ It is related to the other types in the overall shape. However, this type is unique in the dinars of Sultan Mahmūd because it was minted in the year of 423/1031-1032, and Sultan Mahmūd died on Thursday, 23rd Rabi' al-Ākhir 42130/th April 1030⁵⁴. The obverse field is inscribed with the word of 'Adl (عدل), the *Shahāda*

53. <http://db.stevealbum.com/php/lot_auc.php?site=2&sale=2&lot=589&lang=1> (accessed: November 21, 2017).

54. It should be noted that this is not the only posthumous coinage in Islamic coins. For example, in the Islamic East, we also have, among others, issues from Zuray'id 'Imrām b. Muhammad (Album, S.: 10801), or in the Afghan Dynasties as in the case of the Durrānī emperors Mahmūd Shāh (Album, S.: Auction 31, May 17 -19, 2018, no. 846) and Tāimūr Shāh (Album, S.: Auction 31, May 17 - 19, 2018, no. 851). In the case of the Islamic West, for example, we have posthumous Maghrebi issues in the name of Idrīsīd Idrīs I (EUSTACHE, D.: *Corpus des Dirhams Idrīsites et Contemporains. Collection de la Banque du Maroc et autres collections mondiales, publiques et privées*, Banque du Maroc, Rabat, 1970-1971, pp. 54-68), or in the name of the Fātimid Caliphs al-Qā'im bi-Alm Allāh (NICOL, N. D.: *A Corpus of Fatimid Coins*, Giulio Bernardi, Trieste, 2006, p. 168), al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh (*Idem*, 1034, 1588); or, in al-Andalus, those minted in the name of the Umayyad Hishām II (VIVES Y ESCUDERO, A.: *Monedas de las dinastías árabeo-espáñolas*, Est. Tipográf. Fortanet, Madrid, 1893, pp. 811-814; PRIETO Y VIVES, A.: *Los Reyes de Taifas. Estudio histórico - numismático de los musulmanes españoles en el siglo V de la Hégira (XI de J.C.)*, Centro de Estudios Históricos, Madrid, 1926, pp. 40-42) or those issued in the name of the Hammūdīds Yahyā b. 'Alī (ARIZA ARMADA, A.: *De Barcelona a Orán. Las emisiones monetales a nombre de los califas hammūdīes de al-Andalus*, Ed. OMNI, Grenoble, 2015, Type Ya16-17) or Idrīs II (*Idem*, Type IdII13-15). The issue of posthumous emissions in Islamic emissions is a topic that has not yet been addressed from a global perspective and in depth.

and the name of the 'Abbāsid Caliph al-Qādir bi-Llāh. The other side, the reverse field, is inscribed with the Prophet's message, preceded by the word of *Llāh* (الله) between two signs ՚ as a mint mark and followed by the phrase of peace be upon him 'Alayh al-Salām' (عليه السلام). The name of Maḥmūd is inscribed beneath the reverse legend, and as such, in his later coinage, he occasionally employed no more than his name, Maḥmūd, and that of the Caliph al-Qādir bi-Llāh. The inscriptions on the margins are the same, except for the mint date 423/1031-1032.

IV. ANALYTICAL STUDY

The types of Ghaznavid coinages are similar to the Sāmānid that copied the second period 'Abbāsid coinage very closely. These coins were well-known because of both the quality and the weight, which was very close to the legitimacy weights. Both Sabuktakin and his son Maḥmūd struck their coins in the name of their nominal Sāmānid overlords, Sabuktakin until his death in 387/997, and Maḥmūd until the death of the Sāmānid Maṇṣūr II b. Nūḥ II in 389/999. The Sāmānid had been loyal to the former Caliph al-Tā'i' who had been deposed in 381/991, but when Maḥmūd disavowed his allegiance to the Sāmānid in 389/999, he reached an agreement with the actual Caliph al-Qādir that resulted in his recognition on the Ghaznavid coinage.⁵⁵

Maḥmūd, on his Sāmānid coinage, had used the designation of the superseded Caliph al-Tā'i' in conjunction with his early title of *Sayf al-Dawla* and the name of his Sāmānid overlords, until the death of the Sāmānid governor Maṇṣūr II b. Nūḥ II in 389/999 (Pl. 1, 2), while on his independent coinage he employed the new titles granted to him by the 'Abbāsid Caliph al-Qādir bi-Llāh: *al-Amīr al-Sayyid, Yamin al-Dawla wa Amīn al-Milla, Walī Amīr al-Mu'minīn*, «The Noble Prince, Right-Hand of the State, Guardian of the (Muslim) Community, Father of Grace, Friend of the Commander of the Faithful». With them, it will appear on the reverse of the coin, place of greater prestige than the one that it was occupying until then in the obverse, where it relegates the Caliph⁵⁶. As his fame grew as the conqueror of India and the ruler of lands from central Persia to the Indus River, these titles paled insignificance beside the glory of his own name. Thus on his later coinage, he occasionally employed no more than his name, Maḥmūd, and that of the Caliph al-Qādir bi-Llāh.⁵⁷

55. THOMAS, E.: «On the Coins of the Kings of Ghazni», *Op. Cit.*, p. 269.

56. On the relationship between prestige and the place that the name occupies in the currency, see the analysis made in relation to the Andalusian emissions in ARIZA ARMADA, A.: *De Barcelona a Orán. Las emisiones monetales a nombre de los califas hammūdías de al-Andalus*, Ed. Omni, Grenoble, 2015, pp. 80-83.

57. KAZAN, W.: *Op. Cit.*, p. 74.

After the Great Seljuqs had defeated Mas'aud at Dandanqan in 431/1040, the Ghaznavids lost their Persian territories, including their chief gold mint, Nishapur, the Ghaznavid gold coinage became much rarer than in the days of their greatest prosperity.⁵⁸ The Ghaznavids struck their coins in various mint cities such as Nishapur, Ghazna, Herat, al-Rayy, Marw, Balkh, Maḥmūd būr, Lāhore, Farwān, Kūr Ghazna, Wāwlīn, Sijīstān, Isfahān, and Qumm.⁵⁹

The coins of Maḥmūd, in addition to the illustrations afforded by the various phases of his immediate reign, represent evidence supporting two historical points; one of them, under ordinary circumstances, should not have been dependent upon the elucidation of the medals of a separate dynasty. The first one of these coins refers to the non-recognition of the caliph al-Qādir bi-Llāh, in the province of Khurāsān until about eight years after his virtual accession. It is essential to surmise that because in the year 381/991, Caliph al-Ta'i' Lillāh was dethroned by Bahā' al-Dawla, the Amir of al-Amara of the court of Baghdad's position was granted by Aḥmad b. Ishāq, who was elevated to the caliphate under the denomination of Caliph al-Qādir bi-Llāh.

The second circumstance, unnoticed until now, also regards the dynasty of the caliphs of Baghdad. The coins of Nishapur show the title of Caliph al-Ghālib bi-Llāh as the successor of al-Qādir (Pl.2).⁶⁰

The coins of Sultan Maḥmūd are divided into two sections. The first one includes the coins that he struck under the control of the Sāmānid, if he is still loyal to Sāmānid; these coins were dated between 384/994 and 26 *Jumādā I* 389/15 May 999. While, the second section includes the coins that were minted by Maḥmūd, independent of the Sāmānid state, after its death certificate was written in the province of Khurāsān on 26 *Jumādā I* in 389/15 May 999, these coins dated from this date until the death of Sultan Maḥmūd in *Rabi' al-Ākhir* 421/April 1030.

Regarding the first section, we find that the first appearance of Maḥmūd's name was since 384/994, where he minted coins when he stayed on Nishapur because he was chosen by Nūh II b. Maṇṣūr I as Commander of the armies of Khurāsān instead of Abī 'Alī Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Sīmjūr.

The coins of the first section are also divided into two periods; the first one when Maḥmūd was commander on Nishapur 384-388/994-998, during the reign of his father Sabuktakīn 367-387/977-997, the second period when Maḥmūd ruled on behalf of the Sāmānid Sultan 388-389/998-999. Thus, these coins featured with recording Maḥmūd's name intitled «*Sayf al-Dawla*» as Prince Nūh awarded Maḥmūd this title, to thank him because he enabled him to return Nishapur to the territories of the Sāmānid State.

58. *Idem*, p. 75.

59. THOMAS, E.: «On the Coins of the Kings of Ghazni», *Op. Cit.*, pp. 375-376.

60. *Idem*, pp. 271-273.

While, the coins of the second section, Maḥmūd minted them throughout the period from when he seized the power of Sāmānids in Khurāsān after the elimination of their rule in *Jumādā I* 389/May 999, until his death in *Rabi' al-Ākhir* 421/April 1030. As a result of, domination of Sultan Maḥmūd on Khurāsān at that time, undoubtedly we find the name of the Sultan was inscribed on such coins in Khurāsān province cities, such as; Nishapur, as a capital of this province as well, Herat, and Ghazna, as the capital of the Ghaznavid state.

The coins of Maḥmūd also provide information about contemporary history, especially regarding his relations with the 'Abbāsid caliph of Baghdad.

Maḥmūd's coins also provided circumstantial evidence regarding the order of the caliph of Baghdad, where the coins of Nishapur, both gold, and silver (dated 399, 401, 407 and 409/1008, 1010, 1016 and 1018), display the title of al-Ghālib bi-Llāh, indicated as *wali 'ahd* or successor of Caliph al-Qādir bi-Llāh. Minhāj Sirāj confirms this numismatic evidence regarding the titular designation of al-Qādir's son as al-Ghālib bi-Llāh and conclusively fixes the identity of the first successor chosen who died at an early age. The distinct information recorded on the coins of Maḥmūd that al-Ghālib bi-Llāh was the recognized successor to the caliphate from 399 to 409/1008-1018.

The dinars of Sultan Maḥmūd were decorated with various inscriptions such as Quranic quotations, titles, names, pious formulas, words, isolated letters and ornaments that could be analyzed as follows:

The word of 'Adl

The golden coins of Sultan Maḥmūd held different words as an item of numismatic investigations, the monograms and mint marks such as the word '*'Adl* «justice» (عدل), expressive of some excellence. He may have recorded this word to declare the legitimacy of these coins.⁶¹

The primary examples of the inscription of the word of '*'Adl* (عدل) are noticed by the Islamic numismatics particularly on the 'Abbāsid Caliphate Numismatics (132-218/750-833) as inscribed beneath the reverse field on the fals of Caliph Abū Ja'far al-Mansūr that minted in al-Salām (157/773-774), in the same place on fals of Caliph al-Mahdi, minted in Kūfa (163/779-780), over the reverse legend of Hārūn al-Rashīd's dirham, minted in Sijistān (171/787-788) and also inscribed on the coins of Caliphs al-Ma'mūn and al-Amīn. This was also discovered on Bukhārā copper coins of the caliphs in the years 185/801-802, 190/805-806 and 209/824-825, which may be supposed, from the tenor of the legend and the circumstances under which they were struck to have required some unusual authentication. Furthermore, this word '*'Adl* was inscribed on the coins of the

61. IQBAL, A.: *Op. Cit.*, p. 162. Other similar terms that testify the quality of the coin in the Islamic coins are: *wafā'* («full value»), *haqq* («righteousness» of the coin weight), *amara bi-l-haqq* («righteousness has been prescribed») in relation to quality/fineness, *tayyib* («good weight») or *mu'tabar* («sample»).

following independent states of the 'Abbāsid Caliphate: the Ṭāhirids, Sāmānids (204-395/819-1005), the second Saffārids dynasty of Sijistān (253-900/867-1495), the Fātimids, Buwayhids or Büyids (320-454/932-1062), Kakwahid rulers (398-443/1008-1051), the Great Seljuk rulers (429-590/1038-1194), Khwārizm Shāh rulers of Transoxiana (470-628/1077-1231), Ghaznavids (351-582/962-1186), Ghurids (390-612/1000-1215), Turkish Sultans of Delhī (602-962/1206-1555/) and Tughluqids.⁶²

Whatever it might had been the previously accepted signification of this term, its adoption, in this case, offers only one explanation, namely, that it was intended to attest the current value of the coinage thus marked. For the after adaptation of the import of عدل. It may be sufficient to refer generally to its frequent appearance on coins authoritatively passed into circulation in a country whose express use they were not initially designed. The word of عدل was often accompanied by the name of the ruler who wished to stamp the authenticity to his coins.⁶³

The term 'Adl is found both as substantive and adjective but with different meanings. 'Adl, substantive, means «justice» while 'Adl, adjective, means «rectilinear», «just», or «well balanced»; thus, it applies both to beings and to things. In its two forms, the word is current in the vocabulary of religion, theology, philosophy, and law. In the Mu'tazilite doctrine, 'Adl, «the justice of God» constitutes one of the five fundamental dogmas (*uṣul*) of the system. The *qādī* must give judgment with 'Adl (or *qist*) as in Qur'ān, «Allāh orders you all to hand back trusts to their owners, and when you judge between people, you judge with justice. Indeed, the best is the exhortation with which Allāh instructs you. Allāh is ever Hearing and Seeing»⁶⁴ إِنَّ اللَّهَ يَأْمُرُكُمْ أَنْ تُوَدُّوْا الْأَمَانَاتَ إِلَى أَهْلِهَا وَإِذَا حَكَمْتُمْ بَيْنَ النَّاسِ أَنْ إِنَّ اللَّهَ كَانَ سَمِيعًا بَصِيرًا [They are] listeners to falsehood, devourers of the unlawful. If they come to you, judge between them or turn away from them. And if you turn away from them, they cannot harm you in anything. And if you judge, judge between them with justice. Indeed, Allāh loves those who act justly»⁶⁵ سَمَّاعُونَ لِلْكُبَرِ أَكَلُونَ لِلْسُّكُوتِ فَإِنْ جَأْوَكُمْ فَاحْكُمْ بَيْنَهُمْ أَوْ أَغْرِضُهُمْ وَإِنْ تُعْرِضُ عَنْهُمْ فَلَنْ يَضُرُوكُ شَيْئًا وَإِنْ حَكَمْتَ فَاحْكُمْ بَيْنَهُمْ وَإِنْ قَطْسْطَ إِنَّ اللَّهَ يُحِبُّ الْمُقْسِطِينَ but the idea of material justice plays hardly any part in the theory of religious law, although it is insisted upon in the «Investigation of Complaints». The adjective which matches precisely to this substantive 'Adl is 'Ādil.

Furthermore, the word 'Adl expresses more particularly a juridical conception and has numerous applications. However, the agreement has never been reached

62. RAMADAN, A. M. M.: *Al-Kitābāt Ghīr al-Qurānīa 'ala al-Sika fi Sharq al-Ālam al-Islāmī*, (unpublished doctoral thesis), Faculty of Archaeology, Cairo University, 1998, pp. 112-126; THOMAS, E.: *Ibid*, p. 291.

63. THOMAS, E.: «On the Coins of Kings of Ghazni» *Op. Cit.*, pp. 291-292.

64. *Qur'an Karīm, Sūrat al-Nisṣā'* (4: 58).

65. *Qur'an Karīm, Sūrat al-Mā'idā* (5: 42).

on a definition of the term. In numismatics 'Adl means «of full weight,» and therefore this word (often abbreviated to 'aīn ؓ) is stamped on coins to show that they have the just weight and are current 'Adli.⁶⁶ The word of 'Adl also may be inscribed on the coins of Sultan Maḥmūd to refer to his principles as he characterized by justice among his nations.

The word of Llāh

This word appeared for the first time on the dirhams since the year 169/785, while it appeared on dinars since 198/813 and disappeared from the 'Abbāsid coins during the reign of the Caliph al-Nāṣir al-Dīn Allāh. This word indicates that these dinars were used as *zakāt* for Muslims to be spent in many ways, e.g., they might be to spend on the poor, or to equip armies to fight for God's sake.⁶⁷

The word of Dīnār

The word dinar or *dīnār* دينار is singular, and the plural is dinars or *danānīr* دناریں. It is the name of the golden unit of currency in early Islam. It drivers from the Greek word *denarious* that represent ten units of the dirham. This word mentioned in the Qurān book («and among the People of the Scripture is he who, if you entrust him with a significant amount [of wealth], he will return it to you. And among them is he who, if you entrust him with a [single] silver coin [Dinar], he will not return it to you unless you are always standing over him [demanding it]»، وَمِنْ أَهْلِ الْكِتَابِ مَنْ إِنْ تَأْمُنْهُ بِقُطْنَارٍ يُؤْدِي إِلَيْكَ وَمَنْ مِنْ إِنْ تَأْمُنْهُ بِدِينَارٍ لَا يُؤْدِي إِلَيْكَ لَا مَا ذُمِّتْ عَلَيْهِ فَإِنَّمَا).⁶⁸ The Arabs well-known this coin as a Byzantine gold coin and use it before Islam and continued during the reign of the Prophet Muḥammad and the four Orthodox Caliphs. No dinar alterations were made until the reign of the Umayyad Caliph 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān (65-86648-705/), in the contrary, the Sāssānian dirhams were altered during the reign of the second Orthodox Caliph 'Umar b. al-Khatāb (634-644/23-13).⁶⁹

The earliest type of Arab dinar, undated but attributable to approximately the year 72/691-692, and struck almost certainly at Damascus, imitates the solidus of Heraclius and his two sons but with specifically Christian symbolism deleted and an Arabic religious legend added. A new type, more distinctly Arab, that of the «standing sword-girt Caliph», appears at the Umayyad capital with an issue dated 74/693-694 and is repeated in 76/695 and 77/696; but in the latter year 'Abd al-Malik's coinage reform drastically affects the style of the dinar which henceforth, with scarce exceptions, is purely epigraphic.⁷⁰

66. TYAN, E., «'Adl», in *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd, vol. 1, pp. 209-210.

67. ABAZA, A. I. M.: *The Coins of Herat since the Islamic Conquest until the Rule of Qarts: An Artistic and Archaeology Study*, Ph.D. Thesis, Faculty of Archaeology, Cairo University, 2008, pp. 134, 280 (Arabic reference).

68. *Qurān Karīm, Sūrat al-Umrān* (51: 75).

69. MILES, G. C.: «Dinar», in *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., vol. 2, pp. 297-299; RAMADAN, A. M. M.: 2008, pp. 46, 59.

70. MOHAMMED, A. F.: *Al-Nuqūd al-'Arabīya Madīhā wa Ḥādīhā*, Dār al-Qālī, Cairo, 1964, pp. 8-9.

The weight standard of the early transitional dinar appears to have been the same as that of the Byzantine *solidus*, i.e., approximately 4.55 grams. With 'Abd al-Malik's reform, however, the weight was reduced to 4.25 grams.

Furthermore, the Arabs struck the half dinar (*nīsf dīnār*) and the third dinar (*thulth dīnār*) in North Africa and Spain in the transitional period and in the early years of the 2nd/8th century, while glass weights for these fractions (2.12 and 1.41 grams) continued to be issued until the third quarter of that century. Also, the quarter dinar (*rub' dīnār*) was introduced by the Aghlabids in North Africa in the third century and subsequently was issued in significant quantities by the Fātimids.

The word *dīnār* disappears from the coinage in the 6th / 12th century in the West, in the 7th/13th century in the East and India, and the 8th/14th century in Egypt. As money of account, the word was widely used both during and after its circulation as an actual coin.⁷¹

According to the descriptive study, the word of *al-Dīnār* (الدينار) in the inner margin of the obverse area of Sultan Maḥmūd dinars was written with the letter *ī* (*alif* of prolongation) as it was inscribed in the Sāmānid coins, whereas it was mentioned without *alif* of prolongation (*al-dīnār* (الدينار) in the coins of the Umayyads, 'Abbāsids, Fāṭimids, and Saffārids.

The Isolated letters

The isolated letters that are found occupying any convenient corner of the obverse or reverse areas are usually referring to mint marks and seem to import little or nothing calling for extended observation. Some scholars mentioned that these letters such as م, ح, د, ر, ل that appeared on the ancient Muhammadan coins were intended to refer to the month in which the coin thus marked was minted. These supposedly stood for the initial letters of *Jumādā al-Awwal*, *Dū l-Hijjah*, *Sha 'abān*, *Rabi' al-Awwal*, and *Shawwāl*.⁷²

There is another opinion mentioned that these letters may be referring to the first letters of the supervisors' names on the mints, engravers, manufacturers or the mint city, as it assimilated with the signs or letters that appeared on the 'Abbāsid coins in Baghdad to confirm the legitimacy.

In other Islamic issues, we can also find isolated letters. This is the case of the 'Abbásids or the Büyids in the East, or in the Islamic West, those of the Idrísids of the Maghreb or those of the Umayyads and Hammúdías of al-Andalus. Researchers who have worked on this topic have proposed, in addition to being able to refer to the names of the months, as in the case of emissions under consideration⁷³, the following hypotheses: either they are abbreviations of terms

71. MILES, G. C.: «Dinar», in *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., vol. 2, pp. 297-299.

72. *Idem*, p. 292.

73. EUSTACHE, D.: *Op. Cit.*, p. 84.

relating to the quality of the coin or with propitiatory values⁷⁴, or the letters have a numeral value⁷⁵, or they are the initials of the name of the engraver or mint chief⁷⁶, or some politically important character's name related to the issue⁷⁷.

Pious formulas

The dinars of Sultan Maḥmūd were inscribed with the phrase of «peace be upon him» (*'Alayh al-Salām*, عليه السلام) that came after the Muḥammadan message (محمد رسول الله). This phrase has two meanings: a visible one referring to the peace on the Prophet Muḥammad, and an invisible one. Perhaps, Sultan Maḥmūd intended to show a kind of reverence and to grant prestige to the 'Abbāsid Caliph al-Qādir bi-Llāh whose name was inscribed on the fourth line of the reverse field because the 'Abbāsids are descendants from the House of Prophet.⁷⁸ Another phrase was mentioned on Maḥmūd's dinars of Nishapur, the phrase of *Ṣallā Allāh 'Alayh* (صلى الله عليه) which inscribed for the first time after the Prophet's Message (*Risālah*) «Muḥammad is the Messenger of Allāh» (*Muḥammad Rasūl Allāh*, محمد رسول الله).

The phrase of *Rab Salam* (رب سلم) held significant meaning, as it refers to the supplication of Sultan Maḥmūd to the God (Allāh) asking peace and safety from danger. Because in 15th *Shawwāl*, 407/17th March 1017, he led an expedition to Khwārizm and defeated its ruler. In the same year, he led other expeditions to India for announcing the word of Allāh.

The titles of Sultan Maḥmūd

These dinars inscribed with the titles of Sultan Maḥmūd granted to him by the 'Abbāsid Caliph are as follows:

- *Al-Walī* (الولي): this title was given to sultan Maḥmūd and inscribed on his dinars, it means «the friend», «opposite of enemy», which was used as an honorary title. It was used adjacent to other words to become a compound title such as «*Walī al-Dawla*» that was given to Abī al-Ḥusayn Qāsim b. 'Ubaīd Allāh the vizier of the Caliph al-Mu'taṣib bi-Llāh, and «*Walī 'ahd al-Muslimin*» that refers to the successor of the Caliph as it was given to Mūsā during al-Mahdī Caliphate and 'Abd al-Rahīm b. Alyās, the successor of the Fāṭimīd Caliph al-Hākim bi-Amr Allāh, sometimes this title was mentioned as «*Walī 'ahd*» as it was inscribed on

74. *Idem*, pp. 83-84.

75. *Idem*, p. 83; ARIZA ARMADA, A.: *De Barcelona a Orán. Op. Cit.*, pp. 184-194.

76. MILES, G. C.: *The Coinage of the Umayyads of Spain*, 2 vols., The American Numismatic Society, New York, 1950, p. 60; EUSTACHE, D.: *Op. Cit.*, p. 83.

77. DELGADO Y HERNÁNDEZ, A.: *Estudios de Numismática Arábigo – Hispana considerada como comprobante de la dominación islámica en la península*, A. Canto García e Ibráhīm T. (Ed.), Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid, 2001, p. 170; TREADWELL, W. L.: *Buyid Coinage. A die corpus (322 – 445 AH.)*, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, 2001, p. XIX.

78. ATTALLA, S. A. A.: *Op. Cit.*, p. 313.

the dinars of sultan Maḥmūd b. Sabuktakīn that was given to al-Ghālib bi-Llāh as the successor of the ‘Abbāsid Caliph al-Qādir bi-Llāh.⁷⁹

- *Sayf al-Dawla* (سيف الدولة): «Sword of the state»: this title was given to Sultan Maḥmūd by Amīr Nūḥ II b. Maṇṣūr al-Sāmānī (366-387/977-997), when he defeated his commanders, as it was inscribed on the coins during the Period from 384994/ to 389999/. Sultan Maḥmūd confirmed this title by inscribed a sword on his coins.

- *Yamīn al-Dawla* (يمين الدولة): which indicate that the ‘Abbāsid Caliph depends on the owner of the title, Sultan Maḥmūd, as he depends on his right-hand. In addition to that, this title is referring to the significance of Sultan Maḥmūd for the ‘Abbāsid Caliph at Baghdad.

- *Amīn al-Milla* (امين الملة): It is a composite title, and the word *Amīn* is derived from the title of *al-Amīn* (الأمين) that means «honesty». This title was a unique title for Muḥammad son Hārūn al-Rashīd, and it was the first title of the Caliph's titles mentioned on the *minbar*. In the Fātimid dynasty, it was used as an honorary title, while it was used for the traders and slaves in the Mamlūk dynasty. This title was used widely for the Caliphs, viziers, successors, traders and slaves. Furthermore, it was used for formatting other compound titles such as *Amīn al-Umanā*, *Amīn al-Dawla*, *Amīn al-A'īma* and *Amīn al-Milla*.

- *Niẓām al-Dīn* (نظام الدين): The word *Niẓām* («order») was used with the letter «y» (ى) in the Mamlūk period and added to other words to formulate multiple titles as *Niẓām al-Mulk*, *Niẓām al-Dīn* and *Niẓām al-Dawla*. It was given to Sultan Maḥmūd by the ‘Abbāsid Caliph al-Qādir bi-Llāh after Nārdīn's battle as it was mentioned on his coins (pl. 8) and the funerary text of his tomb in 23rd *Rabi'* al-Ākhir 42130/th April 1030.

- *Yamīni* (يميني): this word derived from the title of *Yamīn al-Dawla*. This title has a definite impact in the historical sources that recorded the political and military life of Sultan Maḥmūd, where the Persian scholar al-‘Utbī has written a book and named it as *Tarīkh al-Yamīni*.⁸⁰

- *Al-Amīr* (الأمير), «commander or prince»: It was used as a title referring to a job or as an honorary title. In the Muslim Middle East, it referred to a military commander, governor of a province or a high military official. Under the Umayyads, the Amīr exercised administrative and financial powers, somewhat diminished under the ‘Abbāsids, who introduced a separate financial officer. Sometimes, as in the cases of the Aghlabids and Tāhirids, the emirs ruled virtually independently in their provinces with but token allegiance to the caliph. In

79. AL-BASHA, H.: *Al-Alqāb al-Islāmīa fī al-Tārīkh wa al-Wathā'iq wa al-Athār (The Islamic Titles in the History, Documents and Monuments)*, Al-Dār al-Fāriṭa, Cairo, 1989, pp. 541-542.

80. AL-‘UTBĪ, Tārīkh al-Yamīni, *Al-Yamīni fī Sharḥ Akhbār al-Sultān Yamīn al-Dawla wa-Amīn al-Milla Maḥmūd al-Ghaznawī*, AL-THAMERI, E. Z. (Ed.), 1st ed., Beirut, 2004; AL-‘UTBĪ: Tārīkh al-Yamīni, *Sharḥ al-Yamīni al-musammā bi al-Fath al-Wahābī 'ala Tārīkh Abī Nāṣir al-‘Utbī*, 2vols., Cairo, 1286 AH./ 1869 AD.

other cases, the province was first taken by force, and then the emirs applied for legitimacy to the caliph.⁸¹

The first one named with this title, as a job, was 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Marwān as mentioned in the foundational text of al-Fuṣṭāt water wheels in 69/688-689 it was also used for Qurrah b. Shurrik, 'Isa b. Abī 'Ata and al-Ḥassan b. al-Baḥbāḥ on several weights and for Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn on the foundational text of his mosque while this title was used as an honorary title for the successors of the Omayyad Caliphate as al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik and Muḥammad al-Amīn. It was used as an alternative title for *wālī* in the Fāṭimid dynasty, while, according to the foundational ottoman texts, it was used for the lord of the military soldiers, Amīr al-Ḥajj and governors.

The title *Amīr* was later adopted by the rulers of several independent states in central Asia, notably those of Bukhārā and Afghānistān. In the modern United Arab Emirates, however, none of the rulers of the constituent states is called emir; all are sheikhs. The word Emirates was included in the name of the federation by default because *mashyakhah* (sheikhdom) was already in use for the smallest of Arab administrative units, comparable to a parish or township.⁸²

- *Al-Sayyid* (السيّد): the word of *Amīr* was used adjacent to the title of «*al-Sayyid*»⁸³ to become a compound title «*al-Amīr al-Sayyid*.» *Al-Sayyid* means «master», «noble», «chief» or «lord», a descendant of Muḥammad. Initially, as an Arabic title of respect, it was sometimes restricted, as was the title, *Shāfi'*, to the Banū Hāshim, members of Muḥammad's clan; in particular, the descendants of Muḥammad's uncles al-'Abbās and Abū Ṭālib and 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib by Muḥammad's daughter Fāṭima. In the Hejaz, Sayyid is further restricted to the descendants of Ḥusayn, the younger son of 'Alī and Fāṭima. In Pakistan and India Sayyids are numerous, being one of the four main groups of Muslims.⁸⁴ This title was used widely during the Islamic era; it was used with the Amīrs and viziers of Sāmānids, Buwayhids or Būyids, Bukhārā, and governors of Damascus that moved with them to Egypt till the end of Mamlūk dynasty. In addition to that, it was added to other titles as *Sayyid al-Mulūk*, *Sayyid al-Umarā'*, *Sayyid al-Salāṭīn*, *Sayyid al-Dawla*, *Sayyid Mulūk al-Mujāhidīn*, and *Sayyid al-Wuzāra'*.⁸⁵

- *Amīr al-Mu'minīn* (أمير المؤمنين): this title was first used for the second orthodox caliph 'Umar b. al-Khaṭāb, sometimes used by leaders of Muslim military campaigns, probably based on the Qur'ān («Oh you who believe, obey Allāh and

81. AL-BASHA, Hassan: *Op. Cit.*, p. 115. AL-KHATIB, M. A.: *Mu'āgam al-Muṣṭalahāt wa al-Alqāb al-Tārikhīa (Glossary of historical terms and titles)*, 1st ed., Muassasat al-Rissala, Beirut, 1966, pp. 109-112.

82. Encyclopedia Britannica (online), <<https://www.britannica.com/topic/emir>> (accessed November 06, 2017).

83. *Al-Sayyid*, Singular, Masculine, the feminine form is *al-Sayyida*, and plural is *al-Sadda* or *al-Sayyidat*, it was derived from the word of *Sayud* (سيّد) that means «Honor».

84. AL-BASHA, H.: *Al-Alqāb al-Islāmīya ...*, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 345-350.

85. AHMED, A.: *Al-Qāmūs al-Islāmī (The Islamic Dictionary)*, vol. III, Maktabat al-Nahḍa al-Maṣriyya, Cairo, 1963, p. 585; IBN MANZŪR, M. M.: *Lissān al-'Arab*, Dār al-Mārif, Cairo, ND, p. 23.

obey the Messenger [Muhammad] and those invested with the command (*Ulī al-Amr*) among you».⁸⁶ (بِأَنَّمَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا أَطَيْفُوا اللَّهُ وَأَطَيْفُوا الرَّسُولَ وَأُولَئِكَ الْأَمْرُ بِنَحْنُ

Other caliphs such as Uthmān b. ‘Affān and ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib have been given the title as well. It has also been adopted by various Caliphs of the succeeding Umayyad and ‘Abbāsid dynasties, as well as by some contemporary Arab monarchs until the Ottoman era.⁸⁷ In the tenth century, the commander of the caliph’s armies at Baghdad was styled *Amīr al-Umarā’* «commander in chief». *Amīr* could also denote office, as in *Amīr al-Hajj*, «leader of the pilgrimage» to Mecca, held by the caliph or his delegate, a precedent set by Abū Bakr and Muḥammad himself.⁸⁸

Sultan Maḥmūd held the title of *Wāli Amīr al-Mu’minīn* (ولی امیر المؤمنین) that inscribed on his dinars to confirm his obedience to the Caliph, and he mentioned that in his letters to the ‘Abbāsid Caliph with the formula «*‘Abd Maowlānā Amīr al-Mu’minīn wa Ṣanī‘ atuhu Maḥmūd b. Sabuktakīn*» (عبد مولانا امير المؤمنين و صنيعه محمود بن سبکتکین).⁸⁹

Sultan Maḥmūd registered the previous titles on his Sāmānid and independent coinage because his fame grew as the conqueror of India and the ruler of lands from central Persia to the Indus River. So he asked the Caliph to grant him more titles to increase honor, but the Caliph told him that the titles do not increase a man like him honor or respect because he is already famous, maybe the Sultan Maḥmūd was convinced of that vision. Thus, on his later coinages, he occasionally recorded no more than his name, Maḥmūd, and that of the Caliph al-Qādir bi-Llāh.⁹⁰

Among various official and the most popular titles of Maḥmūd was the title of *Sultān*, which means strength, power, and authority. It is said that he is the first ruler who obtained the title of *Sultān* in the Islamic world⁹¹. However, it is still uncertain as to when the meaning of the Sultan changed from signifying political power to becoming a personal title. Although contemporary author al-‘Utbī does not directly confirm it but creates confusion by recording that Sayf al-Dawla founded a great Sultanate and became famous in the world with the title *Sultān Yamīn al-Dawla and Amīn al-Milla*. Thus, al-‘Utbī frequently describes Maḥmūd as *Sultān* since Maḥmūd had become an independent sovereign. Nevertheless, this contemporary textual evidence finds no archaeological support since the title Sultan has not appeared on Maḥmūd’s coins. Thus, the numismatic evidence confirms that the title did not achieve official status until the mid-eleventh century. The earliest known Ghaznavid coin bearing the word

86. *Qur’ān Karīm, Sūrat al-Nissa’* (4, 59).

87. AL-KHATIB, M. A.: *Op. Cit.*, p. 47.

88. «Amīr al-Mu’minīn» in *The Oxford Dictionary of Islam*, edited by John L. Esposito. *Oxford Islamic Studies Online*, <<http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com/article/opr/t125/e152>> (accessed 05-Nov-2017).

89. ABŪ AL-MAHĀSEN, AL-Nogum al-Zahera, vol. 4, p. 259.

90. KAZAN, W.: *Op. Cit.*, pp. 74-75; ABAZA, A. I. M.: *Op. Cit.*, pp. 294-296.

91. Unknown author of *Tārikh Sīstān* confirms that Maḥmūd was first designated Sultan in 393/1002 by Khalaf of Sīstān on the occasion of his surrendering himself to Maḥmūd’s mercy.

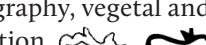
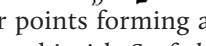
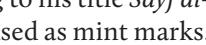
Sultān al-Mu'azzam as a regal title is one of Farrukhzad (444-451/1053-1059) preserved in the Hermitage Museum at Leningrad. In India, the first known Ghaznavid coin bearing the title of *Sultān al-Mu'minīn* of Ibrāhīm b. Mas'aud (451-492/1059-1099) minted at Lahore.⁹²

Moreover, the historical resources refer to Maḥmūd with the title of Ghazi, while the absence of a coin record of the title of Ghazi indicates that it was not used as an official title. Furthermore, he held the title of *al-'Ajal* (الأجل) that mentioned on his tomb at Ghazna.

| TITLES & NAMES | TRANSLITERATION | TRANSLATION | YEAR | CALIPH |
|-------------------|------------------------------|---|------------------|------------------|
| سيف الدولة | <i>Sayf al-Dawla</i> | Sword of the Dynasty | 384/994-995 | al-Ṭā'i Lillāh |
| الأمير السيد | <i>Al-Amīr al-Sayyid</i> | The noble prince | 389/998-999 | al-Qādir bi-Llāh |
| يمين الدولة | <i>Yamīn al-Dawla</i> | Right-hand of the state | 389/998-999 | al-Qādir |
| أمين الملة | <i>Amīn al-Milla</i> | Guardian of the community | 389/998-999 | al-Qādir |
| أبوالقاسم | <i>Abū al-Qāsim</i> | Father of grace | 389/998-999 | al-Qādir |
| ولي أمير المؤمنين | <i>Wali Amir al-Mu'minīn</i> | Friend of the commander of the faithful | 389//998-999 | al-Qādir |
| يميني | <i>Yamīni</i> | My right-hand | 394/1003-1004 | al-Qādir |
| نظام الدين | <i>Niẓām al-Dīn</i> | Religion's system | 412/1021-1022 | al-Qādir |
| محمود | <i>Maḥmūd</i> | Mahmoud | 384-421/994-1030 | al-Qādir |

TABLE 2: TITLES AND NAMES OF SULTAN MAḤMŪD, (© M. SAYED)

The ornaments and other decorations

The dinars of Sultan Maḥmūd were decorated with calligraphy, vegetal and geometric ornaments, such as a flower *, a floriated decoration, , , , a star *, three circles , and other points forming a rectangular shape, . . . , Sometimes a sword  referring to his title *Sayf al-Dawla* and other signs , , ,  were probably used as mint marks.

92. RAZA, S. J.: «Coinage and Metallurgy under the Ghaznavid Sultan Mahmud» in *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, vol. 75, 2014, pp. 224-231. Retrieved from <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/44158383?seq=1>>.

Metrology of Sultan Maḥmūd Dinars at Nishapur

| YEARS | MINT CITY | | | | |
|-------|---------------|------|-------|---------------|------|-------|---------------|------|-------|---------------|------|--|--|--|
| | Nishapur | | | Nishapur | | | Nishapur | | | Nishapur | | | | |
| | Weights (gm.) | | | Weights (gm.) | | | Weights (gm.) | | | Weights (gm.) | | | | |
| | MAX | MIN | | | |
| 384 | 4.22 | 2.93 | 394 | 5.74 | 4.30 | 404 | 4.63 | 4.15 | 413 | - | - | | | |
| 385 | 5.92 | 3.07 | 395 | 4.94 | 3.19 | 405 | 4.82 | 2.82 | 414 | 5.12 | - | | | |
| 386 | - | - | 396 | 5.42 | - | 406 | 4.52 | 3.80 | 415 | - | 1.42 | | | |
| 387 | 4.63 | - | 397 | 4.28 | 3.15 | 407 | 5.87 | 3.44 | 416 | 3.64 | - | | | |
| 388 | - | - | 398 | 4.80 | 2.90 | 408 | - | - | 417 | 3.96 | - | | | |
| 389 | 4.94 | 3.93 | 399 | 5.03 | 3.11 | 409 | 4.23 | 4.15 | 418 | - | 2.75 | | | |
| 390 | 5.37 | 3.59 | 400 | 4.70 | 3.52 | 410 | 3.73 | - | 419 | 3.85 | 3.66 | | | |
| 391 | 5.29 | 3.83 | 401 | 5.44 | 3.24 | 411 | 4.50 | 3.45 | 420 | 3.06 | - | | | |
| 392 | 5.62 | 4.65 | 402 | 4.55 | 3.86 | 412 | 4.90 | 3.82 | 421 | 4.18 | - | | | |
| 393 | 4.39 | 4.25 | 403 | 5.44 | 3.14 | | | | | | | | | |

TABLE 3: METROLOGY (WEIGHTS) OF SULTAN MAḤMŪD DINARS IN ALL MINT CITIES, (© M. SAYED)

This table shows the weights of the dinars of Sultan Maḥmūd in the mint city of Nishapur. It can be seen from the table that Nishapur, represents the main mint city during the reign of Sultan Maḥmūd. Although the small sample of golden dinars does not allow us to verify the chronological evolution of these emissions, it can be seen, however, that the weight values we have are reasonably fluctuated. It is also found that they are in line with the known average weights of the 'Abbāsid period or better, as expected. However, it can be seen that the known modules of Nishapur mint are considerably superior to those of the other mints such as Herat, Ghazna, al-Rayy and Qumm.

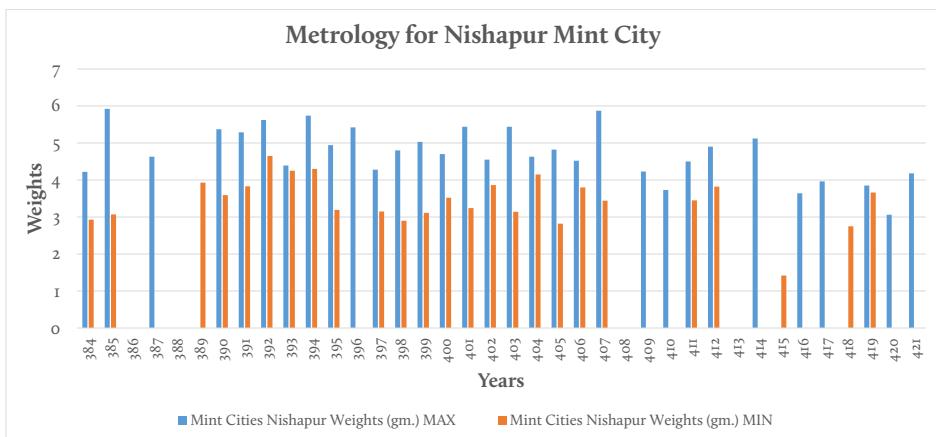


FIG. 3: WEIGHTS OF DINARS OF SULTAN MAḤMŪD AT NISHAPUR, (© M. SAYED)

The figures refer to the fineness weight of the standard of the new dinar that was exceptionally high between 96% and 98% fine and even approximated 100% in some cases. As can be seen from the table above, we could not find a coin minted in Nishapur dates back to years 386/996-997, 388/998, and 413/1022-1023.

| MINT CITY | MAXIMUM WEIGHT | MINIMUM WEIGHT | AVERAGE WEIGHT | MAXIMUM DIMENSION | MINIMUM DIMENSION | AVERAGE DIMENSION |
|-----------|----------------|----------------|----------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| Nishapur | 5.92gm | 2.75gm | 4.33gm | 27mm | 23.5mm | 25.25mm |
| Herat | 5.23gm | 2.23gm | 3.73gm | 25mm | 22mm | 23.5mm |
| Ghazna | 5.50gm | 2.62gm | 4.06gm | 25mm | 23mm | 24mm |
| Al-Rayy | 3.83gm | 3.53gm | 3.68gm | 24mm | 24mm | 24mm |
| Qumm | 2.73gm | 2.73gm | 2.73gm | 24mm | 24mm | 24mm |

TABLE 4: AVERAGE WEIGHTS OF SULTAN MAHMUD DINARS AT NISHAPUR IN COMPARISON WITH THE OTHER MINT CITIES, (© M. SAYED)

This table shows the average weights and dimensions of Sultan Mahmud dinars in all mint cities, and the figures illustrate that the weight is very close to the standard weight of the dinar (4.25 gm.) in the first three mints. Nevertheless, the small sample of golden dinars of the other mint cities (al-Rayy and Qumm) does not allow us to verify the average weight of these emissions. On the other side, the figures illustrate that the dimensions are very similar, but modules of Nishapur mint are considerably superior to those of the other mints.

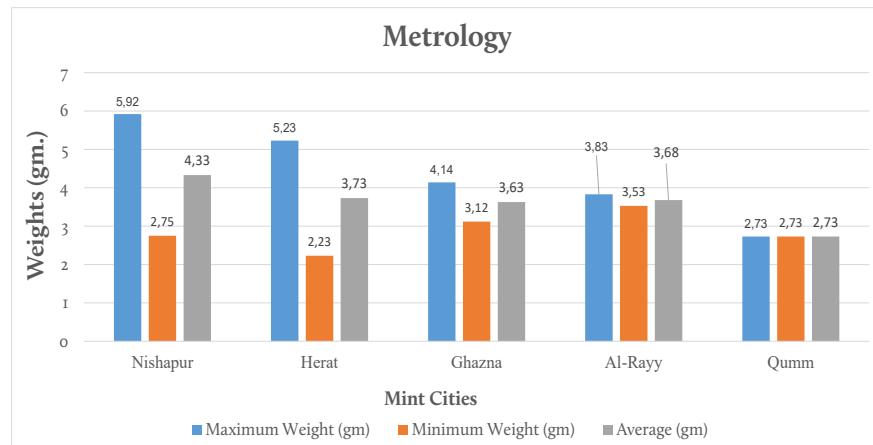


FIG. 4: AVERAGE WEIGHT OF DINARS OF SULTAN MAHMUD IN ALL MINT CITIES, (© M. SAYED)

The mint city of Nishapur

Nishapur (Nishābur نیشاپور or Naysābur) was, with Balkh, Marv and Herat, one of the most important cities among the four great cities of Khurāsān province.

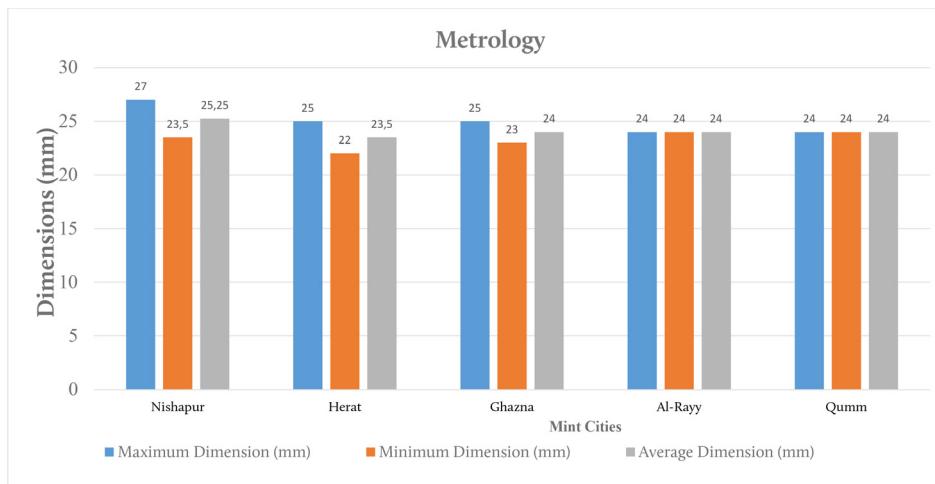


FIG. 5: DIMENSIONS OF DINARS OF SULTAN MAHMŪD IN ALL MINT CITIES, (© M. SAYED)

It was one of the great towns of Persia in the Middle Ages.⁹³ The medieval city of Nishapur was situated in the northeastern province of Khurāsān. It was the largest and most important metropolis in the eastern part of Iran on the Silk Road, which connected Baghdad, the capital of the 'Abbāsid Caliphate, with cities of Marv, Herat, and Balkh.⁹⁴ It flourished in Sassanid and early Islamic times, but after the devastation of the Mongol invasions of the thirteenth century, it subsided into a more modest role until it was revived in the twentieth century. It seems to have been founded by the Sāssānian Shāpūr I, son of Ardashir I, in the third century AD and rebuilt by Shāpūr II in the following century.⁹⁵

The name of Nishapur derived from *nīw shāh bīr* نیو شاه بیر that means «the fair» or «good city of Shaper». In Islamic times, writers in Arabic called it as Nishābūr or Naysābūr نیسابور.⁹⁶ In the Sassanid period, it was the centre of the region of Abarshahr ابر شهر, which appears on Sassanid coins individually or together with those of Nishapur, on early Islamic coins up to the caliphate of Ma'mūn in the early ninth century AD. The prefixed syllable *Ni* means «reed» and is said to allude to reeds found in the marsh on which the city was originally

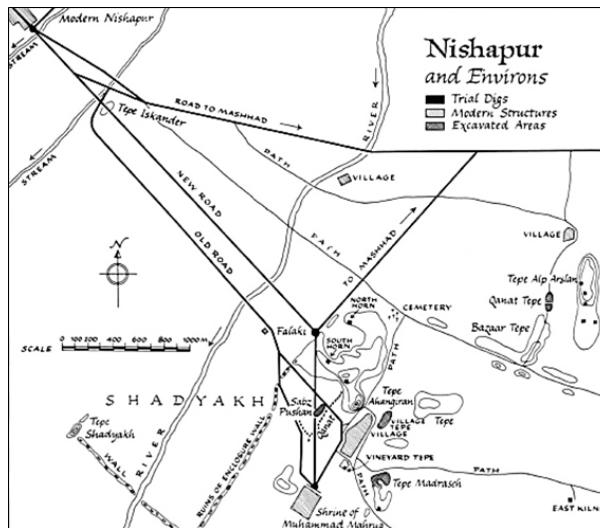
93. HONIGMANN, E. A. J., BOSWORTH, C. E.: «Nishapur», in *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., vol. VIII, BEARMAN, P. J., BOSWORTH, C.E., DONZEL E. V., HEINRICHS, W.P., LECOMTE, D. G. (ed.), E. J. Brill, Leiden, Netherlands, 1995, p. 62.

94. KRÖGER, J.: *Nishapur Glass of the Early Islamic World*, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1995, p. 9.

95. HONIGMANN, E. A. J., BOSWORTH, C. E.: «Nishapur (Nishāpur)», in *Historic Cities of the Islamic World*, C. Edmund Bosworth (Ed.), Brill, Leiden, Boston, 2007, pp. 421-423. Some scholars mentioned that it was first built by Tahamurs, and destroyed by Alexander then rebuilt by Shāpūr about 260 AD. LEGGETT, E.: *Notes on the Mint Towns and Coins of the Muhammadas from the earliest period to the present time*, London, 1885, p. 71.

96. MARKWART, J.: *Ērānshahr nach der Geographie des Ps. Moses Xorenac'i*, Abh. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, N.S. 3/2, Berlin, 1901, p. 74; LE STRANGE, G.: *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 2nd ed., Cambridge, 1930, pp. 382-83; MARKWART, J.: *A Catalogue of the Provincial Capitals of Ērānshahr (Pahlavi Text, Version and Commentary)*, ed. G. Messina, *Annalecta Orientalia* 3, Rome, 1931, p. 52; BARTHOLD, V. V.: *An Historical Geography of Iran*, Princeton, 1984, pp. 95-96.

built. The Arab geographers of the Middle Ages explained that the meaning of the word Abrashahr/Abarshahr, as cloud city, means «the country of the Aparak», one of the three Dahae tribes who founded the Parthian empire.⁹⁷



MAP.1: CITY OF NISHAPUR, JENS KRÖGER, NISHAPUR GLASS OF THE EARLY ISLAMIC WORLD, 1995, P.11

The Arab raiders reached Nishapur in 30-31/650-652 when the governor of Başra, 'Abd-Allāh b. 'Āmir b. Korayz, led an army via the Kerman road. The town eventually capitulated after a siege of some months and Qays b. al-Haytham al-Sulamī was appointed governor.⁹⁸ However, in the troubled times of 'Ali's caliphate, there was a general revolution in Khurāsān and Tukhāristān against the Arabs. The people of Nishapur renounced their allegiance and Khulayd b. Qurrah al-Yarbū'i, 'Ali's governor of Khurāsān, was sent to reassert Arab control in 37-38/657-658. During this period when the Arabs had been ejected, the son of the last Sasanid emperor, Firūz III b. Yazdagird, is said to have returned to Nishapur.⁹⁹

With the arrival of the Tāhirid governors in Khurāsān in the early 8th century, Nishapur rises to prominence as the political and cultural centre of the East, after moving their capital from Marv. Under the patronage of a governor like 'Abd-Allāh b. Tāhir (213-230/828-845), the city became a lively intellectual and literary centre for Arabic scholarship, with *literature* and poetry especially prominent.¹⁰⁰ It also became a centre of economic activity, above all for its famed textiles, including

97. GAUBE, H.: «Abarsahr», in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, I/1, p. 67, available online at <<http://www.iranicaonline.org/>> articles/abarsahr (accessed on 10 January 2014).

98. EL-BALĀDHORI, A. A. Y. J.: *Kitāb futūh al-Buldān*, DE GOEDE, M. J. (Ed.), 2nd ed., Leiden, 1968, p. 404; SH'ABAN, M. A.: *The Abbasid Revolution*, Cambridge, 1970, pp. 19-20.

99. AL-DINWRI, A.: *Al-Akhbār al-tewāl*, 'ĀMER, A. and SHAYYĀL, J. (Ed.), Cairo, 1960, pp. 153-154.

100. BOSWORTH, C. E.: «The Tāhirids and Arabic Culture», in *JSS*, vol. 14, 1969, pp. 58-67.

luxury clothes, as well for its only industry mentioned of forging ironware.¹⁰¹ Ya'qūb b. Layth conquered Nishapur in 259/863 and established the Saffārid dynasty, which was succeeded by the Sāmānids.¹⁰² There were approximately two centuries and half of successive Sāmānid, Ghaznavid and Great Seljuq rule in Khurāsān.¹⁰³

The Arabic geographers described the topography and buildings of Nishapur. It stood on a fertile plain, on which irrigated agriculture flourished. Al-İşṭakhri described it as being a parasang (فَرْسَخ), in length and width, divided into forty-two regions. It had the usual foundation of eastern Islamic cities, with a citadel having two gates. The city has four gates, and an extensive suburb with some fifty gates. The main congregational mosque in the suburb was an enlargement by the Saffārid 'Amr b. Layth of a structure originally built by Abū Muslim; 'Amr had built the administrative centre or *Dār al-Imāra*. The city's water supply came from a local stream, the Wādi Sagāvar which ran from the nearby small town of Bushtaqān or Bushtankār, and turned seventy mills; additionally, numerous canals were running down from springs in the Benālud Kuh range and gardens below the city were also watered in this way.¹⁰⁴

Nishapur and Khurāsān, in general, had suffered many vicissitudes. A great famine broke out there in 401/1011. The city was occupied by the Seljuq leader, Tughril Beg, who made it his capital before moving westwards to al-Rayy and Isfahan. The general level of prosperity for Nishapur continued under the Seljuqs and it remained a vibrant centre for Sunni Muslim scholarship and literary activity.¹⁰⁵ In addition to the wars and revolutions, the city suffered from repeated earthquakes (540/1145-1146, 605/1208-1209, 679/1280-1281, 1145/1732-1733, 1208/1793-1794, and 1280/1863-1864). Yāqūt, who visited it in 613/1216, could still see the damage done by the first earthquake and by the Oghuz.¹⁰⁶ The vast fields of ruins of the earlier Islamic city have been investigated by archaeological expeditions financed by the Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York).¹⁰⁷

The Mongols sacked the city under Čengiz Khan's hordes in 618/1221. It was destroyed and rebuilt at another site.¹⁰⁸ It was this new city, under the rule of a governor of Khurāsān for the Ilkhānid ruler Abū Sa'īd, which Ibn Baṭūṭa visited in 731/1332, and described the city as one of the four metropolises of Khurāsān. He gave it the title of «little Damascus», which had four flourishing *madrasas* thronged with students of the Qur'ān and religious law.¹⁰⁹ Around this same time, Ḥamd Allāh

101. KRÖGER, J.: *Op. Cit.*, p. 10.

102. BOSWORTH, C. E.: «Rulers of Makrān and Qusdār ...», pp. 108-121, 193-202, 228-230.

103. BOSWORTH, C. E.: *The Ghaznavids, Their Empire in Afghanistan*, pp. 165-166, 195-198.

104. LE STRANGE, G.: *Op. Cit.*, pp. 382-385; AUBIN, J.: «Éléments pour l'étude des agglomérations urbaines dans l'Iran médiéval», in HOURANI, A. H., STERN, S. M.: *The Islamic City. A Colloquium*, Oxford, 1970, pp. 72-73; BULLIET, R. W.: «Medieval Nishapur: A Topographical and Demographic Reconstruction», *Studia Iranica*, 5, 1976, pp. 67-89.

105. HONIGMANN, E. A. J., BOSWORTH, C. E.: «Nishapur (Nishāpur)», in *Historic Cities of the Islamic World*, p. 421.

106. AL-HEMAWY, S. A. Y.: *Mu'āgam al-Buldān*, vol. V, Beirut, p. 332.

107. MELVILLE, C.: «Earthquakes», in *the History of Nishapur*, 18, Iran, 1980, pp. 104-109.

108. JOVAYNI, A. A. M.: *Tārīk-e jahāngōshāy*, Boyle, J. A. (Tr.), as *The History of the World-Conqueror*, vol. I, Manchester, 1958, pp. 169-178.

109. IBN BAṬŪṬA, A. M.: *Tuhfat al-nuzzār fī Gharā'eb al-āmṣār wa 'ajā'eb al-āṣfār*, H. A. R. Gibb and Beckingham

Mustawfī was especially impressed by the city's copious water supplies, which drove no fewer than forty mills.¹¹⁰

Towards the end of the 729/1330 Nishapur passed under the control of the Ilkhānid successors in western Khurāsān, the Sarbadārids, and then in 780/1381 came within Tīmūr's Empire. In the reign of Tīmūrids, Nishapur continued with a modest degree of economic and commercial prosperity.¹¹¹ However, earthquakes continued to plague the region, and that of 804/1405 destroyed the city. It was rebuilt again, on what is the current site of the town today, some 5 km/ 3 miles to the northwest of the vast ruin fields of earlier sites.¹¹² The city suffered from attacks by the Uzbeks in the earlier part of Shāh 'Abbās I's reign.¹¹³

V. CONCLUSION

This study shows through publishing of a new numismatic compilation of Sultan Maḥmūd the specific characteristics of his dinars with a special reference to his unique one which bears a date two years later to his death. Moreover, the comparison between the dinars and dirhams of the same Sultan in question concluded that all dinars minted in Nishapur bear only the year, while the dirhams from other mint cities cite the Arabic Hijri month along with the year. Also, these dinars were recorded only in Arabic in Kufic script, but the dirhams were bilingual inscribed with both Arabic and Sanskrit in different scripts. While golden dinars were struck only in five mint cities: Nishapur, Ghazna, Herat, al-Rayy, Qumm, and Isfahan, the other coins (dirhams, multiplied dirhams, fulus) were struck at nineteen mint cities. These many mint cities reflect the power of the Ghaznavid State under Maḥmūd, which covered the region of Afghānistān and stretch the boundary in Khurāsān and Iran in addition to the eastern boundary of the empire. The paper shows to what extent how the titles cited on the numismatics of Sultan Maḥmūd reflect the different stages of his rule and the various levels of its legitimacy as well.

(Tr.) as *Travels of Ibn Batūta, 1325-54 AD*, 4 vols., Cambridge, 1958-94, pp. 80-82, 583-585.

110. QAZWĪNĪ, H. M.: *Nuzhat al-qulub*, LE STRANGE, G. (Ed. & Tr.), GMS, 2 vols, Leiden and London, 1915-19, pp. 147-148.

111. ROSS, E. D., POWER, E.: *Clavijo Embassy to Tamerlane*, LE STRANGE, G., RUTLEDGE, G. & Sons (Tr.), LTD, London, 1928, pp. 181-183.

112. MATHESON, S. A.: *Persia: an Archaeological Guide*, 2nd ed., London, 1976, pp. 199-200; MELVILLE, C.: «Earthquakes», pp. 113-114 and Pls. I-II; WILKINSON, C.: *Nishapur. Some Early Islamic Buildings and their Decoration*, New York, 1987, pp. 37-46; MELVILLE, C.: *Nishapur: Pottery of the Early Islamic World*, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1897, pp. XXV-XXIX.

113. CURZON, G. N.: *Persia and the Persian Question*, vol. I, London, 1892, pp. 261-267; YATE, Ch. E.: *Khurāsān and Sistān*, Edinburgh and London, 1900, pp. 399-414.

REFERENCES

«AMĪR AL-MU'MINĪ», in *The Oxford Dictionary of Islam.*, edited by John L. Esposito. *Oxford Islamic Studies Online*, <<http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com/article/opr/t125/e152>> (accessed 05-Nov-2017).

ABAZA, A. I. M.: *The Coins of Herat since the Islamic Conquest until the Rule of Qarts: An Artistic and Archaeology Study*, PhD. Thesis, Faculty of Archaeology-Cairo University, 2008.

AHMED, A.: *Al-Qāmūs al-Islāmī (The Islamic Dictionary)*, vol. III, Maktabat al-Nahḍa al-Maṣriyya, Cairo, 1963.

AL-BASHA, H.: *Al-Alqāb al-Islāmīa fī al-Tārīkh wa al-Watha'iq wa al-Athār* (The Islamic Titles in the History, Documents and Monuments), al-Dār al-Fanīa, Cairo, 1989.

AL-BASHA, H.: *Al-Funūn al-Islāmīa wa al-Waṣā'iṭ 'ala al-Athār al-'Arabiya* (The Islamic Arts and Functions on the Arab Monuments), vol. I, Dār al-Nahḍa al-'Arabiya, Cairo, 1966.

ALBUM, S.: *A Checklist of Islamic Coins*, Santa Rosa, California, 1993 (3rd ed., 2011).

AL-DINWRI, A.: *Al-Akhbār al-ṭewāl*, 'ĀMER, A. and SHAYYĀL, J. (Ed.), Cairo, 1960.

AL-HEMAWY, S. A. A. Y.: *Mu 'agam al-Buldān (Countries Dictionary)*, vol. IV, Dār Ṣādir, Beirut, 1977.

AL-KHATIB, M. A.: *Mu 'agam al-Muṣṭalaḥāt wa al-Alqāb al-Tārīkhīa* (Glossary of historical terms and titles), 1st ed., Muassasat al-Rissāla, Beirut, 1966.

AL-NAQSHABANDY, N.: *Al-Dīnār al-Islāmī fī al-Maṭḥaf al-Iraqī*, (the Islamic Dinar in the Iraq Museum), Baghdad, 1953.

AL-TRAWNA, K. F.: *Al-Maskūkāt al-Islāmīa al-'Abbāsīa fī Maṭḥaf al-Athār al-Urdunī*, Annals of the Department of Antiquities and General Knowledge, Oman, vol. XVIII, 1985

AL-'UTBĪ: *Tārīkh al-Yamīnī, Sharḥ al-Yamīnī al-musamma bi al-Faṭḥ al-Wahābī 'ala Tārīkh Abī Nāṣir al-'Utbī*, 2vols., Cairo, 1286 AH/ 1869 AD.

AL-'UTBĪ: *Tārīkh al-Yamīnī, Al-Yamīnī fī Sharḥ Akhbār al-Sultān Yamin al-Dawla wa-Amīn al-Milla Maḥmūd al-Ghaznawī*, AL-THAMERI, E. Z. (Ed.), 1st ed., Beirut, 2004.

ARIZA ARMADA, A.: *De Barcelona a Orán. Las emisiones monetales a nombre de los califas hammūdías de al-Andalus*, Ed. OMNI, Grenoble, 2015.

ATTALLA, S. A. A.: *Nuqūd Nīshāpūr Mundh al-Faṭḥ al-Islāmī Hata Suqūt al-Dawla al-Khwārizmīa* (Artistic and Archaeological study), (unpublished doctoral thesis), Faculty of Archaeology, Cairo University, 2003.

AUBIN, J.: «Eléments pour l'étude des agglomérations urbaines dans l'Iran médiéval»,

HOURANI, A. H. and STERN, S. M.: in *The Islamic City. A Colloquium*, Oxford, 1970.

BABINGER F: «Turan», in *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., vol. X, E. J. BRILL, Leiden, 1986.

BARTHOLD, W.: *Turkestan Down to the Mongol Invasion*, 2, Gibb Memorial Series, N.S. V, London, 1928.

BARTHOLD, V. V.: *An Historical Geography of Iran*, Princeton, 1984.

BOSWORTH, C. E.: *The Ghaznavids, Their Empire in Afghanistan and Eastern Iran 994-1040*, Edinburgh University Press, 1963.

BOSWORTH, C. E.: «The Titulature of the Early Ghaznavids», in *Oriens* XV, 1963.

BOSWORTH, C. E.: «Rulers of Makrān and Qusdār in the early Islamic period», in *Studia Iranica*, vol. 23, 1964.

BOSWORTH, C. E.: «Notes on the Pre-Ghaznavid History of Eastern Afghanistan», in *the Islamic Quarterly*, London IX, 1965.

BOSWORTH, C. E.: «Mahmud of Ghazna in Contemporary Eyes and in Later Persian Literature», in *Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies*, Iran IV, 1966.

BOSWORTH, C. E.: «The development of Persian Culture under the Early Ghaznavids», in *Iran, Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies*, London, vol. VI, 1968.

BOSWORTH, C. E.: «The Tāhirids and Arabic Culture», in *JSS*, vol. 14, 1969.

BOSWORTH, C. E.: *The Later Ghaznavids: Splendor and Decay, the Dynasty in Afghanistan and Northern India 1040-1186*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1977.

BULLIET, R. W.: «Medieval Nishapur: A Topographical and Demographic Reconstruction», in *Studia Iranica*, 5, 1976.

CURZON, G. N.: *Persia and the Persian Question*, vol. I, London, 1892.

DELGADO Y HERNÁNDEZ, A.: *Estudios de Numismática Arábigo – Hispana considerada como comprobante de la dominación islámica en la península*, A. Canto García y Ibrāhīm T. (Ed.), Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid, 2001.

EL-BALĀDHORI, A. A. Y. J.: *Kitāb futūh al-Buldān*, DE GOEJE, M. J. (Ed.), 2nd ed., Leiden, 1968.

ETHEREDGE, S. L.: *The Islamic World, Islamic history, Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc.*, Britannica Educational Publishing, 2010.

ETHEREDGE, S. L. (Ed.): *Islamic World*, Rosen Digital, New York, 1st ed., 2010.

EUSTACHE, D., *Corpus des Dirhams Idrīsites et Contemporains. Collection de la Banque du Maroc et autres collections mondiales, publiques et privées*, Banque du Maroc, Rabat, 1970-1971.

FRÉHN, Ch. M.: *Recensio Numorum Muhammedanorum*, Academiae Imp. Scient. Petropolitanae, St. Petersburg, Russia, 1826.

FRYE, R. N.: «The Samanids», in *Cambridge History Iran, The Period from The Arab Invasion to The Seljuqs*, vol. 4, Cambridge University Press, New York, 1975.

GAUBE, H.: «Abarsahr», in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, I/I, available online at <<http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/abarsahr>> (accessed on 10 January 2014).

HABIB, M.: *Sultan Mahmud of Ghaznin*, Aligarh, 1927.

HONIGMANN, E. A. J., BOSWORTH, C. E.: «Nishapur (Nishāpur)», in *Historic Cities of the Islamic World*, BOSWORTH, C. E. (ED): Brill, Leiden, Boston, 2007.

HONIGMANN, E. A. J., BOSWORTH, C. E.: «Nishapur», in *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd ed, vol. VIII, BEARMAN, P. J., BOSWORTH, C. E., DONZEL E. V., HEINRICHS, W. P. and LECOMTE, D. G. (ed.), E. J. Brill, Leiden, Netherlands, 1995.

IBN AL-ATHĪR, A. A. I.: *Al-Kāmil fī al-Tārikh* (Complete history), VIII, ND.

IBN BAṬŪṭA, A. M.: *Tuhfat al-nuzzār fī Ghara'eb al-amṣār wa 'ajā'eb al-asfār*, H. A. R. Gibb and Beckingham (Tr.) as *Travels of b. Baṭūṭa, 1325-54 A.D.*, 4 vols., Cambridge, 1958-94.

IBN MANZŪR, M. M.: *Lissān al-‘Arab*, Dār al-Mārif, Cairo, ND.

IQBAL, A.: *Tārikh Iran Ba‘d al-Islām mn Bdāyat al-Dawla al-Tāhirīa ḥata Niḥāyat al-Dawla al-Qājārīa* (The History of Iran after Islam from the beginning of Tahirid State until the end of Qajar State) 205-1343 A.H/820-1925 A.D., MANSOUR, M. A. (Tr.), AL-SIBBĀ'Y, M. A. (Re.), Dār al-Thaqāfa, Cairo, 1989.

JOVAYNI, A. A. M.: *Tārikh-e jahāṅgośay*, BOYLE, J. A. (Tr.), as *The History of the World-Conqueror*, vol. I, Manchester, 1958.

KAZAN, W.: *The Coinage of Islam*, Beirut- Lebanon, 1983.

KRÖGER, J.: *Nishapur Glass of the Early Islamic World*, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1995.

LANE POOLE, S. E.: *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum*, II, London, 1876.

LEES, W. N., HOSAIN, K., and ABD AL-HAI (Tr.): *The Ṭabaqāt al-Nāṣirī of Abū ‘Omar Minhāj al-Dīn ‘Othmān b. Sirāj al-Dīn al-Jawzī*. Calcutta: College Press, vol. I, 1864.

LEGGETT, E.: *Notes on the Mint Towns and Coins of the Muhammadans from the earliest period to the present time*, London, 1885.

LE STRANGE, G.: *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 2nd ed., Cambridge, 1930.

MAGMA 'AL-LUGHĀT AL-'ARABĪA: *Al-Mu'agam al-Wagīz*, Dār al-Taḥrīr, Cairo, 1989.

MARKWART, J.: *A Catalogue of the Provincial Capitals of Īrānšahr (Pahlavi Text, Version and Commentary)*, ed. G. Messina, *Analecta Orientalia* 3, Rome, 1931.

MARKWART, J.: *Īrānšahr nach der Geographie des Ps. Moses Xorenac'i*, Abh. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Gottingen, N.S. 3/2, Berlin, 1901.

MATHESON, S. A.: *Persia: an Archaeological Guide*, 2nd ed., London, 1976.

MELVILLE, C.: «Earthquakes», in *the History of Nishapur*, vol. 18, *Iran*, 1980.

MELVILLE, C.: *Nishapur: Pottery of the Early Islamic World*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1897.

MILES, G. C.: *The Coinage of the Umayyads of Spain*, 2 vols, The American Numismatic Society, New York, 1950.

MIRKHOND, M. K. C.: *Histoire des Samanides*, texte Persan, Paris, 1845.

MITCHINER, M.: *Oriental Coins and their Values: The World of Islam*, vol. 1, Hawkins, London, 1977.

NAZIM, M.: *The Life and Times of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna*, Cambridge, 1931.

NICOL, N. D.: *A Corpus of Fatimid Coins*, Giulio Bernardi, Trieste, 2006.

PRIETO Y VIVES, A.: *Los Reyes de Taifas. Estudio histórico – numismático de los musulmanes españoles en el siglo V de la Hégira (XI de J.C.)*, Centro de Estudios Históricos, Madrid, 1926.

QALAQSHANDY, A. A.: *Subḥ al-A'shā*, Dār al-Kuttab al-Khedīwīa, vol. VI, Cairo, 1909.

QAZWĪNĪ, H. M.: *Nuzhat al-qulub*, LE STRANGE, G. (Ed. & Tr.), GMS, 2 vols, Leiden and London, 1915-19.

RAMADAN, A. M. M.: *Al-Kitābāt Ghīr al-Qurānīa 'ala al-Sīka fī Sharq al-'Ālam al-Islāmī*, (unpublished doctoral thesis), Faculty of Archaeology, Cairo University, 1998.

RAMADAN, A. M. M.: *Al-Nuqūd al-Islāmīa wa Ahmiyatha fī Drāsat al-Tārikh wa al-Athār wa al-Ḥadāra*, 1st ed, Zahrā' al-Shaq, Cairo, 2008.

ROSS, E. D. and POWER, E.: *Clavijo Embassy to Tamerlane*, LE STRANGE, G., RUTLEDGE, G. & Sons (Tr.), LTD, London, 1928.

RYPKA, J. and JAHN, K.: *History of Iranian literature*, D. Reidel, Dordrecht, Holland, 1968.

SAYYID, A. F.: «Samanids», in *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., vol. 8, E. J. BRILL, Leiden, 1995.

SH'ABAN, M. A.: *The Abbasid Revolution*, Cambridge, 1970.

SHAKER, M.: *Mawsu'at al-Tārikh al-Islāmī (Encyclopedia of Islamic History)*, 'Abbāsid Dynasty, vol. 6-2, 6th ed., al-Maktab al-Islāmī, Beirut, 2000.

SOLIMAN, A. A.: *Tārikh al-Dūal al-Islāmīa wa Mu'agam al-Ussar al-Hākimma*, (The history of Islamic States and dictionary of the ruling dynasties), vol. 2, Cairo, 1970.

STOREY, C. A.: *Persian Literature, a bio-Bibliographical survey*, vol. 1, part 2, London, 1953.

TAWHID, A.: *Mūzza Ḥimāiūn Maskūkāt Qadīma Islāmīa Qatālughī*, section 4, Constantinople, 1903.

THOMAS, E.: «On the Coins of the Kings of Ghazni», in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, Cambridge, vol. 9, 1847.

THOMAS, E.: «Supplementary Contributions to the Series of the Coins of the Kings of Ghazni», in *Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 17, 1860.

THOMINE, J. S.: «Ghaznavids: Art and Monuments», in *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., vol. II, E. J. BRILL, Leiden, 1991.

TREADWELL, W. L.: *Buyid Coinage. A die corpus (322 – 445 A. H.)*, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, 2001.

TREADWELL, W. L.: *The Political History of the Sāmānid State*, (unpublished doctoral thesis), Oxford University, 1991.

VIVES Y ESCUDERO, A.: *Monedas de las dinastías arábigo-españolas*, Est. Tipográf. Fortanet, Madrid, 1893.

WILKINSON, C.: *Nishapur. Some Early Islamic Buildings and their Decoration*, New York, 1987.

YATE, Ch. E.: *Khurásān and Sistān*, Edinburgh and London, 1900.

ZIDAN, A. A. (Tr.): *Tabaqāt al-Nāṣirī of Abū ‘Omar Minhāj al-Dīn ‘Othmān b. Sirāj al-Dīn al-Jawzjānī*, 1st ed., National Center of Translation, Cairo, 2013.

Internet websites

Encyclopedia Britannica (online), <<https://www.britannica.com/topic/emir>>
<<http://db.stevealbum.com>>
<<http://numismatics.org/collection/1922.211.62?lang=en>>
<<https://www.cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=338243>>
<<https://www.coinarchives.com>>
<<https://www.zeno.ru>>
Classical Numismatic Group > Electronic Auction 220
<<https://coins.ha.com>>
Morton & Eden > Auction 76, Auction date: 14 December 2015
<<https://www.cngcoins.com>>

Artículos · Articles

17 FREDERIC APARISI ROMERO
El cultivo y procesado del lino en el Reino de Valencia (ss. XIII-XVII)

43 ADRIÁN CALONGE MIRANDA
El mantenimiento del entramado viario romano en época medieval en La Rioja. Algunos casos de estudio

69 MIGUEL CALLEJA PUERTA
Notarios públicos entre dos reinos. Apuntes diplomáticos sobre documentos notariales castellanos en el Archivo Distrital de Braga

97 XAVIER CASASSAS CANALS
Las 'aqīda-s entre los musulmanes castellanos y aragoneses de época mudéjar y morisca: Las 'aqīda-s de Ibn Abī Zayd Al-Qayrāwānī (s. X), Ibn Tūmart (s. XII) e Isa de Jebir (s. XV)

117 ARCADIO DEL CASTILLO
Sobre el *Códice Alcobacense de Vaseo* y los *Annales Portugalenses Veteres*: Continuidad del reino visigodo de Toledo

135 PAULA CASTILLO
Las formas de la violencia entre frailes. El testimonio de Fray Ubertino de Casale

157 MARÍA EUGENIA CONTRERAS JIMÉNEZ
La memoria del linaje Arias Dávila en la cofradía y hospital de San Cosme y San Damián de Valladolid (siglos XV a XVII)

193 MARÍA FRANCISCA GARCÍA ALCÁZAR y MARÍA ÁNGELES MARTÍN ROMERA
Entre servicio regio y estrategia personal: Los Continos de Valladolid (1480-1525)

223 CÉSAR GARCÍA DE CASTRO VALDÉS y JOSÉ ANTONIO VALDÉS GALLEGO
Las inscripciones perdidas de la basílica altomedieval de San Salvador de Oviedo

271 MARÍA JOSÉ LOP OTÍN
Hay tal número de clérigos que causa asombro. La clerecía de Toledo a fines de la Edad Media

303 CORINA LUCHÍA
Por que los montes de esta villa se conserben, e no se disipen como al presente estan: La regulación de los recursos forestales en la Corona de Castilla (siglos XIV-XVI)

333 MARÍA ENCARNACIÓN MARTÍN LÓPEZ
Las inscripciones medievales del claustro de la catedral de Roda de Isábena (Huesca). Aproximación a su taller lapidario

365 ISABEL MONTES ROMERO-CAMACHO
Los archivos catedralicios y su importancia para los estudios prosopográficos. El deán Don Aparicio Sánchez, en el Archivo de la Catedral de Sevilla

435 GONZALO OLIVA MANSO
La moneda en Castilla y León (1265-1284). Alfonso X, un adelantado a su tiempo.

473 MARIANA VALERIA PARMA
Entre los signos del cielo y las voces de los hombres: La visión medieval del cielo y su representación apocalíptica

499 MILAGROS PLAZA PEDROCHE
Los maestres santiaguistas y su designación regia durante el reinado de Juan I de Trastámara (1379-1390): La legitimación del proceso

521 JUAN A. PRIETO SAYAGÜES
La profesión de las élites castellanas en los monasterios y conventos durante la Baja Edad Media

557 ENRIQUE JOSÉ RUIZ PILARES
La funcionalidad social de los inmuebles urbanos de las élites dirigentes bajomedievales: Reflexiones a partir de un caso de estudio (Jerez de la Frontera, España)

579 GILBERTO SORIANO CALVO
Influencia de las redes nobiliarias en la expansión cristiana del siglo XII. El caso de Soria

613 MOHAMMED S. TAWFIQ, ALMUDENA ARIZA ARMADA, ATEF MANSOUR MOHAMMAD, AHMED AMEEN Y MERVAT ABD EL-HADY ABD EL-LATIF
A Historical and Numismatic Study of the Dinars of the Ghaznavid Sultan Mahmud B. Sabuktakin at Nishapur

653 JOSÉ LUIS DE VILLAR IGLESIAS
Los aspectos económicos en la *Batalla por el Magreb* entre omeyas y fátimies: El control del acceso al oro del Sudán Occidental

33



ESPACIO, TIEMPO Y FORMA



SERIE III HISTORIA MEDIEVAL

REVISTA DE LA FACULTAD DE GEOGRAFÍA E HISTORIA

Libros · Books

679 BELLO LEÓN, Juan Manuel y ORTEGO RICO, Pablo, *Los agentes fiscales en la Andalucía Atlántica a finales de la Edad Media: Materiales de trabajo y propuesta de estudio* (ANA MARÍA RIVERA MEDINA)

683 CALLEJA PUERTA, Miguel y DOMÍNGUEZ GUERRERO, María Luisa (eds.), *Escritura, notariado y espacio urbano en la Corona de Castilla y Portugal (siglos XII-XVII)* (PALOMA CUENCA MUÑOZ)

687 CASADO ALONSO, Hilario (coord.), *Comercio, finanzas y fiscalidad en Castilla (siglos XV-XVI)* (ANA MARÍA RIVERA MEDINA)

691 CASTRO CORREA, Ainoa y RODRÍGUEZ SÁNCHEZ, Manuel, *Colección diplomática altomedieval de Galicia II. Documentación en escritura visigótica de la sede lucense* (PALOMA CUENCA MUÑOZ)

695 GARCÍA FERNÁNDEZ, Ernesto, GARCÍA-GÓMEZ, Ismael, RODRÍGUEZ FERNÁNDEZ, José, *Urbanismo, patrimonio, riqueza y poder en Vitoria-Gasteiz a fines de la Edad Media e inicios de la Edad Moderna* (ENRIQUE CANTERA MONTENEGRO)

699 LADERO QUESADA, Miguel Ángel, *Ciudades de la España medieval. Introducción a su estudio* (GISELA CORONADO SCHWINDT)

705 LADERO QUESADA, Miguel Ángel, *Los últimos años de Fernando el Católico 1505-1517* (CARLOS BARQUERO GOÑI)

707 MARTÍN GUTIÉRREZ, Emilio y RUIZ PILARES, Enrique José, *El viñedo en Jerez durante el siglo XV. Un mercado de trabajo en torno al vino* (ANA MARÍA RIVERA MEDINA)

711 MONSALVO ANTÓN, José María, *La construcción del poder real en la monarquía castellana (siglos XI-XV)* (MARÍA JESÚS FUENTE)

715 PÉREZ RODRÍGUEZ, Francisco Javier, *Los monasterios del Reino de Galicia entre 1075 y 1540: De la reforma gregoriana a la observante* (ENRIQUE CANTERA MONTENEGRO)

717 REIXACH SALA, Albert, *Finances públiques i mobilitat social a la Catalunya de la Baixa Edat Mitjana. Girona, 1340-1440* (JULIÁN DONADO VARA)

721 SÁNCHEZ SÁNCHEZ, Xosé M., *Iglesia, mentalidad y vida cotidiana en la Compostela medieval* (ENRIQUE CANTERA MONTENEGRO)

725 VAL VALDIVIESO, M.ª Isabel del, MARTÍN CEA y Juan Carlos, CARVAJAL DE LA VEGA, David (coords.), *Expresiones del poder en la Edad Media. Homenaje al profesor Juan Antonio Bonachía Hernando* (JOSÉ RAMÓN DÍAZ DE DURANA ORTIZ DE URBINA)