

MULTIPLE DIRHEMS OF THE SAMANID-GHAZNAVID PERIOD FROM NORTH-EAST AFGHANISTAN.

by MICHAEL MITCHNER

These large silver coins were struck by the Samanid dynasts and by their Ghaznavid successors in the north-east provinces of Afghanistan throughout most of the tenth century AD. The earliest multiple dirhems were struck during the reign of the Samanid sovereign Nasr ll ibn Ahmad (AH.301-331; AD.914-943) and can be dated to the 320's of the Hijra. The series virtually ends with a common issue struck by the Ghaznavid sovereign Yemin al daulah Mahmud in AH. 389, there being only one later issue known.

The mints that struck multiple dirhems lay along the northern slopes of the Hindu Kush and, for the most part, followed the distribution of active silver mines cited by contemporary Arab historians. The main mints were sited in Badakhshan and Tokharestan provinces though a few multiple dirhems were struck at Gharjistan and Bamian (see Map).

Badakhshan province, from which the majority of multiple dirhems emanate, was situated at the eastern end of the north Afghan plateau in a region where, according to contemporary Arab historians, the main activities were farming and particularly the mining not only of gold and silver but also of lapis lazuli, rubies, garnet, rock crystal and asbestos. Three borders of the province were largely defined by the geography of the region and only on the west was there an arbitrary frontier with the neighbouring province of Tokharestan. To the east Badakhshan was limited by the Pamir mountains and to the south rose the Hindu Kush. To the north the river Oxus formed the provincial frontier and to the west the border with Tokharestan was set between the towns of Tayakan and Kishm. Provincial frontiers were not completely static and for some years the town of Andijaragh, which lay in the foothills of the Pamirs, came under the sway of Badakhshan's governor Al Harith ibn Harb.

In the south-western corner of Badakhshan province the position of Panjhir and its relationship to two other important towns, Farwan and Anderabah, is best defined by following the route of the main pass traversing the Hindu Kush from the Kabul valley in the south to the north-east Afghan plateau. These three towns, which all lay close to the pass, each possessed its own mint and on the coins struck for their Samanid sovereigns each mint acknowledged the authority of a different series of provincial governors. From the south the route left the Kabul valley and followed the Panjhir river up past Farwan. This town was the northern outpost of the Kabul valley province and in the 330'3 AH acknowledged the governorship of a certain Ahmad ibn Yusuf. From the 360's Farwan, along with the rest of the Kabul valley province was part of the Ghaznavid state which, until the 380's, remained a vassal kingdom within the Samanid realm. Farwan did not take part in the multiple dirhem coinage. Proceeding north up the pass one reaches Panjhir which was one of the most important Afghan silver mining towns during the

tenth century. The Panjhir district formed the south-western outpost of Badakhshan province. From 330/1 AH until 384 its coinage was restricted to multiple dirhems and many of these acknowledged the authority of Al Harith ibn Harb who governed Badakhshan province for the Samanids during half a century from c.334 until 384. Continuing along the route from Panjhir one moves westwards across the Khawak Pass and thence down the Anderabah river, past the town of the same name, to turn northwards along the middle reaches of this river that leads to the Oxus.

Tokharestan province, the western neighbour of Badakhshan, extended from the Oxus in the north to the Hindu Kush in the south and from Badakhshan in the east to the province of Juzjan-Balkh in the west. The two main towns, Walwaliz (Qunduz) and Tayakan, were situated in the north of the province along the route from Balkh to Badakhshan while the chief mint, Anderabah, lay in the southern mountains close to the silver mines.

Moving westwards along the tracks of these silver mines that extended from Badakhshan province through the southern reaches of Tokharestan one reaches the other provinces that struck multiple dirhems, a continuation of the silver mining region, Gharjistan-Bamian. This mountainous region was centred on a group of east-west valleys in the northern part of the central Afghan massif. Bamian, in a fertile valley towards the east of this region, was a prosperous city that exercised control over a substantial district. Further to the west the homeland of the Gharj people was centred on the upper reaches of the Murghab river. The name of their province, Gharjistan or Gharj al Shar, literally meant 'Mountains of the Shar' and referred both to the local people, the Gharj or mountain people, and to the ruler who always bore the title Shar.

SAMANID SOVEREIGNS AND THEIR GOVERNORS.

The period when these multiple dirhems were struck was a time of political and economic crisis in the Samanid realm. It saw the progressive de-centralisation of authority that culminated in the replacement of the dynasty at the end of the tenth century by the Ghaznavids in Afghanistan and by the Qarakhanids (Ilak Khans) north of the river Oxus.

Authority over the various provinces was exercised by three ranks of officials who, on occasions, all placed their names on coins. The Provincial Governor belonged to the lowest of these ranks, his authority being restricted to his own province. South of the Oxus the provincial Samanid governor was responsible to the Governor of Khorasan who had his seat at Nishapur in N.W. Afghanistan and was himself responsible to the Samanid sovereign in Bokhara for all the provinces south of the river Oxus. The highest of these three ranks of officials was composed of members in the Central Government. They exercised authority and some of them, such as the chamberlains Faiq and Bektuzun and the vizir Tash, placed their names on coins, both north and south of the Oxus.

During the first three decades of the fourth century AH the north-east Afghan provinces of the Samanid realm were the charge of a single governor, although from

314 until 320 they were ruled by the rebel Qaratekin. After the authority of the Samanid Nasr II had been restored in 320 Balkatekin was placed in charge and held office until 326 when he was succeeded by Qaratekin, now restored to favour, who governed from 326 until 330. During the years 331 to 333 the system of provincial government was re-organised in N.E. Afghanistan and each province acquired an individual governor. The province of Juzjan-Balkh was governed partly by Qatakin and partly by Mohammed ibn Farighun until 348 but thereafter (Qatakin having been transferred to Bokhara) the Farighunid family continued to rule the province until the 390's and extended their authority over Gharjistan to the south. Tokharestan province was now governed by Harb ibn Sahlan who had previously been an associate governor of this province under Balkatekin. His family continued to govern Tokharestan province in the person's of Harb's son Maktum (ibn Harb) and his grandson Sahlan (ibn Maktum) until 378. Badakhshan also acquired its own governor in the person of Al Harith ibn Harb who remained in office until 384 and was probably a brother of Maktum ibn Harb. The governor of the Kabul valley province was Ahmad ibn Yusuf whose father had earlier been an associate governor under Balkatekin and Qaratekin, first at Anderabah and then at Balkh.

During most of the period from 344 until 384 the Governors of Khorasan were members of the Simjuri family. Nasir al daulah Mohammed Simjuri II governed Khorasan during most years from 344 until his death in 378 (Alptekin 349-50; Tash 367, 371-77). His son, Abu 'Ali Mohammed Simjuri III held the office of Governor of Khorasan in 374 and from 378 until the advent of the Ghaznavids in 384. The names of these two Samanid governors of Khorasan appear on a number of multiple dirhems as well as on most Nishapur dinars.

The Ghaznavid state was founded by Alptekin in 351. He was a Turkish Commander of the Samanid army appointed Governor of Khorasan in 349 by his sovereign 'Abd al Malik. When 'Abd al Malik died in 350 Alptekin was dispossessed of his offices by the new sovereign Mansur ibn Nuh and betook himself to Ghazni in S.E. Afghanistan where he created his own 'Ghaznavid' kingdom. Succeeding Ghaznavid rulers acknowledged the sovereignty of the Samanids. Sebuktegin, a former slave of Alptekin, ruled this Ghaznavid vassal state from 367 until 387 and made of it a powerful kingdom. In 384 the Samanid Nuh II called on his Ghaznavid vassal to assist in quelling a rebellion led by the ex-chamberlain Faiq and the Governor of Khorasan Abu 'Ali Mohammed Simjuri. Sebuktegin and his son Mahmud, assisted by Mohammed ibn Farighun the governor of Juzjan-Balkh, duly put down the rebellion and were rewarded by Nuh who bestowed the title Nasir al daulah on Sebuktegin and elevated his son Mahmud to the Governorship of Khorasan, giving him the title Sayf al daulah. During 384 both Sebuktegin and Mahmud were campaigning in northern Afghanistan where coins record both names as subjects of the sovereign Nuh. In 385 Sebuktegin retired to Herat, adding this province to his Ghaznavid state. From this date Sebuktegin's coinage is restricted to Herat (AH. 385, 386) plus his other Ghaznavid domains south of the Hindu Kush. Mahmud, as Governor of Khorasan, remained in the north and continued coining in

Nishapur and the north-east Afghan provinces.

In 387 Nuh II died and was succeeded by his son Mansur II. Sebuktegin also died but the succession was not peaceful for, while his elder son Mahmud was away governing Khorasan one of Sebuktegin's younger sons Isma'il claimed the Ghaznavid succession. During the rest of 387 and much of 388 Mahmud and Isma'il fought each other. For a while Isma'il controlled territory north of the Hindu Kush and struck multiple dirhems at Walwaliz in Tokharestan (388) but by the end of 388 Mahmud was victorious. Having regained control of Tokharestan Mahmud struck multiple dirhems at Anderabah (388) and he re-assumed his Governorship of Khorasan (from Bektuzun who had been appointed in 387), striking dinars in this capacity at Nishapur (388). Thus when the year 389 began Mahmud was both the Ghaznavid sovereign and the Governor of Khorasan owing allegiance in both capacities to his Samanid sovereign Mansur. In this capacity he struck dirhems at Balkh and dinars at Nishapur during the early part of 389. During the course of this year Mansur was murdered by Abu 'Ali Simjuri and Bektuzun and Mansur's younger brother 'Abd al Malik II was placed on the Samanid throne (Nishapur dinars of Bektuzun, mid 389). Mahmud, hitherto a loyal subject of the Samanids now threw off his allegiance to the new puppet and declared himself an independent ruler. Mahmud now possessed a Ghaznavid kingdom that embraced virtually the whole of Afghanistan, a kingdom whose northern frontier was the river Oxus. Whereas the Samanids had never relinquished their allegiance to the caliph Al Ta'i who had been deposed in 381, Mahmud now recognised the reigning caliph Al Qadir (381-422) and was rewarded by him with the title Yemin al daulah. Thus during the early part of 389 Sayf al daulah Mahmud the Samanid subject, issued coins recording the names of the caliph Al Ta'i and of his sovereign Mansur (Balkh, Nishapur) but during the later part of the same year, 389, Yemin al daulah Mahmud the independent Ghaznavid sovereign struck coins bearing only his own name and that of the caliph Al Qadir (Anderabah, Nishapur). This year also marks the penultimate issue of multiple dirhems.

SAMANID SILVER SHORTAGE

The existence of these multiple dirhems and the contemporary debasement of all Samanid silver currency are two manifestations of the severe silver shortage that began to affect the region in the early tenth century. The cause of the silver shortage was massive outflow of silver along Khwarezmian-Viking trade routes in the direction of Scandinavia. The Volga Bulghar kingdom on the middle Volga formed an entrepot where the traders of Khwarezm, a Samanid vassal state on the southern border of the Aral Sea, were well established. The Vikings (Varangians) of Sweden, having established large trading communities at Novgorod and Kiev, also founded outposts in Bulghar where they were noted by Ibn Fadlan who led an embassy from the caliph Al MuktaDIR to the king of the Volga Bulgars in 309 (AD. 921). During the years when Khwarezmian-Viking trade flourished the Volga Bulgars also issued their own dirhems (C.A.H. 313-370) modelled on those of the Samanids.

The manning of this trade route during the period c.280 to 370 led to one of the most massive, if not the most important, translocations of coinage that has

occurred. As far back as 1848 Tornberg was able to record 134 hoards of moslem coins found in Sweden alone and nearly all of these contained a preponderance of Samanid dirhems. Since that time many other hoards containing large numbers of Samanid dirhems have been reported from other Scandinavian countries, from Poland and from Russia. The composition of these hoards is consistent. They usually contain large numbers of Samanid dirhems associated with numerous dirhems struck by the Omayyad and Abbasid caliphs that had previously ruled the region now controlled by the Samanids. To these coins there tend to be added a scattering of dirhems struck by other contemporary moslem dynasties.

The Samanid silver mines of the Hindu Kush were flourishing during the tenth century. There was extensive mining in the Wakhan valley of east Badakhshan and the Panjhir silver mines in the south-west of this province were renowned at this period. Further west mines in the mountains around Anderabah were producing a lot of silver and there was substantial production still further west in the mountains between Gharjistan and Bamian. Even so there was an imbalance between prolific silver production in the mines and even more prolific export of silver to Scandinavia. The resulting shortage led to the debasement of the the coinage and a decrease in the numbers of new coins being struck at all mints outside the silver mining regions. The multiple dirhem coinage now assumes a definite place for it was essentially the coinage struck in the main Samanid silver mining region during a period when silver was a particularly sought after commodity. So far as one can judge the aim was to put the newly mined silver on the market rapidly. Such an impetus to coin the new silver rapidly probably explains the opening of a number of new mints in Badakhshan province which only functioned at this period and may also account for the high denomination of the coins and such features as the lack of care in striking and the rather careless engraving of some dies. It would also be consistent with the absence of any requirement to fully refine the silver and the rather imprecise adherence to a standard weight.

SEQUENCE OF ISSUES

The first two issues of multiple dirhems were struck by Nasr II (301-331) and bear no dates but they are inscribed with the names of local governors: Balkatekin (320-326) and Qaratekin (326-330). Qaratekin's issue can be dated more precisely to the years 326-329 since it also bears the name of the caliph Al Radi who died in 329. These two issues struck at the 'Fortress of Kishm', a garrison town in the western part of Badakhshan province, inaugurated the multiple dirhem coinage.

By the end of Nasr ibn Ahmad's reign in 331 the coinage of Badakhshan province had entirely converted from dirhems of normal fabric to these multiple dirhems. The mint at the provincial capital, Badakhshan City, struck its last recorded normal dirhems (Beled Badakhshan: var.) in 321 and was striking multiple dirhems (Kura Badakhshan) from the reign of Nuh I ibn Nasr (331-343). Panjhir, the mint situated in the chief silver mining centre of the province, struck normal dirhems until 329 with multiple dirhems appearing in the last years of Nasr ibn Ahmad's reign, 330-1.

Both normal and multiple dirhems were issued at Panjhir with the mint name rendered in full as Al Ma'dan Panjhir (or Panj) and with the mint name shortened to Al Ma'dan, literally the 'mining town'. The identification of Al Ma'dan with Al Ma'dan Panjhir is clear in the case of multiple dirhems where coins of both types are closely related and usually bear the name of the governor of Badakhshan province in addition to that of his Samanid sovereign. It is likely, however, that the few normal dirhems with the mint name Ma'dan struck during the years 333, 340 and 341, after Panjhir had already commenced issuing multiple dirhems, were emitted from one of the other Samanid mining towns such as Tashkent (Ma'dan al Shash).

The multiple dirhem coinage was, for the next 60 years, to be the only form of coinage struck in Badakhshan province. In addition to Kishm, Ma'dan Panjhir and Kura Badakhshan, several minor mints were also opened during the reign of Nuh ibn Nasr and all these continued to function until the time of his grandson Nuh II ibn Mansur (365-387).

Until 365 Tokharestan province retained the standard coinage and issued normal Samanid dirhems that frequently recorded the names of the governors. Then in 366 Anderabah, along with the two less active mints in Tokharestan, Walwaliz and Tayakan, adopted the multiple dirhem fabric for coinage and struck these alone until a final issue in 389. The Anderabah mint coined dated multiple dirhems fairly continuously, striking a total of 16 issues during the period 366 to 389. Walwaliz (370, 388) and Tayakan (376) were much less active.

Both Gharjistan and Bamian issued scarce dirhems of normal fabric around 300 and a later issue from Bamian is dated either 306, 316 or 326. Thereafter a small number of multiple dirhems were struck at both mints from 327 until the time of Nuh II. The earlier coins are dated but from the time of Mansur ibn Nuh (350-365) they bear the mint name only. Some coins from Bamian acknowledge the authority of the Shahr (sic.) of Bamian and one of the issues from Gharjistan names the Shahr who was governing at the time of Mansur as 'Shahr Amir Nuh, king and defender of al

METROLOGY

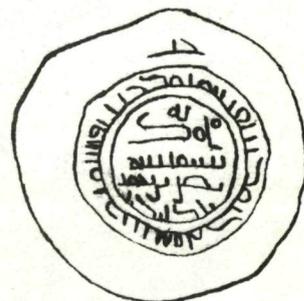
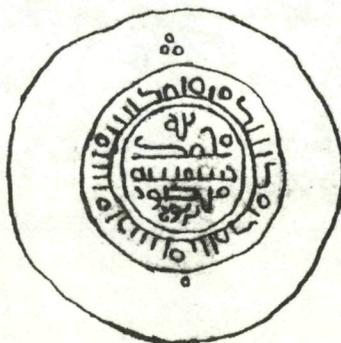
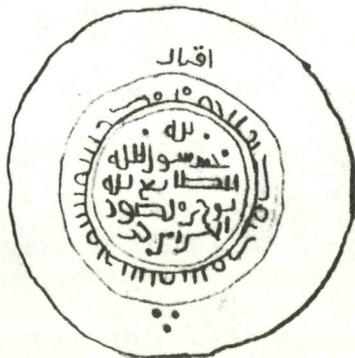
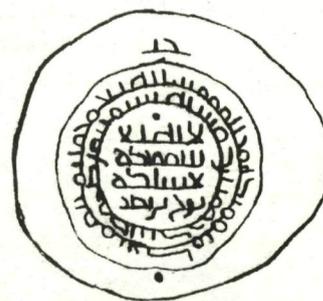
These multiple dirhems are a group of silver coins that weigh about four times as much as normal dirhems and have a diameter about twice as great. The weights of some 400 multiple dirhems present a clear picture. Those struck in Badakhshan province weigh 12 ± 1.5 grammes while those from Tokharestan weigh 11 ± 1.0 grammes (cited in terms of the modal coin weight and the weight range that includes 50% of recorded coin weights). The distribution of coins weights showed progressive attenuation on either side of this peak to extreme weights of 6 and 21 grammes. Breakdown of these figures for Badakhshan province showed that the same weight standard was used at all mints and that it remained constant from the time of Nuh I until the end of Nuh II's coinage in 384. At either end of these time limits coins tend to be lighter.

Although it is apparent that multiple dirhems were struck to a definite weight standard of approximately 12 grammes it is equally apparent that the coins do not

adhere very closely to their standard weight. Examination of the coins shows that weight variation was, for the most part, quite random with coins of the same issue differing by as much as two-fold in their weights. One may judge that such fluctuation in coin weight would not have been permitted unless the coins only possessed a token value. In practice all the silver coinage struck throughout the Samanid realm appears to have assumed a token value during the period under discussion. Just as the multiple dirhems show significant debasement of their silver so contemporary normal dirhems struck both north and south of the Oxus also show debasement of comparable degree and co-incidentally tend to fluctuate in weight. Hennequin quotes weights of up to 6 grammes for normal dirhems of this period and the weights of the author's ten Balkh dirhems (AH. 365-394) range from 2.9 to 5.3 grammes. Yet because these somewhat heavier dirhems are moderately debased one can safely conclude that their intrinsic value was no greater than the value of normal undebased dirhems struck during a slightly earlier period at a constant weight close to 3 grammes. The slightly heavier debased dirhems of the 340's to 380's circulated alongside earlier undebased dirhems at a presumably equal value and it is not unlikely that the multiple dirhems possessed a token value of four dirhems.

I am grateful to a number of persons who have provided information about multiple dirhems in their possession. The substantial amount of information now in hand about these multiple dirhems and the context in which they were issued can only be summarised within the limits of an information sheet. It is proposed to publish the full text and catalogue with references and photographs as a book in the autumn.

June 1973



Type KB 16

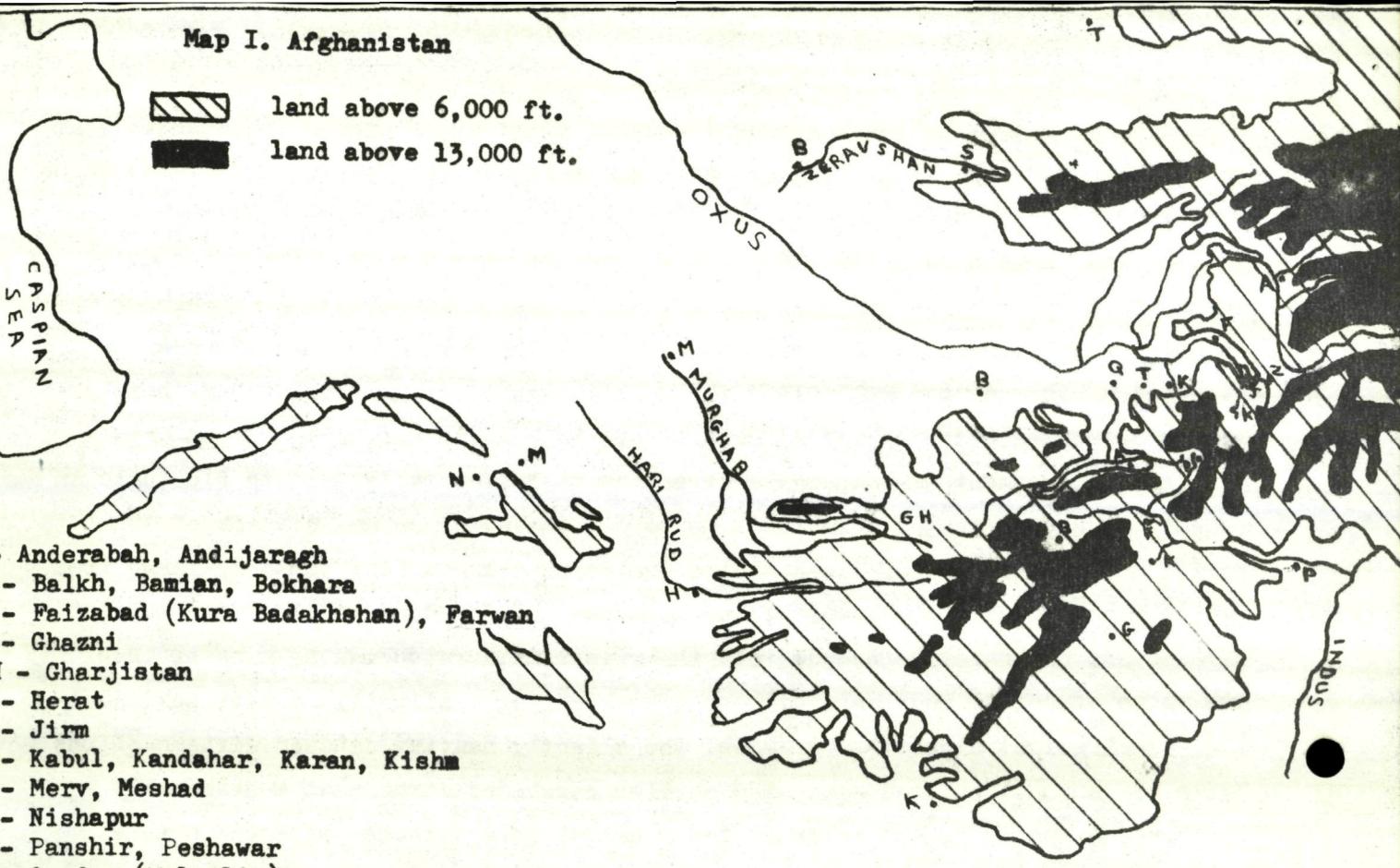
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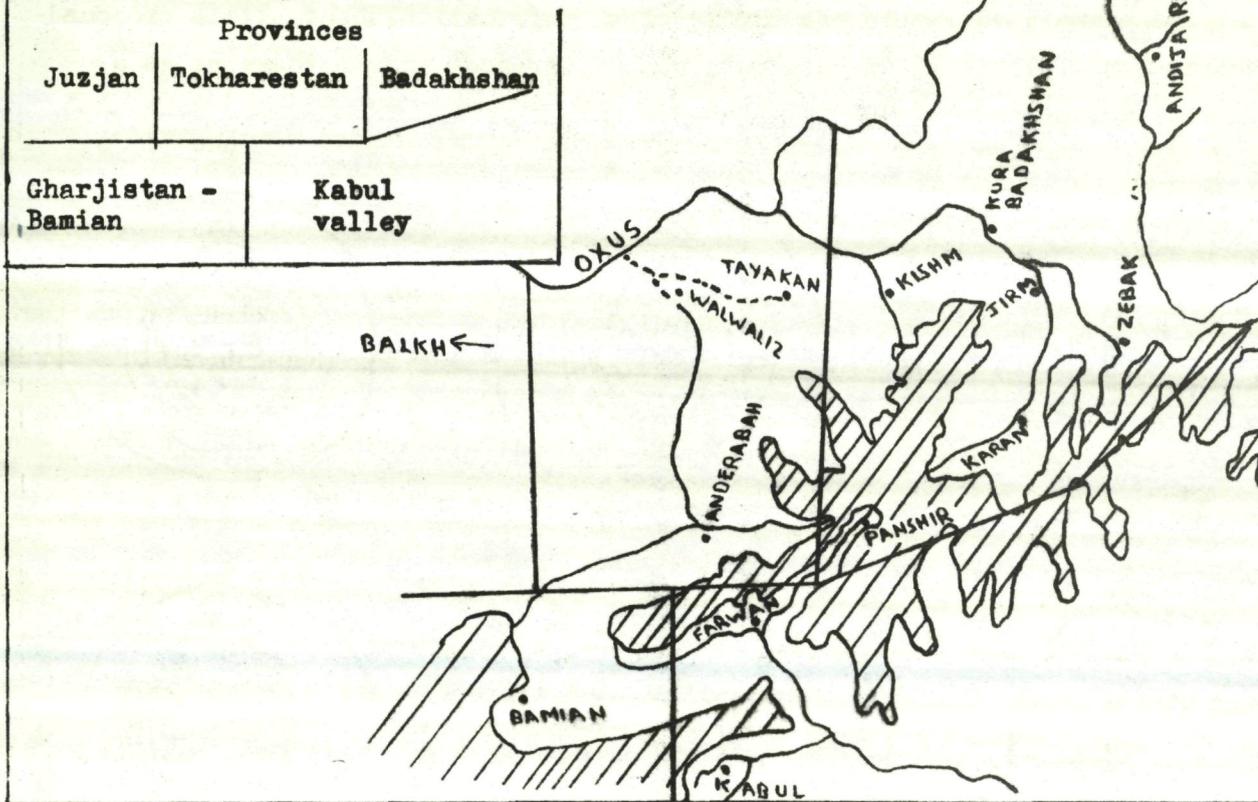
Map I. Afghanistan

 land above 6,000 ft.
 land above 13,000 ft.

- A - Anderabah, Andijaragh
- B - Balkh, Bamian, Bokhara
- F - Faizabad (Kura Badakhshan), Farwan
- G - Ghazni
- GH - Gharjistan
- H - Herat
- J - Jirm
- K - Kabul, Kandahar, Karan, Kishm
- M - Merv, Meshad
- N - Nishapur
- P - Panshir, Peshawar
- Q - Qunduz (Walwaliz)
- S - Samarkand
- T - Tashkent, Tayakan
- Z - Zebak



Map II. N.E. Afghan provinces in the 10th. century AD.



Distribution of multiple dirhems and their issues by mints and reigns.

A) BADAQSHAN PROVINCE

	Kura Badakhshan	Ma'dan Fanshir	Kishm	Jirm	Zebak	?Karan	No mint name	Andijaragh
Nasr II 301-331	--	1(1)	2(2)	--	--	--	--	--
Nuh I 331-343	21(3)	21(8)	4(3)	1(1)	--	4(1)	2(1)	--
Mansur I 350-365	20(7)	20(3)	5(3)	--	--	4(1)	37(1)	--
Nuh II 365-384 (-387)	40(7)	15(8)	7(3)	2(1)	1(1)	3(1)	38(1)	--
+ Al Ta'i	3(1)	16(6)	6(3)	--	1(1)	3(1)	--	--
+ Al Ta'i & Al Harith ibn Harb	155(6)	106(5)	11(2)	--	10(2)	21(2)	--	7(1)
Sebuktegin 384 (in Khorasan)	1(1)	1(1)	--	--	--	--	--	3(1)
Mahmud 384-9 (Sayf)	2(1)	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Mahmud 389- (Yemin)	1(1)	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Total	243(27)	180(32)	35(16)	3(2)	12(4)	35(6)	77(3)	10(2)

Note : Number of coins (number of issues)

B) TOKHARESTAN PROVINCE

	Anderabah	Walwalis	Tayakan
Nuh II	26(10)	1(1)	1(1)
Sebuktegin	2(1)	--	--
Mahmud (Sayf al daula)	15(4)	--	--
Isma'il 388 (in Khorasan)	--	1(1)	--
Mahmud (Yemin al daula)	111(1)	--	--
Total	154(16)	2(2)	1(1)

C) GHARJISTAN - BAMIAN PROVINCE

	Bamian	Gharjistan
Nasr II	1(1)	--
Nuh I	1(1)	--
Mansur I	3(2)	6(2)
Nuh II	1(1)	--
Total	6(5)	6(2)

Badakhshan province : 595 coins of 92 issues from 8 mints (7 + no mint name)

Tokharestan province : 157 coins of 19 issues from 3 mints

Gharjistan province : 12 coins of 7 issues from 2 mints

Total 764 coins of 118 issues from 13 mints, AH. 320/6 to 394

329 of the 764 coins belong to 5 common issues (AN 16, KB 16, KB 20, M 25 and M 26)
The total of 764 coins should be increased by about 1% to include barbarous copies and by a further 3 to 5% to include unattributable coins with stylised obverse legends (normal rev. types)

Coins naming governors of the north-east Afghan provinces.

Juzjan BALKH	Tokharestan ANDERABAH WALWALIS	Badakhshan various mints	Kabul valley FARWAN	Khuttal ANDIJARAGH	KHUTTAL	Gharjistan BAMIAN GHARJISTAN
Qaratekin				Al Harith ibn Asad 293	Al Harith ibn Asad 285, 292 293, 294 310	
314, 317 318, 319					Ja'far ibn Ahmad 310, 312 313	
Balkatekin 320, 323	Balkatekin + Harb 323	Balkatekin ND (320-6)	Balkatekin 320, 323			
Yusuf 324	Yusuf 323, 324					
Balkatekin + Yusuf 324, 325 326	Balkatekin 324					
Balkatekin 325, 326						
Qaratekin 326, 327	Qaratekin 326, 330	Qaratekin ND (326-9)				
Yusuf 328						
Qatakin 335, 339	Harb ibn Sahlan 336	Al Harith ibn Harb ND (331-43)	Ahmad ibn Yusuf 334			
Mohammed ibn Farighun 337, 340	Maktum ibn Harb 344, 347				Ahmad ibn Ja'far fl.c.340	
Qatakin 341, 342 344, 348	Alptekin 347					
'Abd Allah ibn Qatakin 346	Maktum ibn Harb 359, 360 362, 364	ND (350-65)	CHAZNAVIDS from 351			Shahr Amir Nuh ND (350-65)
Mohammed ibn Farighun 350	Sahlan ibn Maktum + Faiq 365					
Mohammed ibn Farighun + Faiq 368	Faiq 366, 370	ND (365-84)				
Faiq 368	Sahlan ibn Maktum 367, 368 369, 370 374, 378			Al Harith ibn Harb + Harb ND (365-84)		
	Balkatekin 388, 389	ND (384)		Harb ND (384)		Shahr Mashid fl.389

OBVERSE FIELD : 3 line Kalima
 لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له

MARGINS : Obv. inner - Bismillah
 Obv. outer - None

Rev. - Koran IX, 33

Type	Caliph Governor	Obv. field	Bismillah (ending)	Around 12	Obv. type 6	3	9	Rev. field	Around 12	Rev. type 6	3	9
KB 1	Al Harith	عدل الحرث	الارهم كورة بلا خشتات	NUH I ibn NASR	331 - 343	-	-	الله رسول الله نوح بن نصر	••	•	-	-
KB 3	Al Muti' Al Harith b Harb	--	الارهم بكورة بلا خشتات	NUH I ibn NASR	331 - 343	-	-	الله رسول الله المطيع لله نوح بن نصر	-	-	-	-
KB 4	Al Harith	عدل الحرث	"	MANSUR I ibn NUH	350 - 365	-	-	الله رسول الله منصور بن نوح	••	•	-	-
KB 9	Mohammed Al Harith b Harb	يكفي الله	"	MANSUR I ibn NUH	350 - 365	-	-	الله رسول الله منصور بن نوح	••	•	-	-
KB 12	Mohammed Al Harith b Harb	--	"	NUH II ibn MANSUR	365 - 384 (- 387)*	-	-	الله رسول الله نوح بن منصور	••	•	-	-
KB 15	Al Ta'i Al Harith	عدل الحرث	"	NUH II ibn MANSUR	365 - 384 (- 387)*	-	-	الله رسول الله المطيع لله نوح بن منصور	-	-	-	-
KB 16	Al Ta'i Al Harith b Harb	"	"	NUH II ibn MANSUR	365 - 384 (- 387)*	-	-	الله رسول الله المطيع لله نوح بن منصور	اقبال	••	-	-
KB 20	Al Ta'i Wali Mohammed Al Harith b Harb	الوجه ••••	"	NUH II ibn MANSUR	365 - 384 (- 387)*	-	-	الله رسول الله المطيع لله نوح بن منصور	"	"	-	-
KB 21	Al Harith	عدل الحرث	"	SEBUKTEGIN 384	(in Khorasan)	-	-	الله رسول الله سبقتك بين	•	•	•	•
KB 22	Wali Mohammed**	الوجه ••••	"	MAHMUD ibn SEBUKTEGIN	384 - 389 (Sayf al daulah)	-	-	الله رسول الله سبقتك بين	•	•	•	•

* after 304 Nuh's multiple dirhems record a Chaznavid governor **Wali Mohammed (Abu 'Ali) defeated by Mahmud in 384. Old obv. type

OBVERSE FIELD : 3 line Kalima
 لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له

MARGINS : Obv. inner - Bismillah
 Obv. outer - Koran XXX, 3-4

Rev. - Koran IX, 33

Type	Caliph Governor	Obv. field	Bismillah (ending)	Around 12	Obv. type 6	3	9	Rev. field	Around 12	Rev. type 6	3	9
M 1	--	••••	الملاط	NASR I ibn AHMAD	301 - 331	-	-	الله رسول الله نصر بن احمد	بالله	يثق	-	-
M 4	Al Harith b Harb	--	"	NUH I ibn NASR	331 - 343	-	-	الله رسول الله نوح بن نصر	-	-	-	-
M 6	--	نوح بن نصر	الملاط پنج	NUH I ibn NASR	331 - 343	-	-	الله رسول الله نوح بن نصر	••	•	-	-
M 8	Al Harith b Harb	••••	"	NUH I ibn NASR	331 - 343	-	-	الله رسول الله نوح بن نصر	••	•	-	-
M 10	Al Harith b Harb	"	الملاط	MANSUR I ibn NUH	350 - 365	-	-	الله رسول الله منصور بن نوح	"	"	-	-
M 11	--	"	"	MANSUR I ibn NUH	350 - 365	-	-	الله رسول الله منصور بن نوح	"	"	-	-
M 13	Hami Mohammed	••••	"	NUH II ibn MANSUR	365 - 384 (- 387)	-	-	الله رسول الله نوح بن منصور	حامي	محمد	بركه	ويسى
M 17	Mohammed Al Harith b Harb	نوح بن نصر	الملاط پنج	NUH II ibn MANSUR	365 - 384 (- 387)	-	-	الله رسول الله نوح بن منصور	"	"	-	-
M 23	Al Ta'i Al Harith b Harb	••••	"	NUH II ibn MANSUR	365 - 384 (- 387)	-	-	الله رسول الله المطيع لله نوح بن منصور	-	-	-	-
M 25	"	••••	الملاط	NUH II ibn MANSUR	365 - 384 (- 387)	-	-	الله رسول الله المطيع لله نوح بن منصور	اقبال	••	-	-
M 26	Al Ta'i Hami Mohammed Al Harith b Harb	••••	"	NUH II ibn MANSUR	365 - 384 (- 387)	-	-	الله رسول الله المطيع لله نوح بن منصور	"	"	-	-
M 29	--	••••	"	SEBUKTEGIN 384	(in Khorasan)	-	-	الله رسول الله سبقتك بين	••	•	-	-

OBVERSE FIELD : 3 line Kalima
 لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له

MARGINS : Obv. inner - Bismillah
 Obv. outer - Koran XXX, 3-4

Rev. - Koran IX, 33

FIRST SERIES : Bismillah - In the name of God this dirhem was approved at the fortress (or the encampment) of Kishm
 باسم الله رضى هذا الدرهم ببرج (سراج) كيشم

Type	Caliph Governor	Obv. field	Bismillah (ending)	Around 12	Obv. type 6	3	9	Rev. field	Around 12	Rev. type 6	3	9
						MANSUR II	ibn AHMAD	301 - 331				
KS 1	Balkatekin	نوح بن نصر	برج كيشم	→				رسول الله نصر بن احمد بلكا تكين	→			
KS 2	Al Radi Qaratekin	"	"	?				رسول الله الرافعي لله نصر بن احمد قرا تكين				
						NUH I	ibn NASR	331 - 343				
KS 3	--	"	"	→				رسول الله نوح بن نصر		لك		
						MANSUR I	ibn NUH	350 - 365				
KS 4	--	نوح بن نصر	"	"				رسول الله منصور				
						NUH II	ibn MANSUR	365 - 384 (- 387)				
KS 5	Hami Mohammed	"	"	"				رسول الله نوح بن منصور	حاص	محمود	يرك	يحيى
KS 6	Mohammed	"	سرد ققشم	"					∴	"		
KS 8	Al Ta'i Al Harith b Harb	"	"	"				محمد رسول الله الطابع لله نوح بن منصور الحرب بن حرب	اقبال	∴		

SECOND SERIES : Normal bismillah

						NUH I	ibn NASR	331 - 343				
KS 10	Al Muti'	المطبع لله	سراج كيشم	-				رسول الله نوح بن نصر				

OBVERSE FIELD : 3 line Kalima
 لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له

MARGINS : Obv. inner - Bismillah
 Obv. outer - Koran XXX, 3-4

Rev. - Koran IX, 33

Type	Caliph Governor	Obv. field	Bismillah (ending)	Around 12	Obv. type 6	3	9	Rev. field	Around 12	Rev. type 6	3	9
						NUH I	ibn NASR	331 - 343				
JR 1	Al Harith b Harb	المشرف	"	الحرب	بن حرب			رسول الله نوح بن نصر	∴			
						NUH II	ibn MANSUR	365 - 384 (- 387)				
	"	"	"	"	"			رسول الله نوح بن منصور	"	"		

5) NO MINT NAME

						MANSUR I	ibn NUH	350 - 365				
NO 2*	--	منصور	--	∴				رسول الله منصور بن نوح	باله	ينق		
						NUH II	ibn MANSUR	365 - 384 (- 387)				
NO 3**	--	لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له	--	حسبي	ينق				∴			

* Double reverse issue with Koran IX, 33 as margin on both sides. Stylised legends on side catalogued as obverse but normal literate coin type on the other side. cfr. ?Kareh.

** Normal obv. field (3 line Kalima) and single obv. margin (Koran XXX, 3-4). Normal rev. margin (Koran IX, 33). Resembles Fura Badakhsh

6) ZEBAK

OBVERSE FIELD : 3 line Kalima
 slightly contracted
 لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له

MARGINS : Obv. inner - Bismillah (contracted)
 Obv. outer - Koran XXX, 3-4 (contracted)
 Rev. - Koran IX, 33 (fully literate)

اسم لله ضرب هذا الدرهم بزبك

						NUH II	ibn MANSUR	365 - 384 (- 387)				
ZB 2	Al Ta'i	زيد	زبك	∴				رسول الله الطابع لله نوح بن منصور				
ZB 3	Al Ta'i Al Harith b Harb	"	"	"				محمد رسول الله الطابع لله نوح بن منصور	اقبال	∴		
ZB 4	"	"	"	"				الحرب بن حرب	"	"		

OBVERSE FIELD : 3 line Kalima
markedly stylised
X الاله X الله حده
X الاله X الله حده
KA1-5 X سر كاه
KA6 X سر كاه

MARGINS : Obv. inner - Bismillah (stylised)
Obv. outer - Koran XXX, 3-4 (stylised)
Rev. - Koran IX, 33 (fully literate)

Type	Caliph Governor	Obv. field	Bismillah (ending)	Around 12	Obv. type 6	3	9	Rev. field	Around 12	Rev. type 6	3	9
KA 1	--		يكفر الله كارت					الله رسول الله نوح بن منصور		بالتق		
KA 2	Al Harith b Harb	"	"					الله رسول الله منصور بن نوح	00	0		
KA 3	"	"	"					الله رسول الله نوح بن منصور	"	"		
KA 6	Al Ta'i Al Harith b Harb			00	0			الله رسول الله الطابع لله نوح بن منصور الحوث بن حرب	اقبال			

Town in Khuttai province controlled by the governor of Badakhshan

OBVERSE FIELD : 3 line Kalima
X الاله X الله حده سر كاه

MARGINS : Obv. inner - Bismillah (first part contracted) الله ضرب ذلوه بانديجرع كره
Obv. outer - Koran XXX, 3-4 (slightly contracted)
Rev. - Koran IX, 33 (fully literate)

Type	Caliph Governor	Obv. field	Bismillah (ending)	Around 12	Obv. type 6	3	9	Rev. field	Around 12	Rev. type 6	3	9
AD 1	Al Ta'i Al Harith b Harb		حسبوا كره انديجرع كره					الله رسول الله الطابع لله نوح بن منصور الحوث بن حرب	اقبال			
AD 2	Harb	"	"					الله رسول الله سبكتك من اوير	00			

Tokharestan province

OBVERSE FIELD : 3 line Kalima
a) all except AN 4 X الاله X الله و حده لا شريك له
b) type AN 4 X الاله X الله و حده لا شريك له يتق بالله

MARGINS : Obv. inner - Bismillah
Obv. outer - until AH.368 : Koran XXX, 3-4
369 & 370 : not cited by Markoff
from 37x & 374 : no outer marginal legend
Rev. - except AH.374 : Koran IX, 34-5
AH.374 : Koran LXV, 3

Type	Caliph Governor Date	Obv. field	Bismillah (ending)	Around 12	Obv. type 6	3	9	Rev. field	Around 12	Rev. type 6	3	9
AN 4	Sahlan b Maktum 367	سهلات بن مكنوم يتق بالله	اندرابه سنه سبع و ستين و ثلثه					الله رسول الله نوح بن منصور توكل بكفو				
AN 5	Al Ta'i Sahlan b Maktum 368	سهلات بن مكنوم	اندرابه سنه ثمان و ستين	?	وناصره			الله رسول الله الطابع لله نوح بن منصور	?	عدل		
AN 6	Sahlan b Maktum 37x	سهلات بن مكنوم يتق	اندرابه سنه سبعين و ستين	بالله	"			الله رسول الله نوح بن منصور توكل بكفو	يتق			
AN 9	" 374	"	اندرابه سنه اربع و ستين	"	"			الله رسول الله العزيز لله	توكل	?		
AN 10	" 378	ابو منصور سهلات بن مكنوم	اندرابه سنه ثمان و ستين و ثلثه	يتق بالله الاخير	ناصريه			الله رسول الله الطابع لله نوح بن منصور	الملك لله	عدل		
AN 11	Al Ta'i 384	عدل الطابع لله	اندرابه سنه اربع و ثمانين و ثلثه	?	وناصره			الله رسول الله سبكتك من بن	العدل	لله		
AN 12	-- 385	نوح بن منصور	اندرابه سنه خمس و ثمانين	0	0	0	0	الله رسول الله ابو محمد سبيح الدوله و ناصره	plus - 7	الله		
AN 14	Al Ta'i Balkatekin 388	الطابع لله	اندرابه سنه ثمان و ثمانين	بكا تكين	الحاجي			الله رسول الله منصور بن نوح سبيح الدوله منصور	بكا تكين	الحاجي		
AN 16	Al Qadir Balkatekin	القادير بالله	اندرابه سنه تسع و ثمانين	بكا تكين	الصبا (الخفاء)			الله رسول الله يحيى الدوله و امين الله	عدل	الحاجي		

