

## **HISTORY OF THE MUSAFIRID DYNASTY BASED ON NUMISMATIC EVIDENCE**

**DR. SEYYED MASOUD SHAHMORADI**

Zanjan University of Medical Sciences, Zanjan, Iran.

Email: [s.m.shahmoradi@gmail.com](mailto:s.m.shahmoradi@gmail.com)

**SEYED MOHAMMAD NAGHAVI**

University of Religions and Denominations, Pardisan, Iran.

Email: [smn121@gmail.com](mailto:smn121@gmail.com)

### **Abstract**

The Musafirid dynasty was a ruling family in northwest Iran; their power peaked in the 4th century AH (10<sup>th</sup> cen. AD). This paper aims to study their history based on numismatic evidence and historical sources to shed more light on the developments of their era. Based on this study, it's evident that the Musafirids were followers of the Isma'ili Qarmati Shi'i faith. However, they outwardly accepted the religious and political leadership of the Abbasid caliphs as a political ploy. The Musafirids established strong ties with the powerful (Twelver) Shi'ite regime of their time, the Buyids, and were subject to their control. At some point in their history, they had paid political allegiance to the Fatimids, the Isma'ili rulers of North Africa. The names and titles of different ministers and rulers of the Musafirid dynasty on the coins of this period show their importance and rank in the political hierarchy. This study is a descriptive analysis with library-based data collection.

**Keywords:** *Musafirids, Numismatics, Isma'ili, Buyid, 'Abbasid*

### **Introduction**

Muhammad bin Musafir established the Musafirid rule in the first half of the 4th century (10<sup>th</sup> Cen. AD). During the time of his sons, Wahsudan and Marzaban, their power peaked and was divided into two territories, Daylam and Taram, and Azerbaijan. Wahsudan ruled Daylam and Taram, and Marzaban ruled Azerbaijan and parts of Armenia. The Musafirids' power declined after these two rulers. The present research

traces their history based on the study of their coinage. The contents of their coins have been analyzed using the information in the written historical sources. The results of this study include information about their religious beliefs, their political ties with other rulers of that time (Abbasid, Buyid and Fatimid rulers); the role of Musafirid emirs and ministers in the developments in that period, and some other points about their position in the political hierarchy of that time. It shows how the political and cultural elements of the fourth century AH (10<sup>th</sup> cen. AD) are reflected on their coins, such as the expansion of Shi'a belief, the weakening political rule of Abbasid Caliphs while maintaining their religious and ceremonial role, and Buyids' authority and power.

No independent analysis has yet been done in investigating the history of Musafirid based on the numismatic study before this. However, in some research, their coins have been examined or mentioned. Such as, in *The Islamic Coins of Iran from the Beginning to the Rise of the Seljuqs*, by Hassan Reza'i Baghbidi, some Musafirid coins are introduced and described. Where a concise and general reference to the text of one of their coins (Wahsudan b. Muhammad) indicates their belief in Isma'ili Shi'ism; however, an analysis of the contents of these coins is briefly described in this book. On the other hand, Sa'eed Soleimani, in *The Numismatic History of Local Dynasties in Iran*, has provided a detailed coinage of the Musafirids in a thirty pages long chapter dedicated to them, being primarily a descriptive catalogue; his book serves its purpose by presenting the coins and their descriptions alongside some historical information and notes. However, another detailed and more accurate coinage of the Musafirids is provided by Adam Vardanyan in an article published in 2007; this article also covers a detailed coinage of the Musafirids and some related historical facts based on the coins. Hence, there is a need to get historical analysis and systematic study of the coins. Therefore, this research profoundly proceeds to the comprehensive historical analysis and a systematic study of the coins, providing reflective information about their content and historical aspects. A chapter of *The History of Shi'ism in Iran Based on Coinology from the Beginning to the Establishment of Safavids* by Seyyed Masoud Shahmoradi is also dedicated to the Musafirids' coinage, especially the coins with Shi'a elements, and description and analysis of such coins. S. M. Stern, in his article, "The Early Isma'ili Missionaries in North-West Persia and Khurasan and Transoxiana", also introduced and analyzed some coins of Musafirid rulers, especially a coin issued by Wahsudan bin Muhammad, which includes some Qarmati Isma'ili Shi'ite beliefs. In the article "Musafirids and Shi'ism in Daylam and Azerbaijan in the 4th century AH"<sup>1</sup> by Seyyed Masoud Shahmoradi, the texts of some coins

from Musafirids (Wahsudan b. Muhammad and Marzaban b. Muhammad) are also mentioned. The article “Coin or an Important Historical Document”<sup>2</sup> by Ahmad Kasravi also includes a short reference to a coin of Wahsudan bin Muhammad, the texts on which indicate the Isma‘ili belief of Musafirids. In another article by Shahmoradi, “Examination and Analysis of Iranian Kingdoms’ Attitude towards Shi‘ism Based on the Coins’ texts from the Fourth to the Seventh Century AH (13<sup>th</sup> cen. AD)”<sup>3</sup>, a coin of Wahsudan bin Muhammad is discussed, which contains the beliefs of Isma‘ili Shi‘ism. The focus of most of the mentioned research is the study of a Musafirid coin issued by Wahsudan bin Muhammad, which indicates their religious orientation towards Isma‘ili Shi‘ism. In the current paper, in addition to a more detailed study of the Musafirids’ religious orientation based on the analysis of numismatics, other developments during the Musafirid period (internal affairs and their foreign relations) have also been analyzed based on the numismatics. The research aims to show the use of numismatic studies in reviewing the history of Iran in the Islamic period.

### **The Musafirids**

The Musafirid dynasty (Salaris, Kankarians, Sallarid, or Langarians) branched off from the Jastanid family of Daylam and appeared in the early 4th century AH (10<sup>th</sup> century AD). They established their rule in Taram and then expanded their domain to Azerbaijan, Arran, Armenia, Zanjan, and Daylam. Muhammad b. Musafir was the founder of the Musafirid to be mentioned in historical sources. He was the lord of Shemiran Castle in the Taram region at the beginning, and then he expanded his territory, which caused the extinction of the Jastanid dynasty.<sup>4</sup>

In 330 A.H., Muhammad b. Musafir was deposed and imprisoned by his sons, Marzaban and Wahsudan. Ibn Miskawayh and Ibn Athir mentioned Muhammad’s hot temper and ill behaviour as the reason for this action.<sup>5</sup> Wahsudan became the ruler in Taram, and his brother Marzaban also extended his rule to Azerbaijan, Arran, and some of the eastern regions of Armenia up to Darband and controlled the territory of the Musafirids from his headquarters in Ardabil.<sup>6</sup>

Marzaban, the greatest ruler of this dynasty<sup>7</sup>, died in 346 AH (957/8 AD) and was survived by his children Jastan, Ibrahim, Naser, and Kaykhusraw. After Marzaban, their power declined due to the strained relations between his children and Wahsudan. During this period, Jastan, Naser, and their mother were killed by Wahsudan. Ibrahim also lost the battle with Wahsudan and took refuge with Rukn al-Dawlah, although he

regained Azerbaijan's control with the Buyids' help.<sup>8</sup> After these events, there is no other information about them in historical sources, and their history is shrouded in ambiguity. It seems that the Nizarians of Alamut put an end to the rule of Musafirids of Daylam,<sup>9</sup> and the Rawadid defeated the Azerbaijan branch of them.<sup>10</sup>

### **Musafirid Coinage**

The study of ancient coins and their contents plays a significant role in understanding historical developments of the time. A coin is a document that has not been changed or tampered with since its minting until it reaches us. That's why the coins are considered "the best documents to confirm historical records"<sup>11</sup>. Therefore, it is possible to trust the data obtained from numismatic studies and analyse and interpret historical events by comparing them with the narratives of written sources.

Examining The Musafirid's coins sheds light on their internal and foreign affairs and religious orientation, which will be addressed here using the reports of written historical sources.

#### **1. Internal affairs**

Examining and analysing the Musafirids' coinage sheds light on the developments in their internal affairs and governance, which include the position of Muhammad bin Musafir, Wahsudan bin Muhammad, and Ibrahim bin Marzaban in the ruling hierarchy, as well as the role of some ministers and emirs.

The first coin to be studied was minted at Urmia in 333 AH (944/5 AD); Muhammad b. Musafir, founder of the kingdom, is titled "al-Malik" (fig. 1) on this coin. This very interesting coin bears the name of al-Muqtadir as the caliph, although he had died, and al-Muttaqi was the caliph then. Introducing this coin, Vardanyan points out that this coin and another one with the same date (fig. 2) are minted with the same obverse die<sup>12</sup>. On the contrary, Soleimani suggests 313 AH (925 AD) for this coin<sup>13</sup>, probably because of al-Muqtadir's name. Upon close observation, the correct date of the coin is readable as 333 AH (944/5 AD). Thus, this coin is a clear evidence of Muhammad b. Musafir being in power until 333 AH (944/5 AD). However, according to written historical sources, he was deposed by his sons Marzaban and Wahsudan in 330 AH (941/2 AD)<sup>14</sup>. Therefore, a contradiction arises in comparing the reports of written historical sources about Muhammad bin Musafirid's

dethronement and the numismatic evidence in this case. This contradiction becomes more serious when we see that in the other coin issued by Marzaban in Urmia in 333 AH (944/5 AD), his father's name follows the same title, "al-Malik." (fig. 2) In other words, during the reign of Marzaban, when his father was deposed, Muhammad's name, with a title indicating his authority as king, was still inscribed on the coins. Comparing these coins with historical records can help us resolve this contradiction and better understand the political situation of that time. This numismatic evidence, i.e., Muhammad's name with the title "al-Malik" being used on the coins until 333 AH (944/5 AD), indicates that, although according to historical reports, Muhammad was deposed by his sons in 330 AH (941/2 AD), he was not wholly removed from the political hierarchy. Mentioning his name with the title, Marzaban honored his father and maintained his position as founder and head of the family. A report by Ibn Miskaweyh supports this conclusion. According to him, when in 337 AH (947/8 AD), Marzaban planned to attack Rayy and take it from Rukn al Dawlah the Buyid, he called upon his father to get his opinion. Ibn Miskaweyh reports: "When his father came, he greeted him, kissed the ground in front of his father, made him sit on the chair, and stood before him and did not sit down until his father insisted and swore several times. Then he sat down." Finally, Marzaban did not accept his father's opinion against attacking Ray until his father said goodbye to him in tears.<sup>15</sup>



Figure 1: Muhammad b. Musafir, Urmia, 333 AH (944/5 AD), Ref: Vardanyan, 2007: 8

Obv: لا اله الا / الله وحده / لا شريك له / محمد بن مسافر / الملك

Obv. 1: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بارمية سنة ثلث وثلثين وثلثمائة

Obv. 2: لله الامر من قبل ومن بعد ويومئذ يفرح المؤمنون بنصر الله

Rev: الله / محمد / رسول / الله / المقدر بالله

Rev. 1: محمد رسول الله ارسله بالهدى ودين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله ولو كره المشركون

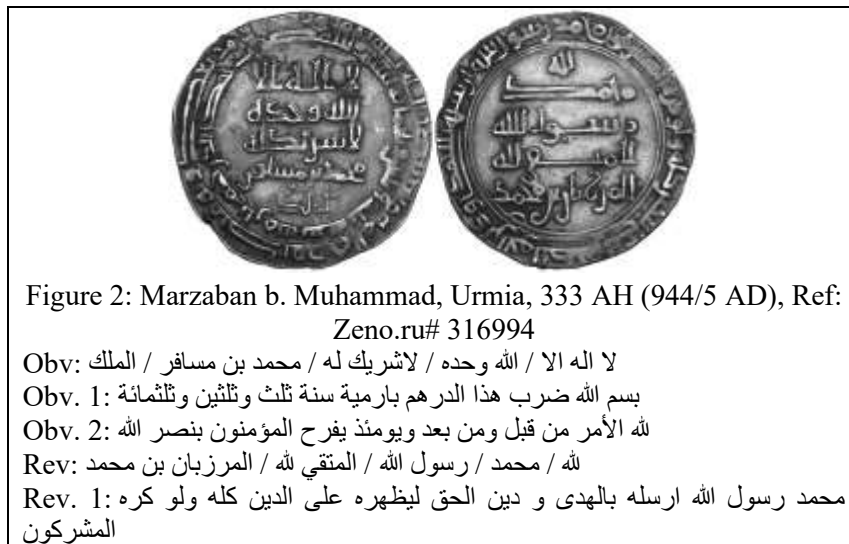


Figure 2: Marzaban b. Muhammad, Urmia, 333 AH (944/5 AD), Ref: Zeno.ru# 316994

Obv: لا اله الا الله وحده / لا شريك له / محمد بن مسافر / الملك  
 Obv. 1: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بارمية سنة ثلث وتلثين وتلثمائة:  
 Obv. 2: لله الامر من قبل ومن بعد ويومئذ يفرح المؤمنون بنصر الله  
 Rev: لله / محمد / رسول الله / المتقي لله / المرزبان بن محمد  
 Rev. 1: محمد رسول الله ارسله بالهدى و دين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله ولو كره المشركون

Another point revealed by the study of Musafirid numismatics is the position of Wahsudan b. Muhammad and Ibrahim b. Marzaban in their political structure. Marzaban b. Muhammad was considered the greatest ruler of this dynasty; however, based on numismatic evidence, Wahsudan b. Muhammad and Ibrahim b. Marzaban can also be considered among the powerful rulers of the Musafirid dynasty because the names of these two and their coins are also mentioned on the coins of other Musafirid rulers. This shows the political power and position of Wahsudan and Ibrahim in the hierarchy.

Wahsudan b. Muhammad's date of death is unknown, but he ruled until 355 AH (966/7 AD). His name appears on a coin issued by Isma'il b. Wahsudan, at Ardabil in 351 AH (962/3 AD), as "al-Salar Wahsudan b. Muhammad". (Fig. 3) In some coins of Abu al-Hassan Noah b. Wahsudan struck at Ardabil in 355 AH (966/7 AD); his name also appears as "al-Salar al-Sayyed Wahsudan b. Muhammad" (Fig. 4) Abul-Qasim Sharmazan b. Meshki mentions Wahsudan's name on his coins as "al-Salar al-Sayyed Wahsudan b. Muhammad Saif al-Muhammad". This coin (Fig. 5) was minted at Ardabil in 357 AH (968/9 AD).

He was one of Wahsudan's generals<sup>16</sup>, Isma'il and Noah were sons of Wahsudan, and Sharmazan was one of his generals. Therefore, finding his name on their coins is not unusual, but finding the name and title "Wahsudan bin al-Salar" on a coin belonging to Ibrahim bin Marzaban seems quite strange. This coin was minted in Ardabil in 355 AH (966/7 AD). (Fig. 6) "Salar" was the title of the Musafirid rulers, including Muhammad b. Musafir.<sup>17</sup> Therefore, the phrase "Wahsudan bin

Al Salar” on this coin of Ibrahim bin Marzaban coins is the same as “Wahsudan bin Muhammad”.



Considering the rivalry between Wahsudan and Marzaban's sons, this is very surprising. After the death of Marzaban, Wahsudan's relationship with his brother's sons led to hostility to the point where he killed Marzaban's two sons, Jastan and Naser, and he was continuously at war with Ibrahim. Among them was a battle in 355 AH (966/7 AD), in which Wahsudan sent an army to Azerbaijan and defeated Ibrahim. After this defeat, Ibrahim fled to Rayy to Rukn al-Dawlah.<sup>18</sup> Considering that the above coin was struck in 355 AH (966/7 AD), that is, the same year

when Ibrahim was defeated, in Azerbaijan (Ardabil), it may be possible to assume that the name of Wahsudan on this coin was an indication of Ibrahim's subordination to him and acceptance of his supremacy. However, this subordination is not indicated in other historical sources; according to these sources, he fled to Rayy and took refuge with Rukn al-Dawlah. Later, with his help, he conquered Azerbaijan again.<sup>19</sup>



Figure 5: Sharmazan b. Meshki, Ardabil, 357 AH (967/8 AD), Ref: Zeno.ru# 116017

Obv: لا اله الا / الله وحده / لا شريك له / شرمزن بن مشكي  
 Obv. 1: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم باردييل سنة سبع وخمسين وتلثمائة  
 Obv. 2: لله الامر من قبل ومن بعد ويومئذ يفرح المؤمنون بنصر الله  
 Rev: لله / محمد رسول الله / المطيع لله / السالار السعيد / وهسودان بن محمد / سيف آل محمد  
 Rev. 1: محمد رسول الله ارسله بالهدى ودين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله ولو كره المشركون



Figure 6: Ibrahim b. Marzaban, Ardabil, 355 AH (966/7 AD), Ref: Zeno.ru# 13878

Obv: لا اله الا / الله وحده / لا شريك له / ركن الدولة / ابو علي  
 Obv. 1: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم باردييل سنة خمس وخمسين وتلثمائة  
 Obv. 2: لله الامر من قبل ومن بعد ويومئذ يفرح المؤمنون بنصر الله  
 Rev: لله / محمد رسول الله / المطيع لله / السالار المنصور / ابراهيم بن المرزبان / وهسودان بن السالار  
 Rev. 1: محمد رسول الله ارسله بالهدى ودين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله ولو كره المشركون

In addition to the coins issued by himself, Ibrahim's name also appears on the coins of his brother's Jastan, which was minted in Ardabil in 347 AH (958/9 AD) (Fig. 7), and Kaykhusraw, which was probably



minted in Ardabil in 357 AH (967/8 AD)<sup>20</sup>. After the death of Marzaban b. Muhammad, in 346 AH (957/8 AD), his son Jastan succeeded him based on his father's will, and his brothers, Ibrahim and Naser, obeyed him. Wahsudan killed Jastan in 349 AH (960/1 AD).<sup>21</sup> Thus, his brother Ibrahim succeeded him. The inclusion of Ibrahim's name in the coins during the reign of his brother, Jastan, indicates Ibrahim's position during Jastan's rule, and perhaps these two together led the Musafirid's government in Azerbaijan. However, Jastan was the official ruler at that time.

Kaykhusraw was another son of Marzaban (besides Jastan, Ibrahim, and Nasser). He was a minor at the time of Marzaban's death in 346 AH (957/8 AD), and on this occasion, Marzaban did not mention his name among the candidates to succeed him.<sup>22</sup> Kaykhusraw's rule is not mentioned in historical sources. Still, the coins with his name indicate his position at a certain point in the history of Musafirids, and it is possible to speak about his rule in Azerbaijan on this basis, especially since the coin shown above was minted in Ardabil, the capital of the Musafirids. The last report about Ibrahim in historical sources is related to the year 355 AH (966/7 AD) when he regained control over Azerbaijan with the help of Rukn al-Dawlah. These sources tell us that Ibrahim could not administer his territory competently. On this occasion, he was arrested and imprisoned by other powerful men whose names have not been mentioned, although the year of this event is not mentioned in these sources.<sup>23</sup> Considering that the mentioned coin of Kaykhusraw was probably minted in 357 AH (967/8 AD), it can be said that the incident of arrest and the overthrow of Ibrahim did not happen until this date, and he was the ruler until this time because his name is included on the described coin of Kaykhusraw.

Another point that becomes clearer by examining the Musafirid coins is the position of local ministers and emirs during this period because some of the Musafirid coins contain the names of the ministers and emirs of that time, which indicates their high status and their role in the political hierarchy. In some of Ibrahim's coins, which were minted in Ardabil in 354 and 355 AH (966/7 AD), the name of his vizier appears as "Al-Wazir Sa'eed bin 'Abdullah".<sup>24</sup> "Abul Qasim Sharmazan bin Meshki" is also found in some Musafirid coins.



As mentioned, Sharmazan was one of the generals of Wahsudan. Among these coins, the following can be mentioned: A coin struck at Ardabil in 357 AH (967/8 AD), where the words “Al-Salar al-Sayyid Wahsudan b. Muhammad Saif Aal e Muhammad” are also mentioned (Fig. 5), and another one struck at Ardabil in 360 AH (970/1 AD), which bears the name of “Rukn al-Dawlah Abu Ali”. (Fig. 8)

Some other Musafirid coins bear “Abu Nasr Jastan bin Sharmazan’s” name, including a dirham minted in Ardabil in 359 AH (969/70 AD). (Fig. 9) Jastan bin Sharmazan was one of the active nobles in the Musafirid political hierarchy. The author of *Tajārib- al- Umam* mentioned him among the commanders of Marzaban bin Muhammad. Later, in 342 AH (953/4 AD), he was also mentioned among the generals of Daisam.<sup>25</sup> After Marzaban b. Muhammad’s death in 346 AH (957/8 AD) and the rule of Jastan bin Marzaban, Sharmazan being one of Marzaban’s emirs and the governor of Armenia, did not obey Jastan because he was planning to take control of that area, in 349 AH (960/1 AD), Jastan b. Sharmazan and Ibrahim b. Marzaban allied against Jastan b. Marzaban, but they failed, and the brothers Ibrahim and Jastan finally united against him. Jastan b. Sharmazan then supported the uprising of a person named “Mostajir Billah” and became the commander of his army. This movement also failed. Ibn Sharmazan then joined Wahsudan b. Muhammad and united with him against Ibrahim. In the events related to the recapture of Azerbaijan by Rukn al-Dawlah for Ibrahim in 355 AH

(966/7 AD), it is also mentioned that Ibn ‘Umaid, the minister to Rukn al-Dawlah, led Jastan b. Sharmazan to peace and obey Ibrahim.<sup>26</sup>



Figure 8: Sharmazan b. Meshki, Ardebil, 360 AH (970/1 AD), Ref: Leu Numismatik AG, Web Auction 26, Lot# 6271<sup>27</sup>

Obv: لا اله الا / الله وحده / لا شريك له / ركن الدولة / ابو علي بويه  
 Obv. 1: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بارديبل سنة ستين وثلثمائة  
 Obv. 2: لله الامر من قبل ومن بعد ويومئذ يفرح المؤمنون بنصر الله  
 Rev: الله / محمد رسول الله / المطيع لله / الناصر ابو القاسم / شرمزن بن مشكي  
 Rev. 1: محمد رسول الله ارسله بالهدى ودين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله ولو كره المشركون



Figure 9: Jastan b. Sharmazan, Ardebil, 359 AH (969/70 AD), Ref: Vardanyan, 2007: 16

Obv: لا اله الا / الله وحده / لا شريك له  
 Obv. 1: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بارديبل سنة تسع وخمسين وثلثمائة  
 Obv. 2: لله الامر من قبل ومن بعد ويومئذ يفرح المؤمنون بنصر الله  
 Rev: الله / محمد رسول الله / المطيع لله / المسدد ابونصر / جستان بن شرمزن  
 Rev. 1: محمد رسول الله ارسله بالهدى ودين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله ولو كره المشركون

## 2. Religious Tendency

One of the essential results of studying Musafirid coinage is to identify their religious tendencies. This is mainly achieved by examining one of Wahsudan b. Muhammad's coins minted in 343 AH (954/5 AD) in Jalalabad<sup>28</sup>. (Fig. 10) On this type of coin, four texts can be seen that indicate the Musafirids were believers in the Shi'ite faith.

The first phrase is “‘Ali Khalifat Allah”. This phrase generally indicates the Shi‘ite beliefs of the Musafirid, specifically Wahsudan bin Muhammad’s. Before the Musafirid, this phrase can only be found in some coins of ‘Alids of Tabaristan, including Hasan bin Zayd (250-270 AH / 864-884 AD).<sup>29</sup> In Iranian coins during the Islamic period, the position of ‘Ali b. Abi Talib as the successor of the Prophet is generally expressed with the phrase “‘Ali Wali Allah” Including some of Kayousi Bawandids’ coins in the second half of the 4th century. The contemporary rulers of Musafirids also used the phrase “‘Ali Wali Allah” in their coins, including some coins of Rostam b. Sherwin, dated 356, 361 and 365 AH (975/6 AD), Marzaban b. Sherwin, dated 371 AH (981/2 AD), and Shahriar bin Rostam, dated 373 AH (983/4 AD).<sup>30</sup> The use of the term “‘Ali Wali Allah” is also observed on the coins of other Shi‘ite rulers or those inclined to Shi‘ism in later periods, but the term “‘Ali Khalifat Allah” is only used on the coins of ‘Alids of Tabaristan and the Musafirids.

The second phrase is “Saif al-Aal -i- Muhammad”. This title attributed to Wahsudan, in some coins, is a complete Shi‘ite expression, showing extreme respect and interest of the Musafirid ruler to the Progeny of the Prophet.<sup>31</sup> In addition, this phrase can imply that the Musafirids were trying to strengthen their sovereignty by showing their loyalty and gratitude to the Progeny of the Prophet. In addition to the coins minted in 343 AH (954/5 AD), this phrase is also found on the coins minted in Ardabil in 366 AH (976/7 AD), struck under Wahsudan b. Muhammad, and 357 AH (967/8 AD), struck by Sharmazan bin Meshki under the name of Wahsudan.<sup>32</sup> In the authors’ studies, this title was not observed on any coin before and after the Musafirids, so its use is limited to these Musafirid coins.

The third point is inscribing the 55<sup>th</sup> verse of Al-Ma’ida<sup>33</sup> on the coins by Musafirids. This verse has a specific Shi‘ite background; according to Shi‘i sources, this verse was revealed specifically for ‘Ali b. Abi Talib, when he gave his ring as charity during prayer.<sup>34</sup> The inscription of this verse and the phrase “‘Ali Khalifa Allah” on the coins show the special attention of Wahsudan b. Muhammad to ‘Ali bin Abi Talib and its religious importance.

The fourth element is the names of imams based on the Isma‘ili beliefs. ‘Ali, Al-Hasan, Al-Husain, ‘Ali, Muhammad, Ja‘far, Isma‘il, and Muhammad are the Imams according to Isma‘ili beliefs, and their names are written on these coins. The last two imams, Isma‘il and Muhammad, are specifically related to Isma‘ili beliefs as Ismail, son of Imam Ja‘far -

al- Sadiq, and Muhammad bin Ismail, are considered the righteous Imams in Isma'ili Shi'ites beliefs.<sup>35</sup> The inclusion of these two names in the list of Imams indicates that the Musafirids were followers of the Qarmati branch of the Isma'ili faith, believers in the Mahdship of "Muhammad bin Isma'il" and did not accept the Fatimid caliph Mu'izz (341-365 AH / 952-975 AD) a righteous Imam.<sup>36</sup> Otherwise, they would have mentioned "Mu'izz" as Imam on their coins.

Further explaining this point, it should be said that after the martyrdom of Imam Ja'far Sadiq, a dispute arose regarding his succession, which led to the formation of six sects. Among these sects, two sects formed the first Isma'ili communities. A group that became known as "Isma'iliyya al Khalisa" believed that the Imamate after Imam Ja'far al-Sadiq passed to his son, Isma'il. They denied the death of Isma'il and believed that the news of his death was to deceive the enemies because Isma'il would not die but would rise to settle the affairs of the people. Another group of Isma'ilis, by accepting the death of Isma'il, believed that the Imamate after Imam Sadiq passed to his grandson, Muhammad b. Isma'il. This sect of Isma'ilia is known as "Mubarakiyah". The followers of Muhammad bin Isma'il (Mubarakih) were divided into two groups after his death; the majority of Mubarakih denied the death of Muhammad bin Isma'il and believed that he was the seventh and last Imam who would rise as the promised Mahdi or Qa'im. This sect is the precursor of Qarmati Isma'ilis. The other group, as a minority group, accepted the death of Muhammad bin Isma'il and continued the line of Imamate in his children and descendants. This group is considered the predecessor of the Fatimids of Egypt.<sup>37</sup>

It should be mentioned that the Qarmati Isma'ili's propagation had started in Iran before the Musafirids' establishment and spread across Iran parallel to them. At the beginning of the 4th century of Hijri, this group of Isma'ilis, who were against the Fatimids, tried to propagate in Iran. Abu Hatem al Razi, an Isma'ili preacher waiting for the advent of the Mahdi, spread his call from Rayy to Azerbaijan and Daylam. This propagation attracted some rulers and local governors, including some of the Jastanid rulers of Daylam. The preachers of the Isma'ili community of Rayy, who rejected the Fatimids' claims and believed in Muhammad bin Isma'il's return, converted Marzaban b. Muhammad and his brother Wahsudan to the Ismaili faith. Therefore, these Musafirid rulers believed in the Mahdship of Muhammad bin Isma'il and did not accept the imamate of the Fatimid caliphs. The contents of the coins mentioned above by Wahsudan is a clear proof of this historical fact.<sup>38</sup>

Another interesting point is about the names of imams on Wahsudan's coins. Farhad Daftary, quoting Nobakhti and Qummi, writes that the Qarmatis had limited the number of their imams to seven; that's why Isma'ilis were known as Sab'iyyah (Seven Imamis). These seven imams were: 'Ali, Hasan, Hussain, 'Ali b. Hussain, Muhammad b. 'Ali, Ja'far b. Muhammad, and finally, Muhammad b. Isma'il b. Ja'far, who, from their point of view, was the Mahdi. According to the authors mentioned above, to limit the imams to seven, they removed Isma'il, the son of Imam Ja'far al-Sadiq, from the line of Qarmatid-accepted imams and Muhammad b. Isma'il was counted as the seventh and last imam. However, these authors contradict their previous statement by mentioning the fact that, from the Qarmatian point of view, the Imamate was delegated to his son Isma'il during the presence of Imam al Sadiq; on this basis, Isma'il must be the seventh Imam, and his son Muhammad would be the eighth. Then, stating the lack of clarity of this hierarchy, Daftary writes that perhaps some of Qarmatis included Isma'il in the chain of imams, and others removed his name from this list.<sup>39</sup> If this is true, the Musafirids should be considered as one of the groups of Qarmatis who accepted Isma'il as Imam, as seen on Wahsudan's coins, both "Isma'il" and "Muhammad" are mentioned in the Imams' list on the coins. In this case, applying the name of "Seven Imamis" to this group of Isma'ilis has the problem pointed out by Daftary because, in this case, Muhammad bin Isma'il would be their eighth Imam.<sup>40</sup>



Figure 10: Wahsudan b. Muhammad, Jalalabad, 343 AH (954/5 AD),  
Ref: Soleimani, 1396: 329.

Obv: لا اله الا / الله محمد / رسول الله

Obv. 1: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بجلل آباد سنة ثلاث واربعين وثلاثمائة:

Obv. 2: محمد علي الحسن الحسين علي محمد جعفر اسمعيل محمد

Rev: علي خليفة / عبدك / الله / وهسودان بن / محمد

Rev. 1: سيف آل محمد

Rev. 2: انما وليكم الله ورسوله والذين امنوا الذين يقيمون الصلوة ويؤتون الزكوة وهم راکعون

### 3. Foreign Relations

The texts on the Musafirid's coins show their connection with the three important dynasties of the 4th century AH (10<sup>th</sup> Cen. AD), 'Abbasids, Buyids, and Fatimids.

The Abbasid caliph Al-Muqtadar Billah's name appeared on Muhammad b. Musafir's coins, Al-Muttaqi Lillah, and Al-Mati' Lillah's names are mentioned on Marzaban b. Muhammad's coins. Al-Mati' Lillah's name can also be found on the coins of Jastan b. Marzaban, Ibrahim b. Marzaban, Isma'il b. Wahsudan, Noah b. Wahsudan and Sharmazan b. Meshki. (Fig. 1-9, 11, 12) A question arises: Why would these Shi'a rulers issue their coins under the Sunni 'Abbasid caliph's name? This can be a sign of accepting their religious and political superiority, while during this period, the Abbasid caliphs had lost their previous authority and had been subdued by the Buyids. Explaining this matter, S.M. Stern writes that the Isma'ili beliefs were not included on the coins of Marzaban, and the name of the Abbasid caliph was mentioned on them, which indicated the acceptance of the Abbasid caliph's superiority. While it was only a political policy, to avoid the fact that a public confession and proclamation of Shi'i belief could result in unrest and rivalry among the Sunni majority of Iran. He adds that this was even permissible for Taqiyyah, one of the Shi'a beliefs. Stern then mentions that even Daisam, who was from the Khawarij and ruled Azerbaijan for a while, also included the name of the Abbasid caliph al-Muti' on his coins for the same reason. (Stern, 1960: 72-73)

Further explaining this matter, it should be said that the 'Abbasid caliphate had political and religious authority until the middle of the third century AH (9<sup>th</sup> Cen. AD). However, after this period, it became weak and lost its political power, but it still had its religious legitimacy in the minds of the Sunni Majority of Muslims. Since the middle of the third century AH (9<sup>th</sup> Cen. AD), several independent and semi-independent governments appeared in the Islamic world. They limited the 'Abbasid Caliphate's power to Iraq only. The 'Abbasids became weaker in the fourth century AH (10<sup>th</sup> Cen. AD). The most important event of this period was the rise of the Buyids as an independent and powerful kingdom. They took over Iraq, the primary domain of the 'Abbasids. As a powerful government, they ruled Iran and Iraq for over a century from the first half of the 4th century. Being Shi'ite, the Buyids made the 'Abbasid caliphate their plaything but avoided its destruction because the 'Abbasid caliphs, despite losing their political power, still had religious authority and credibility for the Sunnis, who were the majority, and

independent rulers in different areas, including Iran, needed their approval to gain political and religious power and legitimacy.<sup>41</sup> The Buyids maintained 'Abbasid caliphs as titular heads of state and religious authority of the Sunni Muslims and accepted that the rulers' right to govern was based on the Caliphal approval.<sup>42</sup> By adopting this policy, they managed to maintain their government during a turbulent period for a century and spread Shi'ite ideas in Iraq and Iran.<sup>43</sup> One of the apparent signs of this Buyid policy is the inclusion of the names of the 'Abbasid caliphs on most of the Buyid coins.<sup>44</sup> Musafirids also adopted the Buyid's policy in this matter, while the Buyids were far more powerful than them and even controlled the caliphs. They issued their coins in the name of the 'Abbasid caliphs to prevent hurting the Sunni majority's religious sentiments and strengthen their rule. Therefore, this action was a political policy and should not be interpreted as the belief of Musafirids in the religious authority of the 'Abbasid caliphs.<sup>45</sup>



Figure 11: Marzaban b. Muhammad, Azerbaijan, 341 AH (952/3 AD), Ref: Zeno.ru# 82498

Obv: لا اله الا الله وحده / لا شريك له

Obv. 1: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم باذربيجان سنة احدى واربعين وتلثمائة

Obv. 2: الله الامر من قبل ومن بعد ويومئذ يفرح المؤمنون بنصر الله

Rev: محمد / رسول الله / المطيع لله / المرزبان بن محمد / الملك

Rev. 1: محمد رسول الله ارسله بالهدى ودين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله ولو كره المشركون

The Musafirid's political ties with the Buyids are evident from their coinage. Rukn al Dawlah Hasan b. Buwayh's (338-366 AH / 949-976 AD) name appears on some of Musafirid coins; a few examples are some of the coins issued by Ibrahim b. Marzaban, Abul Qasim Sharmazan b. Meshki (Fig. 6 & 8) and Kaykhusraw b. Marzaban.<sup>46</sup>

Ibrahim b. Marzaban had very good relations with the Buyid ruler, Rukn al Dawlah. Defeated by his uncle, Wahsudan, in 355 AH (966/7 AD), Ibrahim took refuge with his brother-in-law, Rukn al Dawlah, in Rayy. He warmly welcomed Ibrahim, his wife's brother, and



helped him take back Azerbaijan in the same year. At this time, Ibn 'Umaid, Rukn al-Dawlah's minister, who was sent to Azerbaijan with Ibrahim and had played an important role in his re-dominance of this region, observed that Ibrahim, due to his incompetence, was unable to administer Azerbaijan, which had abundant income, properly. Therefore, he suggested to Rukn al-Dawlah that he should manage this region himself. But Rukn al-Dawlah rejected this proposal because he believed that, in this case, he would be accused of greed in the property of the person who had taken refuge with him. Therefore, he ordered Ibn Umaid to hand over Azerbaijan to Ibrahim and return.<sup>47</sup> Regarding the relations of Kaykhusraw, the son of Marzaban, with Buyids, it should be said that During the decline of the Musafirid's rule, he lived in Rayy with Fakhr al-Dawlah (the son of Rukn al-Dawlah, whose name was mentioned on the coin above).<sup>48</sup>



Figure 12: Ibrahim b. Marzaban, Ardebil, 354 AH (965/6 AD), Ref: Zeno.ru# 28386

Obv: لا اله الا الله / وحده لا شريك له / المطيع لله / ابو منصور بن السلار

Obv. 1: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بارديبيل سنة اربع وخمسين وتلثمائة

Obv. 2: لله الامر من قبل ومن بعد ويومئذ يفرح المؤمنون بنصر الله

Rev: لله/ محمد رسول الله/ السلار المنصور/ ابواسحق ابراهيم/ بن المرزبان

Rev. 1: محمد رسول الله ارسله بالهدى ودين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله ولو كره المشركون

In addition to the mentioned cases, another interesting coin from the Musafirid period indicates a critical phase of the relations between the Buyids and the Musafirids. In 337 AH (948/7 AD), Marzaban b. Muhammad tried to capture Rayy, but Rukn al-Dawlah defeated and arrested him and made one of his generals, Muhammad b. Abd al-Razzaq, the ruler of Azerbaijan. Wahsudan, Marzaban's brother, also failed in defeating Ibn Abd al-Razzaq, and the region remained under his governance; he even collected their taxes until his return to Rayy in 338 AH (949/50 AD).<sup>49</sup> A coin minted in Maragheh in 337 bearing Ibn Abd al-Razzaq's name (Fig. 13) shows that he also issued coins during his stay in Azerbaijan.<sup>50</sup>

Issuing coins in the name of the Buyid rulers indicates acceptance of their superiority and dominance by the Musafirids.<sup>51</sup> At that time, the Buyids were the real power of the region, and behind the ‘Abbasid Caliphs. Besides that, their critical role in establishing Musafirid’s governance in Azerbaijan and the Ibn Abd -al- Razzaq incident all together confirms that Musafirids accepted their sovereignty and accepted their subservience by putting the Buyid ruler’s names on their coins.



Figure 13: Muhammad b. Abd al Razzaq, Maragheh, 337 AH (948/7 AD), Ref: Vardanyan, 2007: 9.

Obv: لا اله الا / الله وحده / لا شريك له

Obv. 1: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالمراغة سنة سبع وثلثين وثمانمائة

Obv. 2: لله الأمر من قبل ومن بعد ويومئذ يفرح المؤمنون بنصر الله

Rev: لله / محمد رسول الله / المطيع لله / محمد بن عبدالرزاق

Rev. 1: محمد رسول الله ارسله بالهدى ودين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله ولو كره المشركون

Another Musafirid coin indicates that they had some political relation with the Fatimids of Egypt for a short period.

According to the Fatimids tenets, after Muhammad bin Isma‘il, his descendants, ‘Abdullah, Ahmad, Hussain, and ‘Abdullah or ‘Ubaidullah, were the Imams.<sup>52</sup> ‘Ubaidullah Mahdi founded the Fatimid caliphate in North Africa at the end of the third century. As mentioned earlier, the Musafirids, according to Wahsudan’s coins, believed in the Mahdism of Muhammad bin Isma‘il. As a result, they did not recognize the Imamate of the Fatimid caliphs because, from their point of view, the Imamate’s continuation after Muhammad was not valid. Therefore, in the first place, it seems that there was no relationship between them, but there is a coin issued by Ibrahim b. Marzaban in Armenia in 353 AH (964/5 AD) which contains the name of the Fatimid caliph, al Mu‘izz, with the title Amir al Mu‘minin. (Fig. 14) This coin challenges the documentary account of the Musafirids allegiance. The name of the Fatimid caliph,

who had fundamental ideological differences with the Musafirids, seems interesting and surprising. Different explanations attach to this coin:

Rezai Baghbidi, discussing this coin, raises his concerns and doubts its authenticity, but he does not mention the reasons for his skepticism.<sup>53</sup> On the other hand, Soleimani believes that this coin shows that Ibrahim accepted Mu‘izz as a political and religious overlord.<sup>54</sup> But this matter needs further analysis and historical support.

During the time of Ibrahim b. Marzaban, the Musafirids may have rejected their previous belief about the Mahdship of Muhammad ibn Isma‘il and converted to the Fatimid belief about the continuation of Imamate among the descendants of Muhammad bin Isma‘il. In other words, mentioning the name of Mu‘izz indicates accepting his religious authority and Imamate. However, other available evidence denies this possibility. Other coins issued by Ibrahim in the following years, 354 and 355 AH (966/7 AD), don’t show any sign of such conversion; in contrast, they bear the names of the ‘Abbasid caliph and later the Buyid ruler. This coin is the only example of the Fatimid caliph’s name on Musafirid coins. There is another possible explanation for this dilemma, keeping in mind the reaction of the Qaramita of Bahrain to the Fatimid caliphate. Stern believes the Qaramita of Bahrain were very strict in their beliefs about the Mahdship of Muhammad b. Isma‘il and his return. However, their political relations with the Fatimids were based on peace and reconciliation. Stern suggests they accepted the Fatimid caliph ‘Ubaidullah as a political leader, not a religious authority and Imam.<sup>55</sup> Extending this theory to the relationship between Ibrahim and al-Mu‘izz and the coin in discussion, it seems possible that the Musafirids under Ibrahim’s rule sought to accept the Fatimid caliph as a political sovereign while at the same time, maintaining their fundamental beliefs, that is, the Mahdship of Muhammad bin Isma‘il and the negation of the Imamate of the Fatimids. The fact that al-Mu‘izz’s name follows the title Amir al-Mu‘minin favours this theory. Considering the political dispensation and the coinage of the Fatimids, this title refers to their political position. The religious position they recognized was an Imam. Amir-ul-Mominin, then meant a *de facto* not *de jure* leader. In addition to that, according to Stern, at some point, al-Mu‘izz had to publish refutations against those Isma‘ilis who considered themselves followers of the Fatimids as their political leaders, denying their Imamate. He suggests that the Isma‘ilis of Azerbaijan were probably one of those to whom this refutation during the rule of Wahsudan bin Muhammad were addressed.<sup>56</sup>

It can be said that the name of the Fatimid caliph on some of the Musafirid coins can be considered a sign of the desire of the Musafirids to establish political relations with the Fatimids. However, due to ideological differences between them, the powerful presence of the Buyids in this era, and the distance between the Musafirid and the Fatimids' territories, they could not establish a broad relationship with the Fatimids.



Figure 14: Ibrahim b. Marzaban, Armenia, 353 AH (964/5 AD), Ref: Vardanyan, 2007: 13

Obv: لا اله الا الله / المعز لدين الله امير المؤمنين / المومنين

Obv. 1: الله الامر من قبل ومن بعد ويومئذ يفرح المؤمنون بنصر الله

Rev: محمد رسو / ل الله المنصور / ر ابو اسحق

Rev. 1: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينر بارمينية سنة ثلث وخمسين وثلثمائة: 1

## Conclusion

Some of the Musafirids' coins show the high position of Muhammad b. Musafir, Wahsudan b. Muhammad and Ibrahim b. Marzaban in the establishment of their sovereignty. Muhammad b. Musafir is mentioned in many coins of his son and successor, Marzaban, and the names of Wahsudan and Ibrahim can also be observed on some other Musafirid rulers' coins. Issuing coins bearing the names of some ministers and generals shows their high rank and essential role in the political scenario of the Musafirid governance. Observing the religious aspects, the Qarmatid Isma'ili elements, i.e., names of their Imam, show the influence of the growing Isma'ili Shi'a stream in the 4<sup>th</sup> century and the conversion of the Musafirids to this faith. However, the names of the 'Abbasid caliphs on some Musafirid coins show that despite believing in Shi'ism and being aware of the weakness of the Abbasid caliphs, they accepted the religious position of the caliphs in appearance to gain the sympathy of the Sunni majority of the regions under their control and to gain legitimacy among them. They have likely followed the Buyid policy in this matter. The name of the Buyid ruler, Rukn al-Dawlah, on the coins issued under Ibrahim, Kaykhusraw, and Marzaban b. Sharmazan shows

that they accepted his sovereignty and expressed their obedience. For a short period, Ibrahim b. Marzaban accepted the superiority of the Fatimid caliph, al Mu‘izz, as a coin issued under his name by Ibrahim b. Marzaban tells us.

### Bibliography

1. Aa'inevand, Sadegh, (1377 SH) *Science of History in the Islamic Civilization* (Persian), Tehran: Institute for Humanities and Cultural Studies.
2. Alaedini, Bahram, (1394 SH) *Persian Coins from Taherids to Khawarazmshahids* (Persian), Tehran: Farhangsaray Mirdashti.al-Ayyashi, Abi Nasr Muhammad b. Masoud b. Ayyash, (1991 AD) *Tafsir al-Ayyashi*, ed. Sayyid Hashim Rasuli Mahallati, Beirut: Moassisat al-Aalami Bosworth, Edmund Clifford, (1996 AD) *The New Islamic Dynasties: a Chronological and Genealogical Manual*, Edinburg: Edinburg University Press.
3. Daftary, Farhad, (2007 AD) *The Isma'ilis: Their History and Doctrines*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
4. Fry, R.N., (2007 AD) *The Cambridge History of Iran Vol. 4: The Period from The Arab Invasion to The Saljuqs*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
5. Furat al-Kufi, Abil Qasim Furat b. Ibrahim, (2011 AD) *Tafsir Furat al-Kufi*, ed. Muhammad al-Kadhim, Beirut: Moassisat al-Tarikh al-Arabi
6. Ibn Athir, 'Izzuddin Ali b. Muhammad, (1987 AD) *al-Kamil fi al-Tarikh*, ed. Dr. Muhammad Yusuf al-Daqqaq, Beirut: Dar al Kutub al-Ilmiyyah.
7. Ibn Miskawayh, Ahmad b. Muhammad, (2003 AD) *Tajārib al-Umam wa Ta'aqub al-Himam*, ed. Sayyid Kasravi Hassan, Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-Ilmiyyah.
8. Ja'farian, Rasul, (1388 SH) *The History of Shiism in Iran from the Beginning to the Establishment of the Safavid Rule* (Persian), Tehran: 'Elm.
9. Kasravi, Ahmad, (1388 SH) *The Forgotten Kings* (Persian), Tehran: Negah.
10. Idem, (1311 SH) Coin or an Important Historical Document, *Armaghan*, 1311 SH, Vol. 4, pp. 225-228.
11. Lapidus, Ira Marvin, (1989 AD) *A History of Islamic Societies*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
12. Leu Numismatik, Numismatic Auction, <https://leunumismatik.com/>
13. Musannef, Farbod, (1396 SH) Introducing Coin of Rukn al-Din Khurshah and Short Study on Coins of Batinid of Alamut (Persian), *Oriental Coins*, No. 3, pp. 34-17.
14. Rezai Baghbidi, Hassan, (1393 SH) *The Islamic Coins of Iran From the Beginning to the Rise of the Seljuqs* (Persian), Tehran: Samt.
15. Saberi, Hossein, (1384 SH) *A history of the Islamic Sects (2) The Shi'ite Denominations and the Sects Attributed to Shi'ism* (Persian), Tehran: Samt.
16. Shahmoradi, Seyyed Masoud, (1399 SH) *The History of Shi'ism in Iran based on Coinology from the Beginning to the Establishment of Safavids* (Persian), Qom: Islamic Sciences and Culture
17. Idem. (1395 SH) Musafirids and Shi'ism in Daylam and Azerbaijan in the 4th century AH, *Tarikhnameh Kharazmi*, no. 12, Summer 1395, pp. 117-144
18. Idem. (1399 SH) Examination and Analysis of Iranian Kingdoms' Attitude towards Shi'ism Based on the Coins' texts from the Fourth to the Seventh Century AH (13<sup>th</sup> cen. AD), *Research Journal of Iranian Civilization*, Spring & Summer 1399, Vol. 4, pp. 81-114.
19. Soleimani, Saeed, (1396 SH), *A Numismatic History of Local Dynasties in Iran 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> Centuries A. H.* (Persian), Tehran: Bargnegar.

20. Stern, S. M. (1960 AD). The Early Isma'ili Missionaries in North-West Persia and in Khurasan and Transoxiana, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, University of London, 23(1), 56–90. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/609887>
21. Torabi Tabatabai, Seyyed Jamal, (1351 SH) *Uighur Script and a Survey on Numismatics* (Persian), Tabriz: Shafaq.
22. Idem, (2535) *Coins of Aq Qyunlus and the Foundation Safavid Government's Unity in Iran* (Persian), Tabriz: Publications of the General Directorate of Museums.
23. Vardanyan, Aram, (2007 AD). On the Coinage of the Sallarids and Contemporary Military Generals in Iranian Adharbayjan in the Tenth Century AD., *Journal of the Oriental Numismatic Society*, no. 191, Spring 2007, 8-19.
24. ZENO.RU, Oriental Coins Database, <https://www.zeno.ru/>

### Notes and References

- <sup>1</sup> *Tarikhnameh Khwarazmi*, no. 12, Summer 1395 SH, pp. 117-144
- <sup>2</sup> *Armaghan*, 1311 SH, Vol. 4, pp. 225-228.
- <sup>3</sup> *Research Journal of Iranian Civilization*, Spring & Summer 1399 SH, Vol. 4, pp. 81-114.
- <sup>4</sup> Ahmad Kasravi, (1388 SH) *The Forgotten Kings*, Tehran, Negah: pp. 55-57; C. E. Bosworth, (1996 AD) *The New Islamic Dynasties: a Chronological and Genealogical Manual*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, p. 148; S. M. Stern, (1960 AD) The Early Isma'ili Missionaries in North-West Persia and in Khurasan and Transoxiana, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, University of London, 23(1), p. 70; Farhad Daftary, (2007 AD) *The Isma'ilis: Their History and Doctrines*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: p. 153; R. N. Frye, (2007 AD) *The Cambridge History of Iran Vol. 4: The Period from The Arab Invasion to The Saljuqs*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 223
- <sup>5</sup> Ibn Miskawayh, (2003 AD) *Tajārib al-Umam wa Ta'aqub al-Himam*, ed. Sayyid Kasravi Hassan, Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-Ilmiyyah, vol. 5, p.249; 'Izzuddin Ali b. Muhammad Ibn Athir, (1987 AD) *al-Kamil fi al-Tarikh*, ed. Dr. Muhammad Yusuf al-Daqqaq, Beirut: Dar al Kutub al-Ilmiyyah., vol. 7, p.165
- <sup>6</sup> C. E. Bosworth, op. cit. p. 148; Farhad Daftary, op. cit. p. 153
- <sup>7</sup> S. M. Stern, op. cit. p. 71
- <sup>8</sup> Ibn Miskawayh, op. cit. pp. 319, 325-327, 345-346 and 350-351; Ibn Athir, op. cit. pp. 258, 266, 293 and 295
- <sup>9</sup> Ahmad Kasravi, op. cit. p. 68; E. C. Bosworth, op. cit. pp. 148 and 149; Farhad Daftary, op. cit. p. 154
- <sup>10</sup> E. C. Bosworth, op. cit. p. 149; R. N. Frye, op. cit. p. 237
- <sup>11</sup> Sadegh Aa'inevand, (1377 SH) *Science of History in the Islamic Civilization*, Tehran: Institute for Humanities and Cultural Studies, p. 386
- <sup>12</sup> Aram Vardanyan, (2007 AD). On the Coinage of the Sallarids and Contemporary Military Generals in Iranian Adharbayjan in the Tenth Century AD., *Journal of the Oriental Numismatic Society*, no. 191, Spring 2007, p. 8
- <sup>13</sup> Saeed Soleimani, (1396 SH), *A Numismatic History of Local Dynasties in Iran 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> Centuries A. H.* (Persian), Tehran: Bargnegar, p. 328
- <sup>14</sup> Ibn Miskawayh, op. cit. p.249; Ibn Athir, op. cit. p. 165
- <sup>15</sup> Ibn Miskawayh, op. cit. pp. 298-299
- <sup>16</sup> *Ibid.* p. 325
- <sup>17</sup> Ahmad Kasravi, op. cit. p. 64; R. N. Frye, op. cit. p. 223
- <sup>18</sup> see Ibn Miskawayh, op. cit. pp.325 and 346; Ibn Athir, op. cit. pp. 266 and 293
- <sup>19</sup> Ibn Miskawayh, op. cit. pp. 350-351; Ibn Athir, op. cit. p. 295

- <sup>20</sup> Hassan Rezai Baghbidi, (1393 SH) *The Islamic Coins of Iran From the Beginning to the Rise of the Seljuqs*, Tehran: Samt, p. 418
- <sup>21</sup> see Ibn Miskaweyh, op. cit. pp. 319 and 325; Ibn Athir, op. cit. pp. 258 and 266
- <sup>22</sup> Ibn Miskaweyh, op. cit. p. 319
- <sup>23</sup> Ibid. pp. 350-351; Ibn Athir, op. cit. p. 295
- <sup>24</sup> Hassan Rezai Baghbidi, op. cit. p. 418
- <sup>25</sup> Ibn Miskaweyh, op. cit. pp. 300 and 309
- <sup>26</sup> see Ibid. pp. 320, 325-326 and 350-351; Ibn Athir, op. cit. pp. 265-266 and 295
- <sup>27</sup> <https://leunumismatik.com/en/lot/42/6271>
- <sup>28</sup> According to Rezai Baghbidi, "Jalal Abad" is a part of Taram, and he considers "Salil Abad" wrong, which was ruled out wrong by Torabi Tabatabai as the mint place of this coin. (Rezai Baghbidi, 1393: 417) Stern also states that Jalalabad was in the territory of Wahsudan, but it is an unknown place. (Stern, 1960: 73)
- <sup>29</sup> Seyyed Jamal Torabi Tabatabaei, (2535) *Coins of Aq Quyunlus and the Foundation Safavid Government's Unity in Iran*, Tabriz: Publications of the General Directorate of Museums, p.11; Seyyed Masoud Shahmoradi, (1399) *The History of Shism in Iran based on Coinology from the Beginning to the Establishment of Safavids*, Qom: Islamic Sciences and Culture Academy, p 94
- <sup>30</sup> Hassan Rezai Baghbidi, op. cit. pp. 475 and 476
- <sup>31</sup> Seyyed Masoud Shahmoradi, op. cit. pp. 135-136
- <sup>32</sup> S. M. Stern, op. cit. pp. 72-73; Hassan Rezai Bagh Bedi, op. cit. p. 422; Seyyed Masoud Shahmoradi, op. cit. p. 136
- <sup>33</sup> Qur'an: 5:55: *إِنَّمَا وَلِيُّكُمُ اللَّهُ وَرَسُولُهُ وَالَّذِينَ آمَنُوا الَّذِينَ يُتِيمُونَ الصَّلَاةَ وَيُؤْتُونَ الزَّكَاةَ وَهُمْ رَاكِعُونَ*. Trans: Your guardian is only Allah, His Apostle, and the faithful who maintain the prayer and give the zakāt while bowing down.
- <sup>34</sup> Abil Qasim Furat al-Kufi, (2011 AD) *Tafsir Furat al-Kufi*, ed. Muhammad al-Kadhim, Beirut: Moassisat al-Tarikh al-Arabi, vol. 1, pp. 123-129; Abi Nasr Muhammad al-Ayyashi, (1991 AD) *Tafsir al-Ayyashi*, ed. Sayyid Hashim Rasuli Mahallati, Beirut: Moassisat al-Aalami, vol 1, pp355-357; Seyyed Masoud Shahmoradi, op. cit. p. 136
- <sup>35</sup> S. M. Stern, op. cit. p. 73
- <sup>36</sup> Farhad Daftary, op. cit. p. 154; Shahmoradi, op. cit. p. 137
- <sup>37</sup> Hossein Saberi, (1384 SH) *A History of the Islamic Sects (2) the Shi'it Denominations and the Sects Attributed to Shi'ism*, Tehran: Samt, Vol. 2, pp. 109-110; Farhad Daftary, op. cit. p. 96
- <sup>38</sup> Farhad Daftary, op. cit. pp. 153-154 and 112
- <sup>39</sup> Farhad Daftary, op. cit. pp. 97
- <sup>40</sup> To solve this problem, some Isma'ilis of the later eras have given Imam Ali a position beyond an ordinary imam, and others have considered Imam Hassan a temporary imam. In this way, Ismail is also mentioned in the list of Ismaili imams as the sixth imam. (see Daftary, 2007: 97)
- <sup>41</sup> Rasul Jafarian, (1388 SH) *The History of Shiism in Iran from the Beginning to the Establishment of the Safavid Rule*, Tehran: 'Elm, pp. 372-373
- <sup>42</sup> Ira Marvin Lapidus, (1989 AD) *A History of Islamic Societies*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 139
- <sup>43</sup> Rasul Jafarian, op. cit. p. 375
- <sup>44</sup> Hassan Rezai Baghbidi, op. cit. pp. 507-540; Bahram Alaedini, (1394 SH) *Persian Coins from Taherids to Khawarazmshahids*, Tehran: Farhangsaray Mirdashti, pp. 262-300
- <sup>45</sup> Seyyed Masoud Shahmoradi, op. cit. p. 139
- <sup>46</sup> Hassan Rezai Baghbidi, op. cit. p. 418
- <sup>47</sup> see Ibn Athir, op. cit. pp. 293 and 295-296; Ibn Miskaweyh, op. cit. pp. 346 and 350-351
- <sup>48</sup> Ahmad Kasravi, op. cit. p. 123

<sup>49</sup> Ibn Athir, op. cit. pp. 228-229; Ibn Miskaweyh, op. cit. pp. 290 and 298-299

<sup>50</sup> see Saeed Soleimani, *ibid.* pp. 347-349

<sup>51</sup> Hassan Rezai Bagh Bedi, op. cit. p. 417; Seyyed Masoud Shahmoradi, op. cit. p. 139

<sup>52</sup> Farhad Daftary, op. cit. p. 99

<sup>53</sup> see Hassan Rezai Baghbidi, op. cit. p. 418

<sup>54</sup> Saeed Soleimani, *ibid.* p. 338

<sup>55</sup> S. M. Stern, op. cit. pp. 75-76

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 73-74