

The Bow and Arrow on Saljūqid Coins

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Preamble

In the study of the history of the early Saljūqs, it has been difficult to gain an integrated understanding of their rule because of progressive changes in the areas under their effective control and in their modes of rule.

For example, after the battle of Dandānqān in 431/1040 Ṭughril Bek, Chaghri Bek and their uncle Mūsā Yabghu are said to have reached an agreement to divide their conquests amongst themselves, with Ṭughril Bek advancing as far westwards as possible, Chaghri Bek taking responsibility for the northeastern regions centred on Marw, and Mūsā Yabghu taking over Sīstān. But in order to control vast areas with only small forces, coexistence with local established polities was indispensable. Towards this end, Ṭughril Bek adopted the policy of recognizing the continued existence of local dynasties in exchange for tribute or an expression of submission, and it was in this regard that the inclusion of the ruler's name in the *khutba* and the minting of coins bearing his name assumed an important meaning. For instance, in 434/1043 the Kākwayhid ruler Farāmūr was allowed to submit on the condition that he issue coins engraved with Ṭughril Bek's name and pay tribute, while in 451/1060 Mukhallis, ruler of Raḥba, submitted to Ṭughril Bek and placed his name in the *khutba*.¹⁾ By tracing changes in the rulers' names appearing in the *khutba* and coinage of different regions, it should be possible to clarify in diachronical terms these rulers' relations with local rulers. However, the data provided by the *khutba* recorded in written historical sources and by the legends on coins do not necessarily coincide, nor has adequate research been conducted on the coinage of local dynasties.

Meanwhile, with regard to the internal power structure of the Saljūqs, there is a strong possibility that coinage will again serve as a valuable source of information on relations between the sultans on the one hand and other members of the royal family, Saljūqid provincial administrations, and atabegs on the other.

Up until recently there had been virtually no historical research making use of numismatic material. But in 1976 R.W. Bulliet published an article entitled "Numismatic Evidence for the Relationship between Ṭughril Beg and Chaghri Beg."²⁾ This was a pioneering study, but at the same time there would also seem to be many problems attendant on Bulliet's thesis. In the following, therefore, after

having first presented Bulliet's views, I shall offer some ideas of my own and consider the role of numismatic material.

1. Bulliet's Views

Among the coins engraved with Ṭughril Bek's name, there are some bearing devices of the form marked Type I in Fig. 1. Lane Pool does not treat these as being

Fig. 1

| Type I | Type II | Type III | Type IV |
|--------|---------|----------|---------|
| ∧ | ∧ | ∧ | ∧ |
| ∧ | ∧ | | ∧ |
| ∧ | | | ∧ |
| ∧ | | | ∧ |

of any special significance,³⁾ but Claude Cahen and Osman Turan both regard them as representations of a bow and arrow, which were symbols of sovereignty among the Turks.⁴⁾ Bulliet too mentions this interpretation, but what attracted his attention was the fact that this device never appears on coins minted at Nishāpūr, and in view of the fact that Chaghri Bek's name appears on coins together with that of his son Alp Arslān and his cousin Qāwurt Bek but never alone or together with that of Ṭughril Bek, he reasons as follows:

1. Chaghri Bek ruled Khurāsān and Transoxania, but with one exception none of the coins minted in these regions during Ṭughril Bek's lifetime bears the bow and arrow device. In other words, this device appears only on coins minted within Ṭughril Bek's territory.
2. The bow and arrow device does not appear on three of Ṭughril Bek's coins, namely, a coin from Marw al-Rūd dated A.H. 430, an issue of the Iṣfahān mint dated 434, and a coin dated 442 and bearing only Ṭughril Bek's name. However, Marw al-Rūd was under Chaghri Bek's control, while the coin from Iṣfahān bears the name of the local ruler Farāmuz as well as that of Ṭughril Bek. This would suggest that the bow and arrow device was not used in those areas where a local ruler with real power existed.
3. The reason that this device does not appear on coins minted at Nishāpūr is that it lay within Chaghri Bek's territory.
4. Under the Kirmān Saljūqs, the names of both Qāwurt Bek and Chaghri Bek appear with the bow and arrow device on a coin minted at Bardashīr in 451 and on a coin from Bamm minted in 450. In addition, after Chaghri Bek's death a variant of Type I, i.e., Type II, was used on Kirmān Saljūqid coins.
5. A coin minted at Herāt in 450 and bearing the names of both Alp Arslān and

Chaghri Bek also has Type I of the bow and arrow device.

6. After Alp Arslān's succession to the sultanate, the bow and arrow device continued to be used, but his practice regarding its usage appears less clear-cut than Ṭughril Bek's, and the symbolic value of the bow and arrow seems to have been less strongly felt.

7. Under Malik Shāh the significance of the bow and arrow device on coins appears to have diminished yet further, and it became little more than a decoration.

8. To sum up, Ṭughril Bek used his name and the bow and arrow device on coins minted in his own territories, but in Chaghri Bek's territories he used only his own name, while on coins bearing the name of a subordinate ruler he used his own name together with that of the subordinate ruler but without the bow and arrow device.

9. There was a strong relationship between the bow and arrow device and sovereignty, and this device does not appear on coins minted in Chaghri Bek's territory because it lay outside the sphere of Ṭughril Bek's sovereignty.

10. It is to be surmised that there was an agreement between Ṭughril Bek and Chaghri Bek about this policy regarding coinage.

11. There was probably a further significance in the use of the bow and arrow device. That is to say, the man whose name alone appeared on coins was not sovereign in Turkish eyes, and although the Arabic words on the coins would have served to impress the ruler's name on the conquered sedentary population, the bow and arrow device rather than the ruler's Arabic names and titles would have been regarded by the Turks as an indication of sovereignty.

12. Chaghri Bek subsequently endeavoured to improve his position, and in 443 he introduced devices other than the bow and arrow on his coinage and tried to develop an alternative symbol of sovereignty that would put his coinage on a par with Ṭughril Bek's. The symbol he chose was one that had been used previously by the Ghaznavids.

13. Judging from the fact that this experiment was never tried at Nīshāpūr, it would appear to have been a failure.

14. On the basis of the above observations, the following conclusions can be drawn. It has already been inferred from literary sources that Ṭughril Bek and Chaghri Bek were equals, but an examination of their coinage suggests that their division of the Saljūqid empire was formally recognized by some sort of protocol which prevented Chaghri Bek from issuing coins with his own name in his own territory. At the same time, the sensibilities of the conquered Muslim population and the Turks are also reflected in the coinage, and the gradual disappearance of the bow and arrow device in later times testifies to a steady diminution of Turkish tribal sensibilities and their absorption into the Muslim tradition.

At the end of his article, Bulliet mentions in the form of an "Additional Note" that several coins subsequently brought to his attention by S. Album all bear the

name of Chaghri Bek and not that of Ṭughril Bek, while a *ḍinār* from Marw dated 445 shows the bow and arrow device, and he concludes that from 445 Chaghri Bek must have begun putting his own name on his coins along with the bow and arrow device.

In his conclusion, Bulliet explains the appearance of coins bearing Chaghri Bek's name as an indication of an elevation in his status. But the discovery of these coins means that one of his premises no longer has any basis. Nonetheless, there is much to be learnt from Bulliet's detection of the peculiarities of coins from Nīshāpūr and his technique of exploring intrafamilial relationships on the basis of coinage.

However, the actual examples of coins given by Bulliet in his article are not great in number, nor does he indicate their whereabouts or his sources. His study is not, therefore, a statistical examination of coins issued in different localities, and thus his views represent a hypothesis, as it were, the validity of which remains to be verified by others.

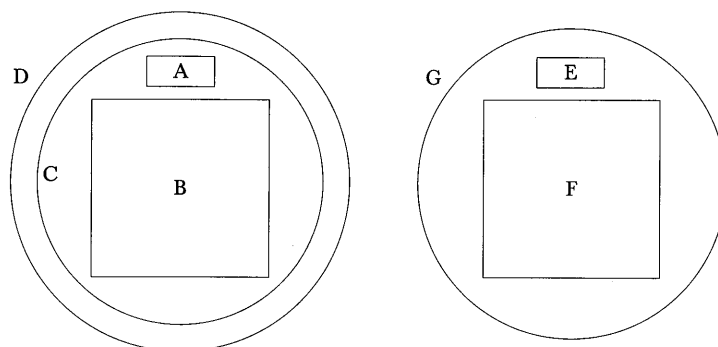
The reason that numismatics has failed to develop in Japan is of course that there are so few specimens of actual coinage available here, but at the same time the inadequacies of existing numismatic catalogues have also been an impediment to research utilizing numismatic material. However, in 1971 the Turkish scholar Coşkun Alptekin published "Saljūqid Coinage" in the *Saljūq Studies Journal*.⁵⁾ This is a comprehensive collection of numismatic material accompanied by photographs in which the rulers' Arabic names, their titles, mints, dates of mintage, and pictorial devices have been faithfully transcribed in an easy-to-read format. The coins dealt with cover those issued from the time of Ṭughril Bek to the reign of Ṭughril III (r. 548-555/1153-1160) and to the reign of Bahrām Shāh of the Kirmān Saljūqs (r. 565-570/1170-1175). In compiling this collection of material, Alptekin consulted many different catalogues, and because he also indicates the present location of his material, this is the best available resource for considering the question at hand. Using this as my source, I first wish to essay an examination of Bulliet's views.

2. Classification of the Numismatic Material

Alptekin gives a total of fifty examples of coinage dating from the time of Ṭughril Bek. The majority of these are *ḍinārs*, and they share a basic format, which is illustrated in Fig. 2. Around the outer edge of the obverse side (D) are inscribed two verses from the Qur'ān (30:3-4), while another verse (9:33) is inscribed around the outer edge of the reverse side (G). The area inside the outer edge of the obverse (C) gives the name of the mint and date of mintage. The central section of the obverse (B) bears a legend reading "There is no god except Allāh alone, there is no partner with him," and in some instances the name of the caliph al-Qā'im is written below this. Ṭughril Bek's name rarely appears on the obverse. The central section of the reverse (F) begins with the legend "Muḥammad is the messenger of Allāh,"

and Ṭuġhril Bek's name is written below this together with his title.⁶⁾ The above are all inscribed in Arabic. What I wish to consider here are parts (A) and (E), which are inscribed with either a symbolic device or a symbolic word in Arabic; these are listed in Table 1.

Fig. 2 Conventionalized parts of a coin



As can be ascertained from Table 1, the bow and arrow device, or variations thereof, is used with few exceptions in non-Nishāpūrī coins. It is worth noting, however, that our source gives no coins bearing Ṭuġhril Bek's name that originate from lands east of Nishāpūr. Bulliet's conclusion that Ṭuġhril Bek used the bow and arrow device in his own territories but used only his name in areas ruled by Chaghri Bek was based on his assumption that Ṭuġhril Bek's rule did not extend as far as Nishāpūr. There is no evidence that coins issued at places like Marw and Herāt at the centre of Chaghri Bek's territory were inscribed with Ṭuġhril Bek's name. It is thus risky to speculate on the situation throughout all of Chaghri Bek's territory merely on the basis of circumstances in Nishāpūr and to then assume that coins bearing Ṭuġhril Bek's name were issued there too. If one compares Table 1 with Table 2, dealing with the coins of Alp Arslān, it will be readily seen that the mints of Ṭuġhril Bek's extant coins are concentrated towards the west.

Alptekin gives thirty-two examples of Alp Arslān's coins, and Table 2 shows that the majority of coins bearing his name were struck at Herāt and Marw. It cannot, of course, be immediately assumed that the extant coins accurately reflect minting trends at the time, but it is nonetheless quite obvious that, when compared with Ṭuġhril Bek's coins, a greater proportion of Alp Arslān's coins were issued in eastern regions. Their style is the same as that of coins struck during the reign of Ṭuġhril Bek, and this can also be said of the coins of subsequent sultans. As regards the devices displayed in parts (A) and (E), the bow and arrow device appears on coins from Rayy, Kāshān, and Iṣfahān. A coin struck at Herāt in 450 and bearing the names of Alp Arslān and Chaghri Bek on the obverse and reverse sides respectively has a device of Type IV, symbolizing a bow. It should be noted that there is no such device on coins from Marw and elsewhere, including those from

Nishāpūr.

Table 3 classifies twenty-four coins from the reign of Malik Shāh, and it is evident that some coins from Nishāpūr bear the symbol of a bow or a device of Type I, representing a bow and arrow, although these are all *dirhams*. With ten exemplars, *dirhams* represent the single most numerous denomination, while the situation regarding *dinārs* is the same as in other periods. Coins struck at Rayy continue to carry the same device, and otherwise there seem to be no pronounced trends. The majority of these coins were minted at Nishāpūr and Rayy, but the mints were distributed over a wide area from east to west, including Marw and Sarakhs.

For convenience' sake, I have shown the distribution of mints for the coins of different Saljūqid rulers in Table 4. It will be seen that apart from the reign of Sanjar, when the political centre shifted eastwards, Nishāpūr held an important position.

Next, let us consider the coins bearing Chaghri Bek's name. The coin from Herāt dated 450 antedates Alp Arslān's succession to the sultanate and can probably be considered to indicate Chaghri Bek's ascendancy over him. There are similarly four coins of Qāwurt Bek of the Kirmān Saljūqs that bear Chaghri Bek's name on the reverse. A coin issued at Jiruft in 444, a *dinār* of unknown provenance issued in 446, a *dirham* issued at Jiruft in 44X, and a *dirham* of unknown provenance and unknown date are all inscribed with the legend "Malik al-Mulūk Chaghri Bek" (although part of the title has worn away on the coin of 44X). While Chaghri Bek was alive, Qāwurt Bek (given as Qarā Arslān Bek on his coins) generally omitted his own title from his coins, and in the single example that does bear his title (the last of the above-mentioned four coins) he adopts a more low-keyed *laqab* than Chaghri Bek (viz. "Malik al-'Adl"), thereby recognizing Chaghri Bek's suzerainty. As far as can be judged from these examples, it would have been hardly surprising if Chaghri Bek had issued coins in order to assert his own sovereignty within his own territory. Moreover, since there are no signs of Ṭughril Bek's coins having been minted in the east and since coins of Chaghri Bek have now been discovered, it is all the more likely that his coins were also issued prior to 445.

In passing, it is to be noted that the coins of the Kirmān Saljūqs often use the variation Type IV of the bow and arrow device illustrated in Fig. 1. A list of the symbolic devices found in parts (A) and (E) of the coins of the Kirmān Saljūqs is given in Table 5.

Among the coins issued by Alp Arslān, there is a *dirham* of unknown date and provenance bearing the name of Ṭughril Bek on the reverse (Table 2, No. 53). This was probably issued after Chaghri Bek's death (452/1060) and before Alp Arslān's succession to the sultanate (455/1063). The substitution of Ṭughril Bek's name for that of Chaghri Bek was presumably an indication of the fact that he had consolidated his position as sultan and become the most powerful figure among the Saljūqids.

3. The Meaning of the Bow and Arrow for the Saljūqs

Let us now return to the coins of Ṭughril Bek and consider the question of why they use the bow and arrow device. It has already been pointed out by others that among Turkic peoples the bow and arrow, particularly the arrow, had an important symbolic meaning.⁷⁾ It remains to be confirmed whether or not the same thing can be said about the Saljūqs.

According to the Syriac writer Bar Hebraeus, Duqāq (TŪKĀK), the progenitor of the Saljūq family, was known as TEMŪRYĀLIK (Demir-yalık), or "iron-bow," on account of his strength.⁸⁾

In 417/1026 Arslān Isrā'īl, one of Saljūq's sons, crossed the Amu Darya together with four thousand Turkmān following internal strife among the Qarakhānids and placed himself under the protection of Maḥmūd of Ghazna. According to Nīshāpūrī's *Saljūq-nāma*, on this occasion Arslān Isrā'īl, when asked how many men he could mobilize, took a bow from a nearby arms-bearer (*sitāḥ-dār*) and boastingly replied, "I shall send this bow to my tribe (*qawm*), whereupon three thousand men will immediately mount their horses." Asked by the sultan (Maḥmūd) what he would do if more men became necessary, Isrā'īl handed Maḥmūd an arrow, saying, "If I send this arrow to my horsemen, wherever they may be, another ten thousand men will come." In reply to a further question from Maḥmūd, he said, "A bow and three arrows are necessary for [mobilizing] one hundred thousand horsemen." When asked again by Maḥmūd what he would do if more men were required, he replied, "If I send one of these arrows to Balkhānkūh, another one hundred thousand horsemen will come." Maḥmūd asked yet again what he would do if still more men were necessary, whereupon he answered, "If I send this bow to Turkistān, two hundred thousand horsemen will come." However, Maḥmūd was afraid of the threat to his power, and using a ruse, he eventually captured Isrā'īl and incarcerated him in the fortress at Kālanjār.⁹⁾ This tale is also recorded in a simplified form by Rāwandī. In this version, a single arrow sent by Isrā'īl to his horsemen would summon ten thousand men, a single arrow sent to Balkhānkūh would summon fifty thousand men, and a bow sent to Turkistān would summon two hundred thousand men.¹⁰⁾

This tale shows at any rate that the bow and arrow were closely connected with the number of men that a leader had at his command. That is to say, for Arslān Isrā'īl's own tribe, for the Turkmān groups based in the Balkhānkūh area to the east of the Caspian Sea, and for the Turkmān further east the bow and arrow played a symbolic role in the massing and mobilization of troops. It is to be inferred from the examples cited below that in later times too the Saljūqs continued to attach importance to the symbolic meaning of the bow and arrow.

An important event in the founding of the Saljūqid dynasties was Ṭughril Bek's first occupation of Nīshāpūr. He entered the city with three thousand

horsemen, and he himself was dressed in full uniform, wearing a cuirass, a *mulham* tunic (*qubā*), a head-dress of Tawwāzī cloth from Fārs, and felt boots, as well as having a strung bow over his arm and three arrows fastened at his waist.¹¹⁾

According to Rāwandī, after the battle of Dandānqān Ṭughril Bek, Chaghri Bek, Mūsā Yabghu, and other family members met together with other prominent leaders (*buzurgān*) and key army officers (*mubārizān-i lashkar*) and pledged to collaborate with one another. At this meeting Ṭughril Bek handed Chaghri Bek an arrow, asking him to break it in half. He then did the same with two, three and four arrows, but even Chaghri Bek was unable to break four arrows together, and Ṭughril Bek used this as an analogy to emphasize the need for family solidarity. Tales of a similar pattern are to be found in other nomadic societies too, and they aptly illustrate their notions about the arrow.¹²⁾

The aforementioned Bar Hebraeus also has an interesting passage in this regard. After having noted that Ṭughril Bek sent envoys to the caliph al-Qā'im in 1043, he goes on to describe Ṭughril Bek's daily life. According to Bar Hebraeus, Ṭughril Bek was said to sit on a high throne behind which were placed a shield and spear, while an enormous bow lay in front of him, and Ṭughril Bek himself was constantly toying with two arrows in his hands.¹³⁾

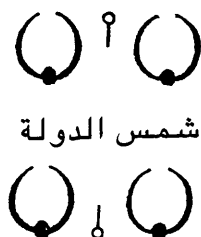
Again, according to Bar Hebraeus, in 1048 al-Qā'im recognized Ṭughril Bek's rule over Iṣfahān and sent him a letter in which he was addressed with the title "Lawful king, Asylum of the Muslims, Rukn Ad-Din Sultan Tughrel Bag." Thereafter Ṭughril Bek is said to have added the figure of a bow in the uppermost part of his seal and engraved the above title inside the figure of the bow. This sign was called the *tughrā* (ṬŪGHRĀ), while the person charged with writing it was called a *tughrā'i* (ṬŪGHRĀĪ).¹⁴⁾ This is meant to serve as an explanation of the origins of the *tughrā*, but the figure of a bow is said to have been already inscribed together with an arrow in the top margin of a letter sent by Ibrāhīm (Ibrāhīm Īnāl) to al-Qā'im in 1042, in which he mentioned Ṭughril Bek and stated that the latter was desirous of visiting Baghdad in order to preserve security along the pilgrimage route to Mecca and also to pay his respects to the caliph.¹⁵⁾ The above passages all appear only in the Syriac version of Bar Hebraeus' work and are not found in the *Ta'rikh Mukhtaṣar al-Duwal*, the author's own abridged translation into Arabic.

The position of *tughrā'i* became an important official post under the Saljūqs, and initially it was filled by Turkish *amirs*, a typical example of whom was Khumār Tigīn. But once the head of the Department of Correspondence (*Diwān al-Inshā'* or *Diwān al-Rasā'il*) came to hold this post as well, Persian officials began to be appointed instead.¹⁶⁾ These changes again show that the *tughrā*, or emblem of the bow, had distinctly Turkish connotations.

Originally there had been no tradition in Islamic society of engraving emblems of bows and arrows on coins, and no such example is to be found in any coin catalogues. Coins with the bow and arrow device were first used during the time of the Qarakhānids: four bows and two arrows are quite clearly engraved on the obverse of a coin struck by Arslān Tigīn at Bukhārā in 423 (see Fig. 3). It is most

interesting that this type of coin should have been struck by the first Turkic Muslim dynasty.¹⁷⁾

Fig. 3



Examples of the use of the bow and arrow as tribal symbols are also to be found in Rashīd al-Dīn's *Jāmi' al-Tawārikh*. Rashīd al-Dīn lists the twenty-four tribes of the Oghuz, including the Qınıq to whom the Saljūq family belonged, and he gives the lineage and *tamgha* of each. According to this account, Oghuz had six sons, and he gave a golden bow to the three older sons and a golden arrow to each of the three younger sons. The former were called "Büzūq" and were stationed on the right wing of the army, while the latter were called "Üjūq" and were posted on the left wing of the army. According to Rashīd al-Dīn, the name *büzūq* derived from the fact that the bow had to be divided into three parts, while *üjūq* was originally *uj-ūq* (corresponding to Turkish *üç-ok*) and meant "three arrows."¹⁸⁾

It would appear that Rashīd al-Dīn equated *büzūq* with Turkish *bozok*, meaning "scattered," and he explains it with reference to Persian *pāra*. However, the Turkish scholar Faruk Sümer suggests that it should be read *buz-ok*, with *buz* possibly deriving from *bozumak*, but he does not offer any definitive conclusion regarding the meaning of the word as a whole. As for the designation *üjūq*, he too interprets it as *üç-ok* and considers it to signify "three tribes" as well as "three arrows."¹⁹⁾

According to Rashīd al-Dīn, the six sons of Oghuz each had four sons, and together they constituted the twenty-four tribes of the Oghuz. Qınıq (written as Qiniq or Qitīq in the Berezin edition of the *Jāmi' al-Tawārikh*) was a son of Dīnkīz-khān (Deniz-han), who belonged to the Üç-ok, and his *tamgha* took the form of a picture of an arrow.²⁰⁾

Rashīd al-Dīn has described narratively how the Oghuz were broadly divided into two groups, each subdivided into three subgroups consisting of four tribes, and it goes without saying that his account must not be confused with historical fact. During the Saljūq period there appeared no such account of the lineage of the Oghuz. What is important here is the fact that even at the time when the *Jāmi' al-Tawārikh* was composed, there was still a strong awareness that the bow and arrow served as the symbols of particular tribes. Among the *tamgha* listed by Rashīd al-Dīn, that of the Ürkiz (Üregir), for example, who belonged to the Üç-ok, depicted a bow and three arrows.²¹⁾

It may thus be said that it was hardly odd that the bow and arrow should have

been engraved on coins of the Saljūq period, especially those of the first sultan Ṭughril Bek, in order to assert the ruler's sovereignty. Moreover, this device continued to be used in later times in varying degrees, and we have already seen how it survived in a modified form especially among the Kirmān Saljūqs related to Chaghri Bek.

Literary sources inform us that Chaghri Bek himself also issued coins. According to the *Ta'rikh-i Sīstān*, a messenger from the *amīr* Chaghri Bek (*amīr Chagrik*) arrived in Sīstān (Zarang) in Rabī' II 448, and on Friday 25th vast quantities of *dīnārs* and *dīrhams* "struck by the *amīr* Chaghri Bek" (*ḍarb-i Chagrik*) were scattered around the entrance to the Friday Mosque (Masjid-i Ādīna). Then, after his name had been intoned in the *khutba*, more coins were scattered about inside the mosque, and all those present are said to have been able to gather up at least twenty to thirty *dīnārs*.²²⁾

This account provides a good example of the relationship between the *khutba* and coinage. Both functioned as one for indicating to the people where power lay. Not only was the ruler's name inscribed on coinage, an instrument of monetary circulation, but the coins themselves were directly distributed both as a symbol of the ruler and in order to curry favour with the people. It may be assumed that coins inscribed with rulers' names were similarly used as tribute and gifts between rulers. It is not known what kind of coin was used on the above occasion, but it has already been noted by Bulliet that some of the coins issued by Chaghri Bek carried the bow and arrow device.

When considered in this light, there is no room for doubt concerning the purpose of the use of the bow and arrow symbols during the Saljūq period. It would seem rather that the question facing us is why the bow and arrow do not appear on coins from Nīshāpūr. Next I wish to consider this point.

4. The Position of Nīshāpūr

The starting point of Bulliet's thesis is that Nīshāpūr was under the control of Chaghri Bek. Let us begin by examining this issue with reference to the partition of conquered territories after the battle of Dandānqān as described in various historical sources.

According to the *Saljūq-nāma*, Chaghri Bek wanted the greater part of Khurāsān (*bishtar-i Khurāsān*) and made Marw his capital (*dār al-mulk*); Mūsā Yabghu (Mūsā Bayghū) secured as much as he could of the eastern provinces (*wilāyat*), the provinces of Bust, and the regions of Herāt, Isfizār, Sijistān (Sīstān), and Kābulistān; Qāwurt took the regions of Kirmān and the area around Quhistān; and Ṭughril Bek decided to set off in the direction of Iraq. As for Nīshāpūr, there is no clear reference to its status.²³⁾

Rāwandī, meanwhile, states that at the aforementioned meeting a letter explaining the state of affairs between the Saljūqs and the Ghaznavids was sent to

the caliph and then the family members divided the provinces (*wilāyat*) among themselves. Chaghri Bek made Marw his capital (*dār al-mulk*) and took possession (*khāṣṣ kard*) of the greater part of Khurāsān; Mūsā Yabghu took as much as he could manage of the provinces (*wilāyat*) and regions of Bust, Herāt, and Sīstān; Qāwurt ruled over the provinces of the two Ṭabas (Ṭabasayn) and the regions of Kirmān; Ṭughril Bek set out towards Iraq accompanied by Ibrāhīm Īnāl, Amīr Yāqūtī, and Qutalmish and made Rayy his capital; and Ibrāhīm was then dispatched to Hamadān, Yāqūtī to Azerbaijan (Ādharbayjān), and Qāwurt to Gurgān and Dāmghān.²⁴⁾

The Arabic history *Akhbār al-Dawla al-Saljūqiya* provides more concrete details. According to this work, the *faqīhs* at Marw sought security (*amān*) from the Saljūq maliks (*mulūk al-Saljūqiya*), and because the maliks treated them justly and honourably, the *khutba* was read in Chaghri Bek's name in Rajab 428; Chaghri Bek then chose Marw, while Ṭughril Bek took Nishāpūr. After the battle of Sarakhs, Chaghri Bek returned to Ṭūs, where he was met by the notables (*akābir*) of Nishāpūr, and after having rested there he returned to Herāt. The notables of Nishāpūr then granted Ṭughril Bek the title of "Sultān al-Mu'azzam Rukn al-Dunyā wa al-Dīn."²⁵⁾

The same work further states that once the forces of the descendants of Sabuk Tegīn (viz. the Ghaznavids) had been driven out of Khurāsān (as a result of the battle of Dandānqān) and the maliks had settled there, Chaghri Bek resided in Marw and all of Khurāsān became his. Ṭughril Bek, meanwhile, advanced from Khurāsān towards Iraq on the invitation of the caliph and invaded many lands. They then divided the lands, with Chaghri Bek being allotted the region *from Nishāpūr (min Naysābūr^a)* to the Jayhūn (Amu Darya) and whatever lands he could conquer beyond [Mā]warā' al-Nahr. Chaghri Bek then conquered Khwārazm, Bukhārā, and Balkh, and he gave Quhistān and Jurjān to Ibrāhīm b. (*sic*) Īnāl and Herāt, Būsanj, Sīstān, and Gurgān to Mūsā. This is all said to have occurred in 430.²⁶⁾

There is some confusion in the above account with regard to details, but it is consistent with Rāwandī's account insofar that Ṭughril Bek's position of leadership is said to have been established after the battle of Dandānqān and individual members of the Saljūq family were assigned to different regions.

The relationship between Ṭughril Bek and the "notables" of Nishāpūr, which remains somewhat vague in the sources cited above, is described in greater detail by Bayhaqī, and since I have already dealt with this on a previous occasion, I shall touch on only the main points here. According to Bayhaqī, Ṭughril Bek entered Nishāpūr in 429, and on this occasion the *khutba* was pronounced in his name and his authority recognized. He made Abū al-Qāsim, one of the city's '*ulamā*, an *amīr*, and entrusted him with the administration of the city.²⁷⁾

Meanwhile, according to Ibn al-Jawzī, after Ṭughril Bek had entered Nishāpūr and brought relief from the '*ayyār*, he defeated the Ghaznavid forces (at the battle of Dandānqān) and occupied Khurāsān. This took place in [4]30. Ibrāhīm Īnāl

occupied Quhistān and Khurāsān, set out for Rayy, which he laid waste, and obtained riches. Then in 433 he conquered Iṣfahān. In [4]30 Dā'ūd (viz. Chaghri Bek) occupied Marw, Sarakhs, and the region from Balkh to Nishāpūr (*ilā Naysābūr^a*), while his cousin Ḥasan b. Mūsā occupied Herāt, Būsanj, and Sijistān.²⁸⁾

The above accounts have been cited at some length in order to show how Nishāpūr is treated in these different sources. Whereas some sources vaguely equate Khurāsān with Chaghri Bek's domain, other sources in which specific place-names are mentioned give Nishāpūr as the westernmost limit of his rule. But as is evident from Bayhaqī's account, Ṭughril Bek too had close links with Nishāpūr, and Abū al-Qāsim, who took over the administration of the city, was in fact appointed by him. Various sources name him as Ṭughril Bek's first vizier (*wazīr*), and he also played a pivotal role in negotiations with the caliph. Imām Muwaffaq, the other leading figure who decided on the bloodless capitulation of the city to Ṭughril Bek, also left the city in 430 together with the Saljūqs. He was later installed as administrator of the city for the Saljūqs, and he also recommended to Ṭughril Bek Kunderī, a former Ghaznavid official, for the position of vizier.²⁹⁾

Ṭughril Bek subsequently moved westwards and never returned to Nishāpūr. But the fact that he continued to exert influence on the city is evident from Nāṣir Khusraw's *Safar-nāma*, an account of the author's travels. Nāṣir Khusraw was a finance official serving under Chaghri Bek, and in the opening section of his work he writes as follows: "In Rabī' II 434, when the *amīr* of Khurāsān (*amīr-i Khurāsān*) was Abū Sulaymān Jaghrī Bayk (Chaghri Bek) Dāwud b. Mikāl (Mikā'il) b. Saljūq, I left Marw on official business."³⁰⁾ Here he describes Chaghri Bek's position as that of "*amīr* of Khurāsān." Nāṣir Khusraw subsequently left his post in order to make a pilgrimage to Mecca, and in Sha'bān 437 he again set out for Nishāpūr. His account of his sojourn there reads as follows:

On the 11th day of Shawwāl (22 April 1046) I entered Nishāpūr. There was a solar eclipse on the final Wednesday of this month. The ruler at the time (*ḥākim-i zamān*) was Chaghri Bek's brother Ṭughril Bayk Muḥammad (*sic*). He had ordered the construction of a *madrasa* near the bazaar for harnessry (*bāzār-i sarrājān*), and it was in the process of being built. He himself had gone to Iṣfahān for the purpose of acquiring territory (*wilāyat-giri*). On the 2nd day of Dhū al-Qa'da I left Nishāpūr together with the sultan's *khwāja* Khwāja Muwaffaq.³¹⁾

It is difficult to say whether the term *ḥākim* here refers to the ruler of Nishāpūr or to the ruler of the Saljūqs. But in view of the fact that Ṭughril Bek is immediately afterwards referred to as "sultan," *ḥākim* is presumably being used in the former sense. A similar distinction in usage may also be seen in Nāṣir Khusraw's account of his visit to Mayyāfāriqīn. When he visited it in Jumādā II 438, "the *amīr* and *ḥākim* of this town was the son of the aforementioned Naṣr al-Dawla," and here too he distinguishes between the positions of *amīr* and *ḥākim* when held by the same

person.³²⁾ The “aforementioned” Naṣr al-Dawla was a Marwānid ruler whom Nāṣir Khusraw describes as “the sultan of this province” (*sulṭān-i wilāyat*).³³⁾ From these examples it is clear that Nāṣir Khusraw differentiated between the *amīr*, or provincial governor, and the *ḥākīm*, representing the effective ruler of a region, and he also distinguished between the latter and the sultan, who was the supreme secular ruler.

To sum up, at the time when Nāṣir Khusraw travelled from Marw to Nīshāpūr, Chaghri Bek held the position of *amīr* of Khurāsān, but his influence did not extend as far as Nīshāpūr, which was effectively under the control of Ṭughril Bek. The latter was not only directing the construction of public buildings in Nīshāpūr, but had also left Imām Muwaffaq to act as his representative there. Therefore, although one would not expect Ṭughril Bek’s coins to have been issued at Marw or Herāt, there is nothing surprising in their having been minted at Nīshāpūr.

But Ṭughril Bek was never to return to Nīshāpūr, and after having made Rayy his capital for a time, he moved his capital to Iṣfahān in 442/1051. Nīshāpūr lay between the administrative seats of Chaghri Bek and Ṭughril Bek, and with neither of them visiting it, it served as a buffer zone between them. It could also be surmised that Ṭughril Bek had the bow and arrow, symbols of sovereignty, erased from his coins out of consideration towards Chaghri Bek.

However, as is evident from Tables 2 and 3, almost no coins bearing the bow and arrow device were issued at Nīshāpūr by subsequent rulers either. This presents a striking contrast with the coins of Rayy during the reign of Malik Shāh. When we consider the history of Nīshāpūr, we find that there had been a strong tradition of autonomy among its patricians or notables (*a’yān*) since pre-Saljūq times, and especially when the city had to deal with dynastic changes in Khurāsān and incursions by outside forces, it was the patriciate that made the decisions.

After the collapse of the Ṭāhirids, it was the patrician Sharkab family that aided the pro-Ṣaffārid forces and brought what had become a chaotic situation under control.³⁴⁾ Outside forces too were unable to ignore the wishes of the patricians, and in 286/899, when the Sāmānids took over Nīshāpūr from the Ṣaffārids, they had to ask Muḥammad b. Iṣhāq b. Khuzayma with utmost courtesy to choose a *qāḍī* for them,³⁵⁾ and he is said to have considered only Ḥanafīs for the position. The struggles between the Ḥanafīs and Shāfi’īs in Nīshāpūr were deep-seated, with the former supporting the Mu’tazilīs and the latter the Ash’arīs, and their conflict was also reflected in theological differences.³⁶⁾

Worthy of special attention is the policy taken by Maḥmūd of Ghazna with respect to his coinage. In order to establish his own base in Nīshāpūr, he took the step of stamping a Mu’tazilī slogan on his coins so as to win the support of the Ḥanafī party. This appears to have been done to counter the Sīmjūrīds, a family descended from a Turkish soldier and, in contrast to Maḥmūd, supportive of the Shāfi’īs, who had built a *madrasa* for an Ash’arī theologian.³⁷⁾ In addition, Maḥmūd’s brother Naṣr, who became his governor in Nīshāpūr, built a *madrasa* for the Ḥanafī leader Abū al-‘Alā’ Ṣā’id.³⁸⁾ This series of measures shows that, in order

to gain the support of the patricians and secure control of the city, coinage policy played an important role alongside the construction of *madrasas*.

The vizier Kundurī, who hailed from Nīshāpūr, adopted a policy of divide and rule, striving to maintain an equal distance between himself and both factions, but ultimately he sided with the Ḥanafīs and attempted to banish Ash‘arīs from all public offices. In contrast Nizām al-Mulk, by whom Kundurī was overthrown and replaced as vizier, was supported by the Ash‘arīs, and he placed them in charge of *nizāmiyas* throughout the region. His object in doing so, however, was to restore and maintain a balance between the two patrician factions.³⁹⁾

Thus the balance of power between the patricians and religious forces in Nīshāpūr was quite delicate, and it is possible to speculate that under such circumstances the minting of coins bearing a potentially problematic non-Islam device may have been deliberately eschewed. This strife between the two factions continued until it eventually led to the ruin of the city in the mid-sixth/twelfth century.

Mints were located at Nīshāpūr throughout the Ṭāhirid, Ṣaffārid, Sāmānid and Ghaznavid dynasties,⁴⁰⁾ and it is also possible that there was resistance to using a new symbol on the coins struck there during the Saljūq period. In point of fact, as Bulliet himself mentions, among the devices used by Ṭughril Bek and Alp Arslān on coins issued at Nīshāpūr there are four types that had already been used by Mas‘ūd.⁴¹⁾

The central treasury of the Saljūqs was also located at Nīshāpūr. In 465/1072 when Alp Arslān died, Nizām al-Mulk, preparing for a struggle over the sultanate with Qāwurt Bek, sent an envoy to Baghdad with a request that the *khutba* be pronounced in Malik Shāh’s name, while Malik Shāh himself secured the treasury in the citadel (*guhunduz*) of Nīshāpūr and won the support of the army by increasing the salaries of the troops by a total of 700,000 *dinārs*.⁴²⁾ Earlier on the occasion of Ṭughril Bek’s death in 455/1061 too, the first thing that Alp Arslān did in order to counter the rebellious Qutalmish was to take control of Nīshāpūr.⁴³⁾ Nor can one ignore the city’s economic power, and after his occupation of the city Ṭughril Bek fitted out his forces with the assistance of the local patricians.

When considered in this light, although Nīshāpūr never became the capital or base of any of the sultans, it did act as an important source of funds and personnel for successive dynasties. It was also of great strategic importance in that it lay on the routes linking Iṣfahān with Marw and Iraq with Central Asia, although control of the city required the adoption of shrewd policies for dealing with the patriciate. In this fashion Nīshāpūr, though lying within Saljūqid territory, remained outside the sphere of direct rule by the sultans. The coins minted at Nīshāpūr, while accounting for a considerable proportion of extant coinage, almost never carry the bow and arrow device, and could this fact not be regarded as eloquent testimony to the city’s peculiar circumstances?

Concluding Remarks

The facts that have come light in our above inquiry may be summarized as follows:

1. There is no evidence in the distribution of Ṭughril Bek's coins to suggest that he issued coins within Chaghri Bek's territory.
2. Nīshāpūr with its mint, on which Bulliet's thesis is based, was in effect under Ṭughril Bek's rule.
3. Traditional Turkish notions regarding the bow and arrow as symbols of power survived into the Saljūq period, and these symbols were used especially in the early stages of Saljūq rule to indicate the holder of sovereign power, but they were not used in Nīshāpūr because of the city's peculiar circumstances.

In the above reexamination of Bulliet's views I have discussed only the symbolic devices found on Saljūqid coinage, and these represent but one very small part of the information provided by these coins. I did not touch on issues concerning numismatics proper, such as the size, weight, purity and quantity of the coins. Needless to say, careful attention must also be paid to "written material" in the form of the names and titles inscribed on the coins, as well as the caliph's name and its treatment. In addition, Bulliet raises the question of the complementary role played by symbolic devices as signs vis-à-vis titles inscribed in writing, but I have not discussed this either. The prime objective of using coins as "written material" is to verify from a different angle literary records relating to the rulers' names, titles and dates appearing in the *khutba*, and this I wish to take up on another occasion.

Table 1. Parts (A) and (E) on *dīnārs* of Ṭuḡhril Bek.

| Nishāpūr mint | | | |
|---------------|----------|-----------|--------|
| Year | (A) | (E) | Number |
| 433 | Faḥ | li-llah | 1 |
| 434 | | li-llah | 3 |
| 435 | 'Adl | li-llah | 5 |
| 435 | | li-llah | 6 |
| 436 | 'Adl | li-llah | 7 |
| 437 | 'Adl | li-llah | 9 |
| 439 | al-Qā'im | li-llah | 14 |
| 439 | al-Qā'im | li-llah | 15 |
| 43X | 'Adl | li-llah | 12 |
| 440 | al-Qā'im | li-llah | 18 |
| 441 | al-Qā'im | li-llah | 19 |
| 442 | al-Qā'im | Illegible | 20 |
| 444 | 'Adl | li-llah | 21 |
| 446 | ○ | li-llah | 24 |
| 447 | 'Adl | li-llah | 30 |
| 448 | ◊ | li-llah | 35 |
| 449 | ✠ | li-llah | 38 |
| 451 | | li-llah | 41 |
| 452 | | li-llah | 44 |
| 4XX | al-Qā'im | li-llah | 46 |

| Rayy mint | | | |
|-----------|--------|--------|--------|
| Year | (A) | (E) | Number |
| 434 | Type I | Type I | 2 |
| 435 | Type I | Type I | 4 |

| | | | |
|------|--------|----------|----|
| 437 | Type I | Type I | 8 |
| 438 | Type I | Type I | 10 |
| 439? | | | 16 |
| 440 | Type I | Type I | 17 |
| 444 | Type I | Type II | 22 |
| 445 | Type I | Type I | 25 |
| 445 | Type I | Type II | 26 |
| 445 | Type I | Type I | 27 |
| 447 | Type I | Type II | 31 |
| 447 | Type I | Type II | 32 |
| 450 | Naṣr | Type III | 43 |
| 452 | Type I | Type II | 45 |
| 453 | Type I | Type II | 47 |

| Iṣfahān mint | | | |
|--------------|--------|-----------------|--------|
| Year | (A) | (E) | Number |
| 444 | Faḥ | li-llah | 23 |
| 445 | Faḥ | Type I | 28 |
| 444 | ⤵ | Type I reversed | 29 |
| 447 | Type I | Type II | 34 |
| 448 | Type I | Type II | 37 |

| Bardashīr mint | | | |
|----------------|--------|-----|--------|
| Year | (A) | (E) | Number |
| 447 | Type I | ✠ | 33 |

| Qarmishān mint | | | |
|----------------|--------|---------|--------|
| Year | (A) | (E) | Number |
| 44X | Type I | Type II | 42 |

| Ahwāz mint | | | |
|------------|--------|---------|--------|
| Year | (A) | (E) | Number |
| 448 | Type I | Type II | 36 |

| Baṣra mint | | | |
|------------|-----|-----|--------|
| Year | (A) | (E) | Number |
| 449 | لعل | لعل | 39 |

| Madīna al-Salām mint | | | |
|----------------------|--------|---------|-------------|
| Year | (A) | (E) | Number |
| 453 | Type I | Type II | 48 |
| 455 | لعل | لعل | 49 |
| 455 | Type I | ✠ ✠ | 50 |
| 4XX | | li-llah | 40 |
| Unknown | 'Adl | li-llah | 11 (dirham) |

Table 2. Parts (A) and (E) on *dīnārs* of Alp Arslān.

| Herāt mint | | | | Rayy mint | | | | 459 | 'Adl | li-llah | 66 |
|----------------------|-----------|-----------|--------|-----------------------------|---------|---------|-------------|-----|---------|---------|-------------|
| Year | (A) | (E) | Number | Year | (A) | (E) | Number | XXX | li-llah | ☆☪☆ | 68 |
| 450 | ☪ | ☆ | 51 | 455 | 'Adl | | 54 | --- | 'Adl | | 53 (dirham) |
| 455 | 'Adl | ☆ | 55 | 457 | 'Adl | Type II | 56 | --- | 'Adl | Type I | 79 |
| 457 | 'Adl | | 57 | 461 | 'Adl | Type II | 71 | | | | |
| 458 | Illegible | Illegible | 63 | Kāshān mint | | | | | | | |
| 460 | | | 69 | Year | (A) | (E) | Number | | | | |
| 465 | 'Izz | | 77 | 457 | Type IV | ☪☪ | 58 | | | | |
| 45X | | | 67 | Iṣfahān mint | | | | | | | |
| XXX | Faṭḥ | | 80 | Year | (A) | (E) | Number | | | | |
| Marw mint | | | | 459 | Type I | Type II | 65 | | | | |
| Year | (A) | (E) | Number | Urmiya mint | | | | | | | |
| 453 | | | 52 | Year | (A) | (E) | Number | | | | |
| 458 | 'Adl | | 64 | --- | ☪ | ☪ | 81 (dirham) | | | | |
| 460 | ☪ | | 70 | Madīna al-Salām mint | | | | | | | |
| 461 | | | 73 | Year | (A) | (E) | Number | | | | |
| 462 | ☪ | | 75 | 461 | | | 72 | | | | |
| 463 | 'Adl | | 76 | 462 | | | 74 | | | | |
| Nīshāpūr mint | | | | Place unknown | | | | | | | |
| Year | (A) | (E) | Number | Year | (A) | (E) | Number | | | | |
| 457 | | | 59 | 457 | 'Adl | Malik | 61 | | | | |
| 457(459?) | ☪ | | 60 | 457 | ☪☪☪ | Type I | 62 | | | | |
| 465 | ☪ | | 78 | | | | | | | | |

Table 3. Parts (A) and (E) on *dīnārs* of Malik Shāh.

| Marw mint | | | | Rayy mint | | | | Madīna al-Salām mint | | | |
|---------------|--------|-----|--------------|---------------|----------|---------|--------------|----------------------|-----|-----|--------|
| Year | (A) | (E) | Number | Year | (A) | (E) | Number | Year | (A) | (E) | Number |
| 483 | ل | ل | 105 | 473 | 'Adl | ل | 88 | 485 | | | 82 |
| | | | | 475 | 'Adl | ••• | 90 | 486 | | | 111 |
| | | | | 477 | 'Adl | Type II | 94 | | | | |
| | | | | 477 | 'Adl | Type II | 95 | | | | |
| | | | | 480 | 'Adl | Type II | 100 | | | | |
| | | | | 481 | Type III | ☞ | 101 | | | | |
| | | | | 481 | Type I | | 102 | | | | |
| | | | | 484 | 'Adl | | 106 | | | | |
| | | | | XX2 | 'Adl | Type II | 87 | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Sarakhṣ mint | | | | Dāra mint | | | | | | | |
| Year | (A) | (E) | Number | Year | (A) | (E) | Number | | | | |
| XX4 | | | 89 | 469 | | Type I | 84 | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Nīshāpūr mint | | | | Iṣfahān mint | | | | | | | |
| Year | (A) | (E) | Number | Year | (A) | (E) | Number | | | | |
| 468 | ☞ | | 83 | 475 | 'Adl | ☞ | 91 | | | | |
| 470 | ل | | 85 | --- | --- | --- | 110 (dirham) | | | | |
| 471 | | | 86 | | | | | | | | |
| 475 | ل | | 92 | | | | | | | | |
| 476 | ل | | 93 | | | | | | | | |
| 478 | ☞ | | 96 | | | | | | | | |
| 479 | ☞ | | 97 | | | | | | | | |
| 47X | | | 98 (dirham) | | | | | | | | |
| 482 | | | 99 (dirham) | | | | | | | | |
| 482 | * | | 103 (dirham) | | | | | | | | |
| 485 | ☞ | | 104 (dirham) | | | | | | | | |
| 48X | ل | | 108 (dirham) | | | | | | | | |
| 48X | | | 113 (dirham) | | | | | | | | |
| XXX | Type I | ☞ | 114 (dirham) | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | Place unknown | | | | | | | |
| | | | | Year | (A) | (E) | Number | | | | |
| | | | | --- | ☞ | ☞ | 82 (dirham) | | | | |
| | | | | --- | 'Adl | | 111 | | | | |

Table 4. List of minting sites of Saljuqid coins.


| | Ṭuġhril Bek | Alp Arslān | Malik Shāh | Maḥmūd | Barkiyārq | Muḥammad | Sanjar |
|-----------------|---------------|------------------|----------------------|---------|-------------------|-------------|----------------------|
| Barkh | | | | | | | 1 (49X) |
| Marw | | 6 (453-463) | 1 (483) | | | | 1 (499) |
| Herāt | | 8 (450-465) | | | | | |
| Sarakhs | | | 1 (XX4) | | | | 2 (496) |
| Nishāpūr | 21 (433-452) | 3 (457-465) | 15 (468-85, dirham8) | | 5 (487-88, dir 4) | 1(499) | 2 (X9X-551) |
| Rayy | 15 (455-461) | 3 (455-461) | | | 7 (486-95) | | |
| Kāshān | 1 (457) | 1 (457) | | | 1 (488) | | |
| Dāra | | | 1 (469) | | | 1 (493) | |
| Āwa | | | | | | | |
| Iṣfahān | 5 (444-448) | 1 (459) | 2 (475, dirham1) | 1 (486) | 7 (486-490) | 4 (503-506) | |
| Zanjān | | | | | 1 (495) | 2 (494) | |
| Urmiya | | 1 (--) | | | | | |
| Bardashīr | 1 (447) | | | | | | |
| Qarmīshīn | 1 (44X) | 1 (457) | | | | | |
| Lūridjān | | | | | | 1 (496) | |
| Ahwāz | 1 (448) | | | | 2 (486-491) | | |
| Baṣra | 1 (449) | | | | | | |
| Madīna al-Salām | 5 (449-455) | 2 (461-462) | 2 (485-486) | 1 (486) | 5 (487-493) | 5 (500-506) | |
| No place-name | 1 (-, dirham) | 6 (457-59, dir2) | 2 (-, dirham1) | | 2 (489) | 2 (49X) | 14 (Unknown, dir 13) |

1. The coins of Alp Arslān include one bearing Chaghri Bek's name on the reverse and struck at Herāt in 450 and a *dirham* of unknown provenance and date bearing Ṭuġhril Bek's name on the reverse.
2. The coins of Muḥammad include one of unknown provenance bearing Sanjar's name on the reverse and struck in 49X.


Table 5. Parts (A) and (E) on *dīnārs* of the Kirmān Saljūqs.

Qāwurt Bek era



Jiruft mint

| Year | (A) | (E) | Number |
|------|---------|---|--------------|
| 444 | Type IV | li-llah | 214 |
| 44X | |  | 216 (dirham) |

Bardashīr mint


| Year | (A) | (E) | Number |
|------|---------|---|--------------|
| 453 | Type IV |  | 218 (dirham) |
| 462 | ∴ | Type IV | 220 |
| 462 | | Type IV | 221 |
| 465 | ✱ | Type IV | 223 |
| 467 | | Type IV | 224 |

Place unknown

| Year | (A) | (E) | Number |
|---------|---------|---|--------------|
| 446 | Type IV |  | 215 |
| 4XX | | Type IV | 222 (dirham) |
| Unknown | Type IV |  | 225 (dirham) |

Rukn al-Dawla Sulṭān Shāh era

Bardashīr mint

| Year | (A) | (E) | Number |
|------|-----|---|--------|
| 465 | ✱ | ◊ | 226 |
| 468 | |  | 228 |
| 46X | | Type IV | 227 |

Muhī al-Dīn Tūrān Shāh era

Bardashīr mint

| Year | (A) | (E) | Number |
|------|-----|---------|--------------|
| 480 | | Type IV | 229 (dirham) |
| 481 | | Type IV | 230 |

Notes

- 1) See Shimizu Kōsuke 清水宏祐, "Serujūku-chō no surutantachi—sono shihai no seikaku o megutte—" [「セルジューク朝のスルタンたち—その支配の性格をめぐって—」] (The sultans of the Saljūqid dynasty: On the character of their rule), in *Oriental-shi kōza V: surutan no jidai* 『オリエント史講座V スルタンの時代』 (Lectures on Oriental history V: The age of the sultans: Gakuseisha 學生社, 1986), p. 9.
- 2) In Dickran K. Kouymjian, ed., *Near Eastern Numismatics, Iconography, Epigraphy and History: Studies in Honor of George C. Miles* (Beyrut, 1974), pp. 289-296.
- 3) S. Lane Pool, *The Coins of the Mohammadan Dynasties in the British Museum*, III (London, 1877), pp. 29, 33, 294.
- 4) C. Cahen, "La Tuğrā Seljuqide," *J.A.* CCXXXIV (1943-45), pp. 167-172; O. Turan, "Eski Türklerde okun hukukî bir sembol olarak kullanılması," *Belleten* IX/35 (1945), pp. 305-318.
- 5) C. Alptekin, "Selçuklu Paraları," *Selçuklu Araştırmaları Dergisi* III (1971), pp. 435-592.
- 6) The inscriptions found on coins typical of Tuğhril Bek are presented in Shimizu Kōsuke, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-8.
- 7) See Mori Masao 護雅夫, "Ya o wakeataeru hanashi ni tsuite—Kita-Ajiya shāmanizumu no kenkyū no issetsu—" [「『矢を分け與える話』について—北アジアシャーマニズムの研究の一節—」] (On "The Tale about distributing arrows": A page in the study of North Asian shamanism), *Hoppō Bunka Kenkyū Hōkoku* 『北方文化研究報告』 7 (1952), pp. 81-96; this study covers not only Turkic peoples, but also nomadic society throughout North Asia. See also F. Sümer, *Oğuzlar* (Ankara, 1972), pp. 1, 54, 406.
- 8) Bar Hebraeus, *Kethabha dhe-mahtebhanuth*, ed. and tr. E. A. Wallis Budge, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1932), p. 195. Similar references are to be found in several sources based on the *Malik-nāma*.
- 9) Zahir al-Dīn Nishāpūrī, *Saljūq-nāma*, ed. Ismā'il Afshār (Tehrān, 1332Kh), p. 18.
- 10) Rāwandī, *Rāhat al-Şudūr wa Ayat al-Surūr*, ed. M. Iqbāl, *G.M.S.* (n.s.) (Leiden, 1921), p. 89.
- 11) Bayhaqī, *Ta'rikh-i Bayhaqī*, ed. 'A.A. Fayyād (Mashhad, 1350Kh), p. 732; C.E. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids: Their Empire in Afghanistan and Eastern Iran 994-1040* (Edinburgh, 1963), pp. 256, 304.
- 12) Rāwandī, *op. cit.*, p. 12.
- 13) Bar Hebraeus, *op. cit.*, p. 201.
- 14) *Ibid.*, p. 206.
- 15) *Ibid.*, p. 200.
- 16) See C.I. Klausner, *The Saljuk Vezirate: A Study of Civil Administration* (Cambridge [Massachusetts], 1973), pp. 12, 17, 18, 105-110, and the list of government officials in Shimizu Kōsuke, "Perushiago shahon Saishōtachi no rekishi ni tsuite" [「ペルシア語寫本『宰相たちの歴史』について」] (On the Persian manuscript *Ta'rikh al-Wuzarā'*), in Mori Masao, ed., *Nairiku Ajia, Nishi-Ajia no shakai to bunka* 『内陸アジア・西アジアの社會と文化』 (Society and culture in Inner Asia and West Asia; Yamakawa Shuppansha 山川出版社, 1983), pp. 633-638.
- 17) Lane Pool, *op. cit.*, II, p. 125.
- 18) Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi' al-Tawārikh*, ed. I.N. Berezin, *Sbornik letopisej, istoriya Mongolov*, VII (St. Petersburg, 1861), p. 28.
- 19) Sümer, *op. cit.*, p. 205.
- 20) Rashīd al-Dīn, *op. cit.*, p. 38.
- 21) *Ibid.*, p. 37.
- 22) Anon., *Ta'rikh-i Sīstān*, ed. M. Bahār (Tehrān, 1314Kh), p. 380.
- 23) Nishāpūrī, *op. cit.*, p. 21.
- 24) Rāwandī, *op. cit.*, p. 104.
- 25) al-Ḥusaynī, *Akhbār al-Dawla al-Saljūqiya*, ed. M. Iqbāl (Lāhūr, 1933), pp. 8-9.
- 26) *Ibid.*, p. 17.

- 27) Bayhaqī, *op. cit.*, p. 730; Shimizu, "Serujūku-chō no surutantachi," p. 3.
- 28) Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam fī Ta'rikh al-Mulūk wa al-Umam* (Haydarābād, 1938-39), VIII, p. 233.
- 29) Bosworth, *op. cit.*, pp. 264-265; H. Bowen, "Notes on Some Early Seljuqid Viziers," *B.S.O.A.S.* XX (1957), pp. 105-110.
- 30) Nāšir Khusraw, *Safar-nāma*, ed. M. Dabīr Siyāqī (Tehrān, 1315Kh), p. 1.
- 31) *Ibid.*, p. 3.
- 32) *Ibid.*, p. 14.
- 33) *Ibid.*, p. 12.
- 34) R.W. Bulliet, *The Patricians of Nishapur: A Study in Medieval Islamic Social History* (Cambridge [Massachusetts], 1972), p. 69.
- 35) *Ibid.*, p. 62.
- 36) Shimizu Kōsuke, "Minzoku to shūkyō, shūha I" 「民族と宗教・宗派 I」 (Ethnicity, religion and religious sects I), in *Gaisetsu Isurāmu-shi* 『概説イスラーム史』 (An introduction to the history of Islam; Yūhikaku 有斐閣, 1986), pp. 285-286.
- 37) Bulliet, *The Patricians of Nishapur*, p. 70.
- 38) *Ibid.*, pp. 70-71.
- 39) *Ibid.*, p. 74.
- 40) G.C. Miles, "Numismatics," *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. 4 (Cambridge, 1975), pp. 372-376.
- 41) Bulliet, "Numismatic Evidence," p. 292.
- 42) al-Ḥusaynī, *op. cit.*, pp. 55-56; al-Bundārī, *Zubda al-Nuṣra: Ta'rikh Dawla al-Saljūq* (al-Qāhira, 1900), p. 48.
- 43) Shimizu Kōsuke, "Iburāhīmu Ināru to Ināriyān—Dai-Serujūku-chō shoki no Turkmān shūdan" 「イブラーヒム・イナールとイナーリヤーン—大セルジューク朝初期の Turkmān 集團」 (Ibrāhīm Īnāl and the Īnāliyān: Turkmān groups during the early period of the Great Saljūqid dynasty), *Isuramu Sekai* 『イスラーム世界』 10 (1975), p. 28.