

# CHECKLIST OF ISLAMIC COINS



THIRD EDITION

STEPHEN ALBUM

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**Checklist of Islamic Coins, 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition (2011)**  
by Stephen Album

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# **Checklist of Islamic Coins**

**Third Edition**

**Stephen Album**

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## INTRODUCTION

Collectors of Islamic coins have long bemoaned the lack of general literature on the subject. In particular, there has never been a general listing of Islamic coin types that could serve as a convenient guide to what exists, what is readily collectible, and what is rare. For that reason, it occurred to me back in 1992 to compile just such a listing, which could be made available to collectors and dealers at a nominal cost. In order to keep the cost to a minimum, the first edition (1993) was without illustrations, inexpensively printed from laser output, and held together by saddle-stitch binding. At first I had intended that the second edition (completed in 1997, published in 1998) would include photographs of perhaps 800-1000 coins, but after reconsideration, I decided to issue the second edition without photos and prepare a separate photo supplement that hopefully will be published within six months after the second edition of the text. In this manner I could limit the cost of the text volume, and allow those who wish to have the photo supplement to order it as a separate publication.

Alas, my intention to complete the photo volume quickly vanished. At the end of 1997 I left for Oxford, England, where I worked as a researcher and part-time lecturer at the Ashmolean Museum, associated with Oxford University, where I stayed until the middle of 2000, although I periodically came back to California to devote about two weeks each time to my coin business. Upon the conclusion of my Oxford sojourn I concentrated on the long process of resuscitating the business. Doug Nicol had left in 1999 to return to Pennsylvania and establish his own trade in genealogy. In 2001, Joseph Lang, then searching for a job in the numismatic trade, convinced me to hire him. His contribution proved so successful that in 2004 we reorganized the business as a joint partnership between us, as it remains to this day.

As these years rolled by, it seemed logical that I should abandon the idea of a photo supplement and commit my time to a third edition, complete with photos. Although my original intention was to complete the work in 2004 or 2005, postponement became the rule of law. Finally, early in 2008 I committed myself to finishing the job, hopefully by end of 2008, but delay after delay entered the picture. At last, I finalized the descriptive text on 27 July 2009, and hope to have the introduction finished within a few weeks and a PDF version (without photos) posted online in September. Most of the photos have been completed, but I will wait for about another nine months before the hardcover printed and illustrated edition will appear. As for the PDF version, it remains uncertain whether that might become available, and if so, when.

The first edition of this *Checklist* was intended as a convenient record of Islamic coin types, within the geometric and chronological criteria described below, together with a subjective estimation of the rarity of each type. This second edition added further information, including, for each dynasty or sub-dynasty, an indication of the most frequently encountered mints and subtypes, as well as general information on quality of strike and average preservation. Metrological data were generally not provided, except where deemed essential for the classification of types. Like the first edition, the second edition was intended especially for the beginner and the more advanced general collector, but not for the specialist, who needs detail far beyond what can be included in a synoptic guide. But for the general collector, the *Checklist* could serve as a basic framework from which he or she can construct parameters for assembling a collection. It should also constitute a useful reference for dealers.

For the third edition, I have greatly expanded the descriptive information for individual types and subtypes, aspiring to present more details that might help the reader identify their coins. When the printed illustrated volume becomes available, there will be more than 1000 illustrated coins. Fortunately, the internet is now providing thousands more photos, over 32,000 at [www.zeno.ru](http://www.zeno.ru).

The author and manager of that superb website, Vladimir Belyaev, has applied my appropriate *Checklist* number to most of the photos, and I am immensely thankful for his efforts.

## GENERAL INFORMATION

This introduction has been kept as brief as possible, though I confess that it grows from one edition to the next, despite my promise otherwise. For information regarding how to read and decipher Islamic coins, the work of Richard Plant is recommended (see the bibliography). However, Plant's guide is only a beginning, and the potentially serious collector of Islamic coins should familiarize himself with the various calligraphic styles used over the centuries and should acquire at least a basic understanding of the Arabic language.

General historical information can be found in the works of Mitchiner, Album, and Broome cited in the first section of the bibliography. There is as yet no really adequate history of Islamic coinage and no prospect of this gap being filled in the near future.

Certain rather arbitrary decisions have been made in choosing what to include and what to exclude. Included are coinages from Morocco and Spain to Afghanistan and Xinjiang, from the beginning of Islam in the 7<sup>th</sup> century to the introduction of machine-struck coinage, which varies from region to region. Thus the coinage of Morocco extends to 1882, the Ottoman Empire to 1687 (when European style minting was implemented), Iran to 1878, the Caucasian khanates to 1826, Afghanistan to 1891, Yemen to 1905, and Central Asia to 1921. Coinage of India and Southeast Asia is excluded, save for a few Indian issues struck by included dynasties that briefly extended their power east of the Indus River (*e.g.*, Ghaznavid, Afsharid, Durrani), and a few minor dynasties whose territories lay entirely to the east of the river in the Sind region of Pakistan (*e.g.*, Habbarid and their contemporaries).

I have devoted a considerable amount of thought to the question of what constitutes a type. Different criteria have been used for the coinage in precious metal (gold and silver) and for the copper coinage, as the two categories served different monetary purposes and were regarded juridically as distinct entities. For much of the earlier Islamic precious metal coinage, until the 11<sup>th</sup> century, most rulers issued only one principal "type" for silver coins and one for gold. These "types" can be defined more narrowly, if differences in inscription, layout and ornamentation are taken into account. Having introduced this concept in the 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, I've continued to expand it for this edition. Most of these subtypes are numbered point-X, *i.e.*, #219.1, 219.2, etc., for the silver dirhams of al-Rashid. This method enables the numismatist to identify a piece either by subtype (#219.2) or by generic type (#219).

Later silver and gold coinage exhibits "types" in a more modern sense, defined either by designs, inscriptions, or metrological criteria. These criteria are more readily described in clear and concise language than are the subtypes of the pre-12<sup>th</sup> century material. Nonetheless, type distinctions are rather arbitrary, contingent on the interpretations of individual scholars. In many cases, my definitions of types have been based as much on accessibility to the relevant literature as on any inherent aspect of the coinage itself, especially for those series for which present literature is seriously obsolete.

The copper coinage (fulus) of the early period (Umayyad and 'Abbasid) was essentially a civic coinage, with each mint producing its own sequence of types, though there were occasional attempts to regulate the copper on a regional basis. The ruler's name is rarely cited, but names of local governors or finance directors frequently appear on the fulus. The early copper is listed here by mint. In general a single type number is assigned to each mint, irrespective of how many local "types" that mint might have produced. After the middle of the 3<sup>rd</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> century, copper disappears as a coinage medium in most of the Islamic world. When copper coinage reemerged, starting the late eleventh century, it was most often a regal coinage, on which the name of the ruler is usually given, without the names of local or subordinate officials. Thus most copper coins of the 11<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup>

century are listed under the issuing ruler. By the 15<sup>th</sup> century, anonymous civic copper coinage once again prevailed, especially in the eastern regions. For that reason, the later eastern coinage is listed as civic coinage by mint. An exception is the later western copper coinage, especially the Ottoman, which is listed by ruler, as determined by date or design, whether or not the ruler is named on the coin. Types of the central and western dynasties that cannot be assigned to a given ruler, for whatever reason, are noted as generic types at the end of the appropriate dynasty listings.

Rare and unusual types are sometimes omitted from this *Checklist*, especially donative and largesse issues. Some minor dynasties are left out, as are some petty rulers, rebels and governors in whose names coins were struck, especially from the 8<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> centuries. Moreover, not all types are mentioned for every rulers, especially multiple and fractional denominations. For the earlier dynasties, there are major subtypes defined by inscriptional content, but these are rarely distinguished in the listings. The roughly 5,000 listings could have been expanded to ten thousand or more. In many cases the choice to include or omit a type, or to conflate several "types" into a single entry, was made rather arbitrarily, reflecting more my mood at the moment than any fixed set of criteria.

For most dynasties, there exist no comprehensive catalogs, no general guides, no overview of what exists and what does not. As a result, many listings are tentative and will eventually have to be augmented or ameliorated. My intent here has been to produce an introductory *Checklist* as quickly as possible, yet at the same time making it as comprehensive and accurate as feasible under those constraints. Generally, I have erred on the side of inclusion, together with further details for identification.

as I hope that in future editions, numbering changes can be kept to an absolute minimum. As a frustrated user of many of the more common popular catalogs, whose numbering systems seem to change daily, I am altogether sympathetic with the plight of collectors and dealers condemned to renumber substantial portions of their collections every so often. Therefore, with minor exceptions, first edition numbers continue to be retained.<sup>1</sup>

I have tried to include **all** common types, and hope that I have omitted none. For the 2<sup>nd</sup> and now the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition I have endeavored to include a far greater representation of rare types than in the first, though numerous omissions remain. Omitted types may in general be considered very rare, though they are not necessarily high-priced. Unfortunately, some individuals will utilize the expression "not in the Album *Checklist*" as justification for a stiff price, an unwarranted hyperbole in all too many instances.

Some types may wrongly have been omitted, and some included types should perhaps be dropped from future editions. Comments and suggestions are always welcome, and I shall try to reply to them personally, so far as time and energy permit.

### CATALOG NUMBERS

The use of the catalog numbers by collectors, dealers, scholars, etc., is expressly permitted, for both personal and commercial use. Users are requested to refer to the catalog numbers as "Album numbers" or "A-numbers." Rarities may be freely cited, but the author shall not be held accountable for any inaccuracy or for any dispute arising over the accuracy of rarity indications. Moreover, many of these rarity, or more accurately, availability factors will change over the course of time, as the result of changes in supply or demand.

For the second edition, more than 1600 additional types were added, and at least 1000 more types or subtypes have crept into this third edition. However, I have deemed it essential to retain the catalog numbers as used in the first edition, so as not to encumber the users of this *Checklist* with the burden of having to

<sup>1</sup> A collector in Florida recently pointed out to me that a mixture of numbers with letter prefixes and suffixes, as well as point-numbers, is very difficult to organize on a computer data base. I would be grateful to hear from other readers if this is indeed the case, and am open to suggestions for alleviating this problem.

renumber their coins. Frustrated users of many popular catalogs are thoroughly disheartened by having to remember sections of their collection or stock. To minimize this exasperation, new type and subtype numbers have been assigned according to the following scheme:

(1) Variants of previously listed types or types closely related to listed types have been given the number of the existing type plus a *suffix* letter, e.g., 1235A, 1235B, etc.

(2) Completely new types have in general been given the number of the *following* listing plus a *prefix* letter, e.g., A1235, B1235, etc.

(3) When an existing type has been divided into subtypes, the latter are indicated by "point" numbers, e.g., 1235.1, 1235.2, 1235.3. Point numbers allow the collector to decide whether to acquire one coin to represent the general type or to seek examples of each subtype.

For this third edition, in a few cases it has been deemed necessary to change catalog numbers from the second edition. These changes are indicated by an asterisk (\*) following the catalog number. I have tried my utmost to keep such alterations to a minimum.

In general, I have not included reference citations for individual types, especially those included either in the references given for individual dynasties, in the general references and museum catalogs noted at the end of this introduction, or in the collections of the American Numismatic Society, the British Museum and the University of Tübingen. Commencing with the second edition, for unusual types not covered by the above-mentioned references, I have tried to include at least one citation in a footnote, though not as consistently as I now wish I had. Should I ever do a 4<sup>th</sup> edition, *in sha' Allah*, I might consider expanding the references.

Because the new catalog numbers are alphanumeric rather than purely numeric, a numeric algorithm is needed in order to enable a computer to recognize the correct order of entries. Such an algorithm can be easily created, and a serviceable example is presented here. The following algorithm will effectively handle all catalog numbers of the second edition, and hopefully will require no modification for the anticipated third edition.

1. The numeric portion is to be regarded as a **FOUR-DIGIT** compound. Thus #4 is 0004, #38 is 0038, #420 is 0420, and #2188 is 2188. (NOTE: Not all database programs require the use of leading zeroes, but they are *always* necessary if you want to sort within a word-processing program).

2. If there is a letter before the numeric portion, convert that letter to its numerical position in the alphabet, **ALWAYS** with leading zero for number equivalents between 01 and 09. Thus A=01, B=02, C=03.....J=10, K=11.....Z=26. Add this as a suffix to the main numeric portion. Thus #A847 becomes 084701, #Z1651 becomes 165126, etc.

3. If there is no letter before or after the numeric portion, append **50** to the numeric. In other words, #38 becomes 003850, #2188 becomes 218850. The addition of the "50" will insure that catalogued numbers with prefixed letters always come before the plain number.

4. If there is a letter after the numeric portion, then append the numerical equivalent of that letter **PLUS 50** to the basal number. For suffixed letters, A=51, B=52, C=53.....J=60, K=61.....Y=75, Z=76. Note that no leading zeroes are needed for suffixed letters as they are all 50 or greater. In this manner, #38A becomes 003851, #2188N becomes 218864, and so forth. This will assure that catalog numbers with suffixed letters always come after the plain number.

5. If there are letters both before **AND** after the number, contact me so that I can change the number in the Third Edition!

6. If there is a point number following the listing, place a decimal point after the numerical equivalent and add the value of the point number, **ALWAYS** using a leading zero for numbers 1 through 9. This #215.3 become 021550.03, #A1261.11 becomes 126101.11, #2274A.8 becomes 227451.08, etc.

With a modicum of experience, one should find this algorithm quite simple and easy to use. However, I would be grateful to hear of any problems encountered in its application. Until now I have only tried this algorithm on the Macintosh platform, using Microsoft Word, FileMaker Pro, Nisus and Excel, so far without any problems. I would assume it will work just as smoothly in Windows, though as a chauvinistic Mac addict I tend to feel sorry for those mired in a Windows environment.

#### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The idea for the first edition of the *Checklist* germinated as the result of a conversation, in which it occurred to me that I could use the hand list of the collection at the University of Tübingen, together with my thirty years of experience as both collector and dealer, as the basis of a general collector guide. Over the years, dozens of collectors, scholars, and dealers have helped me to improve my knowledge of Islamic coinage, especially novices, who always seem to ask the most challenging questions. To all these people, and to all those who have written about Islamic coins over the past two centuries, I owe a great debt of gratitude.

Since the publication of the first edition, I have received suggestions and corrections from many scholars and collectors. In particular, I wish to thank Gregory Cole and Michael Bates, both of New York, for their careful critical perusal of the first edition.

Special thanks are due to Jim Farr of Tallahassee, Florida, who has graciously accepted the thankless task of proofreading the second edition manuscript, and he located many errors and inconsistencies. There are bound to be many errors and stylistic inconsistencies remaining in the text, for which I alone am responsible.

And a special accolade to Dr. David Bivar, who back in 1964, when I was living in Tehran, took a few hours of his time to teach me the basics of Islamic numismatics! That's where it all started.

#### RARITY & VALUE

Each listing is provided with an estimation of rarity, or more precisely, of availability, according to the following schema:

A	Abundant	Readily available, often in wholesale quantities.
C	Common	Almost always available, but only occasionally in quantity.
S	Scarce	Usually available without long delay, hardly ever in quantity.
R	Rare	Demand outstrips supply, and specimens, when available, are often eagerly sought.
RR	Very rare	Seldom available. Collectors may have to wait years to locate one.
RRR	Extremely rare	Almost never available. Few collectors will ever have the chance to acquire these pieces.

In some cases, variants described in the notes to a given type are followed by their rarity in parentheses.

These rarities are somewhat subjective. What is rare for one series may be considered rather common for another, due to the vagaries of collector interest and patterns of supply. In general, poorly researched and sketchily published series are less avidly sought than those for which adequate literature exists. Coins readily found in higher grades tend also to be significantly more popular than those which are routinely badly struck or badly preserved. Certain regions, such as the Arabian peninsula, Spain and Palestine, have gained a larger following, and are thus relatively "rarer" than others of which a comparable quantity are known to exist.

In a few cases, the availability indicator is followed by a question mark (?), indicating that I have been unable to determine the present rarity of the type, usually because supplies of indefinite size are known to have entered the market, even if not readily accessible. Types marked \*\*\* are known to exist in

quantity, usually in museum collections, but have not become available in the market.

How does rarity translate into price? There is no hard and fixed rule, for there are too many determinant factors. In general, average grade coins—and "average" varies widely from one series to the next—are available (silver & copper) as follows: A (under \$30), C (from \$10-\$75), S (from \$15-\$200), R (from \$30-400+), RR (from \$75-600+), and RRR (very variable, for coins in attractive condition almost always \$100+, often \$1000+, occasionally \$10,000 or more, sometimes a lot more).

For gold coins, the first two classes can generally be acquired for no more than \$75-\$500 for average coins, rarer items for somewhat more to very much more. The prices of common gold coins have become increasingly volatile, affected by the gold bullion price, which has soared from about \$300 to around \$1200 per ounce over the past several years, plunging to a pittance of \$256/oz in April 2001 and skyrocketing to a dizzy \$1217/oz on 1 December 2009, having settled at \$1112/oz as I rewrite this paragraph (20 December 2009, but about \$1650/oz in October 2011). Assuming the Umayyad and early 'Abbasid dinars are pure gold — 98-99% purity is normal—the "melt" value would have increased from a miserly \$35 to \$166, settling at \$152 today (now up to \$168 on 19 August 2010, with a standard Indian mohur at \$430 melt). Back in 2001, nice very fine common date 'Abbasid dinars sold for about \$150, more than four times bullion, whereas nowadays, the retail price ranges between \$200 and \$300, often cheaper at auctions, less than twice its bullion value. Because this is an unsustainable margin, the retail price should increase to at least \$300 or twice melt, unless, of course, the spot price of gold retreats to well below \$1000/oz, which seems to be unlikely, now that the recovery from the Great Recession will proceed slowly for many years.

The spot price of silver has also quadrupled since 2001, from a paltry \$4/oz to over \$17/oz, briefly surpassing \$20/oz in March 2008 and again in early 2010, then briefly reaching \$48/oz in early 2011, finally settling at around \$32/oz (October 2011). Since both wholesale and retail prices of ordinary Islamic dirhams have traditionally averaged at least tenfold the melt value, the stunning spot price increase has not destabilized their market values, as for gold. The principal exceptions are common large silver coins, such as the Moghul Indian rupees, with an average melt value now exceeding \$6.

The record price for an Islamic coin was reached in Zürich in 1989 for a post-reform Umayyad dinar of the year 77, about \$400,000 (about \$700,000 in 2011 dollars), though subsequent sales records for that coin have been substantially less, most recently (Morton & Eden auction, March 2006) less than \$250,000 for a complete set of dinars dated 77 through 132, thus in effect less than \$175,000 for the year 77.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, the collecting of Islamic coins is still in its infancy. New finds are constantly coming onto the market, with the result that rarities and prices must often be downgraded, though the greater availability of a previously unobtainable type often acts as a market stimulus for other related types, thus effectively heightening the overall prices of the series.

To gain a feeling for current prices, the collector must study fixed price lists and auction sale catalogs. Serious collectors are advised to keep a record of prices in their areas of interest, keying sale and offer prices to *Checklist* numbers, and if desired, also to specific mints, dates and subtypes. Unlike heavily traded series in ancient and modern coins, Islamic coins have little track record. Prior to about 1970, Islamic coins were only rarely individually listed by dealers, save for some gold, pictorials and other well-known rarities, but were more often just cursorily described in bulk lots. Since then, prices have shown wide fluctuations and will continue to do so for the foreseeable future. Moreover, the entrance or departure of one or several active collectors can seriously alter the prices. There is old joke: Two known, three

<sup>2</sup> More recently, a dinar of Ma'din Amir al-Mu'minin 91 (type #127K) sold for about \$450,000 (where?), but despite the relatively low inflation between 1989 and 1999 this is in real terms less than the 1989 price of \$400,000.

collectors, you have a winner; but three known, two collectors, throw one in the river.

Until recently, printed catalogs and handwritten notes were the sole sources of pricing information. This has been radically altered by the growth of the internet. Most of the major auction houses now post the prices realized online for everyone to view, normally filed in an archival section of the company's website. Furthermore, there are two new general websites that each provide prices realized for hundreds of auctions. The first of these is [www.sixbid.com](http://www.sixbid.com), which not only features the results of past auctions, but posts current and forthcoming auctions and provides a convenient means of bidding in many current sales. Previous sales are held for about a year, but links are provided to each of the contributing auction houses. Access to Sixbid is free. The second is [www.coinarchives.com](http://www.coinarchives.com), which has posted the descriptions, photos and prices realized of more than 750,000 coins (as of December 2009), including tens of thousands of Islamic coins offered at auction since 2001. The free version of Coinarchives offers to the public the results of auctions that took place during the previous six months. The subscription version, [www.pro.coinarchives.com](http://www.pro.coinarchives.com), provides all records since 2001.<sup>3</sup> There are also many specialized websites that list and illustrate private collections and general reference, usually without prices or indications of rarity.

In this *Checklist*, the rarity indications refer to the type, not to individual mints, dates, or variants within the type (unless otherwise specified). In some series, such as the Umayyad caliphate and the Ottoman Empire, both with a long history of collecting interest, the difference in value between a common mint/date and a rare one is enormous, up to 100-fold or even more. For the Umayyad dynasty, common Wasit and Dimashq dirhams in decent condition sell for \$20-\$60 and extremely rare mints continue to fetch \$10,000 or more (reckoned in 2009 & later). Even extremely rare dates of Wasit or Dimashq can realize far more, over \$1000 for either mint dated 132. In most cases, however, the differences are very much less, particularly among more obscure series that are little collected in depth, where "rare" mints have a small premium and "rare" dates little if any.

Collectors should structure their interest in a direction that will avoid chasing the impossible. In general, most coins up to rarity R can be found with relatively little trouble within a reasonable lapse of time, though the fickle nature of hoards means that certain types might be virtually unobtainable for several years, then suddenly abound for a brief duration. Collectors seeking coins listed as RR and RRR must be prepared to wait and search, and should reckon on the frequent disappointment of missing out at auction or failing utterly to find an example for their collection. For coins of rarity R or higher, collectors should assume that they will probably have to accept coins in whatever grade is available or do without, or at least to pay whatever the price might be. Collectors driven by artistic esthetics who search solely for the finest quality and the highest grade must understand that such "perfect" specimens rarely exist. There are some exceptions, e.g., Umayyad dirhams of Wasit and Dimashq, Ilkhan coins of Abu Sa'id, Fatimid dinars of al-Mustansir, etc., but for most other series, perfectly struck examples either do not exist or are phenomenally expensive. I have never seen a well-struck silver or billon coin of the Fatimid al-Mustansir, whereas beautifully preserved dinars are relatively common.

### HOARDS

Old coins are normally discovered either as signal finds or as part of a large group, known as a hoard, which can vary from just a few pieces to many thousand. One of the most massive hoard was composed of over 30,000 multiple dirhams of the Samanids, Ghaznavids and Banijurids, found somewhere in Afghanistan in 1967, with a total weight exceeding 200 kilograms (420 pounds).

<sup>3</sup> The full version is not inexpensive, currently offered at \$600 per year (2010), understandable, considering the technical complexity of the program. As a dealer, it is essential that I subscribe to the full version, which I use almost daily to justify both my fixed prices and auction estimates, as well as how much I should pay for additions to inventory.

The multiple dirhams were extremely rare prior to the hoard, with most known specimens in Russian and Scandinavian museums. An immense hoard of Tabaristan hemidrachms, allegedly more than 100,000 specimens, was discovered in northern Iran in the 1950s or early 1960s. I had the privilege of seeing the immense hoard of more than 37,000 Sasanian drachms in the Tehran market in 1965, stuffed into piles of cigar boxes, each containing 500 pieces, known as the "year 12" hoard, as the latest coins in the hoard were of regnal year 12 of Khusro II.

Since I began collecting Islamic coins in the 1960s I have seen hundreds of hoards. Prior to the early 1980s, hoards were usually marketed intact, largely because even the greatest rarities were incredibly inexpensive, with silver and copper coins almost never costing more than a few dollars. Thus there was little reason for a dealer to sort out the rare from the common. By the end of the 1990s, complete hoards were almost never marketed as such. The distributors selected the items they perceived as most profitable and either sold them to the dealers who might pay the highest price, or consigned them to principal auctions, mainly in England and Germany. The remainder were then sold to secondary dealers or promotional salesman, often very attractively priced, as the principal profit was extracted from the rarities.

It is clear that newly discovered hoards can drastically reduce rarity once they appear in the popular market. They often provide types or variants that were previously unknown.

All too often, new hoards are marketed rather insidiously. For example, at first one or two specimens might be consigned to auction, in hopes that bidders would be unaware of the size of the hoard and would thus assume that the consigned items were still of great rarity. For example, in the early 1990s a large hoard of Ilkhan gold dinars was discovered, terminating with specimen of Ghazan Mahmud dated 696. A dinar of his immediate predecessor, the short-reign Baydu, was auctioned in Switzerland, fetching a sizzling bid of \$8000, with a second specimen auctioned shortly thereafter, sold at about \$5000. Then small groups were offered to many dealers throughout the world, at prices between \$500 and \$1000 each. It gradually became apparent that there was a very large hoard containing an unknown quantity of dinars of Baydu. Eventually, the retail price collapsed to about \$250, though recently, largely due to the spectacular rise in the gold price (about \$1378 as I write this paragraph), they now bring about \$400-500. In my opinion, this hoard was deceitfully marketed. Had the size and contents of the hoard and been honestly publicized, the price would never have fallen below \$500-600.

As I write this section (October 2010), a number of superb Rum Seljuq gold dinars have popped up in auctions, at first fetching over \$10,000, falling to \$4600 (plus buyer's fee) by September 2010. The rumor spread that there were dozens of these coins in a new hoard, and most recently I was informed that there were at least 300 pieces, mostly Konya 648 of the Three Brothers (type #A1227, formerly RRR).

Another former rarity now increasingly common is the dinar of the Bavandid ruler Mardawij (#1530), especially of the mint of Mah al-Basra dated 322. Although first sold at over \$2000, coins of this mint & date are now virtually unsalable. My current estimate is that are at least 150-200 in the hoard, but nobody knows just how many. And there are many more hoards that have been equally immorally marketed.

### METALS

Nearly all pre-modern Islamic coins were struck in the three traditional metals, as inherited from the Roman and Sasanian Empires, gold, silver and copper, together with a few additional but infrequently used alternatives.

AV	Gold	This refers normally to fine gold, usually 90% or better. Lighter gold is known as pale gold, which is noted in the description. The term "electrum" is not used here as a description.
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AR	Silver	Although early Islamic coinage was relatively pure (90-99+%), by the 4 <sup>th</sup> /10 <sup>th</sup> century, silver was often debased, especially during the years 350-620 / 960-1225.
BI	Billon	Debased silver, normally 20-40% fine. The symbol "AR" is used for silver coins roughly 40% or better. Billon jitals are usually much less than 20% fine.
AE	Copper	Refers to both relatively pure copper and copper mixed with other base metals. <sup>4</sup>
Brass	Brass	Used only by a few relatively late series, such as the coins of Harar in Ethiopia (not abbreviated).
Tin	Tin	For pre-modern Islamic coins used only in Southeast Asia, thus not included here.
PB	Lead	Occasionally found for medieval Islamic coins, mainly in Bahrain & the Sijistan region.
Glass	Glass	Used in Egypt for items that are traditionally classified as weights but are now believed to have also been used as jetons from the Fatimid to Mamluk periods.

There are many other metals used on later modern coins, such as aluminum, copper-nickel, pure nickel, etc., but these do not occur on any coins listed here.

There are often wide differences within a single series. For example, some of the Qarakhanid dirhams began as very pure silver, then rather quickly sank to billon and eventually to pure copper, usually within just a few decades. Because there has only been limited investigation of gold and silver fineness for most dynasties, the use of AR, BI and AE is often rather theoretical. Some types, especially AR and BI, include a rather wide fineness variation, and may need to be reinterpreted in the future (e.g., Buwayhid dirhams after about AH360).

### TYPES

What constitutes a type in Islamic coinage? Unfortunately, it is impossible to establish a general rule that is appropriate for all periods and dynasties. At the most basic level, a type is a distinct denomination for a particular ruler, which for the earlier period (before about AD 1150) would often mean a gold dinar, a silver dirham and a copper fals. However, even for issues of the earliest times, there is no convenient and consistent means of defining the concept of "type". For that reason, type definitions have often been quite arbitrary, based to some extent on the author's preference (and knowledge!), and on the manner in which collectors are inclined to classify them. Understandably, no two collectors or scholars would ever agree completely on the criteria for determining which variants constitute distinct types, versus which are merely unimportant variants of a single type.

Types can in fact be distinguished by quite a range of different criteria. For example, they may differ by the citation of caliphs, overlords, governors or other subordinate officials, as well as heirs to the throne. They can vary in the arrangement of portions of the inscription or in the selection of titles for a particular ruler. For later coins, after roughly 550/1150, types commonly vary by the enclosing cartouche around all or a portion of the coin inscriptions on obverse, reverse, or both. They often differ by weight standards, which were commonly reduced (very rarely increased!) during the course of a ruler's reign. The issuance of multiple denominations became increasingly common during the later period, blossoming only after the adoption of modern machine struck coinage not treated in this work. Some coins bear pictorial or geometric designs, which also changed during a reign—this is especially true for the non-dynastic Iranian civic coppers. To include every variation, no matter how minor, the number of "types" would surpass perhaps 50,000 or 100,000, far

<sup>4</sup> Jitals struck in eastern regions and in India circa 1050-1300 are categorized as copper, but frequently contain small quantities of silver as required by current monetary regulations. For two alternative interpretations of this phenomenon, see John Deyell, *Living without Silver*, and Robert Tye, *Jitals*. Some jitals also include significant proportions of other metals, such as lead or antimony.

too unwieldy a number for a book intended for general use. Thus I have had to be selective in my application of these and other criteria. While some collectors will accept my idiosyncratic classification, others will disagree vehemently. Since I cannot please everyone, I have chosen first and foremost to best<sup>5</sup> please myself. However, I remain open to suggestions and criticisms for future editions of this *Checklist*. Indeed, most emendations between the first and second editions have been in response to suggestions from others.

### CONDITION

With very few exceptions, all coins covered in this catalog were struck by hand, from hand-engraved dies on handmade planchets. Standards of quality control varied enormously from place to place and from time to time. Surprisingly, the early Islamic silver and gold coins, from the first issues in the AD650s to the middle of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, are generally the most carefully manufactured of all, only matched after the adoption of European milling machinery, starting about 1690 in Istanbul. After the ninth century, quality control deteriorated in most regions, though frequent, almost invariably short-lived, production improvements were undertaken in various parts of the Islamic world from time to time. Perhaps the best example would be the Murabitun and Muwahhidun gold coinage (and to a lesser extent, also silver) from 450-668 / 1057-1269.

Most coins struck from about 235/850 to the end of the era encompassed by this catalog will show varying degrees of weakness of strike, irregularity of flan, and general unevenness of quality. For most dynasties I have tried to give some indication of the level of quality the collector can expect for each metal. This is merely a general indication, for in most cases, actual production quality can vary considerably from mint to mint and from year to year. Dealer lists, such as my own, do give some general information on this subject. However, for the vast majority of types listed here fully struck coins are seldom if ever available. For some series, such as the Ildegizids or the later Seljuqs of Kirman, coins with 50% of more flatness are the norm. In general, gold coins were struck most carefully, silver rather less so, billon and copper quite haphazardly.<sup>6</sup>

There is also a wide range of variation in how coins have been preserved. A large proportion of Islamic gold coins saw little actual circulation and are thus with relatively little wear and damage since they were struck. Silver in many periods saw widespread circulation, depending, however, on the nature of the coinage and the economic necessities. In those cases where the silver coinage was frequently recalled and recoinced, the coins had little opportunity to wear down in circulation. On the other hand, coins that remained currency for many decades, as in the case of the Mamluk kingdom, are commonly found heavily worn. This is not surprising, given that 14<sup>th</sup> century Mamluk silver hoards frequently contain coins over 100 years old.

Many extant Islamic coins from all periods and regions have survived because they have been used as jewelry or ornament. This fate is readily identified, as they are either holed, looped, or show other traces of having been mounted. The more attractive the coin, the more likely it is to have been chosen for jewelry or other decorative purposes. Special coins made for presentation or largesse were especially favored for decoration. Many, such as the multiple abbasid of the later Safavids, are almost never found unmounted. Collectors should avoid the temptation to reject an otherwise attractive coin just because it has been pierced or mounted.

<sup>5</sup> Although the insertion of an adverb between "to" and the verb in an infinitive construction is traditionally regarded as grammatically incorrect, modern usage increasingly accepts this aberration. As a vehement believer in the concept of linguistic evolution, I am inclined to adopt modern usages, even when technically incorrect.

<sup>6</sup> A major exception to this rule is the jital, which despite its relatively minimal monetary value was ordinarily quite carefully manufactured, far more carefully than contemporary silver or gold amongst the Khwarizmshahs, Ghorids and Mongols, the principal western issuers of jitals.

Over the past few years, grade differentials have translated into ever greater price differentials. Truly superior specimens may command many times the price of an average one. Since the publication of the first edition of the *Checklist*, this tendency has accelerated, as we have seen the formation of multiple tiers of collectors, each tier concentrated largely within one general price/grade niche, as has happened in many other areas of numismatics, for both collectors and investors.

### ENCAPSULATION, AKA SLABBING

While most people might regard a “slab” as a delicious Texas beef steak they are drooling to devour, the term nowadays also refers to a plastic encapsulation containing a coin and a statement of its grade and identification. Because of the ever expanding price differentiation between adjacent grade levels, collectors and especially investors have become increasingly fearful of overpaying for their acquisitions. Thus the “slab” was introduced in the early 1980s as a means of guaranteeing the grade of a newly purchased coin. The major “slabbers”, *i.e.*, independent third party grading companies, will guarantee their assigned grade, should the grade be disputed some time in the future. For many American coins, the difference between the value of two different uncirculated coins, between something like MS-64 and MS-67, can be thousands and thousands of dollars.

At the present, most pre-machine-struck coins are not submitted for third-party grading and encapsulation. Until the late 1990s, slabbing was virtually restricted to United States coins, but in recent years, the tendency has spread to most world coins valued at more than a few hundred dollars. By now (2010), more and more pre-machine-struck coins are slabbed, be they ancient, medieval, or more recent. Thus far, slabbed Islamic coins are few and far between, though from time to time I myself have been asked by a customer (we often now call them “clients” instead of customers!) to submit an Islamic coin for encapsulation.

If acquisition of rare Islamic coins comes to be regarded more as investment than numismatic enjoyment, it is likely that slabbing Islamic coins will come to predominate for expensive items. Personally, I find the very concept utterly disgusting, as an obnoxious disregard for the intellectual pleasure of collecting.<sup>7</sup> But trends will prevail in the direction predominant within the market, whence we numismatists, whatever our predilection, must follow the herd or retire.

And as I revise this introduction, I must confess that my numismatic business, Stephen Album Rare Coins, is now authorized to send coins to NGC (Numismatic Guaranty Corporation). And I confess that Joe and I are now selecting some high-grade machine-struck coins to be slabbed, especially for our auctions. C'est la vie! There were more than 50 slabbed coins in our auction #11, machine-struck only.

Slabbing is not cheap, but costs an average of \$20-30 per coin (currently at least \$60 each for Chinese coins) for standard processing, typically 4 to 8 weeks, much more for rapid reply. However, the grading companies will charge considerably less for a large quantity of identical machine-struck coins. Shipping costs are additional. Thus is hardly makes sense to submit coins worth less than around \$100, though I have occasionally observed slabbed coins worth less than a few dollars.

### METROLOGY

The initial Islamic denominational structure was largely adopted from previous Byzantine model in the west, the Sasanian model in the east. The Islamic reform of the caliph 'Abd al-Malik in 77/697 unified the coinage throughout the Islamic world, introducing a gold dinar of about 4.25-4.26g and a silver dirham of about 2.88-2.90g (eventually raised to 2.97g).<sup>8</sup> Copper coins

were struck to disparate standards (still almost entirely unresearched), with varying levels of tolerance from the theoretical norm. For nearly 200 years, gold and silver coins followed the prescribed weights quite closely, with no diminution of fineness (close to pure at most mints), though some outlying regions were already developing idiosyncratic weight standards of their own (*e.g.*, Yemen, Tabaristan, Andaraba, etc.).

After the beginning of the 10<sup>th</sup> century, the nature of Islamic coinage rapidly changed. Both gold and silver coins were no longer of relatively uniform weight, but exhibited weights spread over a wide spectrum. Such coinages were intended to be weighed (*al marco*), rather than counted (*al pezzo*), at each transaction. In the meantime, copper had largely vanished as a coinage medium throughout the Islamic world, replaced by such alternatives as broken pieces of fine silver coins, and later, starting at the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> century, by low-grade billon coins, containing between about 2% to more than 25% silver.

Regional differences continued to grow. By the 12<sup>th</sup> century, there was no longer any resemblance among the various coinages within the lands of Islam. Increasing numbers of new denominational names came into existence. The use of fractional and multiple denominations, especially in silver, became more common. New standards of weight and alloy were promulgated and were frequently changed for reasons of monetary policy or financial necessity. Each kingdom and empire created its own coinage standards or emulated those of neighbors with whatever emendations were felt advantageous. Nor was it necessary to maintain a single standard throughout a kingdom, especially in the eastern Islamic lands. Conquerors frequently retained the local monetary standards in whichever regions they acquired. Sometimes gold and silver coinage adhered to an accurate weight standard (*al marco*), other times to no standard at all (*al pezzo*).

### DENOMINATIONS

Coin denominations were rarely indicated on the coins themselves prior to the 19<sup>th</sup> century, with a few exceptions described below. Many of the names given to particular coins are purely conventional, assigned by modern numismatists seeking a convenient label with which coins could be readily discussed without confusion. In fact, we usually do not know what coins were actually called prior to the expansion of European trade into the Islamic world in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Only thereafter are the names of the coins known with some reliability, largely based on reports written by western traders and travelers, though popular names and official names often remain irreconcilable, as was frequently the case in contemporary Europe.<sup>9</sup>

The names of denominations given here represent those most in vogue among current numismatists and may bear little relationship to the nomenclature of the time. Coinage prior to about 700/1300 is generally known under the generic names of dinar, dirham, and fals, irrespective of actual weights, which could vary not just from one region or time to another, but within a single issue of the same mint and date. After about 1300, a wide variety of denominational names came into use. Whenever those names are known, they have been indicated in the listings here.

Many older publications present weights in English grains. These can be converted easily to grams: one gram = 15.432 grains; one grain = 0.0648 grams.

In the early Islamic period, at least through the fourth century Hijri, the three principal denominational names were *fals* (from Latin *folles*) for the copper coin, *dirham* (from Greek *drachm*) for the silver coin, and *dinar* (from Latin *denarius aureus*) for the

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dinar standard, or 2.97g. The process whereby this occurred is imperfectly understood.

<sup>7</sup> A poignant example is the modern Iranian *rial*. The term *rial* was never used in the colloquial, where it was called either *hazar* or *qiran*. Ten rials is one toman, and all sums of 10 or more rials are reckoned in tomans. Only in the banking and financial industries is the term *rial* commonly used.

Similarly, in the United States the one-cent coin is almost always called a *penny*, despite the 1792 regulation that technically forbade the use of that term: it should only be called a *cent*.

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<sup>7</sup> Perhaps this deep disappointment secretly conveys me to misspell that mystical word, “slapping” rather than “slabbing”, one of my more common typos. And B is far from P on our computer keyboards!

<sup>8</sup> At first the dirham weighed about 2.88-2.90g, perhaps as high as 2.92g. After a short time (circa 85/704) the standard was adjusted to 7/10 of the

gold coin. On occasion, fractions or multiples of these denominations were also struck. From the late 3<sup>rd</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> century onwards, in many areas the denominations referred not to actual coins but to a unit of account corresponding to a fixed weight of metal; actual coins were weighed and valued in terms of the unit of account. A great deal of confusion has arisen from the fact that in histories and documents both the coins and the account unit were often designated by the same terminology.

During the first seven centuries of Islam, dinars and especially dirhams were commonly known by an attributive name, e.g., *muzaffari dirham*. These names referred often to the name or title of the issuing ruler (in this example, a ruler with the title *muzaffar al-din*), or to some other descriptive ideology. These attributive names very rarely appear on the coins, but are often known from contemporary documents and later historical texts. The main exception is a relatively small group of late Qarakhanid, Khwarizmshah, and Great Mongol coins, chiefly their broad copper “dirhams”, as well as many silver coins of the Ghaznavids.

In later times, many additional terms came into use, which are briefly described below. The following list is undoubtedly incomplete and does not include a plethora of terms used for milled and machine-struck coins outside the scope of this catalog. Also omitted are attributive names applied principally to the *dinar*, *dirham*, and *fals*. Many, if not most of these, are included in the 1879-1882 work of Sauvage, noted in the bibliographic section of this introduction.

In the following definitions, I have used AH and AD dates when referring to specific years, AD only when referring to centuries.

‘Abbasi — A Safavid coin equal to four shahis (200 dinars), introduced in 996/1578 and named for the current ruler, Shah ‘Abbas I. It became the principal Iranian silver denomination for almost 200 years.

‘Adliya — A name for a copper coin in Iran in the 14<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> centuries, from the Arabic word *‘adl*, “justice”.

Akçe — Turkish for “small white (thing),” first attested in Iran in about 780/1378, and later used for the smallest denomination of silver coinage throughout the Ottoman empire, until circa 1250/1835. The term is never found on the coin. Some 14<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> century issues are mentioned in contemporary texts randomly as either akçe or dirham. The akçe was often called *asper* in European texts, from the Greek work *aspron*, also meaning “white”.

Altın — A Turkish name for the *sultani* (*q.v.*), meaning “gold” in Turkish. The term *sultani* is preferable for all issues before the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

Ashrafi — A gold coin introduced by the Mamluk ruler al-Ashraf Barsbay in 829/1426, and valued about the same as the Venetian ducat. The name was first inscribed on a coin during the reign of the Timurid Sultan Husayn (#A2431). Later versions of the ashrafi often were set to different weight standards. The name still survives in Nepal as a gold coin called *asarphi*, much heavier than its original intention.

Asper — See *akçe*.

Azadi — The modern gold coin of the Islamic Republic of Iran, retaining the weight of the previous Pahlavi, equal to the modern British sovereign.

Beşlik — A Turkish term meaning a “piece of five”, used for a silver coin of 5 akçes in the 17<sup>th</sup> century (including the Giray Khans), 5 para in the 18<sup>th</sup> & 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Bisti — From the Persian *bist* for “twenty”, a Persian coin fixed at 20 dinars, originally a small silver coin struck occasionally in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, later a relatively large copper denomination.<sup>10</sup>

Bunduqi — A gold coin of the Alawi Sharifs of Morocco equivalent in weight and fineness to the Venetian ducat, though occasionally struck at a lower weight (*bunduq* = “Venice”, cf. German *Venedig*).

Buqsha — A Yemeni denomination of the 17<sup>th</sup> century and later. The origin of the name is obscure. It was mainly a unit of account rather than a physical coin before 1312/1895.

Canonical *dirham* — Not a denomination, but a term used by numismatists to refer to the dirham of 2.97g that represented the “classic” dirham from about the 9<sup>th</sup> century onwards.

Dahshahi — “Ten shahis”, used for the Afsharid rupi and the Qajar half riyal and half qiran.

Dam — An Indian copper denominations typically applied to a heavy coin of 15-20 grams, used by the Durrani, mainly in Kashmir.

Damma — A tiny medieval Indian silver denomination, perhaps used for the small “fractional” dirhams of the Amirs of Sind and the Ghaznavids.

Dangi — From the Persian *dang*, meaning a “sixth”. Used for some rare silver coins of Iran in the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> century and for most copper coins in Central Asia from the 15<sup>th</sup> century onwards. The term is occasionally found incorporated into the inscriptions of late 15<sup>th</sup> and early 16<sup>th</sup> century coppers of Central Asia.

Daniq — Arabic rendering of Persian *dang*, found occasionally as a denomination on early Islamic copper coins.

Dinar — From Latin *denarius*, a Roman silver coin since the Republic (also the *denarius aureus* for the contemporary Roman gold coins). Since silver denarii were rarely issued after the 4<sup>th</sup> century, the short term *dinar* became the Arabic name for the Byzantine gold solidus. It became a gold coin of 4.25-4.26g under the reform of ‘Abd al-Malik in 77/697. From the middle of the 3<sup>rd</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> century onward, gold dinars were struck to increasingly random weights in most areas. By the end of the following century the fineness also began to deteriorate in some areas, especially in the east. In Khorasan and parts of Central Asia in the latter part of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, it was essentially a silver coin, often with a light gold coating. The Mongols introduced a silver dinar into Iran, at first as a unit of account, then from 698/1299 onwards, as a silver coin, initially weighing about 12.97g, though its weight gradually fell at Tabriz to about 0.54g by the end of the following century. The dinar has remained a unit of account in Iran ever since, though its value has become infinitesimal in recent decades.

Dinar Kebeki — A name for the dinar established by the Chaghatayid ruler Kibak Khan in 722/1322 or shortly before, and used for the dinar of the Chaghatayids, struck until about 765/1364 (about 8.0g). It was subsequently adopted as an accounting term for silver coinage of the Timurid dynasty and their successors in Iran until the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

Dirham — An Arabicization of Greek *drachm*, still the silver denomination of Arab-Sasanian coinage prior to the reform of 77/697. Originally a silver coin of about 2.90g introduced in 78/698 by the reforms of ‘Abd al-Malik, its weight was increased to 2.97g within a decade or so.<sup>11</sup> The term often refers to silver coin generically, and its plural *dirahim* is used for “money” in general. From the 10<sup>th</sup> century onwards, the weight and fineness of the dirham varied considerably, both over time and from place to place. In Central Asia, the dirham became a copper coin, often lightly silver-washed, from the late 11<sup>th</sup> to the middle of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, occasionally struck simultaneously with pure silver coinage bearing the same denomination, but not necessarily the same value. In the Jazira and the Caucasus, it was a large bronze coin (typically 10g+) from about 540/1145 until about 630/1235; the pictorial bronze dirhams of the Jazira are perhaps the best-known of all medieval Islamic coins. The term has recently been revived as a denominational term in several Arab countries, but no longer struck in silver, save for a commemorative “coin” struck in the UAE in 2000.

Dirham Aswad — “Black dirham”, so-called because its low silver content gave it a blackish color, typically 20-30% silver but sometimes less, the rest copper. Struck in Syria, Egypt and the Jazira from the 5<sup>th</sup>/11<sup>th</sup> to the 7<sup>th</sup>/13<sup>th</sup> centuries, sometimes replaced by large copper coins called “dirham”. Also called *nuqra* (*q.v.*).

Dirhem — The Turkish spelling of *dirham*, used for Ottoman coins of this denomination.

Dobla — The European name for the gold dinar of the Muwahhidun and their successors (about 4.6g). Because the term suggests duality, Hazard and others presumed that the gold coin of 4.6 grams was not a dinar but a double dinar. The error was first corrected by Robert Darley-Doran in the early 1980s (now described as *dobla* in Wikipedia).

Do Dinar — “Two dinars”, used on copper coins of the Amir of Qunduz, a rare incidence of denominational statement on a pre-modern coin.

Doshahi — Literally, “two shahis”, the common name for the Safavid silver coin of this denomination, rather than the official name *muhammadi*.

Drachm — The well-known Greek silver denomination, conventionally used for Sasanian and Arab-Sasanian silver coins. The Arabic term *dirham* is derived from this term.

Écu — French for a dollar-size coin (cf. Spanish *escudo*), used as a denomination for a few rare coins of the Sa’dian Sharifs of Morocco.

Fals — The Arabic name for the Byzantine copper *folles*, it became the standard copper denomination in most of the Islamic world from earliest times. Its weight varies considerably, from less than a gram to as much as ten grams or more. In modern Arabic it is usually pronounced *fuls*. Its plural, *fulus*, is a generic term for “money”. The term also means “fish scale” and was applied originally to coins of small size.

Falus — From the Arabic plural *fulus* of *fals*, used as both a denomination and as a generic term for any copper coin in Iran, Afghanistan and Central Asia from the 16<sup>th</sup> century onwards. The Arabic plural *fulus* also has the generic connotation of “money”.

<sup>11</sup> Recent analysis of surviving Umayyad and ‘Abbasid dirhams in superb condition suggests that from the late 80s/700s until at least 100 years later, the theoretical weight of the dirham was about 2.94g rather than 2.97g, thus somewhat lighter than 7 tenths of the well authenticated 4.25/4.26g weight of the Umayyad reform dinar. Further research necessary.

<sup>10</sup> Is this how the rock band The Beastie Boys got their name?

- Fidda — Arabic for “silver”, a term for the Indian tanka, found on some of the silver tankas of Delhi but not on any of the coins included here.
- Funduq — See “sultani”. The Moroccan gold coin of this denomination is usually called *benduqi*. Like *bunduq*, the name derives from the German transcription (*Venedig*) of the city name of Venice in Italy.
- Gümüş — Turkish for “silver”, used for various paras and other small silver coins of the 10<sup>th</sup>/16<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup>/17<sup>th</sup> century.
- Halala — A Yemeni denomination name, equivalent to 1/80 riyal, first used in or just after 1322/1904, and derived from the crescent that appears on the obverse of those copper pieces. The term is still a denomination in Saudi Arabia.
- Harf — A Yemeni denomination of uncertain origin, believed to have been applied first to the Ottoman gold sultani in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. It later became a small silver coin, and eventually a tiny billon coin almost devoid of any silver. By the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, the harf was a minuscule coin of almost pure copper, worth about 1/4000 of a Maria Theresa thaler.
- Hemidrachm — “Half drachm”, used for the standard silver denomination of early Tabaristan. It is more likely that the coin was known as a *tabari* dirham, known from contemporary sources as a “dirham of five”, *i.e.*, weighing five-tenths of the Sasanian dirham (*i.e.*, drachm).
- Jendaq (Jendak) — A term meaning “fish scale”, applied to some rare 1/6 rupee coins in 19<sup>th</sup> century Afghanistan because of their small size.
- Jital (Arabic *jaytal*) — The name of a small denomination, used mainly in India and what is now Afghanistan, ultimately derived from the silver drama of the Shahi kings of Kabul, whose name was in turn derived from Greek *drachm*. By the 11<sup>th</sup> century it was essentially billon, often pure base metal or nearly so. The denominational name actually appears on a few rare types (*e.g.*, Tye #351, 358).
- Kabir — Arabic for “large”, a Yemeni denomination of the 17<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> centuries of uncertain and apparently changeable weight.
- Keshvarsetan — A gold denomination used in the last five years of the reign of Fath ‘Ali Shah (#2870-71), derived from a title granted to Fath ‘Ali several years earlier in AH1240. The term means “world conqueror”, which Fath ‘Ali was not!
- Kran — see *qiran*.
- Kharruba — Name of the carob seed, formally a weight equal to 1/24 of a mithqal. Coins of this weight and denomination were struck by the Fatimids in Sicily. The term was revived in the 18<sup>th</sup> & 19<sup>th</sup> centuries for billon & copper coins struck in Ottoman Algeria & Tunisia.
- Khums (or Khamsiya) — A Yemeni denomination theoretically equivalent to one-fifth of a qafila, but in fact widely varying in weight (*khums* = “fifth”). Contemporary documents also use the term *khamsiya* rather than *khums*, and sometimes the term is said to have been *khums kabir* (“big fifth”). Also the name of a rare gold coin of the Alawi Sharifs of Morocco (usually pronounced *khumaysi* in the Moroccan dialect).
- Larin — A trade coin used in 16<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> century Iran, in 18<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> century Arabia, and intermittently on the western coast of India and especially in Sri Lanka. The term derives from the city name of Lar in southern Iran. Larins were struck on silver blanks that resemble a modern hairpin, and were at first intended for trade between the south coast of Iran and southern India or Sri Lanka. Imitative types were struck mainly in Sri Lanka, and later debased billon types (19<sup>th</sup> century) in eastern Arabia (locally known as *tawilah*). The term “laari” remains a denomination in modern Maldivian Islands.
- Mahmudi (or Muhammadi) — A Safavid silver coin equal to two shahis, derived from the name of Muhammad Khudabanda, the Safavid ruler, and apparently conflated with the somewhat akin Gujarati denomination (*mahmudi*), from a local sultan named Mahmud.
- Manat — The Azeri and Uzbek Turkish word for “coin” or “money”, from the Latin *moneta*, applied to the Rubles struck at Khwarizm during the Soviet years AH1338-1339. It is now used as the currency in the republics of Azerbaijan and Turkmenistan.
- Mangır (mangyr) — A term used in the Ottoman empire for a small denomination of copper coinage. The term derived from a Mongolian word meaning “red money”, used to describe Chinese cash coins that were current in medieval Mongolia.
- Maydin (maydın) — A silver coin of the Ottoman empire (16<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> century), ultimately derived from the regnal title of the Mamluk ruler *al-Mu‘ayyad* Shaykh. The term is found with vastly differing spellings in contemporary European and Ottoman documents.
- Miri — A term used under the Timurids and their immediate successors in Transoxiana, probably referring to a current accounting denomination.
- Mithqal — An Arabic weight, originally set at about 4.25-4.26g in the early Umayyad period, but varying in later periods from less than four to more than five grams. It was sporadically used as a denomination for some Mamluk and Safavid gold coins. On a few rare Ilkhan coins of Abu Sa‘id, the term *nim mithqal*, “half mithqal”, appears as a denomination inscribed on the coins. In the late 19<sup>th</sup> century it became a standard term in Xinjiang and China, typically called *mace* in contemporary English.
- Mitkal — Moroccan spelling of *mithqal*, briefly struck by the ‘Alawi Sharif Muhammad III as a heavy silver coin equivalent to ten dirhams, weighing about 29.3g and intended to compete with the Spanish-American *ocho reales*, a commonly used silver coin in Morocco, but profitable to Spain.
- Mohur — From Persian *mühr*, meaning “stamp”, used in India from the 16<sup>th</sup> century for a gold coin of about 11 grams, where it was struck until 1949. Following Nadir Shah’s conquest of Delhi in 1737 it was introduced into Iran for several decades, and into Afghanistan until the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century.
- Muhammadi — See *mahmudi*.
- Muzuna — A Moroccan denomination for silver coins equal to ¼ of a dirham in the 18<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> century, perhaps also earlier. The term was used for some machine-struck copper coins beginning in AH1306.
- Nim Mithqal — See *mithqal*.
- Nim Tanka — “Half tanka”, found as a denomination on some rare coins of the Shaybanid ruler, Muhammad (#2979).
- Nisf — Arabic for “half”, used occasionally for coins of various metals. The name is actually inscribed on Umayyad half dinars and on some Mamluk half dirhams, later on some copper coins of Akbar in India.
- Nuqra — An alternate name for the “black dirham” (*dirham aswad*) of the Ayyubids in Egypt, but later, during the Mamluk period in Egypt, it may have referred to a high-silver dirham of ½ silver.
- Onluk — A Turkish term meaning a “piece of ten”, used for a silver coin of 10 akçes in the 15<sup>th</sup> to 17<sup>th</sup> centuries and later for a coin of 10 paras.
- Pahlavi — The name of a modern Iranian gold coin, struck from SH 1305/1926 until the fall of the Pahlavi dynasty in 1357/1979. Since SH1310/1931 its weight and fineness have been identical to the British sovereign.
- Panahabadi — The local term for the abbasi of the Khanate of Karabakh.
- Panjshahi — Literally, “five shahi”, a Safavid denomination used from time to time in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries.
- Pashiz — A small copper coin of the Sasanians, whose production continued into the Arab-Sasanian period. The term seems to have become a generic term applied to any small copper coin in the 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> centuries and has survived as a literary term for anything of minimal value, much like the English term *farthing*.
- Piastre — see *qursh*.
- Pul — From the Turkish, originally a generic term applied to any copper coin in Russia and Central Asia from about the 13<sup>th</sup> century onwards. In Iran it was used for a silver coin fixed at half a shahi, *i.e.*, 25 dinars, during the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. The term remains in use in Iran as the ordinary word for “money”. *Hich pul nadaram!*
- Qafila — Not a denomination per se, but the Yemeni name for the standard dirham weight, theoretically 2.97g but sometimes slightly heavier or lighter. Most medieval and early modern Yemeni denominations are described in contemporary accounts as fractions or multiples of the qafila. In the 20<sup>th</sup> century its weight became 1/10 of a Maria Theresa thaler, which would be approximately 2.81g.
- Qaz — A Persian copper denomination equivalent to five dinars of account, used from the 16<sup>th</sup> to the 19<sup>th</sup> century and occasionally found inscribed on the coins (*qaz* or *ghaz*) of Iran and Afghanistan.
- Qazbegi — A Persian copper denomination equal to ten dinars of account; equivalent to two *qaz*.
- Qiran (Kran) — An Iranian silver denomination first struck in 1240 / 1824-1825, derived from the title *sahebqeran* (sahibqiran), introduced in that year by the current ruler, Fath ‘Ali Shah. It is often spelled *kran* in European languages, and was thus adopted on late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century Iranian postage stamps, locally printed in Iran. The term has been preserved in modern Iran as an alternative name for the *rial*.
- Qirat — Ultimately of Greek origin, cognate to the English word *carat*. The name referred to the weight of a particular seed and was equivalent to 1/24 of the mithqal. A few rare copper coins bear a denomination in the form of a *fals of XX qirats*. As a coin denomination, it denoted a silver coin worth the equivalent of one *qirat* of gold.
- Qursh (Qirsh, Ghirsh, Kuruş) — An Ottoman and post-Ottoman denomination, original for silver coins, later for base metal coins, and still used in Turkey and several Arab states. The term is derived from the German term *Groschen*. It was also known as a *piastre*, or *piaster*, derived from an Italian word meaning a “flat metal plate”, originally applied to the Spanish-American *ocho reales*.
- Riyal — From Spanish *real* (“royal”), used in Iran from 1204/1790 and elsewhere in the 20<sup>th</sup> century to the present time (usually spelled *rial* in Iran, *riyal* elsewhere). The Iranian rial was originally reckoned as ½ toman, but after the coinage reforms of 1930/31 it was set at 1/10 toman and remains so to the present day. The original Iranian rial weighed 12.67g, about 7% less than the Spanish four *reales*, but was later repeatedly reduced in weight.
- The *rial* has remained the standard denomination in Iran, but has not been used in popular conversion, where it was called as *ezar* (from *hazar*, *i.e.*, “thousand”, from its pre-1930 definition as 1000 dinars, even though it has

been only 100 dinars after 1930!) or *qiran*, the silver coins of 1000 dinars produced until 1930. The smallest denomination in the Islamic Republic is inscribed “10 rial”, but is universally called a *toman* (q.v.).

Rub‘i — Perso-Arabic for “quarter”, used for various quarter denominations in Iran from the time of ‘Abbas I onwards, and found inscribed on modern machine-struck coins from the time of Nasir al-Din Shah and later.

Rupi (Rupree) — Of Sanskrit origin, the term came to refer to a silver coin of 11½ mashas of silver (in the Indian weight system), about 11.52g. After the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century, many local areas had rupees slightly heavier or lighter than the canonical 11.52g. The term was introduced into Iran by Nadir Shah in 1152/1739. In English it is conventionally spelled *rupi* when referring to Iranian coins of Nadir and his successors in Iran (until 1212/1798), *rupee* when used for Afghan and Indian coins. Various lighter rupees were used in Afghanistan during the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Semissis — Half a solidus, q.v.

Sequin — From Italian *zecchino*, the latter derived from Arabic *sikka* (die). An alternative term for the Ottoman *sultani* used by European traders.

Shahi — A Safavid term for a silver coin equal to 50 dinars of account, first coined in 907/1501. Originally weighing about 9.4 grams, it gradually sunk to about 1.15g by the late 12<sup>th</sup>/18<sup>th</sup> century, after which it was struck only as a large coin, known as *shahi sefid*, “white shahi”, in order to distinguish it from the copper shahi, struck from the early 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards. The denomination was last officially used for a 10 shahi coin in SH 1314/1935, but the later 50 dinar brass coin was always popularly called *dahshahi* or 10 shahi.<sup>12</sup>

Shahrukhi — An alternate term used for the silver tanka of the Timurids and their successors. It is found in 16<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman financial records for older coins still in circulation, and was apparently the official term for the one-mithqal “tanka” under the early Mughals. The term is derived from the name of the Timurid ruler, Shahrukhi.

Solidus — The standard Byzantine gold denomination, used by modern numismatists for various pre-reform Arabic gold coins struck in Syria, Ifriqiya and Spain.

Sudaysi — “Sixth”, applied to a Yemeni silver coin initially equivalent to one sixth of the canonical dirham (thus about 0.5g) but later reduced to 0.2g or less. The coins were produced in the 9<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> centuries, but the name is a modern term used by numismatists.

Sultani — A term for the Ottoman coin first introduced by Mehmet II in 882/1477 and struck until early in the reign of Mahmud II (1223-1255/1808-1839). The weight of the sultani derived from the Mamluk ashrafi similar to the weight standard and fineness of the Venetian ducat. Also known as *altin* or *funduq*, the latter being an Arabic rendering of the city name of Venice.

Tanka — From the Sanskrit, first used in the east in the 7<sup>th</sup>/13<sup>th</sup> century by the Sultans of Delhi & Bengal. It became the common denomination for silver coinage in Iran from late in the 14<sup>th</sup> century until the 16<sup>th</sup>, but was retained as the *denqa* in Central Asia until the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and restored as the 21<sup>st</sup> century *tenge* in Kazakhstan. Some rare coins of the late Timurids and of Muhammad Shaybani are inscribed with the word *tanka*.

The original Indian tanka of the Sultanates weighed about 11.02g, and was the denominational name for both silver and gold coins, retained until the introduction of the silver rupee of about 10.52g circa 935/1528. The tanka was introduced in Iran, probably with Timur’s monetary reform about 792/1390 at approximately 6.2g, then gradually reduced in weight over the next two centuries.

Tenga — See *tanka*.

Thulth — Arabic for “third”, used for some rare Umayyad fractional dinars.

Tilla — The name of a Central Asian and Afghan gold coin weighing between 3.4 and 4.6 grams, from Persian *tala*, “gold”.

Toman — From the Mongolian word *tümen* for “ten thousand”. Originally a unit of account valued at ten thousand dinars, it was first struck as a gold coin under Agha Muhammad Khan in Iran in 1204/1790. See “riyal” above for the current usage of this denominational term.

Tremissis — One third of a solidus, q.v.

Uqiya (Wuqiya) — Arabic for “ounce”, struck as a copper coin under the Zangid ruler Sinjarshah and the Mamluk ruler Hajji II, then revived as a denomination in late 20<sup>th</sup> century Mauritania.

Yek Dinar — “One dinar”, used on copper coins of the Amir of Qunduz.

Yamini — A term used for the standard silver dirhams of the Ghaznavid ruler Mahmud, derived from his title, *yamin al-dawla*. The term is often inscribed on the coins, usually below the obverse or reverse field.

Zecchino — See *sequin*.

Zer-i Mahbub — A gold denomination struck in the Ottoman empire during most of the 18<sup>th</sup> and the early part of the 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. The term means

“beloved gold”. The current international gold market (2011) reveals that we all still love gold!

Zuzun — An Aramaic denomination inscribed on some very rare Arab-Armenian coins (type #E97), similar to ancient Aramaic *zuz*. The ancient Aramaic version is still mentioned in a song sung at the Jewish feast of Passover, referring to the purchase of a goat for two *zuz*.

### COUNTERMARKS & OVERSTRIKES

A *countermark* (or *counterstamp*) is a die-struck impression stamped on an existing coin, normally for the purpose of revalidating old coins for further circulation. The countermark is normally much smaller than the host coin. It may contain the name or titles of a ruler, a mint or date, a denominational name or value, an anepigraphic symbol or image, but rarely all of these. Most countermarks on silver and gold coins were associated with a particular ruler and are listed under the appropriate reign. Countermarks on copper coins were usually not specific to a ruler, as were the host coins in general.

In the case of multiple countermarks (common in the 15<sup>th</sup> & early 16<sup>th</sup> centuries in Iran), the coin should theoretically be attributed to the latest mark. Unfortunately, one cannot always discern which of the countermarks is most recent, even when they overlap. Numismatists often prefer to attribute coins with multiple countermarks to the most interesting or rarest countermark, even when it is clearly not the latest.

Countermarking is relatively infrequent on Islamic coins. The principal episodes of countermarking comprise Iranian and Transoxanian silver and copper coins from the 14<sup>th</sup> to the late 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, Durrani & related coins in the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, revalidated Byzantine folles of the later 12<sup>th</sup> century, and some Umayyad and early ‘Abbasid copper coins. Most countermarks of other periods are very rare. Countermarks are most commonly found on silver coins, occasionally on copper, virtually never on gold.

Countermarks should be distinguished from *overstrikes*. A countermark was usually much smaller than the coin and applied to only one side of the coin (the only two-sided countermark is type #2624). An overstrike is simply an ordinary coin for which an older coin was used as a blank; it is almost always two-sided, with designs that fill the entire flan. Overstrikes are common in many series, and can be very informative for sequencing otherwise undated issues, such as Umayyad, Ayyubid and Mamluk fulus. Overstriking was regarded as a cost savings, obviating the need to melt down old coins in order to prepare fresh blanks.

In addition to official countermarks, there were private merchant stamps, used principally in India from the 13<sup>th</sup> century onward, both on indigenous coins and on Islamic coins imported from Iran & Central Asia. These are not catalogued in the *Checklist*. They are often known as “shroff marks” from the Anglo-Indian word *shroff*, “moneychanger”, derived from Arabic *sarraf*. Some collectors view these merchant stamps as damage, others as an enhancement. They are most common on silver coins of the Bengal Sultanate struck in the 15<sup>th</sup> and early 16<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Another form of “countermark” is the testmark, applied in order to determine whether the coin is solid silver or gold, and not plated base metals. There are three basic varieties, of which the most common is a nick caused by a sharp instrument, sometimes quite deeply applied. Another form is a gouge, often quite long and deep (especially on Bengali tankas). The third form is a cut at the edge of the rim. While very commonly found on Indian silver and occasionally gold coins, they are infrequent on Islamic coins, usually only on coins struck far to the east or exported to India.

Early Islamic coins, especially Arab-Sasanian drachms and Umayyad dirhams and dinars, bear graffiti scratched into one or more of the blank areas on the coin, presumably to mark ownership of the coins. While Aramaic, Pahlavi and Hebrew graffiti are well-known, most graffiti are either illegible or simple lines, wedges and crosses. To most collectors, graffiti do not detract from the value or interest of the coin.

<sup>12</sup> In SH 1310/1935 a new dinar equal to ten old dinars was introduced, so that the shahi was thereafter equal to 5 rather than 50 dinars.

## MINTS & DATES

Islamic coins were distinguished from the very outset by the presence of a clear indication of the mint where the coin was struck. The pre-reform early coinage generally followed the corresponding Byzantine or Sasanian practice of using a mint abbreviation, but with the introduction of the standing caliph fals during the year 74 / 694-695 or shortly before, the mint was written out in full in Arabic. This practice was retained until the 20<sup>th</sup> century. There are nonetheless quite a few coins which lack the name of the mint, especially coppers of the Umayyad, 'Abbasid, Mamluk, Ottoman, and Golden Horde dynasties.

The early post-reform Islamic gold coins always lack the mint name, save for a few very rare Umayyad dinars of Ifriqiya and al-Andalus. Citing the mint name first occurred at Madinat al-Salam in 198, but the inclusion of the mint name was not standardized for 'Abbasid dinars until 214, and for north-African dinars until the late 290s. There are exceptions, "mintless" gold and silver coins, in all periods. In particular, donatives frequently lacked any indication of the mint. And in a few areas, especially North Africa, the mint was often commonly omitted, such as the gold coinage of the Muwahhidun (Almohades) and their Merinid and Hafsid successors.

As for silver, with the introduction of the reform dirham in 79 / 698-699, a standard formula for the date and mint on silver dirhams was established, *bism Allah duriba hadha al-dirham (dinar, fals) bi-(mint X) sana (year Y)*<sup>13</sup>, "in the name of God, this dirham (dinar, fals) was struck at mint X in the year Y", normally placed in the innermost margin of the obverse, and known to numismatists as the "mint/date formula." As noted above, this formula was applied to gold coinage beginning in 198, and was regularly used for gold and silver until the 6<sup>th</sup>/12<sup>th</sup> century, though as always there are quite a few exceptions. Since coppers were a local affair and generally not subject to the same regulations as coinage in precious metal, there are all manner of variations for the copper coinage.

After the 6<sup>th</sup>/12<sup>th</sup> century, the standard formula was largely dropped for simpler forms, which vary extensively from region to region and from dynasty to dynasty, occasionally from mint to mint under the same ruler (e.g., Timur of the Timurids, especially on his type #2386). In Iran, Central Asia, and India, it became increasingly common, after the 9<sup>th</sup>/15<sup>th</sup> century, to append an epithet to the name of the mint. A list of these epithets (Indian mints excepted) is provided in the introduction to the Qajar dynasty (following type #2825), as the practice became almost universal on Qajar silver and gold.

Most types listed in the *Checklist* exist for more than one mint or date. No effort has been undertaken here to describe the mints and dates for individual types, not even to indicate which types exist with a multiplicity of mints and dates. Several types, perhaps a few dozen, were struck at fifty mints or more, and quite a few may have as many as 300 or more different mint/date combinations. In addition, there can be up to a dozen or more decorative and arrangement varieties for a single mint/date combination, particular in later times. A full listing of all known mints and dates for every type, including major varieties and subtypes, would constitute a veritable encyclopedia of Islamic coins, a task that would take a team of devoted scholars decades to complete. My estimate is that such a compendium would probably include more than 250,000 entries, representing the totality of extant Islamic coinage from the beginning of Islam to the present day. And hundreds of new varieties are discovered each year!

On nearly all Islamic coins struck before about 700/1300, the date is written out in Arabic words in full. Thereafter, the date is increasingly written in ciphers, almost exclusively so after about 850/1450. Mint names are never abbreviated, but are written out in full, except on some Arab-Byzantine and almost all

Arab-Sasanian coins, which follow the pre-Islamic Byzantine and Sasanian patterns of mint abbreviations. The mint name is presumed to be authentic, although there are some exceptions, most notably the rupee of the Barakzay ruler of Afghanistan, Muhammad Ishaq, struck at Balkh but marked Kabul in pursuance of his claim to be head of the Barakzay kingdom (#3182). Furthermore, imitative coins sometimes continue to include a mint and date, but were struck elsewhere and later than the engraved year. Such imitative types are especially common on Ilkhan coins of Uljaytu and Abu Sa'id.

In addition to city names, some mint names refer to a region or province, such as Misr (= Egypt) or al-Andalus (= Spain), or a province, such as Mazandaran or Tabaristan in Iran. There are also non-local mint names, such as Urdu, Bazar, Rekab, etc., which denote a traveling mint that would accompany either the royal brigade or a section of his army on campaign. Unlike modern mints, medieval mints required relatively little equipment. Even in small cities, there would have been jewelers who could prepare the planchets and something like a stump to hold the anvil. The remaining equipment, including two or three anvils and everything needed to engrave the dies, could be carried by no more than two horses or camels. David Greenhaugh sets up medieval-style mints at renaissance faires and other events in Britain, parks his car far from the event, and has one donkey carry all his minting equipment to the location.

During the 7<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> / 13<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> centuries, some coins bear the date in a kind of shorthand known as diwani numerals. These were essentially shorthand versions of the normal Arabic words for the numbers. They occur mainly on Rum Seljuq and Ilkhan coins, more rarely later. The forms of diwani numerals were not uniform and are often quite difficult to decipher. Many have been misread in the numismatic literature.

The date is generally authentic, at least to the extent that it indicates the year in which the die was created. Dies often remained in use until they were no longer serviceable, often several years after they were engraved. This tendency to utilize essentially obsolete dies accounts for mismatched dates on obverse and reverse, and for the existence of numerous mulings, from all periods and regions, though most drastically on the coins of the Manghits of Bukhara, where mismatched dies can be as much as ten years apart. Mismatched obverse and reverse dates are common in most series where both sides are dated (with the exception of the 'Alawi coins of 18<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> century Morocco, where mismatched dates are extremely rare).

Why were obsolete dies retained in service? With rare exceptions, this was simply a means of minimizing production costs: why discard a functioning tool? Unfortunately, this policy has created many situations where an incorrect combination of ruler, mint and date has encouraged historians to falsely interpret royal or political chronology. Contrary to popular belief, pre-modern numismatic information is never 100% believable! As everywhere else, "typos happen". Engravers can sometimes enter an incorrect date, occasionally in words, more often in numerals. For a date in words, an elegantly engraved die for the mint of Bardasir in 384 is clearly dated 484, i.e., with *arba'-mi'a* (400) instead of *thalath-mi'a* (300) (type #1570.1, Treadwell-Br484). Quite frequently, the Arabic number "2" is confused with "6", which could be a retrograde "2" and vice versa.

From time to time in Islamic coinage, coins were dated as a "series", i.e., all coins of a particular type or set of types bore the same date, irrespective of the year in which they were actually struck.<sup>14</sup> The best-known example of this is the metropolitan and Egyptian Ottoman coinage, especially after 886/1481, which most frequently bears only the year of the sultan's accession, supplemented, after 1171/1757, by the regnal year of the sultan. Series dates are also found on some of the Arab-Sasanian coinage, probably on some 'Abbasid copper coins, and on nearly all late 20<sup>th</sup> century North African circulation coinage.

<sup>13</sup> The word *fi*, "in", sometimes precedes *sana*, sometimes expanded in later times to *fi shuhur sana*, "in the months of the year", meaning "during the course of the year".

<sup>14</sup> This phenomenon is not as strange as it might appear at first glance. Current banknotes of the United States are dated in precisely this fashion, as are modern coins of several Middle Eastern and other countries.

A few coins bear the month and even the day in addition to the year. One curious coin of the Ja'uni Qurbani of Tus (#R2347) is inscribed with the phrase, "this die was engraved on the tenth of Jumada al-Ula in the year seven hundred and seventy-eight." Coins with month or day are more highly prized than similar coins with just a year and usually command a premium, if only as curiosities.

The months of the Muslim year are as follows:

1	Muharram	30 days
2	Safar	29 days
3	Rabi' al-Awwal (I)	30 days
4	Rabi' al-Akhir (II)	29 days
5	Jumada al-Ula (I)	30 days
6	Jumada al-Akhira (II)	29 days
7	Rajab	30 days
8	Sha'ban	29 days
9	Ramadan	30 days
10	Shawwal	29 days
11	Dhu'l-Qa'da	30 days
12	Dhu'l-Hijja	29 or 30 days

The Muslim calendar is based on a true lunar year, which is approximately eleven days shorter than the solar year. Thus, viewed in terms of the solar Christian calendar, each Muslim year commences about eleven days earlier than its predecessor. In other words, 34 Muslim years are approximately equal to 33 Christian years. For this reason conversion from one calendar to the other is slightly complicated. Exact conversion requires the use of a conversion chart or its now readily available software equivalent. However, there exists a simple formula that will yield an approximate equivalent.

To convert from a Muslim year to a Christian year, first multiply the Muslim year by 0.97, then add 622. For example, AH1000 can be converted by applying that multiplicand, yielding  $970 + 622 = 1592$ . In fact, the year AH1000 begins on 19 October 1591. Conversely, to convert a Christian year, first subtract 622, then multiply by 1.03.

In the past, exact date conversions were accomplished by reference to various charts, many of which were published as detailed tables which made the process relatively painless, though still requiring more than a modicum of arithmetic skill. Several readers have recommended that I include a simplified chart in the *Checklist*. However, in the internet age, date conversions are quickly and accurately facilitated by any number of free internet locations, my favorite: [www.islamicfinder.org/Hcal/index.php](http://www.islamicfinder.org/Hcal/index.php). There are many other sites, easily found on the internet.

The right of *sikka* (see the section, The Right of Sikka) strongly recommended that the date, as well as the mint, appear on the coin. However, due to careless striking or to the tendency after circa AH300 to use dies larger than the average planchet, the date is not always visible on a particular specimen. Sometimes the date is nearly always legible, but at other times, it is only a rare specimen that shows the full date. Naturally, in the latter case, where the date is rarely visible, fully dated specimens may command a significant premium. This aspect varies greatly from series to series, and has generally not been noted in this *Checklist*.

### QUR'ANIC INSCRIPTIONS

There are several hundred Qur'anic inscriptions found on Islamic coins. Many of these are listed and translated in Codrington's 1904 work (see the bibliography). Here are noted and translated only those that appear frequently on many different kinds of Islamic coins. They are listed by Verse, numbered as X:Y, where X is the Surat ("chapter") and Y the paragraph. In most cases, the inscribed text is only part of the Verse.

Verse 3:26, *qull Allahuma malik al-mulk tu'ti'l-mulk man tasa' wa tanzi'u'l-mulk miman tasa' wa tu'izzu man tasa' wa tudhillu man tasa' biyadika al-khayr innaka 'ala kull shayy qadir*, "Say: O Allah, possessor of the kingdom, You give the kingdom to whom You will and You take the kingdom from whom You will, and You endue with honor whom You will, and You

humiliate whom You will. In Your hand is the good. Verily, You are able to do all things."

Verse 3:85, *wa man yabtaghi ghayr al-islam dina falan yaqbalu minhu wa huwa fi'l-akhirati min al-khasirin*, "and whoever seeks a religion other than Islam, it will never be accepted of him, and in the Hereafter he will be one of the losers."

Verse 3:173, *hasbuni Allah wa ni'ma al-wakil*, "Allah is sufficient for us, and is the Best Disposer of affairs (for us)".

Verse 6:160, *man ja' bi'l-hasana falahu 'ashr amthaliha...*, "whoever brings a good deed shall have ten times the like thereof to his credit..."

Verse 9:33, (*muhammad rasul Allah*) *arsalahu bi'huda wa din al-haqq liyathirahu 'ala al-din kullihi wa law karaha'l-mushrikun*, with *arsalahu* instead of *arsala rasulahu*), "Muhammad is the messenger of God. He send him with guidance and the religion of truth, to make it superior over all religions, even though the polytheists hate [it]".

Verse 9:34, *wa'l-lathima yaknizun al-dhahab wa'l-fidda wa la yunfiqunaha fi sabil Allah, [fabashirahum bi-'athab<sup>m</sup> alim]*, "And those who hoard up gold and silver, and spend it not in the Way of God, [announce unto them a painful torment]". Although the last few words do not appear on the coins, surely all Muslims must have understood it.

Verse 17:81, *ja' al-haqq wa zahaqa al-batil inn al-batil kana zuhuqa<sup>n</sup>*, "Truth has come and falseness has vanished, for surely, falseness is ever bound to vanish".

Verse 30:3-4, *lillah al-amr min qabl wa min ba'd wa yawma'ith yafrah al-mu'minin bi-nasr Allah*, "The decision is with Allah, before and after, and on that day, the believers will rejoice, with the help of Allah".

Surat 112 (complete), *Allah ahad Allah samad lam yalid wa lam yulad wa lam yakun lahu kufiwan ahad*, "He is Allah, the One and Only; Allah, the Eternal, Absolute; He begetteth not, nor is He begotten; And there is none Like unto Him".

### RULERS, THEIR NAMES AND TITLES

Muslim rulers used a variety of names and titles to identify themselves on their coinage. These were as follows:

**Isim** – The *ism*, or personal name, was normally given at birth and remained unchanged throughout the lifetime of the individual. Arabs normally bore only one *ism*, but non-Arabs (Turks, Iranians, Berbers, etc.) often bore both an Arab *ism* and an *ism* in their own language.

**Kunya** – The *kunya* was a name compounded as *abu X* ("the father of X") or, for women, *umm X* ("the mother of X"). It was used by Arabs and non-Arabs alike and is frequently seen on the coins, sometimes in lieu of the *ism*. There are a few names of the form *abu X* that are not a true *kunya* but actually an *ism*. The only common *ism* of this form is Abu Bakr.<sup>15</sup>

**Nasab** – The *nasab* was a name that gave an indication of lineage, and was thus normally in the form *ibn X* ("son of X") or, for women, *bint X* ("daughter of X"). The Turkish and Persian equivalents were *X-oglu* and *X-zadeh*, respectively, but only the Arabic equivalent was commonly used in coin inscriptions. Normally the *nasab* refers to the immediate father of the individual, but occasionally it refers to a more distant ancestor. In a few cases, coinage inscriptions give the *nasab* for more than one generations; such coins are sometimes known as "pedigree" coins.

**Nisba** – The *nisba* is a relational name, normally ending in *-i* (fem. *-iya*). There are four types of *nisba*, referring to a tribe or clan, a place, a profession, or an individual (or his title). In most cases, a person can only bear one *nisba* of each type, though persons who move from one place to another can acquire multiple *nisbas* of place. A *nisba* relating to an individual usually implies

<sup>15</sup> *Abu* is in the nominative case. In patronymic constructions (after *ibn*), it takes the genitive form *abi*. Thus the fourth Orthodox caliph, son of Abu Talib, is known as 'Ali b. *Abi* Talib.

clientage, which is somewhat akin to the European concept of vassalage in the sense that a person becomes a client to another by swearing an oath of fealty to that other person. The *nisba* is rarely found on coins.

**Laqab** (plural, *alqāb*) – *Laqab* is a general term for a personal title adopted by or granted to a specific individual. There are many forms of title adopted by Muslim rulers and found on their coins. In addition, there are several generic titles (not known as *laqabs*), of which the most common are Arabic *amir*, *malik*, *sultan*, Persian *shah* and *mirza*, Turko-Mongolian *khan*, *khaqan*, *qa'an*. These generic titles refer in effect to an office rather than to an individual.

The earliest form of *laqab* was an adjectival form which was commonly understood as modifying the generic title *amir* (“commander”) and was invariably Arabic. Such a title was first used by the second ‘Abbasid caliph *al-Mansur*, whose *ism* was ‘Abd Allah.<sup>16</sup> At first only caliphs adopted such titles, but by the later 3<sup>rd</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> century others took them as well. Still later, during the Ayyubid and Mamluk eras, such titles became the norm for secular rulers, in which case they modified either *al-malik* or *al-sultan*. Titles of this form are also invariably in Arabic.

From the 4<sup>th</sup>/10<sup>th</sup> century onwards, secular rulers commonly assumed Arabic titles as their *laqab* in the form *X al-Dawla*, *X al-Din*, *X al-Mulk*, *X al-Islam*, etc. In theory these titles were granted by the caliph to individual rulers, but in practice, by the end of that century, many rulers simply arrogated such titles in total defiance of the caliph’s prerogative, sometimes then assuaging their guilt by sending a few costly trinkets to the caliph. Titles of this category were commonly used on coinage, often to the exclusion of the *ism* and other titles. In later times, from the 15<sup>th</sup> century onward, names of this category were commonly used as the *ism* (e.g., Nasir al-Din Shah, the Qajar ruler of Iran in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century).

From the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup>/8<sup>th</sup> to the 5<sup>th</sup>/11<sup>th</sup> century, one encounters titles of the form *dhu X*, “possessor of X”. Such titles are rarely found on coins, but were placed on the coinage by a few ‘Abbasid viziers, such as *dhu'l-ri'asatayn* during the caliphate of al-Ma'mun, and later by rulers of the ‘Uqaylid, Marwanid and Mirdasid dynasties.

Turkish rulers often adopted one or more Turkish *laqabs*, most commonly ending with the element *-tegin* (loosely, “prince”, and transliterated in Arabic as *takin*). Such titles are especially common on Qarakhanid coins.

Normally a given ruler could not bear one *laqab* of any given form at any time, but it was not unusual for an individual to change his *laqab* upon moving from one rank to another. This practice was especially widespread amongst the Qarakhanids, to the extent that it is often very difficult to determine from the various *alqāb* just who might have been the issuer of a particular coin.

Post-Mongol rulers in the east were often known by an indirect *laqab*, usually Persian or Arabic or mixed. These essentially honorific titles were used in written histories, documents, and poetry, but almost never on the coinage.

In the *Checklist*, rulers are typically identified by their *ism*, even when that form of the name is rarely encountered on the coinage, such as most of the rulers of the Qarakhanid dynasty. The *ism*, often together with the *nasab*, is given in bold type. Additional names and titles are often noted, either in parentheses after the *ism* or together with the *ism* but in bold type. It is recommended that collectors and dealers use the boldface name to refer to the ruler.

**Rashidun** – The *rashidun* (“rightly guided”) are the first four leaders of Islam after the death of the Prophet Muhammad. All four are recognized by the Sunnis, but only the fourth one (‘Ali b. Abi Talib) is recognized by the Shi‘ites. Their names first appear

on coinage in the 5<sup>th</sup>/11<sup>th</sup> century, but only became frequently mentioned after the Mongol invasion during the early 7<sup>th</sup>/13<sup>th</sup> century, on issues of Sunni rulers, sometimes with their epithets, as noted here:

Abu Bakr, al-Siddiq	11-13 / 632-634
‘Umar, al-Faruq	13-23 / 634-644
‘Uthman, Dhu'l-Nurayn <sup>17</sup>	23-35 / 644-656
‘Ali b. Abi Talib, al-Murtada	35-41 / 656-661

Their names never appear on coins struck during their lifetimes.

**Shi‘ite Imams** – The twelve Shi‘ite Imams were named on many coins struck by Shi‘ite rulers, often together with the short addition to the kalima, ‘*ali wali Allah* (“‘Ali, the Friend of God”), commencing with the issues of the Ilkhan sultan Uljaytu, who converted to Shi‘ism in 709/1309. The twelve Imams were cited on most of his silver and gold coins thereafter, occasionally with the epithets on the larger denominations. Later Shi‘ite rulers in Iran continued this tradition, of which the latest issues were of the Safavid ruler Isma‘il III dated 1167, and ironically, silver abbasid dated 1170 struck in the name of the Afsharid ruler Shahrukh at Tiflis (Tbilisi), authorized by the Christian king of Georgia, Teimuraz II.

‘Ali b. Abi Talib, al-Murtada	35-41 / 656-661
al-Hasan b. ‘Ali, al-Mujtada	41-50 / 661-670
al-Husayn b. ‘Ali, al-Shahid	50-61 / 670-680
‘Ali b. al-Husayn, Zayn al-‘Abidin	61-95 / 680-712
Muhammad b. ‘Ali, al-Baqir	95-114 / 712-733
Ja‘far b. Muhammad, al-Sadiq	114-148 / 733-765
Musa b. Ja‘far, al-Kazim	148-183 / 765-799
‘Ali b. Musa, al-Rida	183-203 / 799-818
Muhammad b. ‘Ali, al-Taqi	203-220 / 818-835
‘Ali b. Muhammad, al-Naqi	220-254 / 835-868
al-Hasan b. ‘Ali, al-‘Askari	254-260 / 868-874
Muhammad b. al-Hasan, al-Mahdi	260 — / 874 —

‘Ali b. Abi Talib was recognized as the first Imam of the Shi‘ites, who ignored his three Sunni predecessors, Abu Bakr, ‘Umar and ‘Uthman. The last of the 12 Imams, Muhammad al-Mahdi, is said to have vanished in occultation, and shall return to earth whenever God is willing.

The only one of the 12 Imams whose name appeared on contemporary coinage is ‘Ali b. Musa al-Rida (*reza* in Persian), who was recognized in 200 by the ‘Abbasid caliph al-Ma'mun as heir to the caliphate. Al-Ma'mun’s administration ordered the six eastern mints to include his name on the silver coins, with the title *wali ‘ahd al-muslimin*, “heir apparent of the Muslims”, which were struck from 202 to 205, despite ‘Ali’s assassination in 203 (type #224). This was the last significant attempt to merge the Sunnis and the Shi‘ites.

### THE RIGHT OF SIKKA

The coin inscriptions were one of the two juridically recognized formal expressions of the right of the ruler to sovereignty (the right of *sikka*). The other expression was the *khutba*, the right of the ruler to have his name mentioned in the Friday sermon. Since the text of the *khutba* has rarely been preserved, the coinage is usually the only surviving expression of formal sovereignty. Although medieval Islamic history is relatively well documented by nearly contemporary written sources, mainly in Arabic, Persian, or, for the Ottoman period, Turkish, these chronicles are generally oriented towards events in the capital. They rarely mention provincial affairs, except when they impinge directly on events concerning the ruling family. Thus the coins are frequently the only surviving documentation of political conditions in the provinces and are thus of great use to historians attempting to reconstruct the provincial configuration of post-modern Islamic states.

Although surviving early Islamic juridical texts fail to discuss the development of the right of *sikka*, its codification must have occurred at some time during the early part of the 3<sup>rd</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> century, between the first attempt to uniformize the coinage under al-Ma'mun circa 204/820 and the first appearance of vassal names in 259/874, at least in the central and eastern Islamic lands. In the

<sup>16</sup> The first ‘Abbasid caliph, Abu'l-‘Abbas ‘Abd Allah, was given the title *al-Saffah* (“the shedder of blood”) by later historians. There is no evidence that he used it during his lifetime.

<sup>17</sup> “Possessor of the two lights,” applied to ‘Uthman because he was married to two of the Prophet Muhammad’s daughters.



west (the Maghrib and Spain), the right of *sikka* seems never to have been fully institutionalized, as is evident from the inscriptional content of the gold and silver coinage of the 'Alawi sharifs of Morocco until well after the introduction of machine-struck coinage under the French protectorate.

The right of *sikka* was applied only to coinage in precious metal, *i.e.*, to gold and silver coinage. Copper coinage was from the beginning regarded as an essentially local affair, as a municipal coinage, not unlike the situation in the eastern Roman Empire before the reign of Diocletian, who suppressed the local civic coinages of the eastern provinces. This distinction is manifested in many ways. For example, whereas the caliph is always mentioned on Sunni silver and gold coinage from 219 to the fall of the caliphate in 656, copper coinage typically omits the name of the caliph. After about 800/1400 most eastern copper coinage tends to be totally anonymous. It is known to have been the responsibility of municipal authorities rather than of the central administration, which oversaw silver and gold coinage. Most post-800 copper coinage can therefore not be assigned to a specific ruler and was not necessarily altered upon the succession of a new ruler.

Neither the development of the right of *sikka* nor the role of copper coin inscriptions in Islamic coinage has been adequately studied. I espy a future dissertation or two here.

#### PRESENTATION OR DONATIVE COINS

Throughout Islamic history (commencing in the time of the 'Abbasid caliph al-Mutawakkil, 232-247 / 847-861), coins of superior workmanship were struck for special purposes, usually for presentation by rulers to notables and visiting dignitaries. They are known as presentation coins, largesse coins, or donatives, of which the last term is my choice in most cases. Many were of large module with especially fine calligraphy, often with pictorial designs as well. Others were small fractions, finely engraved, intended for distribution to the general populace, somewhat like the Maundy coins of England. Most of these are very rare today, though some of the later Iranian and 18<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman types are sometimes available. Lutz Ilisch has catalogued these in a series of articles that appeared in the mid-1980s.<sup>18</sup> Because of their rarity, only a selection of these are enumerated in the *Checklist*.

Because donative coins usually display superior workmanship, they were highly prized for decorative purposes. Hence they are normally found holed or mounted. In the case of the 18<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman multiples and the later Iranian multiples, the recipient was expected to wear the coin as a medal of honor on his clothing. As a result, these later types are almost always found holed or mounted.

#### THE "SILVER FAMINE"

One of the most curious phenomena in Islamic coinage is the gradual disappearance of fine silver coinage from about 350/960 onwards in most of the Muslim world, often attributed to a presumed shortage of silver bullion. There is no doubt that by about 400/1010 fine silver coinage had become uncommon. In some areas, notably Spain, Syria, and much of greater Iran, billon coinage came into prominence, though its survival rate has been poor, due both to the relative instability of the alloy when buried in the ground and to a lack of hoarding, due to their relatively minimal value.<sup>19</sup> Scholarly opinion is very much divided on both the nature and the causes of the disappearance of fine silver coinage. There are basically two opposing theories. The more

<sup>18</sup> Ilisch, L., "Münzgeschenke und Geschenkmünzen in der mittelalterlichen islamischen Welt", *Münstersche numismatische Zeitung*, 14:2 (June 1984), pp. 7-12, 14:3 (September 1984), pp. 15-24; 14:4 (December 1984), pp. 27-34; 15:1 (April 1985), pp. 5-12. Further sections were completed but never published.

<sup>19</sup> Billon coins of the "famine" era seem to have been more a replacement for copper than for silver currency, and were rarely hoarded. In general, they turn up as isolated finds, poorly preserved, as is normal for mixed-metal coinage. However, as far as their juridical status, they were generally regarded as silver coins.

traditional theory holds that there was an actual shortage of silver bullion. A more recent theory, expounded by Deyell and others, holds that there was no absolute shortage of silver, but that governments found it advantageous to replace both pure silver and pure bronze coinage with billon coins that were in effect packets containing a small quantity of silver included within a base metal "envelope".<sup>20</sup> The relevant arguments are complex and still controversial, and cannot be surveyed in a general work such as this. Nonetheless, common sense increasingly persuades me that debasement or abandonment of silver coins bore little or no relationship to a theoretical "shortage".

Only in the far Maghreb (Morocco) and parts of what is now Afghanistan and Pakistan was fine silver coinage continued after the early 400s. Everywhere else, debased silver became the rule, sometimes replaced by copper or bronze. Similar debasements of silver occurred at the same time throughout India and most of Europe (England and northern Germany were the only real exceptions). It was not until 558/1163 that fine silver dirhams were once again manufactured in the traditional Middle East, commencing in the Yemen at Zabid under the Mahdids (#1081). The use of fine silver spread gradually throughout the Islamic world, into the Ayyubid lands of Syria and Egypt in the 570s, into Rum (Anatolia) in the 570s<sup>21</sup>, into India and what is now Afghanistan from the 590s, into Iraq, Iran and Transoxiana beginning in the 630s.

Thus the "silver famine" extended from the later 4<sup>th</sup>/10<sup>th</sup> to the early 7<sup>th</sup>/13<sup>th</sup> centuries, roughly 250 years. For collectors, the principal consequence is that for many dynasties and rulers, gold is the least rare, often the only type of coinage that is readily available. The billon coins, which replaced both silver and copper, are often far rarer, poorly struck when available, and usually found in worn or corroded condition. This is most evident for the Great Seljuqs and some of their Atabeg successors.

#### COUNTERFEITS & FORGERIES

Fortunately, the market for Islamic coins has not yet reached that stage where counterfeiting has become rampant. When I first began collecting, in 1962, forgeries of Islamic coins were virtually unknown. By the late 1970s, a few forgeries of gold coins began to surface, especially in lots coming from Lebanon and Syria. Most of the forgeries were of common date coins, not especially skillful and rather readily detected. Forgeries of rarities were seldom encountered, except for a few of the more spectacular gold types, such as the Arab-Byzantine solidi and year 77 Umayyad dinars. By the early 1990s, rather more forgeries have been seen in the Middle East, particularly in the Gulf states, though it is generally believed that the forgeries are manufactured elsewhere and brought to the Gulf region for the explicit purpose of duping local collectors. By the mid 1990s, increasing numbers of forgeries have been emanating from Iran, including some small fractional gold coins purporting to be issues of the 'Abbasid caliph al-Wathiq and common type silver coins of the Ilkhan Abu Sa'id, as well as fantasy hybrids of Islamic types with Sasanian or Parthian types. Fortunately, even in 2011, most of these are of such distinctive style as to present little danger to a slightly experienced collector, but can be the bane of the neophyte.

More recently, "doctored" coins have appeared in the market, coins which have been cleaned, whizzed, tooled, polished, blackened, etc., to the point that it becomes virtually impossible to distinguish the real from the fake. A group of nine presentation type silver rupees of the Mughal emperor Jahangir were consigned to the Triton X auction in New York in January 2008, and were sent to me for authentication. I was able to declare one genuine, several fake, the rest too heavily doctored for determination. As a result, all nine were withdrawn and returned to the consignor. This has been a problem with ancient Greek and Roman coins for centuries, but now applies to Indian and some Islamic coins as well.

<sup>20</sup> This theory is especially well formulated by J. Deyell, *Living Without Silver*, pp. 1 ff.

<sup>21</sup> But as a widespread circulating medium only from 616 onwards.

Vast quantities of modern forgeries emanate nowadays from China, and increasingly from India. The Chinese forgers have been faking predominantly Chinese cash, as well as machine-struck modern coins from all over the world, and recently (mid-2000s) some medieval Islamic coins have also been copied. Those that I have observed are mainly silk road coins, Qarakhanid, Chaghatayid, Timurid, etc., which have recently become avidly collected in China, but I would not be at all surprised if many other types will soon be forged. “Made-in-China” counterfeits are sold throughout China, usually very cheaply as “souvenirs”, often popularly collected just for fun. However, these items all too frequently wind up for sale as genuine coins, often at outrageous prices, though almost always substantially cheaper than the genuine item. All I can say is *caveat emptor*, and be especially careful purchasing via eBay from sellers unknown to you.

Collectors are advised to deal with reliable dealers, to obtain a guarantee of authenticity (usually unnecessary when a guarantee of authenticity is clearly stated in the dealer’s written advertising or brochures, usually within the Terms of Sale), and to request the option of seeking a third party opinion. To the best of my knowledge, all dealers currently active in Islamic numismatics will gladly affirm these conditions. The American Numismatic Association will also accept Islamic coins for authentication, at a modest fee. The ANA also mediates disputes between members, and for that reason alone, membership in the ANA can prove a wise investment for collectors and dealers alike. Membership information can be obtained by writing the association at 818 N. Cascade, Colorado Springs CO 80903, USA, or at their website [www.money.org](http://www.money.org).

### IMITATIONS

Aside from modern counterfeits intended to deceive collectors and tourists, there is a class of unofficial coins known as imitations, more or less contemporary with the originals, struck outside the purview of the official mint system but intended to circulate alongside genuine coins (monetary imitations). These can generally be distinguished by their poor or deviant calligraphy. They are therefore sometimes known as barbarous imitations, though in fact many are of high artistic merit. They were struck by neighboring states, private profiteers, audacious governors, etc., and usually contained the full value of metal, whether it be copper, silver, or gold. They often passed conjointly with official issues. In some cases, the identity of the issuer can be ascertained, as for example the Crusader copies from the Levant, or the Volga-Bulghar copies of ‘Abbasid and Samanid dirhams. More typically the identity of the issuer remains obscure. Imitations occur frequently when the monetary value of a coin was substantially elevated over its bullion value, as was commonly the case in pre-modern monetary systems, especially for silver. They occur from the earliest Islamic coinage until the 19<sup>th</sup> century, with a few examples in the 20<sup>th</sup> century as well. Both precious metal and copper coinage was imitated.

Imitations are very much collectible. In a few cases they command higher prices than their prototypes, including most Russian and northern European imitations of Samanid and other early dirhams.

Another class of imitations comprises pieces made specifically for jewelry. These pieces range from rather close copies of actual coins to bizarre concoctions only faintly mirroring the prototype. Until the 19<sup>th</sup> century, most of these were made outside the region where actual coins were manufactured, especially in non-Islamic lands such as central Europe or East Africa. During the 19<sup>th</sup> century base metal imitations, mainly based on Ottoman coins, were manufactured in Europe for export to the Ottoman lands, where they were sewn onto garments as decoration and are commonly called “belly-dancer” tokens, as they were often sewn onto the dancers’ skirts, principally along the hem. More recently, since about 1950, various Ottoman, Persian, and European gold coins have been imitated for jewelry or bullion hoarding. Jewelry imitations are less collected than monetary imitations, modern bullion imitations not at all.

Aside from imitations, there are also many counterfeits contemporary with the originals, intended to deceive users at the time. These are normally distinguished by debasement of their metal. Most are also stylistically inferior, though in some cases they are struck from original dies, either at official mints under the charge of unscrupulous mintmasters or elsewhere, from purloined dies. Silver and gold coins with copper cores are also commonly encountered and are known collectively as *subaerata* or *fourrée*. Contemporary counterfeits are considered collectible, though usually sell much more cheaply than genuine coins, especially in the case of gold.

### CONVENTIONAL USAGES

There are a number of rather arbitrary conventions used for categorizing Islamic coins. As a general rule, coins are assigned to the ruler whose name appears on the coin, even if that ruler is not the actual issuer. That is a common occurrence, especially during the early reigns of a dynasty, before the actual ruler dared adorn the coinage with his own name. For example, the Tulunid ruler, Ahmad b. Tulun, ruled in Egypt from 254, but only placed his name on the coinage in 266, together with that of the ‘Abbasid caliph. Coins dated 254-265 bear only the name of the caliph and are thus classified as ‘Abbasid (except for the copper coins dated 257-259). A more instructive example is the coinage of the Muzaffarid Shah Mahmud, who flaunted his opposition to his brother Shah Shuja’ by placing the name of the contemporary Jalayrid ruler, Shaykh Uways, on his coinage to the exclusion of his own; admittedly, the Jalayrid did offer military assistance to Shah Mahmud, but he never actually exercised control in any of Shah Mahmud’s lands. Nonetheless, the coins citing Shaykh Uways are conventionally classified as Jalayrid, as they were regarded by the contemporary panegyrist Salman Saveji in a eulogy to Shaykh Uways.

Anonymous coins are assigned to a ruler in two situations, when an anonymous type is characteristic of a particular ruler (as is typical for 14<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century Iranian coins, for example), or where the coins are dated and customarily collected according to the ruler in whose reign the date falls. By convention, anonymous coins of the latter sort are assigned to the ruler who was on the throne at the commencement of a year, unless there is clear evidence for assigning the type to one of his successors ruling later in that year.<sup>22</sup> In a few cases, specific aspects of the design or the text within a single year may permit a division of the coins between more than one ruler, as for example the number of annulets in the obverse margin of Umayyad dirhams of Wasit dated 126 or the Kabul rupees dated 1258.

Rulers’ dates are given in the Hijri and Christian calendars. The conversion to Christian years is often approximate, especially in those cases where in the Hijri calendar only the year is known, without the month or day. Many dates have never been firmly established, and collectors will face a bewildering disparity in dating from one reference work to another. Even the basic genealogical works and historical chronicles often contradict one another. Careful numismatic analysis can often clarify confusing dynastic dating, especially when most coins bear mint and date.

The spellings used here are based on the assumption that most names are Arabic, except for Turkish names, which are generally rendered according to the conventions of modern Turkish. The transcription system used here is that of the Library of Congress,<sup>23</sup> which is generally accepted in most English-speaking academic circles. However, diacritical signs are omitted, though I plan to rectify this in the 4<sup>th</sup> edition. French, Spanish, German, and other European transliteration systems are different. Persian names are converted according to Arabic transliteration, as that has been the traditional practice of orientalists for decades. However, I have used a modified Persian transliteration for the couplets and other

<sup>22</sup> In her study of the Manghit coinage (cited before #3027) Burnasheva comes to the opposite conclusion. She assigns the coins to the new ruler in transition years, on the basis that the new ruler would have had to strike coins in order to grant the usual gifts and emoluments expected upon accession.

<sup>23</sup> The only exception is that the *ta marbuta* is indicated by *-a* rather than *ah*.

inscriptions that appear on Safavid and later Iranian coins. As a result, some names are spelled differently in the listings and in the transliterations of Persian legends. I would recommend that collectors should prefer the renditions used in the listings, as they are internationally more familiar.

In the transliteration of Arabic and Persian names, the left single quotation mark (‘) is used to represent the guttural ‘ayn, the right mark (’) for the glottal stop (normally, but not always, indicated by an *alif*), and the simple apostrophe (’) to indicate an elided *alif*, as in names such as Abu’l-Fath (= Abu al-Fath) or Dhu’l-Ri’asatayn (= Dhu al-Ri’asatayn).

These conventions have unfortunately not been uniformly adopted in the literature, with the result that the collector will find some rather confusing divergences from one reference to another. In order to deal effectively with this source of confusion, an elementary knowledge of Arabic (or Persian) is essential. I highly recommend that anyone planning to collect Islamic coins with any degree of seriousness make the effort to acquire a basic understanding of the Arabic language. Even a modest effort will yield rewards that will more than justify the time invested. I can assure you that attaining a basic knowledge of Arabic is (for me, at least) less challenging than learning enough about automobile engines to perform a basic tune-up.

#### OBVERSE AND REVERSE

Classical numismatists regard the lower or anvil die as the obverse, the upper or punch die as the reverse. This convention is, however, inapplicable to most Islamic coinage. Consequently, Islamic numismatists have devised certain rather arbitrary conventions more appropriate to their material. Unfortunately, opinion is divided in regard to these conventions, particularly for Islamic coinage struck after about 1150. The following conventions have been applied here, hopefully with some manner of consistency.

For Byzantine and Sasanian style coinages, the conventions of their prototypes have been retained: The side with the royal figure is the obverse, the other side the reverse. This same distinction is carried over to the Standing Caliph types.

The purely epigraphic reform coinage introduced in 77 Hijri can readily be categorized because the kalima is divided between the two sides. The side commencing with *la ilah illa Allah* is deemed the obverse, the other side, usually bearing *muhammad rasul Allah*, often with further pious phrases, is considered the reverse. This rule works for nearly all precious metal and most copper coinage until the 6<sup>th</sup>/12<sup>th</sup> century.

At the beginning of the reign of the Fatimid caliph al-Mu‘izz (341-365 / 953-976), a major innovation took place in the arrangement of the inscriptions. All pious phrases were reserved for one face of the coin, all royal and monetary protocols for the other. While there is evidence that at least for several centuries, contemporary jurists continued to regard the kalima side as the obverse<sup>24</sup>, collectors, especially in the Middle East and India, have long taken the opposite view, regarding the side with royal information as the obverse. I have adopted the latter view as well for Fatimid and all later coinage on which the pious material is restricted to one side of the coin. This includes virtually all Ayyubid and later coinage of the central Islamic lands and the Yemen, Iranian and other eastern coinage from about 1150 onwards, and all Islamic coinage of India (not included here).

Some later coinage lacks pious formulae altogether (Ottoman after about 760/1358, Iranian from 1148/1735, Central Asia from about 1190/1776, and Moroccan from 1171/1757). Normally one side bears the name of the ruler, and that side is regarded as the obverse. For most of these series, the reverse is reserved for the mint and date, but occasionally contains the continuation of the

royal protocol from the obverse. For much anonymous Iranian coinage from 740/1340 onwards, especially that of the 12<sup>th</sup>/18<sup>th</sup> century, a pious inscription serves in lieu of the royal protocol and thus defines the obverse; the reverse normally bears the kalima in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, but only mint & date information in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

There is one coinage where obverse and reverse cannot be distinguished, the early silver coins of Sidi Muhammad III (types #589 and 590), because both faces have identical inscriptions!

#### MULINGS

A muling is a coin struck from obverse and reverse dies that do not belong together. These normally occur because a die, if still in serviceable condition, was not necessarily discarded when the information on it became obsolete. Since engraving skill was usually a very scarce talent, mintmasters were loath to throw away a usable die. Sometimes the die was recut to reflect the new information (usually the date), but this was not common practice. More typically, unless the die contained information that was politically heterodox (*e.g.*, the name of a deposed ruler or a hated rebel), the die simply remained in service until it broke or wore out. This was especially true if only the date was obsolete, and is reflected in those series, as noted before, where the obverse and reverse dies were both dated: mismatches are usually a frequent occurrence. Less frequently, dies naming a deceased ruler might be used well after his death. It was undoubtedly common procedure to continue striking coins in the name of the decedent until new types were agreed upon and new dies manufactured. There was thus no particular reason to retire the old ruler’s dies with any great dispatch.

Three other categories of mulings exist. Occasionally, two obverses or two reverses were muled together. Sometimes, dies were purloined from official oversight and used by forgers; since these forgers did not necessarily possess matching obverses and reverse dies, they made do with whatever was available. Finally, contemporary imitations were often struck with dies derived from different prototypes for obverse and reverse.

#### BROCKAGES

Some Islamic coins bear one normal side, either obverse or reverse, and the other side an incuse retrograde image of the same. These are known as brockages, coins that have been erroneously struck, when the previously struck coin sticks to one of the dies, leaving its retrograde incuse image on one side of the new coin. Brockages occur most frequent on very small coins, such as Habbarid dammas, later Jalayrid & Muzaffarid silver coins, and most commonly of all, Ottoman & Giray Khan akçes of the 16<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> centuries. They are popularly categorized as error coins, and collected principally by specialists in error coins. Brockages of hammered coins are usually valued less than fully struck pieces, but brockages of machine-struck coins (not listed here) are often highly prized.

#### THEMES FOR A COLLECTION

As a dealer, I am frequently asked by my customers to advise on building and organizing a collection. I have always recommended that the collector eventually construct clear parameters for his or her collection. Indeed, most collectors do approach their subject with a certain theme in mind, to which they adhere to with a greater or lesser degree.

New collectors often collect one per dynasty (difficult after the first few dozen), one per ruler, one per type, one per mint, one per date, or coins within a defined price range. More advanced collectors tend to specialize and collect in depth a dynasty, a ruler, a mint, a type, or a set of coins determined by their own personalized criteria. Others, both beginners and old hands, collect whatever coins suit their fancy, for reasons that are often difficult to express clearly in words. Beginners tend to collect quite haphazardly, unsystematically acquiring whatever comes their

<sup>24</sup> There is a tale in the Rasulid histories, dating to the late 7th/13th century, in which a *qadi* (judge) reads off the inscriptions on a Rasulid coin of the year 650 Hijri. He reads the kalima side first, the royal side afterwards, in a context where the narrator is comparing the quality of the newly produced Rasulid coins to contemporary Rassid coins (cited by H. Nützel, *Münzen der Rasuliden*, p. 30).

way at an affordable price. I myself confess to having collected in that fashion during my early coin-collecting years.<sup>25</sup>

Whatever the collector may choose, it is my hope that this *Checklist* will facilitate his or her endeavors, making it easier for the collector to set up criteria for his own preferences by providing an elementary overview of the range of Islamic coinage. Moreover, he can use the *Checklist* to mark off dynasties, rulers or types, as he acquires them for his collection. In order to have room for notes and comments, a single-sided photocopy of all or part of this *Checklist* may prove useful, and I both permit and encourage the collectors to do so.

### THANKS

I would like to thank the following collectors, scholars and dealers for their wonderful assistance for this publication. And because I was foolish to avoid listing those who provided insight for the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> editions, as well as the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition before I decided to assemble this list in late 2004, I apologize to those whose names I have omitted.

Accola, Richard – Whereas a few years ago he would hardly have known the difference between two Islamic coins, his growing knowledge has led to numerous useful suggestions, especially in the Ghorid series, since his acquisition of the Spengler collection of Ghorid coins.

Akin, Alexander – Lots of assistance and commentary, especially for the 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, which would hardly have been feasible without his work.

Aravand, Muhammad Ali – Specialist in medieval Iranian coins.

Atakhodzhaev, Anvar – An important source of information for Samanid and other Central Asian copper coins.

Al-Atassi, ‘Abd al-Rahman – Provided important information from his numismatic interests.

Bates, Michael – Give him a question, and you can anticipate an encouraging reply. Thanks for the suggestions.

Belyaev, Vladimir – His [www.zeno.ru](http://www.zeno.ru) website has been a phenomenal source of useful information. And he has provided dozens of helpful suggestions for the *Checklist*.

Cannito, Ralph – Information on many different Islamic coins, plus his posting of Samanid & Qarakhanid images on Zeno.

Cole, Greg – For copper coins and more.

Cribb, Joe – Dammas of the Habbarids and their contemporary and subsequent rulers in Sind.

Darley-Doran, Robert – The identifier of Islamic coins for André De Clermont, many important tidbits of useful information.

Dauwe, Roland – If you want to know something about coins minted at Qumm, he is the fellow to ask, thus a useful source of information.

De Clermont, André – He has reported to me many Islamic coins of the greatest rarity.

DeShazo, Allen S. – Lots of useful information, especially for Arab-Sasanian, Umayyad, Durrani coins, etc.

Dhaheri, Saeed – A collector in the United Arab Emirates who keeps bugging me with questions, questions that also provide ongoing useful information.

Diler, Emine – By bombarding me with queries regarding the publication of his deceased husband Ömer Diler, she has encouraged me to think about and often reconsider or rewrite many of my listings.

Elmen, Jim – For the Giray Khans of Crimea, plus miscellaneous suggestions here and there.

Farr, James – For Golden Horde coins, and some others.

Fedorov, Michael – An enthusiastic source of information on medieval Central Asian coins. Unfortunately, I have not had the time to meticulously examine his continuing articles on Qarakhanid coinage in order to incorporate his classifications into my listing of Qarakhanid coins.

Floor, Willem – For Safavid through Qajar coinage.

<sup>25</sup> I no longer personally collect Islamic coins, having sold my collection in 1988 to the University of Tübingen. Almost immediately thereafter, I began assembling a motley collection of tokens, medals and coins from all over the world, which I assumed to have been issued after November 1976 (the opening month of the first token-using video game arcades in the United States) and typically costing no more than a few dollars. I soon became increasing specialized, concentrating on modern souvenir and advertising medals of California, at first about 1975 and later, eventually 1964 and later, as the popular issuance of coin club medals commenced in that year. This is still my principal collecting hobby, though because it has become increasing difficult to find more California pieces, I’ve started adding whatever cheap medals of others states appeal to me.

Heidemann, Stefan – For Mirdasid, Numayrid, other Syrian dynasties, and miscellaneous comments everywhere.

Hinrichs, Johann-Christoph – For Seljuqs of Rum.

Ibrahim, Toufiq – For Spanish coins.

Ilisch, Lutz – For just about everything --- what more can I say!

Ja’far, Yahya – For Madinat al-Salam and other Iraqi mints.

Jazzar, Muhammad (†) – For various early Islamic coins.

Koifman, Alex – Useful information, especially for the Ayyubids.

Kozyrev, Andrei – For 18<sup>th</sup> & 19<sup>th</sup> century coins of Central Asia.

Lang, Joseph – He keeps on pushing me to adjust this and change that, thus “forcing” me to think again, for which I am mightily thankful!

Lock, Jim – For Umayyad and ‘Abbasid coins dated before about AH250.

Locke, Mike – For gold coins weighing less than one ounce (like ¼ and ½ dollar private issues of goldrush California, his #1 interest).

Malek, Hodge Mehdi – For his work on the Tabaristan coinage, his ability to decipher the Pahlavi script and his vast knowledge of the Arab-Sasanian series.

Nastich, Vladimir N. – A master of Caucasian and Central Asian coinage, who has so kindly supplied me with hundreds of corrections and additions.

Nicol, N. Douglas – Aside from his knowledge of Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk coins, he has provided endless assistance for organizing the *Checklist*, during his 18 years in Santa Rosa and now in Harveys Lake, Pennsylvania.

Pelletier, Marc – For various aspects of Moroccan coinage.

Rasmussen, Christian – Sometimes I think he might be pestering me with too many queries, but constructing answers to his questions has significantly updated the Ilkhan dynasty listing.

Sakkal, Mamoun – His interest in the spiraled form of the *kalima* on Ilkhan, Timurid and related coins has encouraged him to ask me questions that have persuaded me to reconsider some of my descriptions.

Spengler, William F. (†) – Any coins of Afghanistan were his principal interest, especially Durrani and Barakzay, for which he wrote the chapters in *SCWC* 18<sup>th</sup> to 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Suchy, Vladimir – For Yemeni and related coins, above all his immense Yemeni listing on Zeno.

Treadwell, Luke – For the Buwayhid dynasty & innumerable suggestions and comments elsewhere. He is now composing an extraordinary history of the Samanids, heavily dependent on numismatic sources.

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Some familiarity with the relevant literature is essential for the study and enjoyment of Islamic coinage. While this *Checklist* can provide a handy first reference and a guide for assembling a collection, it is not meant as a surrogate for more detailed literature. Without photos or transcriptions of coin legends, it is altogether worthless as an identification guide or as a source for learning the Arabic script.

In this section are listed basic and general works, museum catalogs, as well as the most useful auction catalogs and dealer pricelists. Special works on one or a group of related dynasties are noted under the individual dynasty. Short comments are provided where appropriate. Many of the works listed are out-of-print and virtually unobtainable. Many of those still in print are costly or difficult to obtain, especially works published in the Middle East, where good distribution systems are lacking.

*Please note that I have only partially updated the bibliography for the third edition, but hope to place a revised version online within the next year or two.*

### INTRODUCTORY WORKS

Plant, Richard, *Arabic Coins and How to Read Them*, London 1973 — still the best beginner’s guide.

Krause, Chester L. & Clifford Mishler, *Standard Catalog of World Coins*, Iola, frequent editions, since 1996 divided by centuries. Currently, volumes are in print for the 17<sup>th</sup>, 18<sup>th</sup>, 19<sup>th</sup>, and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. The listings are generally fairly accurate, but the pricing is rather haphazard, understandable in light of the sparseness of auction and price records.

Mitchiner, Michael, *Oriental Coins and their Values: The World of Islam*, Sanderstead 1976 — the most useful single compendium, with over 2500 non-Indian coins photographed; unfortunately out-of-print, very pricey, and replete with errors.

Album, Stephen, *Marsden’s Numismata Orientalia Illustrata*, New York 1977 — a general reference for elementary information about the

- coinages of the various dynasties, now obsolete. The pricing reflects the market of the mid 1970s and is meaningless in today's market.
- Broome, Michael, *A Handbook of Islamic Coins*, London 1985 — the best general historical introduction; well-produced but overpriced.
- Bosworth, C.E., *The New Islamic Dynasties*, New York 1996 — A basic introduction to the dynasties, with useful short historical sketches and indications of which rulers struck coinage (not always accurate!).
- Codrington, O., *A Manual of Muslim Numismatics*, London 1904 — now outdated, but still useful, especially for the beginner. Reprints exist.
- Sauvaire, M.H., "Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de la numismatique et de la métrologie musulmanes, traduits ou recueillis et mis en ordre. Première partie. Monnaies," *Journal Asiatique*, 7e. série, XIV (1879), pp. 455-533; XV (1880), pp. 228-277, 421-478; XVIII (1881), pp. 499-516; XIX (1882), pp. 23-77, 47-163, 238-327.
- Zambaur, E. von, *Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie pour l'histoire de l'Islam*, Hannover 1927 (reprints: Bad Pyrmont 1955 & Graz 1971) — the most complete genealogical guide, though somewhat out-of-date in light of current research, and lacking AD equivalents; good indices and genealogical charts.
- Zambaur, E. von, *Die Münzprägungen des Islams*, Wiesbaden 1968 (partly printed in 1943, then stored until completion in 1968) — a listing of all the mints (India excluded), with charts of all known mints and dates as of 1940, plus much valuable bibliographical material, now outdated. Unfortunately, there are many errors of both omission & commission. Out-of-print but not yet rare.
- Kazan, William, *The Coinage of Islam: Collection of William Kazan*, Beirut 1983 (excellent text by R. Darley-Doran) — essentially a lavish coffee-table book, but useful (gold coins only). In 1996, the Kazan collection was acquired by the national museum of Qatar.
- Diler, Ömer, *Islamic Mints / İslâm Darı Yerleri*, posthumously edited by Emine Diler, J.C. Hinrichs & Garo Kürkman, Istanbul 2009, three heavy tomes weighing a total of 13 pounds. This remarkable work lists well over 1250 different mints, including India, then presents a detailed list of all reported dates for that mint that were known to Diler, with one or two references for each date, separately for the three basic metals, gold, silver and copper, and when appropriate, a footnote providing further information. The mint list fills the first two volumes. Each date (also dateless or date-missing listings) is accompanied by one or two references provided as numbers, which correspond to a non-alphabetical list of references in volume 3. Also included in volume 3, filling about 330 pages, is a list of all dynasties and their rulers, with the rulers' dates in both the Hijri and Christian calendar. The dynasties are listed alphabetically according to their Turkish spellings, and the rulers of each dynasty alphabetically, also by their Turkish spellings. The first few pages of volume 3 provide a cross-reference from English to Turkish names of the dynasties, in English alphabetical order. The work is an amazing assemblage of information, but frustrating to use.

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- Mayer, Leo A., *Bibliography of Moslem Numismatics (India Excepted)*, London 1954 (2<sup>nd</sup> edition). This work is remarkably complete for everything published prior to 1953, and some information is provided each listed publication, including a partial list of the dynasties treated.
- Bates, Michael L., "Islamic Numismatics", *Middle East Studies Association Bulletin*, four installments from vol. 12:2 (May 1978) through volume 13:2 (Dec 1979). A useful bibliographical review and survey of current research.
- Supplementary bibliography can be found in *Numismatic Literature*, published semi-annually by the American Numismatic Society (and now available on line at [www.annumsoc2.org](http://www.annumsoc2.org), in the *Index Islamicus* (published periodically) and in the supplement to the *Revue d'études islamiques* known as *Abstracta Islamica* (published annually).
- Farr, Jim, *Jim Farr's Numismatic Bibliography*, a website at [www.nettally.com/jimfarr/jims\\_bibliography.htm](http://www.nettally.com/jimfarr/jims_bibliography.htm), very useful alphabetical list of his own library, mostly books and article about Islamic coins.
- Further information can be found in general numismatic bibliographies, as well as the useful *Survey of Numismatic Research* published about every six to seven years by the International Numismatic Commission.

### MUSEUM CATALOGS

- Lane-Poole, Stanley, *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum*, London 1875-1890 (10 volumes) (reprint: Bologna 1967) — Still the #1 reference guide, with full transcription of all coin legends and hundreds of high-quality photographs (the reprint is of mediocre quality).
- Universität Tübingen, see *Sylloge* section below.
- Artuk, Ibrahim & Cevriye, *Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Teshirdeki İslami Sikkeler Katalogu*, 2 vols., Istanbul, 1971-1974 — Especially useful for Anatolian dynasties.
- Fahmy, 'Abdurrahman Muhammad, *Fajr al-sikka al-'arabiyya*, Cairo 1965 (in Arabic) — covers all series up to about 400 Hijri.
- Lavoix, Henri, *Catalogue des monnaies musulmanes de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (3 volumes), Paris, 1887-1896 (reprint: Bologna 1977-78) — very important; unfortunately, the reprint is abominable, with fragile binding.
- (A fourth volume of the Paris collection, *Asie pré-mongole: les Saljuqs et leurs successeurs*, was compiled by Gilles Hennequin, and published in 1985. Hennequin was preparing a fifth volume, to include the early Iranian dynasties prior to the Seljuqs, but it now seems likely that it will never be published.)
- Al-Naqshbandi, Nasir al-Sayyid Mahmud, *al-Dinar al-Islami fi al-Mithaf al-'Iraqi*, pt. 1 (Umayyad & 'Abbasid), Baghdad 1953.
- Markov, A.K., *Inventarniy katalog musulmanskikh monet ... Imperatorskago Ermitazha*, St. Petersburg 1896, with four supplements, 1898-1904 (reprint, including all supplements: London, circa 1986) (in Russian). Important for Central Asian and Caucasian dynasties. Difficult to use.
- Nützel, Heinrich, *Katalog der orientalischen Münzen, Königliche Museen zu Berlin* (2 volumes), Berlin 1898-1902 — covers only the caliphate, Spanish, and North African dynasties.
- 'Ush, al-, Muhammad Abu-l-Faraj, *Arab Islamic Coins preserved in the National Museum of Qatar*, Doha 1984 — covers the caliphate only. The second volume covering other dynasties has been compiled by Ibrahim Jabir Al-Jabir, Doha 1992. Not available for sale.
- Nicol, Norman D., Raafat el-Nabarawy & Jere L. Bacharach, *Catalog of the Islamic Coins, Glass Weights, Dies and Medals in the Egyptian National Library*, Cairo, Malibu 1982.
- Sourdel, Dominique, *Inventaire des monnaies musulmanes anciennes du musée de Caboul*, Damascus 1953.

### MISCELLANEOUS REFERENCES

- (Listed here are a few items which cover a wide variety of different dynasties)
- Eustache, Daniel, "Études de numismatique et de métrologie musulmanes," *Hesperis*, vol. 10 (1969), pp. 95-189.
- Zambaur, E. von, "Contributions à la numismatique orientale," *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, vol. 36 (1904), pp. 43-122 and vol. 37 (1905), pp. 113-198
- Zambaur, E. von, "Nouvelles contributions à la numismatique orientale," *Ibid.* vol. 47 (1914), pp. 115-190.
- Lowick, N.M., *Islamic Coins and Trade in the Medieval World*, and *Coinage and History in the Islamic World*, both London 1990.
- Miles, G.C., *Numismatic History of Rayy* (ANS Numismatic Studies #2), New York 1938 — the first major study of the coinage of one mint.
- Rajabli, Ali, *Numismatica Azerbaidzhana*, Baku 1997.
- Davidovich, E.A., *Klady drevnikh i srednevekovykh monet Tadzhikistana*, Moscow 1979.
- Vives y Escudero, *Monedas de las dinastías árabe-españolas*, Madrid 1893 (reprint: Madrid, circa 1978).
- Bernardi, Giulio, *Arabic Gold Coins Corpus I*, Trieste 2010 — The volume covers all Islamic gold coins issued 65-334 / 684-946, listed by mint, date and variety. With a little practice it is easy to use and very useful.
- Valentine, W.H., *Modern Copper Coins of the Muhammadan States*, London 1911 (reprints exist).

### SYLLOGE NUMORUM ARABICORUM

- The *Sylloge* is a form of collection publication, in which nearly all coins are illustrated with a high quality image, together with a brief listing. The format was first used for ancient Greek coinage in 1931. The principal advantage of the *sylloge* format is that a collection becomes available for study without the expense and hassle of traveling to the collection, which, especially in the case of private holdings, may otherwise be inaccessible.
- Cambridge (Fitzwilliam Museum), in progress.
- Jena (Universität), so far one volume has been published, *Sylloge Münzen des Kaukasus und Osteuropas*, by Tobias Mayer, with an introduction by Stefan Heidemann & Gert Rispling.
- Oxford (Ashmolean Museum, Heberden Coin Room, including the Samir Shamma collection, on loan until April 2004), in progress, under the title *Sylloge of Islamic Coins in the Ashmolean*. Five volumes have so far been published:
1. The pre-reform coinage of the early Islamic period, by Stephen Album & Tony Goodwin.
  2. Early post-reform coinage, by N.D. Nicol, covering Umayyad precious metal and copper coinage, together with 'Abbasid copper.

6. The Egyptian dynasties, by N.D. Nicol.  
 9. Iran after the Mongol invasion, by Stephen Album, especially important for the Durrani & Barakzay series.  
 10. Arabia and East Africa, by Stephen Album.

Tübingen (Forschungsstelle für Islamische Numismatik): Lutz Ilisch, editor, *Sylloge Numorum Arabicorum: Tübingen* (abbreviated SNAT), an ongoing series begun in 1993. The volumes are arranged geographically. Each coin is briefly described and all coins are illustrated with high-quality photographs. The following volumes have thus far appeared:

- IVa. Palestine (Lutz Ilisch). 577 coins.  
 IVc. Hamah (Lorenz Korn). 708 coins.  
 XIVc. Bal[k]h und die Landschaften am Oberen Oxus (Florian Schwarz). 1526 coins.  
 XIVd. Ghazna & Kabul (Florian Schwarz). 1167 coins.  
 XVa. Bu[k]hara / Samarqand (Michael Fedorov, Boris Kochnev, Golib Kurbanov & Madeleine Voegeli). 1268 coins  
 XVb. Northern & Eastern Central Asia (Tobias Maier). 616 coins

*It is anticipated that more collections, both public and private, will eventually be published in this format, now facilitated by rapidly improving digital imaging technologies. However, it is increasingly uncertain whether future publications will be in traditional book form or in electronic form, though for the foreseeable future, the book form will probably continue to predominate.*

### AUCTION CATALOGS

- Jacques Schulman, Amsterdam, various sales between about 1900 and the 1920s, a few later.  
 Busso Peus Nachf., Frankfurt, several important Islamic sales since 1971, especially important since about 1995.  
 Münz Zentrum (Albrecht + Hoffmann), Köln, various sales during the 1970s and 1980s, especially for Iranian dynasties, including the Konsul Mayer collection of Iranian coins.  
 Spink & Son, six important sales held annually from 1986-1991 at their Zürich subsidiary, known as Spink-Taisei. The series has been resumed in London in 1996 with an Islamic section occasionally included in general coin auctions. There have been occasional offerings of Islamic coins in their London sales from the 1970s onward. Since 1990, Spink-Taisei of Singapore & Hong Kong have included Islamic coins in their sales, but principally of Indian & Southeast Asian series.  
 Sotheby's, London, approximately semi-annual sales from 1978 to the present (dedicated Islamic sales until 1984, thereafter segments of comprehensive sales of ancient, Islamic, and other coins and paper money). Replaced by Morton & Eden for coins in the early 2000s.  
 Morton & Eden, important auctions of Islamic coins, including the famous Umayyad dinar of AH105 referring to al-Hijaz that fetch more than \$6 million dollars in 2011.  
 A.H. Baldwin & Sons, London, significant auctions since 1996.  
 Arabian Coins & Medals, Dubai (a joint venture of A.H. Baldwin and André de Clermont, both of London), their first auction in November 1998, expected to become a significant player henceforth.  
 Christie's, London, a few important offerings in the 1980s.  
 Glendining's, London, have offered Islamic coins since the 1950s, but mostly in large lots without illustration or individual descriptions, and thus of little use for research or pricing. Last sales in the 1980s.  
 Peter Schulten, Köln, several sales in the 1980s. Now defunct. Schulten now handles Islamic coins for O. Künker.  
 O. Künker, Osnabrück, frequent Islamic lots since about 1990.  
 Münzen und Medaillen, Basel, several important sales from 1982 through the 1990s.  
 Bank Leu, Zürich, periodic Islamic sales from 1982 until about 2000.  
 Giessner Münzhandlung (now Gorny & Mosch), München, limited offerings since the early 1990s, with some important Ottoman Empire collections offered in the late 2000s.  
 A. Poinsignon, Strasbourg, increasing numbers of Islamic coins since the early 1990s, with many common types rarely illustrated elsewhere.  
 Jean Elsen, Brussels, mixed sales including Islamic coins since the 1980s, with many illustration of less expensive coins.  
 Joel L. Malter & Co., Encino CA, several important sales from the 1980s and 1990s.  
 Numismatic Fine Arts, Los Angeles, some important coins in the sale of the Garrett collection, 1984. Now defunct.  
 Alex Malloy, South Salem NY, a few offering in the 1970s, rather more since auction catalogs were revived in the 1990s. Folded in 2007.

Scott Cordry, Pacific Beach CA, a series of ten important catalogs, especially for later centuries, prepared during the 1980s. Unfortunately, for most coins, only one side is illustrated, and prices realized were never published.

Classical Numismatic Group, Lancaster PA, significant offerings since 1993 (see [www.historicalcoins.com](http://www.historicalcoins.com)). See also the entry for Seaby's, London, in the section on fixed price lists.

Stack's, New York NY, including their subsidiary Coin Galleries, occasional offerings of Islamic material, mainly 18<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> century, since the 1960s. An important sale of Yemeni and other Arabian Islamic coins was held in December 1997. Limit numbers of Islamic coins continue to appear from time to time.

Noble Numismatics, Sydney, Australia, significant offerings since the 1990s.  
 Dmitry Markov, New York, many important Islamic coins beginning in 1994, also some fixed price lists. Their principal auction is now incorporated into the New York Sale, *q.v.*

"The New York Sale", a joint auction sponsored by Baldwin's, Künker's, Dmitry Markov and M&M Numismatics, held each January at the New York International Numismatic Convention, with limit numbers of Islamic and related coins (see [www.thenewyorksale.com](http://www.thenewyorksale.com)).

Morton and Eden, London, formed in 2001 to supplant the numismatic auctions of Sotheby. They offer major sales of Islamic coins, usually twice per year (see [www.mortonandeden.com](http://www.mortonandeden.com)).

Ponterio and Associates, San Diego CA, modest numbers of Islamic coins from about 2005-2008.<sup>26</sup> (see [www.ponterio.com](http://www.ponterio.com)).

Islamic Coin Auctions, London, their first two sales in Dubai (1999-2000), since then in London. There 15<sup>th</sup> auction will take place in March 2009. The auctions can now be viewed via [www.sixbid.com](http://www.sixbid.com) under Baldwin's.

Farokh Todywalla, Mumbai, India, frequent auctions since 2002 (34<sup>th</sup> auction in February 2009), important for Indian coins with occasional Islamic coins included (see [www.todyauction.com](http://www.todyauction.com)).

La Galeria Numismatique, Lausanne, Switzerland, including some Islamic coins, mainly at the New York auctions each January (see [www.coins-la-galerie-numismatique.com](http://www.coins-la-galerie-numismatique.com)).

*Numerous other dealers offer Islamic coins at their premises or at coin fairs, but do not issues either fixed-price or auction catalogs.*

### INTERNET AUCTIONS

Since the publication of the second edition the utilization of the internet as a venue for auction has become increasingly popular, and will undoubtedly become more so in the near future (1999). A mass migration of commercial numismatic activity to the internet began around the middle of 1998. A primary reason for this is that internet illustrations of adequate quality cost essentially nothing, after purchase of inexpensive imaging equipment and associated software.

At the present, the following auction sites are offering Islamic coins.

eBay ([www.ebay.com](http://www.ebay.com)), ongoing auctions of all manner of collectibles, in which buyers deal directly with the consignor, eBay providing just the internet framework. Islamic coins are included either with ancient and medieval coins or under the presumed country of issue (thus not always easy to find), though it is hoped that a special "Islamic" category will eventually be established. Most coins are illustrated, and illustrations of previously auctioned coins can usually be accessed. At present (1999) eBay is still struggling with the problem of policing the problem of counterfeits and misidentified coins being offered through its facilities, but their wise policy of allowing comments about sellers to be posted on their site seems to be keeping this problem to a minimum.

Sotheby's ([www.sotheby.amazon.com](http://www.sotheby.amazon.com)) has recently teamed up with amazon.com to offer auctions via the internet. Some interesting Islamic coins have already been offered (March 2000). Islamic coin listings can be found under the subrubric "Other World" in the coins menu.

CNG (Classical Numismatic Group, [www.historicalcoins.com](http://www.historicalcoins.com)) has opened an auction site beginning 30 March 2000. Islamic coins have been offered from time to time on this site.

### FIXED-PRICE LISTS & WEBSITES

The following dealers have produced fixed-price lists that are useful sources of price information and coin availability. Dealers listed as current are still issuing price lists containing significant offerings of Islamic coins. Obviously, I list myself at the top of the list!

Stephen Album, Santa Rosa CA (current & ongoing!), [www.stevealbum.com](http://www.stevealbum.com)

Scott Cordry, San Diego CA, especially important for 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century coins (lists published until the mid-2000s, now employed at Heritage).

<sup>26</sup> Ponterio and Associates were purchased in November 2008 by Bowers and Merena in Irvine CA. They are planning to retain the auction name Ponterio and Associates and may continue to offer Islamic coins.

Münzen und Medaillen, Basel, Switzerland (from the 1980s to about 1995).

Frank Robinson, Albany NY (current), specializing in less expensive coins, [www.fsrcoin.com](http://www.fsrcoin.com).

Scott Semans, Seattle WA (current), excellent source for less expensive Islamic coins of all periods, few illustrations, [www.coincoin.com](http://www.coincoin.com).

Robert C. Senior, Butleigh, England (current, but few Islamic coins since the early 1990s).

Omar Hamidi, Torrance CA (current, now known as Persic Gallery), especially strong in coins of the eastern Islamic world, including India, from all periods. Hamidi's most recent catalogs contain superb illustrations, scanned from traditional photographs and enhanced with the latest computer technology.

William B. Warden, New Hope PA (†2000), specialist in coins of all periods in superlative grades.

N. Economopoulos, Holicong PA (till 1995), now part of Pegasi Numismatics, Ann Arbor MI (current, [www.pegasonline.com](http://www.pegasonline.com)).

Robert Kokotailo, Calgary AB, Canada (current, [www.calgarycoin.com](http://www.calgarycoin.com)).

Robert Tye, Locheynort, Scotland (current, very reasonable prices for common material), [www.earlyworldcoins.com](http://www.earlyworldcoins.com).

Jean Elsen, Brussels, Belgium (current), with a good website at [www.elsen.be](http://www.elsen.be)

Poinsignon, Strasbourg, France (current, auction & fixed price lists), [www.poinsignon-numismatique.com](http://www.poinsignon-numismatique.com).

Alexander Basok, Chicago IL (current), "buy or bid" catalogs occasionally with important Islamic coins.

Joel Anderson, Grover Beach CA (current), mainly common types & new issues, [www.joelcoins.com](http://www.joelcoins.com).

John Scheiner, Ingolstadt, Germany, important listings of Ottoman coins during the 1970s and 1980s.

Jürgen Mikeska, Bad Homburg, Germany, occasional catalogs since the 1980s with substantial listings of Ottoman coins.

Galerie Antike Kunst, Hamburg, Germany, several well-illustrated catalogs in the 1980s with some important Islamic coins (no longer in business).

Seaby's, London, as part of their *Coin and Medal Bulletin*, especially from the late 1950s to the early 1980s. Their successor, Classical Numismatic Galleries, Lancaster PA (formerly Quarryville PA) has been offering significant Islamic material since 1993, mostly at auction.

Spink & Son, London, as part of their *Numismatic Circular*, frequent offerings of Islamic coins, especially since the mid-1990s, [www.spink.com/home\\_page/index.asp](http://www.spink.com/home_page/index.asp).

Bruce Braun, Amherst NY (deceased), useful lists in the 1960s and 1970s (poor illustrations).

Alfred Szego, Oakville NY (deceased), useful lists from the 1950s to the early 1980s (no illustrations).

Robert van Slageren, Arnhem, the Netherlands, useful lists in the 1970s, no longer in business.

NumisArt Galleries, New York, offers inexpensive Islamic coins at [www.numisart.com](http://www.numisart.com).

Bob Reis, Raleigh NC, frequent lists since the early 1990s, now disseminated primarily via the internet ([www.anythinganywhere.com](http://www.anythinganywhere.com)); mainly inexpensive coins.

There are many additional dealers and collectors offering Islamic and other related coins on their own websites.

### WEBSITES: COLLECTIONS

At present (1997) there are no truly important offerings of Islamic coins on the Web, though some general sites are available, as noted in the dealer lists above. It is my own personal belief that web listings will largely replace printed catalogs within the coming decade. I strongly urge all collectors to familiarize themselves with e-mail and internet access in order to remain competitive in the numismatic marketplace. It is no longer a question of "le plus ça change, le plus c'est la même chose"!

In 1997, the American Numismatic Society placed their entire Islamic collection on their website, more than 60,000 listings.<sup>27</sup> The collection is fully searchable by many criteria, such as ruler, mint, province, date, etc. The ANS is currently in the process of

<sup>27</sup> During the late 1990s there was a serious flaw in the search feature. Each search request cut off after a fixed period of time, usually before all the requested items were transmitted. This was especially annoying during periods of heavy internet use. That has since been corrected, but the site is still rather cumbersome.

placing their entire library on-line as well, including all journal articles that have been noted in 140+ issues of *Numismatic Literature* (close to 100,000 articles!!!), though it will be at least a few years before the project is completed. In short, the ANS is making a wonderful effort to make its resources more widely accessible (and perhaps to cheat the airlines out of a few fares to New York!). Check [www.amnumsoc2.org](http://www.amnumsoc2.org) for more information.

By 2010 many collectors and numismatic scholars have begun to post their collections of coins or of coin photos on their own website. If the site is specific for a particular dynastic or a group of closely related dynasties, then I have listed the URL under that dynasty. Here are a few important websites that include illustrations and descriptions of many different dynasties:

[www.eroncoins.com](http://www.eroncoins.com) – Specialist on Anatolian coins, very useful for the Seljuqs of Rum, Danishmandid and other atabek dynasties, many of the Beyliks, Ilkhan, Eretnid and other post-Ilkhan dynasties, and early Ottoman sultans. In Turkish only, easy to use, excellent photos.

<http://tokakte.virtualave.net> – A very useful list of Ilkhan coins, currently containing about 725 pieces, all illustrated and most accompanied by important information and commentary.

<http://users.rcn.com/j-roberts/home.htm> -- A growing group of Islamic coin illustrations of many different dynasties, arranged conveniently, which some useful information.

<http://islamiccoins.ancients.info> – The Maskukat collection, a private collection in the Middle East, with at least 2000 coins listed by dynasty, pictured and described. These are mostly common types, thus extremely useful for the average collector. The site is conveniently arranged and very easy to use.

The book trade is much more advanced in its utilization of the internet than the numismatic trade. However, several coin dealers who also handle numismatic books are going on-line; try Elsen or Numisart (addresses above) for starters now.

### ZENO.RU

By far the most important website for Islamic is Vladimir Belyaev's magnificent website, which on 31 May 2011 reached a total of 100,000 illustrated coins, of which more than 30,000 are Islamic. The Islamic coins are organized by dynasties, often broken down either by ruler or by region if there are more than a few dozen listed for that dynasty. Access is free, and it is highly recommended that the potential user becomes a member, also free. Setting up membership is very easy and takes no more than 2 or 3 minutes.

For computer dodos like myself, Zeno will at first be difficult to use, but I've become accustomed to the website after some practice, and some help from others. I now find it magnificent and immensely useful. Because the site is centered in Russia, it is especially useful for Caucasian, Central Asian and Iranian dynasties, but also to Yemen, due to the resplendent work of just one contributor, Vladimir Suchy of Slovakia. Moreover, every member is encouraged to contribute illustrations and descriptions, as well as to record comments regarding coins listed by others. At present, I am working together with Belyaev, hoping to upload the many thousands of photos preserved from previous lists and auction catalogues.

It would not surprise me if, in the early days of Zeno, Belyaev had no idea just how important his website would soon become. He is to be congratulated for his creation, which will clearly soon become the "Encyclopedia Britannica", more properly entitled "Encyclopedia Russica", of Islamic and Indian coins.

At present (October 2011), the rapidly growing site tends to operate quite slowly, but it is anticipated that this will shortly be corrected.

### **THE CHECKLIST**

The *Checklist* is arranged by dynasty, in approximate chronological sequence, geographically organized from west to east. This arrangement has long been adopted by most cataloguers and dealers, and derives ultimately from the schemata developed by Fraehn, Sachau and others in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. In his *The*

*New Islamic Dynasties*, C.E. Bosworth continues to follow a rather similar format.

Each dynastic heading may be followed by a short bibliography and a very brief historical blurb, general numismatic information applicable to that dynasty, finally the listings of the coin types. Dynasties that were divided into clear geographically defined branches are thusly separated. When there is no clear pattern of geographic division, as for the Qarakhanids, Timurids and Buwayhids, rulers are listed in approximate chronological order, irrespective of where they ruled. Each listing is accompanied by a rarity factor and, where deemed necessary, a short explanatory note.

### CATALOG NUMBER CHANGES

Unfortunately, in order to keep catalog numbers in the proper numerical and alphabetical order, new discoveries or the addition of omitted types have required that I change a few catalog numbers for this third edition, but such changes have been kept to an absolute minimum. Reuse of discarded numbers is described under the appropriate number. Most of the altered numbers refer to RR or RRR types.

Old number	New number	Brief description
219A	L73	Nusayr, AR ½ dirham, Rayy 168
222.15	222A.1	Mintless AV dinar, 206-210
B328	J1395	Mika'il, AE fals, Khwarizm 224-231
353.1	353	Hisham II, AV dinar
353.2	353S	Hisham II, AV dinar, Sijilmasa mint
A514	513H	Muhammad V, 899-932, AV dinar
A1070	1069M	al-Mansur al-Qasim, AV dinar
B1070	1069N	“, AR sudaysi
1080.1	1080	Muhammad b. Saba', AV dinar
1080.2	1080I	'Imran b. Muhammad, AV dinar
1210	1225A	Kayka'us II, AE fals, enthroned emperor
B1425	F1425	Nasr b. Ahmad, AE fals
E1491	—	Mazyadid, incorporated into type A1908
1546.1	—	Rukn al-Dawla, divided into 1546 and 1546A
1547.1	—	“, divided into 1547 and 1547A
1547.2	1547E	“, with engraver's name
1570.1	1570	With overlord Fakhr al-Dawla, 380-387
1570.2	1570D	Without overlord Fakhr al-Dawla, 387-388
1692	M784	Anonymous Burid type in name of the Seljuqs
1693	N784	Anonymous Burid type in name of the Seljuqs
B1977	1976G	Broad copper coin of Güyük Khan
D2012	V2366	Timur & Suyurghatmish, AV fractional dinar
2221.1	2221	Arpa Ga'un, type A
2221.2	2221E	Arpa Ga'un, type FA
2281.1	same	Now type B instead of type A, dated 762
2282.2	same	Now type A instead of type B, dated 761
2320.2	H2322	Hodja 'Ali Shah, AR akçe
3032.1	—	May not exist, now a note after #3032.
3032.2	3032	Haidar, double pul

K3044	3043K	'Alim Khan, Bukhara, AE falus
3315	T3430	Muhammad b. Mansur "Ba Salih", AR dirham
3391	F1688	Mahmud b. Muhammad, Great Seljuq
3413	K1523	Ahmad Toghan-Tegin of Tirmidh

Please note that in order to list coins in a historically meaningful order, some of the type numbers are no longer in exact order, especially those with an additional number (*e.g.*, 1425.1, 1425.2, etc.) or those with a letter before or after the number. For example, I listed types S1160 through W1160 before H1160 through N1160, as the latter items are from Oman and I chose to keep all the Oman dynasties together. When a number has been moved a significant distance from its original location, *e.g.*, to a different dynasty or on a different page, I have indicated the new location at the appropriate place. For example, there is a reference note between #1209 and #1211 indicating that #1210 is now listed immediately after #1225.

Under no circumstances will I totally replace the existing type numbers, starting from one up to 6000+. An overwhelming majority of readers are infinitely opposed to a total renumbering, as this would require everyone, be they collectors, dealers, numismatic writers, historians, etc., to rewrite every single one of their references (except the first five Arab-Sasanian types, #1-5). Admittedly, some of the type numbers in the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition have become somewhat unwieldy, such as the greatly expanded Muluk al-Tawa'if (#362-418), the Anatolian beyliks (#1248-1287), the substantially revived minor dynasties following the Samanids (#1486-1510), the Great Mongols (#1964-1969), the Muzaffarid & Jalayrids (#2277-2319), etc. For the fourth edition, I am considering renumbering some of these cumbersome groups, just as I chose to renumber the Qarakhanids for the 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (#3300-3499) and the Arab-Byzantine for this edition (#3500-3599). Suggestions are welcome!



## PRE-REFORM ISLAMIC COINAGE

### ARAB-SASANIAN

Album, Stephen, & Goodwin, Tony, *Sylloge of Islamic Coins in the Ashmolean. Vol 1: The Pre-Reform Coinage of the Early Islamic Period*, Oxford 2002 (known as *SICA 1*).

Gaube, Heinz, *Arabosasanidische Numismatik*, Braunschweig 1973.

Mochiri, M.I., *Arab-Sasanian Civil War Coinage*, Paris 1987.<sup>28</sup>

Sears, Stuart D., *A Monetary History of Iraq and Iran, circa CE 500 to CE 750*, dissertation, University of Chicago, August 1997. Sears' discussion of the mints and their locations is the most up-to-date, with some alternative suggestions in Album & Goodwin 2002.

Kolesnikov, A.I., *Denezhnoe khozaystvo v Irane v VII veke* ("Monetary circulation in Iran in the 7<sup>th</sup> century"), Moscow 1998 (actually written mostly in the 1980s).

Treadwell, Luke, "The 'Orans' drachms of Bishr ibn Marwan and the figural coinage of the early Marwanid period", *Oxford Studies in Islamic Art*, v.9, pt.2, 1999, pp. 223-269.

Walker, John, *A Catalogue of the Arab-Sassanian Coins*, the British Museum, London 1941 (reprinted 1967) – A superb work, still the standard reference, though very much obsolete after 70 years of massive subsequent discoveries. Many of his mint identifications and a few gubernatorial names have been changed.

*The early eastern Islamic coinage adopted Sasanian models for both silver and copper coinage. The main series was struck from the death of Yazdigerd III in 651, his regnal year 20, until the early 700s. Subsidiary series in Tabaristan and Eastern Sistan were struck towards the end of the eighth century.*

*There is no Arab-Sasanian gold coinage, though some modern concoctions have occasionally been seen since about 1980. The silver drachms theoretically weigh about 4.10-4.15 grams, but many specimens are significantly lighter, even when still in pristine condition. There are no multiple or fractional silver drachms.*

*In the coin descriptions, words in the Pahlavi script are transcribed in small caps (except within the mint list), whereas Arabic inscriptions are rendered in normal italics.*

The standard obverse bears the bust of Khusro (Khusraw) facing to the right, wearing the winged crown. Behind his bust are the Pahlavi words AFZUT GDH, "may his effulgence increase". Before his bust is the name of either one of the deceased Sasanian kings or more often, the current ruler or governor.

The standard reverse bears the traditional Sasanian fire-altar, flanked by two crowned assistants, one to the right, one to the left, each holding a thoroughly stylized short lance. The reverse inscriptions represent the mint and date. Alongside the fire are usually a star and a crescent, the star more commonly to the left.

Obverse and reverse variations are noted appropriately within the type descriptions.

The mint and date are almost always rendered in the Pahlavi script on the reverse, to the right and left of the standing attendants, respectively. The mint is normally abbreviated, whereas the date is almost always written out in full. Three different dating systems are employed: (1) regnal years of Yazdigerd (here abbreviated YE), (2) "regnal" years commencing with the death of Yazdigerd III (post-Yazdigerd era, abbreviated PYE), and (3) Hijri years. There is considerable evidence for frozen dates, especially at Sijistan (SK signature on the coins), where, for example, the Yazdigerd year 20 was retained on the coins for approximately 15 years. Another example is the year 43, used on coins of Darabjird and its dependent mints (Fasa and Jahrum) for 12 years, in the names of seven different rulers or governors.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Although many important coins are described and illustrated, most of Mochiri's attributions are no longer accepted.

<sup>29</sup> The tentative order of the seven issues is as follows. Noted are the name legend, the catalog number of the type, and the approximate period in Hijri years when the type is believed to have been struck:

'Abd Allah, type #7, AH43

'Abd Allah b. 'Amir, type #6, AH44-47

Khusro type, *bism Allah rabbi* in margin, type #5, AH47-50

Ziyad b. Abi Sufyan, type #8, circa AH50-52

Inauthentic dates are recorded for most of the more common types, either earlier or later than the correct dates in any of the above-mentioned calendars. Some may be mere typos or thoughtlessness, others perhaps the use of old obverse or reverse dies, as well as local or Silk Road imitations.

**Arab-Sasanian Mint Names** — (Kirman provincial mints marked with an asterisk (\*) are found as solitary names before AH58, thereafter as suffixes to KRMAN)

More than sixty mint abbreviations have been reported, many of which remain unlocated or hypothetically identified. The following list of mint signatures, each followed by an estimate of rarity in parentheses, is reasonably complete, but omits names found only on Arab-Hephthalite and other coins not part of the regular Arab-Sasanian series.<sup>30</sup>

(AB, *misreading of AY*)

AFZWTK, unidentified, known only on coins of 'Ubayd Allah b. Ziyad dated AH56-57 (R). AFZWT, "may it increase", probably refers to 'Ubayd Allah, but the letter K might be an abbreviated mint name.

AHM, Hamadan, on Khusro types and of year 52 in the name of Ziyad b. Abi Sufyan (RR).

AKWLA (Aqola), al-Kufa (formerly misread as ATRA for a putative mint in Adharbayjan) (RR).

ANWAT\*, undetermined location in Kirman province (RRR both as freestanding mint and as suffix to KRMAN) (several various spellings have been recorded for this enigmatic name).

APR, uncertain mint, possibly, but not certainly, the same as APRŠ (q.v.) (RR).

APRŠ and APRŠT, Abarshahr (R), now known as Nishapur in Khorasan province.

ART, Ardashir Khurra (on some copper coins, the mint is written out in full) (S).

(AT, see ST)

AW, generally regarded as Ahwaz in Khuzestan province, but recently questioned (R).

AY, uncertain, sometimes transcribed as AB and confounded with APR, Abarshahr, which is unlikely (Sears suggests Sus in Khuzestan) (RR).

AYPTAK, uncertain mint, perhaps Itak, the region around Abivard in Khorasan (also read tentatively as SYPTAK). In any case, a Khorasanian location is required (RRR).

AYR, uncertain (RR), now believed to have been located somewhere in the region of al-Kufa in south-central Iraq (AY, AYR, and AYRAN are now regarded as referring to three different locations).

AYRAN, probably Hulwan in western Iran (R).

(AYWKW: now listed as SYWKW)

BBA, "Bab" (the gate), a traveling mint presumed to have been operated by the royal entourage in Sasanian times, and by the governor's entourage in Muslim times (R) (many earlier publications have incorrectly interpreted this mint as Balkh).

BH, uncertain (RR).

BHL, Balkh, known only on a somewhat peculiar Khusro type with a date tentatively read as AH68 (RRR).

BČRA, Basra (al-Basra in Arabic) (C); issues in the name of 'Ubayd Allah b. Ziyad are the most common Arab-Sasanian coins of all.

BN\*, undetermined location in Kirman province, possibly Bamm, also written as KRMAN-BN (R).

BPA, unidentified, known only for Ziyad b. Abu Sufyan, dated AH53 (RRR).

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Mu'awiya, type #14, circa AH52-54

Samura b. Jundab, type #9, circa AH53-54

'Ubayd Allah b. Ziyad, type #12, circa AH55-56

(the order of the Mu'awiya & Samura issues is tentative)

In AH56 (= Yazdigerd year 45), Darabjird and its two ancillary mints, Fasa and Jahrum, resumed using actual dates, but in the Yazdigerd calendar, commencing with YE45. Nearly all later issues of these three mints retain the Yazdigerd calendar.

Walker and others read the year on these coins as 41, but I believe that 43 better fits the ductus of the script and the historical context. The Pahlavi words for "one" and "three" are so similar that they are readily confused.

<sup>30</sup> The rarity applies only to Arab-Sasanian drachms. Some mints might be much rarer or more common, or even nonexistent, for standard Sasanian drachms.

BŠ, unidentified, probably not a misspelling of BYŠ, as has occasionally been suggested (RRR).

BST, Bust in eastern Sistan, found only on a unique drachm of Salm b. Ziyad bearing the SK mint name on the reverse, BST in the obverse margin, together with the frozen year 56 (RRR).

BYŠ, Bishapur (C).

BYW (or BYN), undetermined mint, known only for the Khusro type #4 (RRR).

DA, Darabjird (C).

DA+P, Fasa (S); the additional letter P is written either after the DA signature in the usual mint location, or to the left or right of the base of the fire-altar.

DA+G (sometimes DA+GH), Jahrum (R) (same positions as DA+P) (on one issue of Qatari b. al-Fuja'a, the mint is written out in full, DA+GHRWM, thus clinching the attribution).

*Dimashq* (Damascus), written out in Arabic on a special type (#D6) (RRR).  
(*DP, a variant of DA+P, q.v.*)

DR, unidentified, possibly a careless misspelling of KR, which is believed to have been Kirman for Sasanian coins (RR).

DŠT, Dasht Maysan, also written as DSh or DShTY (R).  
(*FSA is PSA alternatively transliterated, q.v.*)

GD, Jayy (S).

GRM, later GRM-KRMAN, "Garm-Kirman", unlocated<sup>31</sup> (R both as freestanding mint and as prefix to KRMAN).

GW, probably Qumm (RRR), not to be confused with the much more common BN (GW is common as a Sasanian mint).

GWBR, Jur in Fars province, found only on copper (RR).

GY\*, Jiruft (in Kirman province) (RRR as a freestanding mint name, R as suffix to KRMAN).

HBR, tentatively reckoned as Khabr in south-central Fars province, copper only (RRR).

*Hims*, written out in Arabic on a special type (#D6) (2 known).

HPYC\*, Khabis (in Kirman province) (RRR as a freestanding mint name, R as suffix to KRMAN).

HRA, Herat (R).

HWRASAN, the provincial name Khorasan, found only on some drachms of the AH70s (RRR).

KRMAN, Kirman (S), frequently followed by the signature of a subsidiary mint from AH58 onwards. Sears suggests that the mint KRMAN was located at the provincial capital, Shirajan.<sup>32</sup>

KRMAN-ANAN, unidentified location in the province (R).

KRMAN-ANW, see ANWAT.

KRMAN-BN, see BN.

KRMAN-GY, see GY.

KRMAN-HPYC, see HYPIC.

KRMAN-NAR, see NAR.

KRMAN-NAT, unidentified location in the province (RR).

KRMAN-NAW, unidentified location in the province (RR).

KRMAN-NAWGY, see NAWGY.

KRMAN-NHAT, unidentified location in the province (RRR).

KRMAN-SRČN, see SRČN.

KWAT, almost certainly Karzin in western Fars province, known in late Sasanian times as Kobad-Khwareh, ephemeral mint for Ziyad b. Abi Sufyan (RR).

MAT, tentative reading, unidentified location (RRR?).

MR or MRW, Marw (S) (MRW on issues from AH62 onwards, MR on all earlier drachms).

MRWRWT, Marwrud, in Khorasan province (RR).

MY, Maysan (R).

NAR\*, Narmashir (R both as freestanding mint name and as suffix to KRMAN) (not to be confused with NHR). This attribution is likely but remains queried.

NAWGY\*, perhaps "New Jiruft", thus a possible nearby or administrative addition to the city of Jiruft (RR).  
(*NH, now interpreted as WH, q.v.*)

NHR, uncertain, perhaps Nahr Tira in Khuzestan province (RRR). Not to be confused with NAR.

NY, uncertain, possibly Nihawand in central Iran (R).

NYŠ (WYŠ), unlocated, now regarded as a poor engraving of DŠ for Dasht, known dated AH67 (RRR).

PR, unlocated, probably to be cited somewhere in central Iran, thus probably not Furat near al-Basra, the PR mint under the Sasanians, and not to be confounded with PYR (RR).

PSA (also read FSA), Fasa, found only on some extremely rare copper coins; the same as DA+P on the silver coinage.

PYR, uncertain location in Kirman province (RR), possibly identical with KRMAN, as suggested by Sears. This is the only Kirman provincial mint that does not occur as a suffix to the name KRMAN.

RD, Rayy (RR).

ŠY, unlocated mint probably in Fars province (R), almost certainly not Shiraz, as has sometimes been suggested, because the similarity between coins of ŠY and Kirman mints suggests a location in the easternmost section of Fars.

SK, Sijistan, the ancient Sakastan, known as Sistan in modern Persian (C).

SRČN\*, possibly Sirjan or Hurjand in Kirman, mainly as suffix to KRMAN (R) (formerly read as ARCN and therefore misinterpreted in several publications as Arrajan in western Fars province). When affixed to KRMAN, it is occasionally shortened to either SR or SRC.

ST, Istakhr (S).<sup>33</sup>

SYWKY or SYWKAN, uncertain location (RR), probably located in southern Iraq (see type #13). Also known as SYW, perhaps a shortened spelling or a different location.

TART, Tawwaj (R) (TART = T+ART, *i.e.*, Tawwaj as dependency of Ardashir Khurra). This attribution is virtually clinched by the discovery of post-reform dirhams of Tawwaj dated AH82.

TNBWK, probably Tanbuk in Fars province, found only on copper coins (RRR).

TSFWN, Tisfun, known in western literature as Ktesiphon, the ancient capital of the Sasanian empire, known only for an extremely rare issue of 'Ubayd Allah b. Ziyad (RRR).

WH, Veh-Ardashir in Iraq (R) (sometimes incorrectly transliterated as NH).

WYH, almost certainly Bihqubadh in central Iraq (RR) (sometimes transliterated as NYH and mis-assigned to Nihawand).

WYHČ, a mint in northern Iraq, ostensibly the treasury mint near Ktesiphon prior to the AH50s (RR), and thereafter, for a series dated AH67-73, Arrajan (RR) (extremely common for Sasanian coins).

"YARY", unknown, only on Khusro type drachms dated 39 (RRR).

YZ, Yazd (S) (Walker and others misread this signature as ZR and assigned it to Zaranj).  
(*ZR, misreading of YZ*)

*There are at least a dozen additional mint names, undetermined and only tentatively read, all of which are extremely rare. Several, if not most, may be contemporary "typos" or Silk Road imitations.*

Please note that in conformity with Sears' research, the denomination of the Arab-Sasanian silver coin is rendered as drachm rather than dirham, which is just the Arabicized version of drachm.

The mints within Kirman province are indicated by their short name until the last issue of al-Hakam b. Abi'l-'As in AH58. Thereafter, they appear as suffixes following the name KRMAN, except for GRM, which was added before the name KRMAN. Most of the Kirman provincial mints remain unidentified.

<sup>31</sup> "Warm Kirman". Probably not Bamm, as suggested by Mochiri. Sears has suggested Bardasir, unlikely because Bardasir is the modern city of Kirman, far from the "warm country" at the southern region of the province. On a few coins the mint is written as KRMAN-GRM (RRR).

<sup>32</sup> Additional reported subsidiary mints include KRMAN-AR (or SR), KRMAN-AT, KRMAN-AWAT, KRMAN-AY, KRMAN-BNBN, and KRMAN-TRA. Some of these are probably separate mints, others either alternative spellings, errors or misreadings.

<sup>33</sup> On some early coins, especially type #4, the mint looks somewhat like AT rather than ST, but since the variations are inconsistent, it is almost certain that both forms and the intermediate variations all refer to one mint, ST. For traditional Sasanian issues, AT and ST almost certainly represent two different mints, each distinctively engraved.

**Other information** — Arab-Sasanian drachms are frequently found in rather excellent condition. They are usually carefully struck, without weakness, on full flans, like their Sasanian prototypes. However, they were frequently clipped down to various weight standards between about 2.3g and 3.8g, presumably in order to conform to local Umayyad or Hephthalite weight standards. The lighter clipped weights are found predominantly in western hoards, from Syria, Iraq, western Iran and the Arabian peninsula, whereas the overwhelming majority of drachms found in eastern hoards are either full weight or clipped down to the range of 3.6-3.9g.

Arab-Sasanian drachms were frequently countermarked, invariably in the obverse margin and often accompanied by a test scrape on the reverse margin that should not be regarded as damage. The various countermarks consist of animal motifs, human heads, tamghas and other miscellaneous symbols, as well as short inscriptions in Arabic, Pahlavi, Bactrian or Soghdian. The countermarks were initially catalogued by Robert Göbl in his work on the Hephthalite coinage, *Dokumente zur Geschichte der iranischen Hunnen* (Wiesbaden, 1967), and were shortly afterwards analyzed and expanded by Gaube in his important work on the Arab-Sasanian coinage (noted above). However, at least several dozen additional countermarks have surfaced in subsequent years.<sup>34</sup> The countermarked types are not given separate listings in this *Checklist*, except for the Arabic words *ja'iz* and *lillah* (types #H6 and I6). All others are mostly of Hephthalite and other northeastern origins, probably none of them Islamic. Moreover, their regional and dynastic origins are little known, due to lack of provenance information and research.

There are numerous contemporary imitations of Arab-Sasanian drachms, especially of the Khusro type and of Ziyad b. Abi Sufyan, together with late Sasanian coins, almost always Khusro II. Mochiri has attempted to assign some of these imitations to specific religious or political factions, but his attributions are no longer widely accepted. The imitative nature of these peculiar coins, normally recognizable by their inferior calligraphy and misspelled or misconstrued inscriptions, has only been recognized since the late 1980s. No comprehensive study of these coins has yet been undertaken, much less published.<sup>35</sup>

When the issuer's name includes the patronymic, it always appears in two lines, starting in the upper line, closest to the bust (with the exception of some specimens of type #6). The Pahlavi *ezafeh* Y, equivalent to Arabic *bin*, i.e., "son of", can be either at the end of the first or the beginning of the second line.

The 4 quadrants of the obverse margin are, from upper right proceeding clockwise, ObQ1, ObQ2, ObQ3 and ObQ4; those of the reverse RvQ5, RvQ6, RvQ7 and RvQ8.

Beginning about 2003, large numbers of Arab-Sasanian drachms began to reach the market, at first mainly at auction, later as wholesale groups to retail dealers. Allegedly found in Kirman province, this group has been nicknamed the "Kirman hoard", at first said to contain a few hundred pieces, but eventually estimated at between 4,000 and 8,000 specimens. Given the structure of the "hoard", it seems not to be a single find but the conglomeration of several different groups, one based in Sijistan and terminating in AH84, another perhaps of Kirman origin, also bearing coins at least as late as 83, a third group of mostly Fars coins with a terminal date of about 76, and a western group, largely of the al-Basra mint, with a terminal date of about 63. While conceivably a single hoard composed of several different groups hidden together about AH84, it is much more likely the amalgamation of several newly found hoards by a collector *qua* investor between the 1950s and the 1970s or later. Several previously

rare types turned up in substantial quantities, notably the Sijistan issues of 'Abd al-Rahman b. Muhammad (type #38A), previously fetching over \$1,500, now worth \$300-500 for the common Sijistan dates (in 2011).

### MAIN SERIES

#### Yazdigerd type, *bism Allah* in margin, circa 652-668

- 1 AR drachm, struck at SK (Sijistan) R

This and the following types (#2-3) are generally recognized as the earliest definitive Islamic coins.<sup>36</sup> Nearly all coins of this type bear the frozen year 20 of Yazdigerd III (= 651/652), believed to have been struck as an immobilized date for about 15 years. Later years, in the 20's and early 30's, are extremely rare.

Except for the addition of *bism Allah* or *jayyid*, almost always in ObQ2, types #1-3 are identical to the purely Sasanian second issue of Yazdigerd III (Göbl-235). The purely Sasanian drachms are known from all of Yazdigerd's regnal years 1-20.

- 1A AR drachm, without *bism Allah* or any other Arabic legends RRR

Known from DA, WYHČ and MY, all dated year 20, also ST dated 32, either Yazdigerd era 32 (= AH43/44) or more likely AH32, which was YE21, extending into YE22 for about 7 weeks.

#### Yazdigerd type, *jayyid* in margin, circa 652-660

- 2 AR drachm, with frozen year 20 (Yazdigerd era) RR

Struck at three mints in Kirman province (BN, NAR, GRM), as well as Darabjird (DA) in Fars and Marw (MRW) in Khorasan.

- 3 AR drachm, similar, dated Hijri year 31 or 33 RRR

Struck only at ŠY. The exact year is obscure because the digits '1' and '3' in the Pahlavi script look so similar. See also #F6 for a related type in the name of Khusro.

#### Khusro type, *bism Allah* in margin (ObQ2), circa 653-670

- 4 AR drachm, dated 21 to 39 (mostly Yazdigerd years) C

Known from about 25 mints throughout Iran & Iraq. Some pieces dated in the 30s may bear Hijri rather than Yazdigerd years. Khusro's name is written as *AWSRWY* in Pahlavi.

#### Khusro type, *bism Allah rabbi* in margin, circa AH47-50 / 666-670

- 5 AR drachm, normally dated AH47-50 C

Normally, *bism Allah* is in ObQ2 and *rabbi* in ObQ3, but occasionally, both are in ObQ2.

This type is now identified as an issue of Ziyad b. Abi Sufyan as governor of al-Basra, before he was granted the governorship of al-Kufa as well. Coins dated 51 & 52 are mulings of current reverses with old obverse dies. Coins of the Darabjird region retain the frozen year 43.

This type was resumed in Sijistan during the AH80s, at first anonymous, later with the governor's name, with the name normally in the obverse margin but in a few rare cases replacing the name of Khusro (#P75 ff.).

#### Khusro "lillah" type, with *lillah* in margin instead of *bism Allah*, circa 656-670?

- A6 AR drachm, dated 25 to 39 (normally reckoned as Yazdigerd years) R

*Lillah* also resembles the first two letters of the Pahlavi APD found on many drachms of Khusro II (Göbl #211). The dating of this series remains controversial, though if the dates are authentic, Yazdigerd "regnal" years are most likely intended. Only the issue of DA year 30 is occasionally available. All other mints and dates are at least RR. Although at least 250 specimens are now known to exist, the type was entirely unknown to Walker in 1941!

I am increasingly convinced that these are local imitations with inauthentic mints and dates, produced either by the Arabs or their pro-Sasanian, Hephthalite or other opponents. They were likely produced with what could be easily read either as *lillah* in Arabic or the first two letters of APD in Pahlavi, so that they would be acceptable to everyone, especially in eastern Iran, Central Asia and along the Silk Road.

<sup>34</sup> **WARNING:** Modern counterfeits of the human head countermark have appeared since the 1990s. The forgery is finely detailed, usually well stamped, and applied to genuine Sasanian and, more rarely, Arab-Sasanian coins.

<sup>35</sup> Several of the types listed here are potentially regarded as unofficial or imitative issues, facetiously nicknamed "FLCs", for "funny looking coins". These include the following groups:

*Jayyid*, which are types #2, 3 and F6.

Khusro type with *rabbi Allah* in the margin, type #B6.

Khusro type with *bism Allah al-malik* in margin, #C6.

al-Hajjaj b. Yusuf, types #35.2, 35.3 and 36.

At present I would consider on type #B6 to be an unofficial issues, and possibly some examples of the *jayyid* types. The others seem to be official issues.

There are of course "FLCs" derived from many other official types, especially the earlier issues (until the end of 'Ubayd Allah b. Ziyad's governorship in AH64) and the later issues of the eastern mints, mainly in the provinces of Khorasan and Sistan. While some "FLCs" are surely unofficial issues, others might be the result of poorly skilled engravers at official mints. A thorough study of these coins would be immensely complex, perhaps years of hard labor.

<sup>36</sup> There exist drachms in the name of Yazdigerd III dated prior to his regnal year 20 but struck at mints that were supposedly no longer in direct Sasanian control, either conquered by the Arabs, the Hephthalites or others. Some of these may have been struck under Arab authority, but they bear no distinguishing marks. Their correct attribution remains controversial.

**Khusro type, circa 668±,****with only *rabbi Allah* in the obverse margin (ObQ2)**

B6 AR drachm, struck only at Jayy (GD) in year YE37 RR

**Khusro type, with *bism Allah al-malik* in margin**

C6 AR drachm, *al-malik* in ObQ3, struck only at Bishapur (BYŠ) in the year AH47 S

**Khusro type, with mint & date in Arabic on reverse**

D6 AR drachm (Dimashq AH72-74 & Hims AH72) RRR  
Drachms of Dimashq 72 and Hims 72 bear *bism Allah muhammad rasul Allah* in the obverse margin. Drachms of Dimashq 73-74 bear the longer form, *bism Allah la ilah illa Allah wahdahu muhammad rasul Allah* covering the entire obverse margin, the first occurrence of the full kalima on a silver coin.

**Khusro type, with *tabarak Allah* in obverse margin**

E6 AR drachm, completely blundered mint & date<sup>37</sup> RRR  
The marginal legend interpretation is probable, with the long *alif* of *tabarak*. Believed to be from eastern Khorasan, perhaps circa AH70-80, possibly an issue of a pro-Muslim branch of the Hephthalites or some other local tribe.

**Khusro type, with *jayyid* (“good”) in obverse margin**

F6 AR drachm RRR  
Known only from ŠY and dated either YE20 or AH31/33. See #3 for similar coins with the name of Yazdigerd.

**Anonymous, countermarked *ja'iz* (“current”)**

H6 AR drachm, on various Sasanian and Arab- Sasanian drachms, in obverse margin RR

**Anonymous, countermarked *lillah* (“for God”)**

I6 AR drachm, on various Sasanian and Arab-Sasanian drachms, in obverse margin R

Some examples countermarked *lillah* are also countermarked *ja'iz* as on type #H6. Both countermarks always appear in the quadrants of the obverse margin.

**‘Abd Allah b. ‘Amir (b. Kurayz), circa AH41-45 / 661-664**

6 AR drachm, with patronymic S  
Inscribed in Pahlavi APDWLA Y AMWRAN.<sup>38</sup> ‘Abd Allah was the first governor to place his name on Islamic coinage, which was previously entirely anonymous, except for the posthumous retention of the names Khusro or Yazdigerd. The earliest confirmed date is AH42<sup>39</sup>, which normally appears in the unusual but easily understood form, CHARTLYN rather than DWCHR. Regular types are normally dated AH44 or 47, of which the latter date is presumably the result of political confusion after his abdication in 45. Those of the Darabjird region bear the frozen year 43.

7 AR drachm, similar, but without the patronymic S  
Inscribed APDWLA, which is now understood to refer to the governor ‘Abd Allah b. ‘Amir. Known dated AH41-44. The form of Pahlavi APDWLA is only slightly different from AWSRWY (Khusro), so that its introduction was but a subtle alteration of the text.

**Ziyad b. Abi Sufyan, 45-54 / 665-673**

See note to #5 for an anonymous Khusro type that was struck under the authority of Ziyad between 47 and 50.

8 AR drachm C  
Always citing Ziyad b. Abi Sufyan in the normal position before the bust, normally with *bism Allah rabbi* in margin. Dated AH47

and 50-54 (rarely 49), as well as issues of DA (Darabjird) with frozen year 43<sup>40</sup>.

A rare posthumous issue of al-Basra (BĀRA) dated AH55 is more likely a contemporary imitation of the late 50s/670s or 60s/680s.

**Samura b. Jundab, circa 53-54 / 672-673**

9 AR drachm RR  
Drachms of Samura, ephemeral governor at al-Basra, were struck only at the Darabjird mint, always with frozen date 43.

**‘Abd al-Rahman b. Zayd, circa 52-54 / 672-674**

10 AR drachm RR  
‘Abd al-Rahman ruled only in Kirman, and his coins were struck only at mints in that province, always without the prefix KRMAN. The patronymic is clearly Zayd, not Ziyad as given in most older numismatic references. This governor is known only from his coins and should not be confused with the well-known ‘Abd al-Rahman b. Ziyad b. Abi Sufyan, who never served in Kirman.

**al-Hakam b. Abi'l-‘As, circa 54-58 / 674-677**

11 AR drachm RR  
Al-Hakam succeeded ‘Abd al-Rahman in Kirman, but his identity is unknown. His coins are struck only at mints in that province, always without the prefix of suffix KRMAN. The obverse margin bears the inscription *bism Allah rabb al-hukm* (“in the name of God, Lord of the judgment”) which suggests that al-Hakam was perhaps a Kharijite. The initial word *bism* is sometimes omitted.

**‘Ubayd Allah b. Ziyad, 54-64 / 673-683**

12 AR drachm C  
Coins of this governor ordinarily bear Hijri dates (54-64), except for coins of DA (Darabjird) and a few other related mints, which bear dates in the Yazdigerd era (43 and YE 45-52, of which 43 is the frozen Hijri year first introduced by ‘Abd Allah b. ‘Amir). Al-Basra (BĀRA) is by far the most common mint, known for all years 56 through 64, or which only year 64 is rare. In fact the ‘Ubayd Allah drachms of al-Basra are the most common of all Arab-Sasanian coins. In all, close to 30 mints are known for this governor, of which Darabjird, Jayy, Dasht Maysan, NY, Sijistan and Istakhr are reasonably common. Inauthentic dates are also known.

12A AR drachm, with Pahlavi YZAN in ObQ1, mint of AYRAN and normally dated 29-32 in the Post-Yazdigerd era RR

A13 AE pashiz, bust right / fire altar, Istakhr and Ardashir Khurra mints, dated AH57-65 (*sic*) RRR  
Probably the earliest securely identifiable Arab-Sasanian copper.

**al-Harith b. ‘Abd Allah, governor of al-Basra, 64-65 / 683-684**

13 AR drachm RRR  
Mints of al-Basra, Dasht Maysan and “SYWKY”, known only dated 65. The Pahlavi rendering of this name HARYT-Y APDWLA is identical to one of two variants used for Khalid b. ‘Abd Allah (#24), but the coins are readily distinguished by mint, date, and ornaments. The letters R and L are both represented by the same character in Pahlavi.

**Mu‘awiya (the Umayyad caliph), AH41-60 / 661-680**

14 AR drachm R  
Coins struck only in the Darabjird district circa AH52-54, but with frozen year 43 only. These are the earliest Islamic coins

<sup>40</sup> The year on this and other DA coins with the same frozen year was interpreted by Walker as 41, but with reservations that it might also be interpretable as 43. For historical reasons I believe that 43 must be the correct reading.

There are drachms of this type with inauthentic dates such as 6, 25, 26, 30? and others, either mulings, errors or imitations, either contemporary or struck shortly after his governorship.

Drachms dated 49 are mulings of an obverse die in the name of Ziyad b. Abi Sufyan with an old reverse die dated 49 and intended only for the anonymous Khusro type #5. Similar, anonymous drachms dated 51 and 52 reflect an obsolete obverse die in the name of Khusro. These mulings illustrate the caution required when using Islamic coins for historical interpretation.

<sup>37</sup> Islamic Coin Auction No.6 (2003), lot 1.

<sup>38</sup> On some early issues, especially of BYŠ (Bishapur (BYŠ)), the name APDWLA Y appears in the lower line, with AMWRAN in the upper line (RR), rather than the normal arrangement in reverse. All coins dated 44 and later show the normal arrangement.

<sup>39</sup> One example of GW is dated year 37, probably either an error or the use of an old reverse die, or perhaps a local imitation.

from any region that cite the name of a caliph, and the only known type that cites Mu'awiya.

**'Abd Allah b. al-Zubayr, rival caliph,  
60-73 / 680-692**

15 AR drachm, with his name & patronymic, but without caliphal title (APDWLA-Y ZWPYRAN) R  
Only ART (Ardashir Khurra) is a frequent mint for this type.

16 AR drachm, with his name and the caliphal title (APDWLA AMYR-Y WRWYŠNYKAN) in Pahlavi script (without his patronymic) S  
The most common mint is Darabjird (DA), together with its subordinate mints Fasa & Jahrum; Istakhr (ST) and the Kirman mints (KRMAN, usually with additional abbreviation) are not especially rare. Drachms of Darabjird and its subordinate mints are dated in the Yazdigerd era, YE53-60, whereas all other mints used the Hijri calendar.

16A AR drachm, with caliphal title only (without his personal name 'Abd Allah), i.e., merely AMYR-Y WRWYŠNYKAN, struck only at Darabjird (DA) in YE 53 and Kirman (KRMAN) in AH64 RRR

**Mus'ab b. al-Zubayr, circa 66-71 / 685-690**  
Brother of the rival caliph 'Abd Allah b. al-Zubayr.

17 AR drachm RR  
Known from al-Basra 66, Dasht Maysan 67, several Kirman mints between 69 & 71, and NYŠ 67.  
The drachm of Dasht Maysan 67 bears the name *mus'ab* repeated in Arabic in ObQ3, possibly the earliest example of a governor's name to appear on a coin in Arabic.

**Salm b. Ziyad, circa 61-65 / 680-684**

18 AR drachm S  
Coins were struck in the name of this governor until the year 70, five years after his deposition, for reasons still undetermined, but undoubtedly tied to the three-way struggle between the Zubayrids, the Umayyads and the Hephthalites. His coins were struck at several mints in Khorasan, of which Marw (MRW) and Herat (HRA) are the most common, together with Marw al-Rudh (MRWRWT) and Sijistan (SK), which are only moderately rare. Other mints are rare. See also #A91 for another alleged son of Ziyad (b. Abi Sufyan).  
Many issues of Salm b. Ziyad and 'Abd Allah b. Khazim (type #19) seem to be contemporary imitations struck to various Hephthalite weight standards between about 3.2g and 3.75g. The mints & dates on these imitative examples are now believed to be inauthentic. They are frequently countermarked, often with four to six separate marks. Further research is needed to classify these more accurately.

**'Abd al-'Aziz b. (Madur??), fl. 61 / 681**

M19 AR drachm, struck at Istakhr (ST), dated AH61 RRR

**'Abd Allah b. Khazim, circa 62-72 / 682-692**

19 AR drachm S  
Normal coins of this Zubayrid governor were struck exclusively in the province of Khorasan. A few anomalous issues have mint marks from other provinces, but those are either imitations (RR) or struck from purloined dies (R).  
Marw (MRW) is the most common mint, with issues of Abarshahr (APRŠT) and the military camp mint (BBA) not especially rare.

**Muhammad b. 'Abd Allah (b. Khazim), fl. 67 / 686**

A20 AR drachm, struck at Herat (HRA) in 67 only RRR

**'Abd al-Malik b. 'Abd Allah (b. 'Amir),  
at Bishapur only, 66-67 / 685-686**

20 AR drachm RR  
Drachms of this governor are the first Islamic coins to bear the inscription *muhammad rasul Allah*, which appears in ObQ3.

**'Umar b. 'Ubayd Allah (b. Mismar),  
Zubayrid governor, 67-72 / 686-691**

21 AR drachm C  
Drachms of this Zubayrid governor are characterized by the words *lillah al-hamd* ("praise be to God") in the obverse margin

in place of *bism Allah*. Common mints are Bishapur (BYŠ) and Ardashir Khurra (ART), with Istakhr (ST) only slightly rare.  
A drachm of al-Basra dated AH65 has recently been discovered.<sup>41</sup> It seems not to be a muling of unintended dies. Kirman (KRMAN) 65 is also known, perhaps also a muling.

21E AE pashiz, struck only at Istakhr (ST) RRR  
Standard obverse, with name UMAR in Pahlavi to right of the bust, also with an uncertain Pahlavi word, probably GWYAN, at 4h in obverse margin.

**Muqatil b. Misma', at Bishapur only, 72-73 / 691-692**

22 AR drachm RR  
The date previously interpreted as 71 should now be regarded as 73, with 70 (HFTAT) as a Pahlavi word, 3 as a Pahlavi numeric symbol.  
All coins bear the Arabic word *bakriya* in ObQ3, the only known reference to an Arab tribe on an early Arabic coin, in this case the Bakr ibn Wa'il tribe.

**Humran b. Aban, at Ardashir Khurra only, 72 / 691**

23 AR drachm RR  
There are two types for this reign, same date & mint, one with (#23.1) and one without (#23.2) the name repeated in Arabic in ObQ3 (*humran bin aban*). About equal rarity.

**Khalid b. 'Abd Allah, circa 73-75 / 692-694**

24 AR drachm R  
Struck at al-Basra, Bishapur and Arrajan (WYHC), of which only Bishapur is frequently available. This is the second regular issue of Arab-Sasanian coins to have *muhammad rasul Allah* in the obverse margin (after type #20), at all mints except Arrajan.  
The name Khalid is written either as HLYT or HLYD in the Pahlavi script. Both forms are used on the coins of this governor.

**'Abd al-'Aziz b. 'Abd Allah b. 'Amir,  
circa 66-72 / 685-691**

25 AR drachm, with *al-'aziz* in Arabic in ObQ3, struck at Sijistan in year 66 and 69 RR  
This is the only Arab-Sasanian coin to bear the names of both the father & grandfather of the issuer. There is also a drachm of Istakhr (ST) dated 74, but it has not been determined if this 'Abd al-'Aziz really ruled as late as 74. An engraver's typo or the use of an old obverse die is not inconceivable.

25A AR drachm, struck at Sijistan in year 72 only RRR  
A most remarkable experimental type. The obverse is identical to #25, but the reverse has the fire altar and attendants replaced by the Islamic shahada inscribed in a Pahlavi translation. Unique.

**'Abd al-'Aziz b. 'Abd Allah (b. Khalid),  
circa 71-74 / 690-693**

25K AR drachm RR  
Struck only at ART (Ardashir Khurra) and TART (Tawwaj) in 74, with "4" in the form of a Pahlavi numeral, and not 71 as was previously published by myself and others. The governor Khalid of type #24 was his brother.

**Talha b. 'Abd Allah, in Sijistan only, fl. 64-66 / 683-685**

26 AR drachm R  
Interestingly, *bism Allah* is replaced by *lillah talha* in ObQ2.

**'Abd Allah b. 'Ariq, fl. circa late 60s / 680s**

26N AR drachm RRR  
Struck only at Sijistan (SK) and dated AH66, possibly a frozen year used by several governors who ruled in Sijistan between 66 and 72, but whose actual gubernatorial years are unknown.  
The patronymic name is either *'ariq* or *hariq*, which are written identically in Pahlavi.

**'Attab b. Warqa, fl. 68 / 687**

A27 AR drachm, at Jayy (GD), year AH68 only RRR

<sup>41</sup> Morton & Eden, Dec 2005, lot 685.

	<b>Bishr b. Marwan, fl. 73-75 / 692-694</b>		<b>Yazid b. al-Muhallab, at Kirman, 78 / 697</b>		
27.1	AR drachm, <i>caliph Orans</i> type, struck only at al-Kufa (AH73-75) and al-Basra (AH75 only)	RR	B32	AR drachm	RRR
	This remarkable coin has the portrait of the caliph, in praying position, in place of the fire altar on the reverse, flanked by two attendants in Arab dress. Coins of al-Basra (BCRA) dated 75 (Hijri) bear the full kalima, <i>la ilah illa Allah muhammad rasul Allah</i> (in the obverse margin, without <i>wahdahu</i> ), which had already appeared (with <i>wahdahu</i> ) at Dimashq in 73 & 74 (type #D6). Some coins of al-Kufa dated 74 or 75 bear the date in the traditional Pahlavi numbers rather than words, first correctly interpreted by Treadwell in 1999. A recently discovered drachm of al-Kufa 74 bears a Pahlavi word or name in ObQ1, tentatively read as GYNGAMAN or GYWGAMAN. <sup>42</sup>			At present, coins are known from six different local mints within Kirman province, all dated AH78. See also type #E91 for an additional issue in eastern Khorasan that belongs to the Arab-Hephthalite series. All coins of Yazid bear the remarkable legend <i>quwwa yazid billah</i> , "strength increases through God", instead of <i>bism Allah</i> in ObQ2.	
27.2	AR drachm, normal fire-altar reverse	RRR		<b>'Abd al-Malik b. Marwan (the Umayyad caliph), 65-86 / 685-705</b>	
	Struck only at Jayy in 74, with the unknown name Zayd b. Abi Ziyad in the obverse margin, perhaps a local governor.		32	AR drachm	S
	<b>'Abd al-Rahman b. 'Abd Allah, fl. circa 79 / 697</b>			With a few extremely rare exceptions (Ardashir Khurra 73 and Marw 75), coins in the name of 'Abd al-Malik were struck only at Darabjird and its dependencies, during the years 60 and 65 of the Yazdigerd era (approximately AH72 and 77, respectively).	
A28	AR drachm, al-Kufa only (AKWLA), dated AH79 in Pahlavi numerals	RRR		<b>Qatari b. al-Fuja'a, circa 69-79 / 688-698</b>	
	<b>'Atiya b. al-Aswad, fl. 70-77 / 689-696</b>		33	AR drachm	R
28	AR drachm	R		Qatari was the declared caliph of a Kharijite rebellious group. All have the Kharijite slogan <i>la hukm illa lillah</i> ("there is no judgment except God's") in the obverse margin (ObQ2). His coinage was restricted to seven mints in Fars province, normally dated 75 Hijri, more rarely 76, and an extremely rare issue of a Kirman provincial mint dated 77 (KRMAN-BN). <sup>44</sup> Although there is no evidence linking the name of Qatari b. al-Fuja'a to the country name Qatar, his coins are highly prized by collectors in Qatar, and therefore fetch several times the price of comparable rarities.	
	'Atiya ruled only in Kirman province as a Kharijite governor. Coins were struck at a plethora of local mints indicated as affixes to the provincial name KRMAN. All have the formula <i>bism Allah wali al-amr</i> ("in the name of God, possessor of the command") in the obverse margin.			<b>Anonymous, Kharijites, 75 / 694-695</b>	
	<b>Umayya b. 'Abd Allah, fl. 73-78 / 693-698</b>		34	AR drachm, Kharijite issue with religious slogan in place of a governor's name, struck only at Ardashir Khurra (ART) in AH75	RRR
29	AR drachm	RRR		The slogan is a Pahlavi translation of <i>la hukm illa lillah</i> , which also appears in Arabic in its usual location, ObQ2. Probably struck by Qatari b. al-Fuja'a, very shortly before his name was added to his coinage later in the same year.	
	Struck mainly at the court mint (BBA) dated AH77 only, though a few extremely rare types are known from several mints in the Khorasan province. Coins previously assigned to Sijistan bear the mint name SYZSTAN, now believed to be an undetermined location somewhere in Khorasan. Sijistan in Pahlavi would be written out as SKSTAN (Sakastan).			<b>Anonymous, "Muhammad rasul Allah", circa 82 / 701 &amp; later</b>	
	<b>'Abd Allah b. Umayya, in Sijistan only, fl. 75-77 / 695-697</b>		34C	AR drachm, citing the prophet Muhammad in Pahlavi, struck only at GRM-KRMAN ("warm Kirman") dated "70"	RRR
30	AR drachm	RR		The phrase to the right of the bust is MHMT PGTAM Y DAT, the Pahlavi equivalent of Arabic phrase <i>muhammad rasul Allah</i> . Stylistically, the date is much more likely in the Yazdigerd era (= AH82/83) than an actual Hijri date. The obverse marginal inscription is <i>bism Allah wali Allah</i> . (ONS 178, p. 45)	
	Coins are dated 75 and 77 only. <sup>43</sup> All bear Arabic <i>al-'izza lillah</i> ("the glory is God's") in ObQ3.		34D	AR drachm, as last, but with <i>muhammad rasul Allah</i> in Arabic, <i>bism Allah</i> only in obverse margin (ObQ2 as usual), struck only at Dimashq and dated AH72	RRR
	<b>al-Muhallab b. Abi Sufra, circa 75-79 / 694-698</b>			<i>Dimashq</i> right and <i>thanayn wa sab'in</i> left in Arabic on reverse, with a 4 <sup>th</sup> outer circle on reverse only (Peus auction 380, lot 988).	
31	AR drachm	C		<b>al-Hajjaj b. Yusuf, 75-95 / 694-713</b>	
	Drachms struck at Ardashir Khurra (ART) and Tawwaj (TART) dated 75-76 also bear the name of Farrukhzad, an unknown local official (R). Except for the very rare mints KRMAN-NAR and KRMAN-NAWGY in Kirman province, all other mints are located in Fars province, of which Bishapur (BYŠ) is by far the most common, with Darabjird and Yazd only moderately rare.		A35	AR drachm, governor's name in Arabic, the shahada <i>bism Allah la ilah illa Allah wahdahu muhammad rasul Allah</i> written <b>radially</b> in obverse outer margin, in eleven segments, dated AH76-77 (Gaubé 2.2.2.4)	RR
31E	AE pashiz, struck at Istakhr	RRR		Struck only at Bishapur and Ardashir Khurra. An unusual example of Bishapur dated 77 is a hybrid bearing the marginal shahada partly radial and partly circular as on #35.1 (RRR). With the exception of type #36, all drachms of al-Hajjaj bear his name in Arabic.	
	Derived from the so-called Anahita drachm of the Sasanian ruler Khusrō II (Göbl 218-219), but with the obverse facing portrait dressed in clothing probably reflecting some degree of Byzantine origin (Gyselen-23).		35.1	AR drachm, governor's name in Arabic, with the full shahada <i>bism Allah la ilah illa Allah wahdahu</i>	
	<b>Numayra b. Malik, fl. 73 / 692</b>				
A32	AR drachm, known only from Arrajan (WYHĀ on the coin) dated AH73	RRR			
	DeShazo has argued that the patronymic should be read as Malik and the governor be considered "possibly a son of the prominent Basran Malik b. Misma" (ONS Newsletter-165) The governor's name was formerly misinterpreted as al-Mughira b. al-Muhallab or Numayra b. Muslih. Subsequent research by DeShazo has clinched that the patronymic is Malik rather than Muslih.				

<sup>42</sup> Morton & Eden auction 48 (March 2011), lot 3. The cataloguer tried to read the name as the equivalent of "[son] of Yusuf", which is impossible.

<sup>43</sup> Known also crudely dated 76 (Peus 380, lot 979, date misread by the cataloguer as "89").

<sup>44</sup> A drachm of Qatari is known dated 69 with the mint name Bishapur, but is most likely an imitation struck elsewhere, as it vastly differs stylistically from all contemporary coins of that mint.

	<i>muhammad rasul Allah</i> written as a <b>normal</b> marginal inscription, dated 77-79	S		
	Struck at Bishapur (BYŠ), Ardashir Khurra (ART) and Tawwaj (TART).			
35.2	AR drachm, similar, but just <i>bism Allah</i> in margin (dated 79-81), sometimes with the name al-Hajjaj repeated in Pahlavi in ObQ3 (HAKAK)	S		
	Struck at the three mints listed for #35.1, plus Istakhr (ST) and Yazd (YZ).			
35.3	AR drachm, similar, but <i>lillah al-hamd</i> in margin, dated 80 only	S		
	Coins published by Walker with the date 83 are actually dated 80 (HŠTAT), which is normally written as HYŠTAT during this period. No coins of al-Hajjaj are dated later than 81 in the Hijri era, although the Darabjird issue dated 71 (#36), if that 71 is indeed a Yazdigerd year, would date to 83/84.			
36	AR drachm, governor's name in Pahlavi (HAKAK Y YWSPA[N]) in the normal location to the right of the bust	RR		
	Struck at Bishapur in AH79 and at Fasa (DA+P) with Yazdigerd year 71 (= AH83/84). The issue of Bishapur cites a governor Farrukhzad (FRAWZAT) in the obverse margin. <sup>45</sup>			
A37	AE pashiz, radial inscriptions on obverse (as on #35), fire altar & attendants on reverse, known only without mint & date	RR		
B37	AE pashiz, radial obverse, Orans figure (praying Muslim) on reverse, either facing or to the right, without mint & date	RRR		
	<b>al-Bara' b. Qabisa, fl. 76 / 695-696</b>			
J37	AR drachm, as vassal of al-Hajjaj b. Yusuf, radial obverse margin type but with mint and date in Arabic, mint of Jayy, AH76	RRR		
	Name <i>al-bara' ibn qabisa</i> in Arabic in reverse margin. <sup>46</sup> Al-Bara' was related to al-Hajjaj, his overlord, and was governor of Isfahan, including Jayy, at this time.			
K37	AR drachm, also as vassal of al-Hajjaj, normal obverse margin type, mint and date also in Arabic, also Jayy 76 (as type #J37)	RRR		
	Name legend of al-Hajjaj in Pahlavi in usual location, name of al-Bara' in Pahlavi in obverse margin. <sup>47</sup>			
	<b>'Ubayd Allah b. Abi Bakra, at Sijistan only, fl. 79-80 / 698-699</b>			
37	AR drachm	R		
	Many coins of this type bear blundered dates apparently derived from '80', presumably struck for several years after AH80, perhaps by the opponents of 'Abd al-Rahman b. Muhammad, who then exercised control over most of Sijistan.			
	<b>'Abd Allah b. 'Amir (al-Mujashi'i), temporary governor at Sijistan, 80 / 699-700</b>			
37A	AR drachm, SK mint (Sijistan), blundered year probably intended for AH80	RRR		
	Inscribed in Arabic in ObQ3 & ObQ4, <i>Allah waliya 'abd Allah bin 'amir</i> , "God appointed 'Abd Allah b. 'Amir", together with the name Salim in RvQ8, an unidentified individual. This type was originally misconceived as an issue of 'Abd Allah b. 'Amir b. Kurayz (similar to type #6).			
	<b>al-Musayyib b. (Shihr?), fl. 79 / 698</b>			
A38	AR drachm, Marw mint only (MRW), dated 79	RRR		
	<b>'Abd al-Rahman b. Muhammad, fl. 80-84 / 700-703</b>			
	Traditionally known as Ibn al-Ash'ath in the historical sources.			
38	AR drachm, governor's name in Arabic	RRR		
38A	AR drachm, similar, name in Pahlavi	S		
	'Abd al-Rahman was at first a governor appointed by al-Hajjaj (80-82/83), then rebelled against him until his own death in 84 or 85. His coins were struck at several mints in Fars province, together with Khabis (KRMAN-HPYC) and Sijistan (SK), of which Sijistan is the only type frequently available. Since the so-called Kirman hoard reached the market in the early 2000s, Sijistan issues of this governor are no longer rare, now appearing endlessly at auction. All other mints are at least RR. There are several obverse margin inscriptional variations for the two types of this governor.			
	<b>'Abd Allah b. Bastam, fl. 82 / 701</b>			
R39	AR drachm, struck only at KRMAN-GRM in 82	RRR		
	Standard design, with obverse margin containing <i>bism Allah</i> in ObQ2 and <i>baraka</i> in ObQ3, both in Arabic (Peus 380, lot 987).			
	<b>'Amr b. Laqit, in Kirman province, fl. 83 / 702</b>			
39	AR drachm	RRR		
	Coins are from KRMAN-BN, KRMAN-GY, KRMAN-NAR and GRM-KRMAN, all dated 83. The Pahlavi word PYRWC, "victorious", appears before the governor's name, and the Arabic slogan <i>'ammara Allah</i> , "may God make prosperous" in ObQ3.			
	<b>Khalid b. Abi Khalid, at Jayy (GD) in 83 / 702</b>			
A40	AR drachm	RRR		
	<b>'Ubayd Allah b. 'Abd al-Rahman (al-Qurashi), fl. 83-84 / 702-703</b>			
B40	AR drachm, at al-Basra in 83 and at Kirman in 84 (KRMAN, without additional abbreviation)	RRR		
	With the phrase <i>amara Allah bi'l-wafa</i> ("God commanded with justice") in ObQ2 instead of <i>bism Allah</i> .			
	<b>'Umara b. Tamim, in Sijistan, 84-85 / 703-704</b>			
C40	AR drachm	RRR		
	<b>Anonymous, experimental types, circa 75 / 694</b>			
L40	AR drachm, standing caliph type, without mint name, year 75 only	RRR		
	Bust of Khuro II on obverse, standing caliph in place of fire altar on reverse, bearing scabbarded sword at the waist, without any attendants. Mint unknown but Dimashq has been suggested; Hijri date (Gaubé 2.2.2.2).			
M40	AR drachm, popularly known as the <i>mihrab</i> & <i>'anaza</i> ("mihrab & spear") type, without mint or date	RRR		
	Unusual style bust on obverse, spear under canopy on reverse (Gaubé 2.2.2.5).			
	(Type #40 is now listed following #45L.)			
	There are four additional names of officials that appear in the normal location before the bust, all only tentatively deciphered and not identified; all are extremely rare:			
	Mus'ab? b. ABWDWRA, GD 67			
	Qatan b. ('Udayy??), HRA 67			
	Malik b. ('Aws??), SK 66			
	Asram b. SWPHAN, GD 70			
	These are discussed briefly in SICA 1, pp. 25-26, together with references to published examples. It is likely that several other names will be discovered, some identifiable, others uncertain.			
	<b>COPPER COINAGE OF THE MAIN SERIES</b>			
	(see also types #A13, 21E and A37)			
	Curjel, R. & Gyselen, R., <i>Une collection de monnaies de cuivre arabo-sasanides</i> , Paris 1984. Now replaced by the following volume.			
	Gyselen, Rika, <i>Arab-Sasanian Copper Coinage</i> , 2 <sup>nd</sup> edition, Wien 2009. Coin designs are meticulously described, and whenever possible, weights are provided. The photos are better than in the 1 <sup>st</sup> edition.			
	Treadwell, Luke, "The Copper Coinage of Umayyad Iran", <i>The Numismatic Chronicle</i> , v.168 (2008), pp. 331-382. This is the most up-to-date historic analysis of the Arab-Sasanian (and subsequent Umayyad style) copper coins.			

<sup>45</sup> Farrukhzad is also cited on drachms of Bishapur, Ardashir Khurra and Tawwaj of types #35.1 and 35.2, as well as several copper coins of various mints in Fars province.

<sup>46</sup> Published by Raoul Curjel in *Revue Numismatique* in 1967, pp.103 ff.

<sup>47</sup> Sayyid J.T. Tabataba'i, *Sekkeha-ye eslami-ye Iran as aghaz ta hamle moghul*, p.47, lower photo.

**NOTE:** For copper coins citing an official also mentioned on silver drachms, see types #A13 of ‘Ubayd Allah b. Ziyad, #21E of ‘Umar b. ‘Ubayd Allah, #31E of al-Muhallab b. Abi Sufra and #A37 & B37 of al-Hajjaj b. Yusuf.

The copper denomination called *fals* in Arabic was probably *pashiz* in Persian, but decisive evidence is lacking. Nonetheless, I have chosen *pashiz*. Most types have an average weight between 1g and 3g, with individual specimens of the same type as much as 50% lighter or 100% heavier. There are a few much heavier types, clearly noted by Gyselen.

The earliest confirmed Arab-Sasanian *pashiz* (*aka fals*) is type #A13, which could not have been struck before 56/674. Most types, including probably all of the anonymous types, date from circa 70-100 / 689-719, based on Treadwell’s proposed chronology.

For a more complete list of all types known as of 2008, see the works of Gyselen and Treadwell cited above. New types continue to be discovered with remarkable frequency, as is evident from the last page of Treadwell’s article, describing several types unknown to him while composing the article.

**Anonymous, Khusro type, circa 60s / 680s**

K41 AE *pashiz*, **Ardashir Khurra** mint (ART), very thin broad flan (about 1.4g) RR  
Known dated AH65 or with blundered date.

**Farrukhzad, circa 75-79 / 695-699**

41 AE *pashiz*, profile Sasanian bust / *senmurg*, **Ardashir Khurra** mint R  
*The senmurg* was a mythical bird that incorporated all of the traits of all species of birds, thus representing the unity of all life. The name is a pun on the Persian words for “thirty birds”, *si morghi* in modern Persian. The *senmurg* is normally shown with lion paws and a dog’s head, not included on these coins.

41A AE *pashiz*, standard bust / fire-altar type, mints of **Jur** (GWBR), **Dasht** (DŠT) and **Tanbuk** (TNBK), undated<sup>48</sup> RRR

41B AE *pashiz*, **Tanbuk** type with ram right on reverse, undated RRR

**Mansur, dates unknown (probably circa 80-85 / 700-705)**

A42 AE *pashiz*, winged horse / attended fire altar, **Istakhr** mint, undated RRR  
It is likely that Mansur is either a secondary name for ‘Abd al-Rahman b. Muhammad (al-Ash’ath), who ruled 80-84 / 700-703, or a subordinate official who controlled regions in Fars as his assistant. The name Mansur also appears on some drachms of ‘Abd al-Rahman struck at Bishapur.

B42 AE *pashiz*, **Istakhr**, bust r. / praying caliph RRR

**Khalid b. ‘Abbad, circa 80 / 700**

N42 AE *pashiz*, Sasanian bust / fire-altar, mints of **Bishapur** & **Tanbuk**, undated RRR

**Shurayk b. al-Harith, at Istakhr, circa 90s / 710s**

P42 AE *pashiz*, Byzantine style facing bust / text only, **Istakhr** mint RRR  
Name in Arabic on both sides, mint name in Pahlavi atop reverse.

**Aban b. al-Walid, circa 120± / 740±**

S42 AE *pashiz*, Sasanian bust right / Arabic inscription (part of *shahada*), without mint or date RR  
This type was formerly assigned to al-Walid I, but due to stylistic and epigraphic similarity to the newly discovered type #T42 of Yusuf b. ‘Umar, it has been reassigned to Aban b. al-Walid.

**Yusuf b. ‘Umar (al-Thaqafi), governor of Iraq, 119-126 / 737-744**

T42 AE *pashiz*, without mint name, Janusoid bust, flanked by the governor’s name / part of *shahada*, without mint or date RRR

**Anonymous, Byzantine style, circa 70-90+ / 690-710+**

42 AE *pashiz*, facing bust / crowned human headed bull, **Bishapur** type, several variants R

43 AE *pashiz*, similar, but second smaller bust to left of principal bust on obverse, **Bishapur** type RR

This design is derived from the Byzantine gold coinage of Heraclius and his son.

43A AE *pashiz*, as type #43 but with cross-on-steps reverse, **without mint name** RR?

Several dozens of this type appeared in the market in 2005; the exact rarity uncertain. Some variations are also known, including one with text only on reverse (RRR).

43B AE *pashiz*, two facing busts / various reverse types, **without mint name** RR

Known reverses include normal cross-on-steps, patriarchal cross-on-steps, Pahlavi legend, or standing figure (as the attendant on normal Sasanian drachms) next to Pahlavi inscription. All were likely struck at mints in Fars or Khuzestan.

44 AE *pashiz*, similar, but Janusoid bust on obverse, **Bishapur** mint RR

44E AE *pashiz*, facing bust with cross-on-crown / cross-on-steps, undetermined date, **Bishapur** mint RRR

44F AE *pashiz*, facing bust / *Allah* in Arabic above DA in Pahlavi, **Darabjird** mint (Gyselen-15) RR

**Anonymous, local styles, circa 72-95 / 691-715**

A45 AE *pashiz*, standard Khusro style obverse with *bism Allah* in margin / facing winged nimbate angel, **Ardashir Khurra** mint RR

A50.1 AE *pashiz*, **Arrajan** mint (WYHČ), bust / fire-altar RR

A50.2 AE *pashiz*, **Arrajan** mint, as last but Janusoid bust on obverse RRR

45.1 AE *pashiz*, **Darabjird** mint, profile bust / fire-altar reverse, dated 67-72 in the Yazdigerd era<sup>49</sup> S  
Years 67 and 68 are the least rare. All have the Arabic words *baraka* at RvQ7 and *bism Allah* at ObQ2.

45.2 AE *pashiz*, **Darabjird**, as last but winged horse reverse, dated 94 Hijri RR

45.3 AE *pashiz*, **Darabjird**, profile bust obverse & reverse, undated, with Arabic *baraka* before bust on obverse R

45F AE *pashiz*, similar to last, but mint of **Fasa** (PSA) RRR

45J AE *pashiz*, similar, but mint name is **Jahrum** (GARWM), apparently dated, but all reported specimens lack a clear date RRR

45K AE *pashiz*, bust right, just the mint name on the reverse, **Jahrum** mint RRR

45L AE *pashiz*, similar to #45K but Janusoid bust and unread short word above mint name on reverse, **Jahrum** mint RRR

40 AE *pashiz*, reverse has woman on horseback, holding vase-like object, **Kazirun** mint RR

45N AE *pashiz*, bust right / horseman right, mint of **Kazirun**, sometimes without the mint name RR

45R AE *pashiz*, bust right / fire altar without attendants, mint HBR (**Khabr** south of Shiraz<sup>50</sup>) to right, APSTAN (“confident”) to left of altar RRR

<sup>48</sup> One Dasht example (Gyselen-53), is dated, probably YE64, which equals AH76/77, appropriate for Farrukhzad, whose name appears on some drachms of al-Muhallab b. Abi Sufra dated 75-76 (type #31).

DŠT here refers to Dasht Barin in Fars province, not Dasht Mishan near al-Basra, also abbreviated as DŠT on its silver coins. The term *dasht* means “plain” in old and modern Persian, usually a dry or desert-like broad plain. There were and still are numerous locations in southwestern Iran and southern Iraq whose names start with *dasht*.

<sup>49</sup> One variety exists on which the date appears to be 47, but unless this represents the PYE calendar (PYE 47 = YE 67 = AH79-80), it must be an error, as it stylistically cannot be dated 20 years earlier.



E46	AE pashiz, Khusro II type (bust right / altar & two attendants), <b>Istakhr</b> , undated	RRR
A46	AE pashiz, bust facing obverse & reverse, <b>Istakhr</b> mint	RR
B46	AE pashiz, bust facing / fire altar with two attendants, <b>Istakhr</b> mint	RRR
C46	AE pashiz, bust left / Arabic kalima, <b>Istakhr</b> mint <sup>51</sup>	RRR
D46	AE pashiz, bust right / facing Orans figure, <b>Istakhr</b> mint	RRR
N46	AE pashiz, facing bust / bust right, mint of <b>Kavad-Khurra</b>	RRR
T46	AE pashiz, facing bust without crown / fire altar, <b>Marw</b> mint, undated	RRR
46	AE pashiz, winged horse type of <b>Susa</b> (šwš)	RR
47	AE pashiz, profile bust type of <b>Susa</b> , representing the standing caliph as engraved on Syrian coppers	RR
47A	AE pashiz, praying caliph type (Orans) of <b>Susa</b> , dated 82 in Arabic, presumably Hijri date	RRR
48.1	AE pashiz, profile bust type, fire altar reverse, <b>Tabaristan</b> mint, dated 70 or 80 (calendar undetermined)	RR
	Judging by the style and busts of this and the following type, it seems likely that all the Tabaristan coins are dated in the Post-Yazdigerd Era, thus between about AD 720 and 745. Alternatively, these dates could be read as 107 and 108, which in the PYE calendar are AD 759-760.	
48.2	AE pashiz, <b>Tabaristan</b> mint, similar, but only inscription on reverse, known dated 80-93 (calendar undetermined)	RR
48H	AE pashiz, <b>Zabul</b> mint, royal bust ¾ facing right / standard fire-altar flanked by two attendants, with mint name but undated (Gyselen-113)	RRR
	Citing Tegin as Majesty Lord, hence strictly speaking a Hephthalite issue, but regarded by Gyselen as Arab-Sasanian. Inscribed year two, of unknown meaning.	
49	AE pashiz, profile bust coarsely engraved / Pahlavi inscription with the mint name <b>Zaranj</b> above (in Arabic)	R
	(Types #A50.1 & A50.2 of the Arrajan mint are now listed after type #A45, to keep the mint names more-or-less in alphabetical order.)	

#### TABARISTAN SERIES

Unvala, J.M., *Coins of Tabaristan*, Paris 1938. Formerly the standard work, replaced by:

Malek, Hodge Mehdi, *The Dabuyid Ispahbads and Early 'Abbasid Governors of Tabaristan: History and Numismatics*, RNS Special Publications no.39, London 2004.

See also Walker, *Arab-Sassanian*.

*The Tabaristan series comprises coins of half the weight of the standard Sasanian drachm, conventionally known as half drachms or hemidrachms (from the Greek), approximately 2.08g.<sup>52</sup> The first three rulers were independent Ispahbads of the local Dabwayhid (or Dabuyid) dynasty and not Muslims. The remaining names are those of the 'Abbasid governors after the Muslim conquest of the region in 761. All coins are dated in Pahlavi words in the Post-Yazdigerd Era (year 1 = AD 651/652), and all bear the mint name TAPWRSTAN written out in full in the Pahlavi script. The dates of the governors given here are approximate, derived solely from surviving coins; many coins dated 135 to 142 and some earlier coins are likely to be mulings of non-current obverse and reverse dies.*

<sup>50</sup> Very tentative interpretation of the mint name.

<sup>51</sup> Spink-Taisei, Auction 22, 17 March 1987, n° 370.

<sup>52</sup> More recent research has suggested that the coins were known as dirhams, not halves, probably as *tabari dirhams*. There is a text reference to the Tabaristan silver coin as a "dirham weight of five", i.e., 5/10 of a mithqal, just over two grams, a weight corroborated by known specimens.

Hemidrachms of the Dabwayhid Ispahbads were carefully struck on flat planchets, with little or no weakness. The 'Abbasid gubernatorial issues were also usually boldly struck on slightly concave flans, often with some weakness in either the design or the text, mainly on the obverse, due to the slightly scyphate shape of the planchets.

Minor varieties are frequent from 'Umar onwards, both in the obverse margins and in various parts of the central designs, especially the breast ornament. These are not cited here but are carefully charted by Malek.

There is no gold coinage of this Tabaristan series, though gilt genuine examples and "gold" modern forgeries have been seen. Copper pashiz are listed as Arab-Sasanian (#48.1 & 48.2). Copper "½ dirham" coins are presumably contemporary forgeries or unplated fourrées, and have been confirmed for types #56, 61 & 74. These may have been semi-officially struck by the state, intended for hoodwinking the population.

The dates of the Dabwayhid coins are clearly decipherable but some of the 'Abbasid issues have carelessly engraved dates.

Coins dated before about PYE 89 maintain the standard hemidrachm weight of slightly over 2.05g relatively accurately, but later issues vary considerably in weight, from less than 1.6g to more than 2.4g, with a mean weight of about 1.96g and a theoretical standard of 1.98-2.00g.

#### DABWAYHID ISPAHBADS

##### **Farkhan (or Farrukhan), 711-731**

50	AR ½ drachm	C
	Known dated all years PYE 60-77, except 64, and possibly known for 79. Name spelled in Pahlavi as PRHWN for years 60-72, PRHWAN for 72-77 and 79?.	

##### **Datburjmihir, 731-739**

51	AR ½ drachm	S
	Known dated PYE 79 (with NYK in obverse margin) and 86-88 (without NYK).	

##### **Khurshid, 740-761**

52	AR ½ drachm	C
	Known dated PYE 89-109, all years.	
53	AR ½ drachm, similar, but posthumously dated issues struck after the Arab conquest	R
	Known dated PYE 110-115 (= AD 761-766). The actual issuer of these coins was probably Rawh b. Hatim as 'Abbasid governor, though the historical sources date his governorship in Tabaristan inconsistently. Ordinary 'Abbasid dirhams of Tabaristan mint dated 146-148 (= PYE111-114) cite the governor Rawh (included in type #213).	

#### 'ABBASID GOVERNORS

##### **Khalid (b. Barmak), 766-771**

54	AR ½ drachm	R
	All hemidrachms of Khalid bear his name in the Pahlavi script. Known dated PYE 115-120.	

##### **'Umar (b. al-'Ala), 771-780**

55	AR ½ drachm, with name 'Umar only, in Pahlavi script, PYE 120-125	C
56	AR ½ drachm, similar, but name in Arabic script	C
	This and all later types have the governor's name in Arabic (except for type #L73 of Nusayr). Dated PYE 120-125 and 127-129. It is conceivable that types #55 and 56 were struck simultaneously at two separate mints in Tabaristan.	
57	AR ½ drachm, with the patronymic (in Pahlavi to right of the bust, and in Arabic in margin) and with extra outer circle on obverse & reverse	R
	Dated PYE 125 only.	

##### **Sa'id (b. Da'la), 776-778**

58	AR ½ drachm, with name Sa'id only, dated PYE 125-127	C
59	AR ½ drachm, with the patronymic <i>ibn da'la</i>	RR
	Dated PYE 126 only.	

<b>Yahya (b. Mikhnaq), 779-781</b>		<b>Qudayd, 791</b>	
60	AR ½ drachm (name Yahya on coins) Known dated PYE 128, 129 & 130. A somewhat similar coin dated PYE 140 and often assigned to Yahya bears a "name" that is now read as <i>bakh</i> rather than <i>yahya</i> , now listed at #71E. <i>(Type #61 is now listed after #72, due to reinterpretation of the date, thanks to Hodge Mehdi Malek.)</i>	RR	71 AR ½ drachm, dated PYE 140 only <b>"Bakh" (i.e., anonymous), 791</b>
			71E AR ½ drachm, with elongated Pahlavi BAKH ("good") in the name location Dated PYE 141. The word <i>bakh</i> looks quite similar to <i>yahya</i> and might have been intended to persuade the observer to read <i>yahya</i> , for Yahya b. Mikhnaq, issuer of type #60, of some other individual named Yahya. The second y of what would be <i>yahya</i> is clearly omitted (Malek #90).
			RRR
<b>Mihran (unidentified), 786</b>		<b>Ibrahim, 791-792</b>	
62	AR ½ drachm, dated PYE 135 only	RR	72 AR ½ drachm Dated PYE 140 or 141.
			R
<b>Jarir, 786-788</b>		<b>al-Harashi ('Abd Allah b. Sa'id), 802</b>	
63	AR ½ drachm, name to right of bust (normal position for governor's name) Dated PYE 135-137.	R	61 AR ½ drachm, with name <i>al-harashi</i> on coins, always to the right of the bust, dated PYE 151 only <sup>54</sup>
64	AR ½ drachm, name in outer margin of the obverse (ObQ3), AFZUT in place of name before the bust Dated PYE 135 only.	R	61A AR ½ dirham (name 'abd Allah instead of <i>al-harashi</i> in the usual position right of bust), clearly dated PYE 151 only
			RR
			RR
<b>Sulayman (b. Musa), 787-789</b>		<b>al-Fadl b. Sahl, vizier, 196-202 / 811-817</b>	
65	AR ½ drachm, dated PYE 136-138. Coins of Sulayman have the Arabic word <i>bakh</i> ("good") in a diamond where normally the face of the royal figure would appear. The year 137 is more common than 136, and it is possible that the rare 138 is a muling of an obsolete obverse die of Sulayman with a later reverse.	S	K73 AR ½ drachm, kalima reverse, dated PYE year 161 (AD 813) Obverse bust as #65 of Sulayman, name <i>al-fadl bin sahl</i> in ObQ4 and his title <i>dhu'l-ri'asatayn</i> in ObQ1, both in Arabic.
			RRR
<b>Ma'add, 789</b>		<b>Nusayr, unknown official, 784-785</b>	
66	AR ½ drachm, name in normal position Dated PYE 138 only.	RR	L73 AR ½ drachm, struck only at al-Rayy, dated AH168 Mint & date written in Arabic on the reverse, whereas the name of Nusayr is in Pahlavi at the usual name location. Nusayr's name also appears (in Arabic) on common silver dirhams and copper fulus of various mints, including Madinat al-Salam, during the late 160s. Miles and DeShazo have argued that this individual was the eunuch Nusayr al-Wasif, who served as chief of intelligence under the caliph al-Mahdi.
67	AR ½ drachm, name in obverse margin, overall design similar to #64, dated PYE 138 only The word AFZUT is retained in ObQ3 and the name Ma'add added in ObQ4.	RR	<b>Muhammad (the caliph al-Mahdi), 158-169 / 775-785</b>
			S73 AR ½ drachm <sup>55</sup> The date ends in HP for "7" but the full date remains obscure. Mint is the usual Tabaristan in Pahlavi, in the normal position on the reverse. The title <i>amir al-mu'minin</i> appears in ObQ2.
			RRR
<b>Muqatil, 788-792</b>		<b>Anonymous, "AFZWT" type, 780-793</b>	
68	AR ½ drachm Only coins of year 139 are common, with 138 moderately rare; other years (129, 136, 137, 140 & 141) are very rare and probably represent mulings of his year 138/139 obverse with reverse dies of other years.	C	73 AR ½ drachm, with the word AFZWT, meaning "be it increased" or "strong", replacing the gubernatorial name before the face Known dated PYE 125, 129-137 and 140-143. With NYWKW, "good" in ObQ3. The most common type of all.
			C
<b>Hani, 788-790</b>		<b>'Abd Allah b. 'Arif, 792</b>	
69	AR ½ drachm, dated PYE 137-138 Both these dates are common; muled coins dated 136 & 140 also exist (RR).	C	73A AR ½ drachm, similar, but with BAKH BAKH ("very good") in Arabic in the third quadrant Dated PYE 134 or 135; both types 73 and 73A are known for these two years.
			R
<b>'Abd Allah (b. Qahtaba), 790-791</b>		<b>'Abd Allah b. 'Arif, as sole governor, 792</b>	
70	AR ½ drachm, with just the name 'abd Allah before the bust & no name in the margin, dated PYE 139-140 <sup>53</sup> Ordinary 'Abbasid coins also exist, a fals dated AH174 and a dirham of 2.08g dated AH175; only the dirham cites the governor.	S	74 AR ½ drachm, similar, but with extra circle around the obverse and reverse (Gaubé #180-181), dated PYE 142 & 143 The AFZWT types were struck simultaneously with the named types, commencing in the last year of 'Umar (with the exception of a PYE 125 example of type #73, possibly a muling). They have a distinctive style, with AFZWT right of the face and just GDH to the left. There is a second hairball before the bust, suggesting that the engravers did not understand what the hairball represented! It has been logically suggested that the AFZWT types were struck at a different mint than the named types.
			S
<b>'Abd Allah b. 'Arif, 792</b>		<b>'Abd Allah b. 'Arif, as sole governor, 792</b>	
	As subgovernor under 'Abd Allah b. Qahtaba.		
70A	AR ½ drachm, name with 'abd Allah before the bust and <i>ibn 'arif</i> in the margin (ObQ2), dated PYE 141 only	RR	
70B	AR ½ drachm, with the full name 'abd Allah bin 'arif before the bust, dated PYE 141 only It is possibly that type #70A cites only 'Abd Allah b. 'Arif, thus different from #70B only by name arrangement. The presumption is that #70A cites Ibn Qahtaba before the bust and his subordinate official Ibn 'Arif in the margin, where #70B cites only Ibn 'Arif.	RRR	

<sup>53</sup> I am thankful to A.S. DeShazo for providing corrections to #60, 61, 70 70A and 70B, and for permitting me to utilize his information here. He has published some of this in ONS Newsletter #172, pp. 29-30. The attributions of type #70 to Ibn Qahtaba rather than Ibn 'Arif was suggested by DeShazo but not fully accepted by Malek.

<sup>54</sup> My thanks to A.S. DeShazo for correcting my interpretation of this date from 131 to 151.

<sup>55</sup> Baldwin's Islamic Coin Auction 5, lot 161 (Oct. 2002). To judge by the somewhat vague illustration I am inclined to read the name as *muhammad bin*, i.e., al-Mahdi as heir apparent, and to read the date as HBCHAR, i.e., "47" for AH147; a better photo is needed to confirm this.

### EASTERN SISTAN (SIJISTAN) SERIES

Sears, Stuart, *The later immobilized types of Sistan's Sasanian style drachms* (completed in 1996 but still unpublished). An important work, which hopefully will eventually be published. A modest number of additional types and varieties have surfaced since this work was finished.

*Coins of this series bear the usual Arab-Sasanian type (crowned bust / fire-altar with 2 attendants). Most have the name of Khusro before the bust in the Pahlavi script, along with bism Allah rabbi in Arabic, plus various other symbols, letters or names in the obverse margin. The reverse invariably bears the mint signature SK for Sijistan (modern Sistan), but the date is interpretable only on some of the earliest types within class II and class III.*

*The series has been marketed as Zabulistan (now the Afghan region centered around the city of Ghazni), but present evidence suggests a provenance intermediate between Zabulistan and central Sijistan, such as Bust. However, one important type suggests that mintage may have taken place at Zaranj, the capital of the entire Sijistan province (#A80, as it is specifically engraved with duriba bi-zaranj, "struck at Zaranj"). Sears has recently suggested that all of the coins were indeed minted at Zaranj, often parallel to ordinary 'Abbasid style dirhams, the Sasanian style drachms for eastern use, the 'Abbasid dirhams for payments to the caliphal treasury and general use within the entire caliphate.<sup>56</sup>*

In his 1996 study, Sears divided this series into three groups, classes II, III and IV (his class I refers to the normal Arab-Sasanian drachms struck in Sijistan, included amongst types #1 through C40). The three later classes are briefly described as follows:

**Class II** (#P75-76): Struck circa 65-90 / 685-710, reasonably fine style but increasingly degenerate inscriptions. The weight standard is approximately 4.08-4.12 grams, with silver fineness about 85-90%, perhaps occasionally somewhat less. All coins of class II and III lack the name of an individual. Most bear illegibly stylized dates, though a few are clearly dated, probably all in the early 80s..

**Class III** (#77-79A): Struck 87-140s / 706-circa 760, though the latest years are less certain. Many are legibly dated, presumably in the Hijri calendar, until about 110. The weight standard seems to have hovered at approximately 3.86-3.92g, with silver fineness declines to about 40-60%, but individual specimens are often of lower or higher fineness. Sears has divided this group into eight sub-classes, not all of which are listed here.

**Class IV** (#80-D90): Struck circa 138-200 / 755-805, almost always with the name of a governor or other official. Sears has argued convincingly that most of the named officials were not governors but either financial officers or mintmasters. The weight standard appears to have been approximately 3.86-3.87g but with considerable variation between specimens, with silver fineness typically from about 20-40%, sometimes as low as 10% or less, and in rare occasions exceeding 50% silver. The fineness can even vary greatly within a single type. Drachms of this period are always undated, and the mint name SK hardly legible. Because of the debased metal, most specimens of class IV are significantly corroded.

### EASTERN SISTAN: CLASS II

All examples of this type bear the inscription *bism Allah / rabbi* in the obverse margin. The overall style remains excellent and comparable to coins of the main Arab-Sasanian series. The mint name is invariably SK, sometimes coarsely engraved.

#### **Anonymous, Khusro type, circa 60s-80s / 680s-700s**

P75 AR drachm, similar to type #5 but clearly later style, normally with blundered date R

One peculiar variant has clear date 64 (CAHRŠST), but it remains undetermined if 64 is an actual Hijri date (RRR).

75 AR drachm, similar, but with Pahlavi letters DWM in ObQ1, circa 70/690, blundered date R

<sup>56</sup> The silver fineness of the Eastern Sistan drachms rapidly declined during the 'Abbasid period, circa 750-820. It seems likely that the ongoing production of standard dinars at Zaranj for payment to Baghdad depleted the available silver for the drachms. In order to discourage the export of the drachms, they may have substantially lowered their fineness, to less than 10-20% silver for the latest types, produced after about 800-805, and then completely discontinued after about 815. This was the same period that the production of traditional 'Abbasid dirhams was severely limited, subsequently stopped completely circa 825 for more than 50 years.

Both the place of issue of this coin and the meaning of DWM remain unknown. The dating is confirmed by its presence in a hoard with terminal date AH72.

76.1 AR drachm, blundered date, *Allah walla 'awn* in ObQ1, circa 80/700, R

Another coin of undetermined origin. Sears has suggested that the coarsely inscribed date on some examples might be 92 (710-711), but so late a date seems doubtful.

The meaning of *Allah walla 'awn* remains questionable.

76.2 AR drachm, as #76.1 but *al-muharraq* ("pure") in Arabic added in RvQ7 RR

The term *al-muharraq* presumably refers to the purity of the silver, suggesting that this type is of finer silver than other contemporary drachms struck within Sijistan province. Occasionally, the word *darb* appears before *al-muharraq*. The actual fineness of this type has not yet been calculated.

### EASTERN SISTAN: CLASS III

All coins of this series bear *bism Allah / rabbi* in ObQ2 and ObQ3; many have additional symbols or words, as noted in the following descriptions, normally in the ObQ1, more rarely in the ObQ4. All bear the mint name SK and most are undated, except #77, always dated, though sometimes rather sloppily engraved.

Due to the complexity of understanding the differences between Sears' subclasses III-B through III-H, I have not attempted to incorporate them in the following listings.

#### **Anonymous, Khusro type, circa late 80s-130s / 700s-750s**

Always without the name of a governor or other official.

77 AR drachm, Khusro type with legible dates and crudely written mint name SK, known dated 97-108 / 714-726 S

Nearly all examples of this type, included within Sears' subclass III-A, lack any marks or symbols in the obverse margin other than the normal *bism Allah rabbi*. Sears notes examples with possible earlier dates, one quite probably 87, the other perhaps 93.

77A AR drachm, blundered date and without symbols or letters in ObQ1, circa 710-750 S

All coins of this type lack legible dates. These are included by Sears in several post III-A subclasses.

78 AR drachm, as #77A but with addition of symbols or inscriptions in ObQ1, circa 725-750s, R

All coins lack legible dates and belong to Sears' subclasses III-B through III-H. The quadrant ObQ1 may contain individual letters or entire words in either Arabic or Pahlavi, as well as unexplained miscellaneous symbols.

78A AR drachm, as last but with Pahlavi APD in first quadrant, undated, circa 720s or 730s, RR  
Included by Sears as part of subclass III-D

78B AR drachm, as last but with Pahlavi AFZWT in first quadrant, undated, circa 720s or 730s RRR

79 AR drachm, with *sadaqa Allah* in first quadrant, known with blundered dates or dated 103 and 104 RR

Sears questions whether 103 and 104 are Hijri dates or represent some undetermined calendar.

79A AR drachm, with *al-quwwa lillah* in first quadrant RRR  
Possibly dated 142, according to Sears.

(Type A80 is now listed after type 89E.)

### EASTERN SISTAN: CLASS IV

Unless otherwise noted, coins of this class bear the issuer's name in the first portion of the obverse margin (ObQ1), normally prior to the inscription *bism Allah rabbi*. The types have been reorganized here, as recommended by Sears.

Most of the issuers are not known to have been 'Abbasid provincial governors of all of Sijistan. They were probably either local governors in eastern Sijistan, financial directors or mintmasters. All bear a coarse version of the mint name SK (sometimes completely barbarous) and all are undated. Their names are always engraved in Arabic.

Drachms of this class were virtually unknown until the 1980s, when the first of several distinct hoards reached the market. Each new hoard has introduced new types, whence it seems likely that additional types may ultimately be discovered.

NOTE: Due to extensive revision, types #80-90 are no longer in the traditional numerical order.

			<b>Bakkar, unknown, probably 770s or early 780s</b>	
	87E	AR drachm		R
			Nobody named Bakkar is known for Sijistan, though it is possible that Bakkar b. 'Abd Allah al-Zubayri was the issuer. He was with the caliph al-Rashid in 176 and later served briefly as governor of Medina at some time between 183 and 193.	
			<b>Muhammad b. Zuhayr, probably 780s</b>	
	88	AR drachm		RR
			Muhammad b. Zuhayr may have been the son of Zuhayr b. Muhammad, who is known from early Arabic chronicles to have been governor of Sijistan on two occasions prior to 166/782.	
			<b>Tamim (b. Sa'id), governor, 166-170 / 783-786</b>	
	89	AR drachm		RR
			Tamim is the only governor well attested in the literary sources. The confirmed chronology of this type has provided the key to reconstructing the dating of this entire series.	
			<b>'Abd Allah b. Sa'id, undetermined, circa 780s</b>	
			This 'Abd Allah is possibly a brother of Tamim. He is cited on his drachms with his patronymic, <i>'abd Allah bin sa'id</i> .	
	89A	AR drachm		RRR
			<b>'Abd Allah, undetermined, circa 780s</b>	
			Probably the same as 'Abd Allah b. Sa'id (#89A).	
	89B	AR drachm		RRR
			Types 89A and 89B are of virtually identical styles, thus almost certainly contemporary issues around the time of Tamim b. Sa'id.	
			<b>(Salih) 'Imad, unknown, probably circa 780s</b>	
	89C	AR drachm		RR
			The issues of 'Imad and Rida have <i>bism Allah rabbi</i> in the first quadrant, <i>salih</i> in the 2 <sup>nd</sup> and the issuer's name in the 3 <sup>rd</sup> .	
			<b>(Salih) Rida, unknown, probably circa 780s</b>	
	89D	AR drachm		R
			It is probable that the word <i>salih</i> is not part of the name but rather some sort of title. Marginal arrangement as on #89C.	
			<b>Tamish (?), unknown, perhaps early 790s</b>	
	89E	AR dirham		RR
			<i>Bism Allah</i> in the first quadrant, <i>rabbi</i> in the 2 <sup>nd</sup> , <i>tamish</i> in 3 <sup>rd</sup> quadrant. The reading of the name is conjectural.	
			<b>'Udayy, unknown, probably early 790s</b>	
	89F	AR drachm, with his name in ObQ3 as on #89E		RRR
			<b>Anonymous, probably 790s</b>	
	A80	AR dirham, inscribed <i>duriba bi-zaranj</i> ("struck at Zaranj") in the obverse margin		R
	89T	AR drachm, inscribed <i>bism Allah / rabbi / 'adl</i> in the obverse margin in ObQ1 through ObQ3		RRR
			<b>al-Ma'mun, the 'Abbasid caliph, 194-218 / 810-833</b>	
	89K	AR drachm, after 810		RRR
			Similar in style and arrangement to the anonymous type #A80, but without the mint name. The name al-Ma'mun is very clear, and is presumed to refer to the 'Abbasid caliph.	
			<b>Da'ud b. Yazid, fl. 177 / 793</b>	
	A90	AR drachm, known only from the countermark <i>da'ud bin yazid</i> , found on the reverse of various types (89D, A80, etc.)		R
			Da'ud b. Yazid was sent to defeat a Kharijite governor in Sijistan in 177/793. However, the countermark seems to be significantly later, as it is found on the anonymous type #A80 of Zaranj and seems to be more or less simultaneous with the obverse countermark of al-Layth (#B90), <i>i.e.</i> , circa 810-820, often together with the mark of al-Layth (#C90). The countermark is usually deeply struck but often carelessly engraved. It is the only known countermark applied to the reverse of any Arab-Sasanian coin. All other marks appear only on the obverse.	
			<b>Sulayman, probably 138-141 / 755-758</b>	
80		AR drachm		RR
			Almost certainly Sulayman b. 'Abd Allah, 'Abbasid governor of Sijistan 138-141. This is almost certainly the earliest series of this class, as suggested by its style.	
			<b>Jannah, unknown, probably 760s</b>	
81		AR drachm		R
			<b>Muhallab, unknown, probably 760s</b>	
82C		AR drachm		RR
			<b>Yazid b. al-Mansur, governor 146-150 / 763-767</b>	
Y83		AR drachm		RRR
			The name of this governor is fully inscribed <i>yazid bin al-mansur</i> in Arabic replacing the standardized Pahlavi name AWSRWY (Khusro) before the bust, which is omitted from this type.	
			<b>Yazid, perhaps same as Yazid b. al-Mansur (#Y83)</b>	
83		AR drachm		RR
			Name <i>yazid</i> in the normal location in ObQ1, with AWSRWY (Khusro) named before his bust, as usual.	
			<b>Shabib, uncertain, circa 760s or early 770s</b>	
83D		AR drachm		RRR
			The Arabic name Shabib appears under the Pahlavi AWSRWY (Khusro) in the obverse field; there is no name in the margin, only the usual inscription <i>bism Allah rabbi</i> . Sears has suggested that Shabib may have been Shabib b. 'Ubayd Allah, who is known to have had a connection with Sijistan in 171 / 787-788. However, he emphasized that the style of this coin is clearly about 20 years earlier.	
			<b>Qudama, unknown, circa 770s</b>	
86		AR drachm		RR
			<b>Halil, unknown, circa 770s</b>	
			The reading of this name is tentative.	
86D		AR dirham		RR
			<b>Mushaji', unknown, circa 770s</b>	
M84		AR dirham		RRR
			<b>Murad, unknown, probably 770s</b>	
87		AR drachm		RRR
			Sears suggests that the initial letter is perhaps <i>qaf</i> , thus the name Qirad or Qiradh instead of Murad.	
			<b>'Amr, unknown, probably 770s</b>	
N84		AR drachm		RRR
			<b>Khalid, probably 770s</b>	
84		AR drachm		RR
			According to Sears, this individual might have been Khalid b. Suwayd, who is known to have briefly been deputy governor of Sijistan in 159 / 775-776.	
			<b>al-'Abbas, unknown, probably 770s</b>	
84B		AR drachm		RRR
			<b>'Uthman, uncertain, probably 770s or early 780s</b>	
84D		AR drachm		RRR
			Sears suggests that it might have been an issue of 'Uthman b. 'Umar al-Muzani, though somewhat earlier than his period as governor of Sijistan, 172-176 / 788-792.	
			<b>Misma', unknown, mid to late 8<sup>th</sup> century</b>	
85		AR drachm		RR
			<b>Ishaq, unknown, probably 770s or early 780s</b>	
82		AR drachm		R

**al-Layth (b. al-Fadl), 200-204 / 815-819**  
 B90 AR drachm, with countermark *al-layth ja'iz*, "al-Layth, current", stamped in the **obverse** margin on types such as 89D, A80, and others  
 R  
 The attribution to al-Layth b. al-Fadl is highly plausible. Known numismatically only from the countermark.

**Da'ud b. Yazid & al-Layth, circa 200s / late 810s**  
 C90 AR drachm, with **both** the countermarks of #A90 and B90, on various earlier Sijistan types  
 R

**Ibrahim, probably early 3<sup>rd</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> century**  
 D90 AR drachm, known from countermark *ibrahim ja'iz*, "Ibrahim, current", similar to type B90  
 RRR  
 Unknown official, perhaps later than al-Layth.  
 Types A90 through D90 were virtually unknown until a modest hoard reached the market about 2000.

In addition to the above list, there are a few additional known names which are only partially deciphered due to the poor preservation of known specimens. Most are theoretically from the 780s and 790s, to judge by their apparent fineness and style.

**ARAB-HEPHTHALITE**

Göbl, Robert, *Dokumente zur Geschichte der iranischen Hunnen in Baktrien und Indien*, Wiesbaden 1967, especially vol.1, pp.185-193.

*Similar to the Arab-Sasanian coins, these drachms have the name of the governor in Bactrian script, and a further Bactrian legend around the reverse. Another class consists of Bactrian inscriptions countermarked on Sasanian or Arab-Sasanian drachms, while a third, more common, class has simple countermarks of various sorts on Arab-Sasanian coins.*

The only confirmed mints for this series are ANBYR (Anbir) in Juzjan province, misread by Walker as HWRSAN for "Khorasan", and MRW (Marw). Both cities also minted post-reform Umayyad dirhams.

The listing here is incomplete, as this complex series remains to be extensively researched.

**"Gorigo Shah", circa 68-69 / 687-688 or slightly later**  
 "Gorigo Shah" is Göbl's interpretation of the name, which seems plausible.

90 AR drachm, with Bactrian legends  
 RRR  
 Struck at Anbir (ANBYR) and Marw (MRW), dated AH68 and 69, respectively. The obverse name legend is Bactrian *zoloogo zogano*,<sup>57</sup> which must be the title of a ruler of Juzjan "the zolo of Juzjan", of which Anbir was the capital. Walker, writing about 1940, tried to elucidate the name as a poorly engraved Arabic spelling of 'Abd Allah b. Khazim, as the Bactrian script had not been adequately deciphered when he was writing.  
 If the dates are accurate, this series can be dated 68-69 / 687-688, but it is conceivable that the dates were copied from earlier coins, and these pieces were actually manufactured several years later. Once again, further research is essential.

**Unknown governor or ruler, probably circa 690±**

A91 AR drachm, similar  
 RRR  
 Walker (p.127, no. ANS.17, = Göbl 272) conjectured that the Bactrian name might perhaps be interpreted as Rabi' b. Ziyad, now understood as untenable.

**Yazid b. al-Muhallab, circa 84 / 703**

E91 AR drachm, mint of Anbir and dated AH84, standing figure instead of fire-altar on reverse, trilingual inscriptions in Bactrian, Arabic, and Pahlavi<sup>58</sup>  
 RRR  
 Although clearly in the name of Yazid b. al-Muhallab, with clear mint & date, it remains unknown whether Yazid was in any way related to this remarkable issue.

**Bactrian inscriptions countermarked on Sasanian or Arab-Sasanian coins, circa 70-80+ / 690-700+**

91 AR drachm  
 RR

The Bactrian countermarks normally fill all four quadrants of both obverse and reverse. The inscriptions have not yet been successfully translated.

**Simple countermarks, circa 650-715**

Symbols or inscriptions, the latter usually in the Bactrian or Pahlavi script.

92.1 AR drachm, in the obverse margin of a pre-Islamic Sasanian drachm  
 S  
 92.2 AR drachm, similar, but on an Arab-Sasanian drachm  
 S

Most coins of this type are not "Arab" insofar as the countermarks lack Arabic inscriptions and have no known relationship to any Muslim authorities (see #H6 and I6 for drachms with Arabic countermarks).

Coins may have multiple countermarks, and nearly all have a test scrape in the reverse margin, which should not be regarded as damage. The most complete list of these countermarks is given by Gaube, *Arabosasanidische...*, p.110, although several dozen additional countermarks have subsequently been discovered. Not all of the countermarks are properly "Arab-Hephthalite", as Gaube has indicated. They were applied by various authorities from roughly 650 until at least 715 (examples are known on post-reform dirhams dating to at least AH94).

**ARAB-BUKHARAN**

Treadwell, Luke, "The monetary history of the Bukharkhoda dirham in Samanid Transoxiana", Supplement to ONS Newsletter #193 (2007), pp. 25-40.

*Drachms, usually of alloyed silver, ultimately derived from a prototype Sasanian drachm of Varahran V (420-438), which had already been imitated at Bukhara from the later 5<sup>th</sup> to the middle of the 8<sup>th</sup> century. The silver content of these coins varies widely, even within a single issue. According to contemporary documents, these coins remained in circulation for several centuries after their production ceased, until at least the Mongol invasion in the early 7<sup>th</sup>/13<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>59</sup> They have become available in quantity since the collapse of the Soviet Union, even in better condition.*

All Arab-Bukharan coins lack both mint and date, and are believed to have been produced at Bukhara, Samarqand and al-Shash (near Tashkent). Because they remained in circulation for many centuries, they are often found in very worn condition. Little is known about their obviously atypical pattern of circulation, though it appears that they were deemed necessary for certain kinds of payments and thus gradually gained a monetary value far in excess of their silver content. The rulers bore the title of Bukharkhudat, which appears on most of the coins.

**Bukharkhudat, 6<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> century (pre-Islamic)**

Without any Arabic inscription, with only the title of the independent Bukharkhudat.

M93 AR/BI drachm, struck from the 6<sup>th</sup> to the later 8<sup>th</sup> century  
 C

**Khalid, probably 137-140 / 755-758**

Attributed by O.I. Smirnova to Khalid b. Ibrahim, the 'Abbasid governor of Khorasan 137-140 / 755-758.

T93 AR drachm, with his name  
 RRR

**Muhammad**

Probably struck in the name of Muhammad, the future caliph al-Mahdi, as heir under his father al-Mansur, approximately 143-151+ / 761-769+.

93 AR drachm, with the name *muhammad*  
 RR  
 This type is perhaps the *muhammadi* dirham of the sources, or at least its introductive variety.

<sup>57</sup> Could the toy "Zolo A Go Go" offered by [www.funbabytoys.com](http://www.funbabytoys.com) somehow be derived from these rare coins? I doubt it!

<sup>58</sup> Published by Walker, *Num. Chron.*, 1952, p.108.

<sup>59</sup> Contemporary accounts refer to these coins as *ghitrifi*, *muhammadi*, and *musayyibi* dirhams, but it has not yet proved possible to determine which name applies to which type.

- al-Mahdi, the 'Abbasid caliph, 158-169 / 775-785**
- 94 AR/BI drachm C  
Struck during and after al-Mahdi's reign, in reasonably fine silver until the governorship of Ghitrif b. 'Ata, 174-176, who ordered their debasement. The debased version, called the *ghitrifi* dirham, was struck posthumously for decades, if not centuries. The fineness reduction was probably gradual, perhaps over several decades, rather than sudden during Ghitrif's short governorship. Some of the latest issues are virtually pure copper.

**al-Mahdi and Musa, circa 162-169 / 778-785**

Musa was heir of Mahdi, briefly the caliph al-Hadi.

- M95 BI drachm RRR  
**Harun & Ja'far**  
Ja'far refers either to Harun's vizier (al-Barmaki) or the governor of Khorasan 171-173 (Ja'far b. al-Ash'ath). The latter seems more plausible.

- 95 BI drachm RR  
**al-Amin, governor of Khorasan, 180-186 / 796-801**  
Al-Amin was also heir to the 'Abbasid caliphate, 175-193, then caliph 193-198.

- 96 BI drachm S  
Likely struck for al-Amin during his governorship in Khorasan. With lengthy Arabic inscriptions around the obverse, *bism Allah Muhammad rasul Allah muhammadiyya mimma amara bihi al-amin 'ala [yaday] sulayman lillah*. The identity of Sulayman is unknown. Ordinary 'Abbasid silver coinage was produced at Bukhara for a few years, commencing in 193/809.

**Khaqan, probably circa 194-218 / 810-833**

- 96K BI drachm, with the title **Khaqan** RRR  
Inscribed *bism Allah Muhammad rasul Allah al-khaqan al-a'zam amin (?) amir al-mu'minin*, stylistically very similar to #96. Treadwell suggests it was minted during the caliphate of al-Ma'mun, 194-218 / 810-833, which seems reasonable.

**Anonymous, believed circa 120-140 / 740-760**

- 96T AE fals, tamgha obverse, part of kalima on reverse, without mint or date RRR  
The tamgha resembles a "dancing man". Several variants exist. At least 2 additional types in silver or billon exist, all extremely rare.

**ARAB-ARMENIAN**

This series has been described in a forthcoming article by A. Nikitin, to have been published in the proceedings of a 1993 conference at Tübingen.

*A series of silver coins based on the first winged type of Khusro II (struck 591-602). Some related pre-Islamic types cite Khusro and have the word ARM or ARMAN behind the bust on the obverse, a presumed reference to Armenia, consistent with known find-spots. All coins lack the mint name and bear only a vestigial date derived from the prototype. The standard weight seems to be somewhere between 3.05 and 3.35g.*

**Muhammad (unidentified), likely circa 80 / 700**

- E97 AR zuzun RR  
With Arabic *muhammad* before bust, *waf* ("full") in margin at ObQ2. The denomination ZWZWN (Aramaic for drachm) appears on the reverse where the mint signature is normally placed, and has been misconstrued as Zouzan, a locality in Khorasan.<sup>60</sup> Nikitin believes that the type dates to circa 80/700.

- F97 AR zuzun, similar, but Pahlavi MHMT before bust, Arabic *muhammad* in margin in ObQ2 RRR

- G97 AR (zuzun??), similar, but Pahlavi AWSRWY before bust, Arabic *jaza hadha* ("this one is current") in ObQ2 RRR  
Vestigial remains of a mint & date in the usual locations on reverse. Without the denominational name.

**ARAB-BYZANTINE**

Walker, John, *A Catalogue of the Arab-Byzantine and Post-reform Umayyad Coins*, London 1956.

Bates, Michael L., "History, geography and numismatics in the first century of Islamic coinage", *Revue Suisse de Numismatique*, v. 65 (1986), pp. 231-261.

Goodwin, Tony (see Album & Goodwin under Arab-Sasanian, *SICA 1*, where Goodwin compiled the Arab-Byzantine section), now the most up-to-date overall study.

Goodwin, Tony, *Arab-Byzantine Coinage*, London 2005, including a useful review of the *SICA 1* section on Arab-Byzantine coinage.

Qedar, Shraga, "Copper Coinage of Syria in the Seventh and Eighth Century A.D.," *Israel Numismatic Journal*, v. 10 (1988-89), pp. 27-39. Qedar largely retains Walker's dating, which was subsequently rejected by Bates and is now universally abandoned.

Foss, Clive, *Arab-Byzantine Coins*, Washington DC 2008. Not a general catalog but an interesting and important analysis of their chronology.

Pottier, Henri, & W. Schulze, "Pseudo-Byzantine coinage in Syria under Arab rule (638-c.670)," *Revue Belge de Numismatique*, 2008.

(also the dissertation of H. Bone, cited under Umayyad copper coinage.)

Walker's catalog is now obsolete, his interpretation and chronology replaced by Goodwin's typological analysis. However, no detailed catalog of types and variations has yet been assembled, except for specific series of Egypt and the Skythopolis region, as noted below.

*The Arab-Byzantine coinage may be divided into Syrian, Egyptian, and Maghrebi regions. The Syrian series is divided into three series: Pseudo-Byzantine, Imperial Image, and Standing Caliph, of which the last two series are now generally dated to a short interval from the 670s to the reforms of 'Abd al-Malik in the late 690s (slightly later at some mints). The Imperial Image series contains many different types and designs, varying from mint to mint, and now dated from the late 50s/670s until 70/690, although some mints, such as Tabariya, prolonged this series for as long as 10-15 more years. The Standing Caliph series represents a preliminary attempt to establish a uniform copper currency throughout Greater Syria, dated to circa 70-78 / 690-698 according to Goodwin's detailed study. Prior to the Imperial Image types, there are a number of rather rude imitations of Byzantine coins, which are categorized as Pseudo-Byzantine.*

*The typology presented in the 2<sup>nd</sup> edition of this Checklist was based predominantly on Walker, together with a few emendations and a chronology essentially proposed by Bates, with the solitary difference that I regarded the Imperial Image series as having been struck over a period of some 5-15 years, rather than the two years or so suggested by Bates. In this edition I have revised the typology and chronology in accordance with Goodwin's prestigious analysis.*

The Pseudo-Byzantine coppers were usually rather crudely struck, though often not so abysmally as the contemporary Byzantine issues of Constans II. Most of the Umayyad Imperial Image fulus are more carefully produced, but because of their extensive circulation, as well as corrosion after being lost or buried, truly attractive specimens are infrequently seen (except for types #3513.2 and 3524, which are remarkably well struck and preserved). The Standing Caliph fulus are sometimes more carefully struck, but also rather rare in choice grades.

The rather primitive listing of the Arab-Byzantine coppers in the 2<sup>nd</sup> edition was numbered from #97 to #113, but this has now been replaced by a much more detailed survey which had to be renumbered, starting with #3500. When appropriate, the catalog numbers from the second edition of the *Checklist* appear after the revised descriptions.

Arab-Byzantine copper coins are occasionally countermarked, most commonly a single Greek letter (A is most common) or an Arabic word, usually *lillah*. Some examples of type 3509, especially of the Jerash mint, are countermarked with the Arabic word *tayyib* ("good"). A thorough catalog of the Arab-Byzantine countermarks remains to be assembled.

<sup>60</sup> It has long been apparent that these coins, found almost exclusively in the Caucasus, could not have been struck a thousand miles to the east in Khorasan. At a numismatic meeting in London about 1980, I jokingly suggested that this type was a coin worth two *zuz*, the cost of a goat in a song in the Aramaic language still sung by children during the Jewish holiday of Passover. Although I never meant this as a serious suggestion, suddenly we all perceived the concept as potential reality. It is now widely accepted.

Since the Greek letter countermarks also appear on post-reform fulus, I have listed them together as type #A192 and B192 under the Umayyad dynasty.

The letters or numbers in parentheses following each description refer to Goodwin's types as enumerated in *SICA 1*.

Since the early 2000s modern forgeries have begun to infiltrate the market, usually "too perfect" and thus readily discernible. By the year 2009 they were frequently appearing on eBay and VCoins.

**NOTE:** In his publication cited above, Foss has proposed an alternative chronology for the Arab-Byzantine coinage, based on intriguing evidence supporting his argumentation. I have nonetheless decided to stick with the dating derived from Goodwin's suggestions, as published in *SICA 1* & elsewhere. Someone must eventually throw down the gauntlet, hopeful that a substantially more accurate dating will emerge from the pursuant struggle.

#### SYRIA & PALESTINE: PSEUDO-BYZANTINE COINAGE

*The Pseudo-Byzantine types are essentially imitations of Byzantine coins, manufactured at an undetermined number of locations in Syria & Palestine in order to supply adequate quantities of small copper coinage. It is now generally accepted that normal Byzantine coinage, principally from the capital mint of Constantinople, continued to be imported into Syria until about the year AD 658, nearly twenty years after the Arab conquests. Thereafter, and perhaps having first been introduced a few years earlier, imitative coins were produced, replaced by the Imperial Image types during the 670s. Foss suggests that the first locally struck Pseudo-Byzantine imitations were produced by the end of the 630s, thus almost immediately after the Arab conquest of most of Palestine,*

All Pseudo-Byzantine types have capital **M** unless otherwise noted. Very few bear an indication of the actual mint, but many imitate the mint abbreviation of the prototype, such as CON for Constantinople, NIKO for Nicomedia, KYP for Cyprus, and so forth, often atrociously misspelled. Many copy the regnal year of their prototypes, often hopelessly mis-engraved, unlike the Persian occupation issues that are sometimes accurately dated.

The imitative types produced during the Persian occupation, between 603 and 630, all precede the Arab conquests, and are thus not included here. They have recently been carefully analyzed by Henri Pottier (*Le monnayage de la Syrie sous l'occupation perse*, Paris 2004).

All of the pseudo-Byzantine types were generically lumped together as type #97 in the previous editions of this *Checklist*.

#### **Two-figure Phocas type**

3500 AE fals, based on folles of Phocas, capital **M** reverse (Goodwin type A) R

#### **Three Standing Figures type**

3501 AE fals, based on regnal year 17 folles of Heraclius struck in Cyprus (type B) S

#### **Two Standing Figures type**

3502 AE fals, one wearing military dress, based on a Heraclius type, capital **M** on reverse (type C) S

Some examples have cursive **m** on reverse (R). Both versions of this type are often so poorly struck that the second Standing Figure is virtually undetectable.

3502N AE fals, similar, but struck at Neapolis, which is Nablus in Palestine (MIB-X23 & X24) RRR

Based on MIB-164, dated in the 25<sup>th</sup> year of Heraclius, with two varieties, one with NEA in reverse exergue and officina letter A below capital M on reverse, the second with CON below reverse and officina letter N (presumably for Neapolis).<sup>61</sup>

#### **Single Standing Figure in military dress type**

3503 AE fals, uncertain prototype (type D) R  
Usually very poorly struck.

#### **Standing Emperor type, cursive m on reverse**

3504 AE fals, based on class 1-4 of Constans II (type E) S

#### **Standing Emperor type, capital M on reverse**

3505 AE fals, based on class 5-7 of Constans II (type F) R

#### **Imperial Bust type**

3506 AE fals, based on year 3 *imper const* of Constans II (type G) S

#### **Bearded Imperial Bust type**

3507 AE fals, likely based on year 11 *imper const* type of Constans II (type H) RR

#### **Sicilian Constantine IV bust type**

3508 AE fals, (type I) (ex-#A111) RR

Most specimens of this type bear an unread inscription on the obverse, formerly said to have been derived from Pahlavi but most likely a meaningless scribble intended only to fill in an otherwise empty space.

For gold solidi related to this series, see #3548-3550.

#### SYRIA & PALESTINE: Umayyad Imperial Image Coinage

*The earliest Imperial Image coins are now dated to the 670s, with the majority of the types probably having been adopted around 680 or shortly thereafter. Most of the series were replaced by the Standing Caliph types shortly after 690, but at a few mints, such as Tabariya and Baysan, the Imperial Image types were maintained, perhaps as long as a decade or more. These mints did not adopt the Standing Caliph design, with the possible exception of Baysan, to which a rare mintless type has been tentatively assigned (not listed here).*

#### **Justin & Sophia type**

So named because they are based on the folles of the Byzantine emperor Justin II (565-578), portraying both the emperor and his wife Sophia.<sup>62</sup>

3509.1 AE follis (fals), capital **M**, **Baysan** mint (Skythopolis in Greek, always on obverse) (Goodwin type I) (formerly #98) R

Some examples also bear the mint name in Arabic, *baysan*, on the reverse (RR).

3509.2 AE follis, similar, **Jerash** mint (type I) (Gerasa, Gerason in Greek on the coins) RRR

3509.3 AE follis, similar, **Abila** mint (Tel Abil) (type I)<sup>63</sup> RRR

3509G AE follis, with *tayyib* ("good") countermarked on types #3509.1 or 3509.2, always at the bottom of the obverse RR

3509T AE follis, similar, but **Tabariya** in Arabic to left of capital **M** on reverse, blundered obverse inscription in Greek RRR

3510 AE ½ follis (½ fals), with capital **K** on reverse, **Baysan** mint (fractional denomination of type I) (ex-#99) RR

Mint name either in Greek on obverse or Arabic on reverse.

#### **Enthroned Emperor type**

3511.1 AE fals, **Damascus** mint (written as ΔAM in Greek) (type II) S

Frequently with a bird standing on or above a T to the left of the imperial figure. The type of bird is uncertain, but given the T, it is most likely a falcon. Also called "Seated Imperial Figure."

3511.2 AE fals, **Damascus**, similar, but mint name & one or two additional words in Arabic (type II) S

<sup>61</sup> Clive Foss has regarded this item as the last Byzantine issue in Syria, struck 634-636 at the last Byzantine military base at Nablus in Palestine. However, it is equally possible that this type was produced after 636, when the base was seized by the Arabs, or both periods, since it is certainly conceivable that a local Byzantine mint could continue to strike the same types after the Arab conquest.

<sup>62</sup> For a detailed description of these complex types, see the article by Amitai-Preis, Berman & Qedar, "The Coinage of Scythopolis-Baysan and Gerasa-Jerash," *Israel Numismatic Journal*, vol. 13, pp. 133-151.

<sup>63</sup> An example was offered in 2009 by Byzantine Coins on VCoins, item #704171. The assignment to this mint is tentative, based on the letters AB or ABA that appear at the left on the obverse.

- 3511A AE fals, similar, struck at the “**pseudo-Damascus**” mint (type II) (ex-#100) RR  
Usually with the mint signature ΔAM, these coins have a very distinctive style and are found to the south of Damascus, in what is now northwestern Jordan. A modest selection was published by R. Milstein in *Israel Numismatic Journal*, vol. 10 (1991).
- Three Standing Figures type**
- 3512 AE fals, struck at **Tabariya** (Tiberias, Tverya in modern Israel) (type III) (ex-#107) S  
Mint name in both Greek & Arabic on reverse. Because no Tabariya coins exist in the Standing Caliph series, it is presumed that this type was minted from about 688 until about 700-710. There are two subgroups, thin broad flans with typical weight 4.0-5.0g (#3512.1) and thick narrow flans usually 2.8-3.5g (#3512.2), equal rarity.
- 3512A AE fals, also **Tabariya**, similar, but with the Arabic word tentatively read as *qatari* or *qutri* below the **M** on the reverse (type III)<sup>64</sup> RR  
Types #3512A through #3512D were weakly struck on thick narrow flans, almost never found in higher grades. Types #3512A bear the mint name in Arabic only, #3512B-3512C are without mint name, but assigned to Tabariya by style and location of finds.
- 3512B AE fals, without mint name (type III), as type #3512 but with *muhammad rasul Allah* instead of the mint formula around the **M** (ex-#108) RR
- 3512C AE fals, without mint name (type III), as type #3512 but with *la ilah illa Allah wahdahu la sharik lahu* around the **M** RR
- 3512D AE fals, without mint name (type III), as type #3512 but with *Allah ahad Allah samad lam yalid* around the **M** RR
- 3512R AE fals, similar, but mint of **Baysan** (type III) RRR  
Reverse with *fals* to right, *al-haqq* below, and *baysan* to left of the capital **M**. Some other varieties exist.
- Two Standing Figures type  
(plain cross between heads of the figures)**
- 3513.1 AE fals, **Damascus** mint (type IV) (ex-#105, described as “emperor & son” type) R  
Muling of a Ba’albakk obverse with a Damascus reverse.
- 3513.2 AE fals, **Ba’albakk** mint (in Arabic) (type IV) (ex-#106) C
- Two Standing Figures type  
(cross-on-steps between the two figures)**
- 3514 AE fals, **Ba’albakk** mint (type V) RR
- Two Standing Figures type  
(Arabic muhammad rasul Allah between figures)**
- 3515 AE fals without mint name (related to type V) RRR  
The cross-on-steps reverse surrounded by the beginning of the shahada implies that this type was contemporary with the Standing Caliph series. The mint remains undetermined.
- Standing Emperor type, emperor holding long cross**
- 3516 AE fals, **Hims** mint, capital **M** (type VI) (ex-#103) S  
Two major varieties, one with *bism Allah* left on obverse, one without *bism Allah*.
- 3517.1 AE fals, **Damascus** mint, capital **M**, Greek inscriptions only (type VI) (ex-#101) S
- 3517.2 AE fals, **Damascus** mint, capital **M**, mint name in Greek on obverse, Arabic inscriptions on reverse (type VI) (ex-#102) C
- 3517.3 AE fals, **Damascus** mint, capital **M**, Arabic inscription on reverse, no inscription on obverse (type VI) (not in the previous *Checklist*) R  
Some versions bear Greek on the obverse, usually ΔEO, occasionally something uncertain. Other varieties have Arabic *ja’iz* or *wafiya* in addition to the mint name on the reverse.
- 3518 AE fals, **Ba’albakk** mint, capital **M** (type VI) RR  
Muling of a Damascus obverse with a Ba’albakk reverse.
- 3519 AE fals, **Tabariya** mint, cursive **m** (type VI) (ex-#104) RR  
Mint name in Greek on obverse, Greek inscription on reverse, of which the right section XAAEΔ has been interpreted as the Arabic name Khalid (Goodwin type 1). The peculiar style of this type, very different from all other coins of Tabariya, suggests that this might be imitative from an undetermined mint.
- 3520 AE fals, **Ludd** mint (= Diospolis, thus inscribed in Greek on the obverse), cursive **m** (type VI) RRR
- 3521 AE fals, **Iliya** mint (= Jerusalem), mint name in Greek around the reverse, cursive **m** (type VI) RRR  
An early issue, probably during the 670s, with the reverse inscription IEPO COAE MΩN, “of the people of Jerusalem”.
- 3522.1 AE fals, “**pseudo-Damascus**” mint, cursive **m**, often retrograde (type VI) R  
See #3511A for description of this mint.
- 3522.2 AE fals, “**pseudo-Damascus**” mint, similar, but capital **M** R
- 3523 AE fals, **without mint**, Arabic *al-wafa lillah* below cursive **m** on reverse (type VI) S  
A very rare variant of this type has *al-wafa lillah* both below the reverse and to the left of the obverse. Almost always poorly made.
- 3523A AE square fals, **without mint**, *muhammad* on obverse, *ba’d* on reverse, very coarse style RRR
- Imperial Bust type**
- 3524 AE fals, **Hims** mint, mint name in Arabic on obverse & Greek on reverse (Emises), cursive **m** (type VII) (ex-#110) C
- 3525 AE fals, similar type, **Tarsus** mint (Antardos), mint name in Arabic on obverse & Greek on reverse, capital **M** (type VII) (ex-#109) RR
- Two Figures type (one seated, one standing)**
- 3526 AE fals, ‘**Amman**’ mint (in Arabic on reverse), capital **M** (type VIII) RRR
- “Hunting Figure” type**
- 3527 AE fals, figure holding long cross, with a falcon on his left arm, “**pseudo-Damascus**” mint, cursive **m** (type IX) RRR
- “Orans Figure” type**
- 3528 AE fals, without mint name (type X) RRR  
Perhaps struck at the “**pseudo-Damascus**” mint. Identified by the standing figure raising his two arms, as on the Arab-Sasanian Orans dirhams (type #27.1).

#### SYRIA & PALESTINE: STANDING CALIPH

*This is the most frequently seen type of the Arab-Byzantine fulus, and is traditionally and correctly regarded as the first truly Islamic coinage from Syria & Palestine. The obverse shows the caliph standing, holding a scabbarded sword, usually with his name and titles in Arabic around. There are two principal reverse arrangements, the more common of which has a transformed cross-on-steps<sup>65</sup>, on which the cross-bar has*

<sup>64</sup> The word below the M may conceivably refer to the Kharijite caliph Qatari b. al-Fuja’a, whose name appeared on silver drachms (type #33). The term *qutri* would refer to metal, but would be a very unlikely word to appear on a copper coin, as explained by Lutz Ilisch in *ONS Newsletter* #167. However, there is no evidence that Qatari enjoyed any influence in Palestine. Further research necessary.

<sup>65</sup> The meaning of the circle or ellipse has been debated by numismatists and historians for decades. My own belief is that it was merely a clear and readily perceived statement that there was an alternative to Christianity, namely Islam. Hence I have labeled the object “not-a-cross”, an easily understood statement that “yesterday there was a Christian government here, today it is Muslim”. While it is conceivable that a tribesman from somewhere in Arabia recommended the design from perhaps his own tribal



been replaced by a circle or ellipse, surrounded by the Arabic *shahada*. The second type retains the cursive *m*, together with the mint name in Arabic instead of the *shahada*.

This series has been dated by Goodwin to roughly AH74-78 / 693-697, continuing for several more years at some mints before completely replaced by the reform fals (#153).<sup>66</sup> At some Palestinian mints, the standing caliph type may have remained in production until well into the 80s/700s.

The mints are listed here in the same order used by Goodwin, approximately north to south, rather than alphabetically. The mint name normally appears to the left or right of the steps, with the Arabic word *waf* ("full value") on the other side of the steps; other versions are noted in the descriptions. There are numerous subtypes not listed here, but well described by Goodwin in both SICA 1 and his 2005 publication. Goodwin sensibly does not divide this series into subtypes as he correctly did for the two earlier series.

Unless otherwise noted, all circle-on-steps types have the caliph 'Abd al-Malik (b. Marwan) named in the obverse margin (often illegible, especially on worn or poorly struck pieces). All of the circle-on-steps types were #112 (embarrassingly misdescribed as "cross-on-steps"!) in the previous *Checklist*, all the cursive *m* types as #111.

#### Standing Caliph type (circle-on-steps reverse)

- 3529 AE fals, **Halab** (Aleppo) mint C  
 3530 AE fals, **Qinnasrin** mint C  
 The mint name is often misspelled, sometimes quite obscurely.  
 3531 AE fals, **Tanukh** mint S  
 This mint name probably refers to the tribe, the Banu Tanukh, rather than a physical location. Walker and others previously misread it as Saruj, a city near Harran, but this name would be epigraphically impossible for these coins.  
 3532 AE fals, **Sarmin** mint, without the name of the caliph S  
 The mint name is divided, *sar* on one side, *min* on the other side of the steps (sometimes misspelled or coarsely engraved), with the Arabic word *waf* therefore omitted.  
 3533.1 AE fals, **Manbij** mint, without the name of the caliph R  
 3533.2 AE fals, **Manbij** mint, with the name of the caliph RR  
 3534.1 AE fals, **Ma'arrat Misrin** mint, without the name of the caliph R  
 Because of its length, the mint name is divided on both sides of the steps, with the word *waf* omitted.  
 3534.2 AE fals, **Ma'arrat Misrin** mint, with the name of the caliph RR  
 3535 AE fals, **Jibrin** mint RRR  
 3536 AE fals, **Qurus** mint RRR  
 3537 AE fals, **Harran** mint, distinctive type RR  
 The obverse inscriptions consist of *muhammad* to the left and the mint name to the right of the caliph, whereas the reverse bears a Greek monogram to the left and the repeated name *muhammad* in Arabic to the right.  
 3538 AE fals, **al-Ruha** mint, without the name of the caliph, but otherwise normal type R  
 3539 AE fals, **Hims** mint C  
 3540.1 AE fals, **Dimashq** (Damascus) mint, without the name of the caliph C

traditions, such an origin is irrelevant. Were it relevant, it would surely have been discussed in great detail in early Muslim literature.

The fact that there is not a single mention of this symbol in the literature supports my argument that it was merely "not-a-cross", a clever but ultimately unsuccessful attempt to create a truly Islamic copper coinage. By the end of the 70s/690s, 'Abd al-Malik pursued an altogether different route for coinage reform (type #153), which proved so successful that aspects of it are still applied to modern Islamic coinage.

<sup>66</sup> Goodwin has suggested that the Standing Caliph copper fulus might have been introduced as early as AH70 (AD690), some four years prior to the first Standing Caliph gold dinar in 74 (type #3550). Bates, Grierson and others have argued that the Standing Caliph copper must have commenced after the earliest gold dinar.

For inexplicable reasons, many examples lack the first letter "d" of the mint name, from many different dies.<sup>67</sup>

- 3540.2 AE fals, **Dimashq** mint, with the name of the caliph RR  
 3541 AE fals, **Ba'albakk** mint C  
 3542 AE fals, **'Amman** mint, normally with a large star instead of the word *waf*, with the name of the caliph C  
 3543 AE fals, **'Amman** mint, as last but without the caliph's name RR  
 3544 AE fals, illegible or unidentifiable mint name, with or with the caliph's name S

#### Standing Caliph type (cursive m reverse)

- 3545 AE fals, **Iliya** mint (Jerusalem), citing the city name together with the provincial name *filastin* R  
 All examples of this mint bear the short inscription *muhammad rasul Allah* in place of the caliph's name & titles on the obverse. Mint names arranged *filastin* left & *iliya* right, or vice versa. One extremely rare variety lacks the proper mint name, with *filastin* both left and right (Goodwin 2005, #45).  
 3545A AE fals, **Ayla** mint, same design as Iliya RRR  
 Although always carefully engraved as *ayla* instead of *iliya*, it remains uncertain whether it is a separate mint or merely an alternative spelling of Iliya (see the footnote to the post reform type #179 of Iliya).  
 3546.1 AE fals, **Yubna** mint, design as #3545, with *filastin* on one side and *yubna* on the other side of the *m* R  
 Always very poorly manufactured, never fully struck. The word *yubna* is usually right of the *m*, occasionally left (RR).  
 3546.2 AE fals, **Yubna** mint, as last but with *fulu- / s yubna* around the *m* & *filastin* omitted RRR  
 3547 AE fals, **Ludd** mint, design as #3545 RRR  
 All examples of this mint were struck from a reverse die on which the mint name was recut over Yubna!  
 There are a few additional types, all of them very rare. Moreover, many types are divided into numerous subtypes, some of which are considerably rarer than the basic type. For further information, see primarily Tony Goodwin's discussions in *SICA 1*.

#### SYRIA & PALESTINE: GOLD COINAGE

Miles, George C., "The earliest Arab gold coinage", *The American Numismatic Society Museum Notes*, v.13 (1967), pp. 205-229.

#### Pseudo-Byzantine type, circa 660s-690s

- 3548 AV solidus, without mint or date, based on types of various Byzantine emperors RRR  
 There are at least four different subtypes known, all closely resembling their Byzantine prototypes, differing primarily in the replacement of the cross-on-steps by either a bar-on-steps or a globe-on-steps and the removal of the crosses from the imperial crowns.  
 The Greek inscriptions are often considerably degenerate. The dating of these pieces is controversial, but must have been some time between the 660s and the early 690s, possibly even later. The mint locations are unknown.<sup>68</sup>

#### Imperial Image type (3 standing figures), believed struck circa 72-74 / 692-693

- 3549 AV solidus, globe-on-steps reverse RRR  
 Closely derived from the three standing figure type of Heraclius, Constantinople mint, but with the crosses replaced by globes on both obverse and reverse, and the royal inscription on the reverse replaced by the full *shahada*. Without mint or date, but believed to have been struck at Damascus.  
**WARNING:** Modern forgeries are abundant!

<sup>67</sup> There are many versions of this type with the kalima severely blundered. In *ONS Newsletter* #204, Ingrid Schulze has suggested that these were produced at numerous mints throughout the Jund of Dimashq. An alternative possibility is that the governors at Dimashq contracted the fals production to several private businesses, as seems to have been the case for most of the pseudo-Byzantine fulus.

<sup>68</sup> It has been suggested that some of these are not Arab issues, but perhaps from the Avar or other eastern European imitators. Current evidence seems to favor the classification as Arab.

### Standing Caliph type, 74-77 / 693-696

- 3550 AV solidus, globe-on-steps reverse RRR  
 All four dates 74-77 have been confirmed.  
 Presumably struck at Dimashq (Damascus), with the shahada on the obverse, *bism Allah* followed by the date formula on the reverse. The basic design is almost identical to the normal Syrian copper coins: standing caliph on obverse, globe-on-steps on reverse (globe atop the pole rather than a circle).<sup>69</sup>  
**WARNING:** This type has been selling for well over \$100,000 for many years, and is probably worth at least \$1,000,000 now, especially after the results of the incredible Morton & Eden auction in April 2011. Thus excellent forgeries now abundantly exist. Personally, I would be extremely wary of touching any of the newly offered specimens of the three Arab-Byzantine gold solidus types with the proverbial "ten-foot-pole".

### CYPRUS

Poitier, Henri, & I. and W. Schulze, "Pseudo-Byzantine Coinage in Syria under Arab Rule (638-c.670), *Revue Belge de Numismatique*, 2008. Various types, derived primarily from prototypes of Heraclius, rarely from Constans II. Most bear a Byzantine date, which is merely symbolic.

Most examples clearly show the mint name KYIIP for Cyprus or a debased version thereof, sometimes derived from original Byzantine coppers actually struck in Cyprus. However, it is now generally accepted that the great majority, if not all, were struck in Syria and intended for local circulation in Syria.

- 3561 AE fals, three standing figures, with mint name KYIIP or something debased, capital M R  
 3562 AE fals, three standing figures, with mint name either KYIIP or CON or something else, cursive m RR  
 3563 AE fals, two standing figures, blundered mint name, probably derived mainly from KYIIP, cursive m RR

Other types exist.

### EGYPT

Domaszewicz, Lidia, & M.L. Bates, "Copper Coinage of Egypt in the Seventh Century", *Fustat Finds*, New York 2002, pp. 88-111.

#### Egyptian types, late 7<sup>th</sup> century to circa 700/710

The denomination 12 is shown on the reverse with the large Greek letters IB flanking the cross-on-globe on the reverse.

Unless otherwise noted, all examples have the cross left and right of the obverse figure, and between the letters IB on the reverse.

- 114 AE fals of 12 nummi, imitation of late Byzantine follis of Alexandria, standing figure on obverse, mintmark AΛΕΞ. C  
 This type is distinguished from the last actual Byzantine issues and their imitations by the turban-like headdress that replaces the Byzantine crown.  
 Although the weight of individual specimens varies wildly, the clustering of weights suggests that the issue was possibly divided into two denominations, one of about 3-5g, the other about 7-10g. However, because individual examples vary from less than 1g to 12+g and everything in between, alleged different denominations cannot be separated, and probably did not exist. This type was probably produced from the 680s until shortly after 700.
- 114A AE fals of 12 nummi, similar, but frontal bust on obverse, mint mark AΛΕΞ, circa 700 S  
 114B AE fals of 12 nummi, obverse generally as #114, but mintmark MACP (= Misr, presumed to have been located at Fustat), circa 700 RR  
 114C AE fals of 12 nummi, generally as type #114A, but without the crosses, mintmark ABAZ, circa 700 RRR  
 The crosses on the obverse are replaced by a palm branch left and what appears to be a star and the letter A to the right. The central cross on the reverse is replaced by a capital letter M.<sup>70</sup>

<sup>69</sup> The use of a globe on gold and a circle on copper coins may have been chosen to prevent a copper fals from being gold-plated and fobbed off as a "gold" solidus.

<sup>70</sup> The mint name has been interpreted as Abasis (meaning "oasis", not the name of a known town in Egypt) or Abila, a town in what is now northern Jordan (unlikely). Because there are many dies with a clear mint name

- 114E AE fals of 12 nummi, local imitation of Byzantine types of Heraclius or Constans II, often with the denomination I B written retrograde S  
 Many varieties, never properly catalogued and not often easily distinguishable from truly Byzantine issues.

### NORTH AFRICA & SPAIN

Bates, M.L., "The Coinage of Spain Under the Umayyad Caliphs of the East, 711-750", *III jarique de numismática hispano-árabe*, Madrid 1992, pp. 271-289.

*The North African and Spanish series were struck from about 700 until 717 (Spain after 711), when they were replaced by the standard post-reform Umayyad types. The solidus standard was about 4.4 grams. The following list is incomplete.*

The North African & Spanish Arab-Byzantine gold solidi are quite pricey for their level of rarity, due to widespread demand from collectors of both Islamic, Byzantine and Spanish coins.

The dates provided here for the various types are from Walker's catalog, as indicated for the Arab-Byzantine coinage in general.

#### North African type, two busts on obverse, inscriptions in Latin, circa 80-85 / 700-704

- 115 AV solidus RR  
 The cross-on-steps is replaced by a horizontal bar-on-steps for the solidus and tremissis, a globe-on-steps for the semissis. The solidus has four steps, the semissis three, the tremissis only two.
- 116 AV semissis (½ solidus, about 2.2g) RR  
 117 AV tremissis (⅓ solidus, about 1.45g) R  
 118 AE follis, modified cross-on-steps reverse, obverse & reverse legends in Latin RR

#### North African type, inscriptions only (Latin), circa 85-98 / 704-717

- 119.1 AV solidus, dated with indiction year<sup>71</sup> RR  
 Obverse line in field bear the last portion of the Islamic religious text in Latin, the reverse line the indiction year. Indiction years 2 through 11 known, approximately AH85-93.
- 119.2 AV solidus, date with both the indiction and Hijri years, known only for indiction 12 & Hijri 94 RRR  
 Obverse line same as #119.1, reverse center line bear the Hijri year 94, with the indiction year 12 in the circular text.
- 120.1 AV semissis, undated, globe-on-steps on reverse R  
 120.2 AV semissis, similar but with Hijri date added in Latin at the end of the obverse circular text RRR  
 Known for AH95, 96 and 98.
- 121.1 AV tremissis, undated, line-on-steps on reverse R  
 121.2 AV tremissis, similar, Hijri date added as on #120.2 RRR  
 Confirmed only for AH95.

#### North African type, legends in Latin & Arabic, 97-99 / 715-718

- 121M AV solidus, central areas bears the kalima in Arabic, half on obverse, half on reverse RRR  
 Known dated 97 and 98. The obverse marginal legend bears the mint name (Africa) and the date in Latin, the reverse an Islamic religious text, also in Latin.
- Musa b. Nusayr, circa 80-85 / 699-704**
- A122 AE follis, two imperial busts / pole on steps, as #118 but including governor's name in Latin at end of reverse legend RR  
 Some specimens include the mint name Tripoli (in Libya) in the obverse inscription, abbreviated and in Latin (RRR).

ABAZ, it is no longer considered merely a misspelling of AΛΕΞ for Alexandria.

<sup>71</sup> The indiction year (one to fifteen) was an administrative dating used by the Byzantine government, and consists of repeating cycles of fifteen years each.

**al-Nu‘man, fl. 80 / 699-700**

- B122 AE follis, imperial bust / pole on steps, Arabic legends, dated 80 but without mint name RR

**Anonymous, circa 80s / 700s**

- C122 AE follis, imperial head + Latin inscription / Arabic inscription RRR

Some specimens show the mint name Tanja (Tangiers) at the end of the Arabic inscription.

**Spanish type, inscriptions only (Latin), 93-95 / 712-714**

Easily identified by star instead of text in obverse field, with marginal Latin legends around, one horizontal line of text in reverse field. The gold color varies from white to pale yellow.

- 122 AV solidus, with indiction and Hijri year, or Hijri year only, rarely undated RR  
123 AV semissis, with Hijri year or undated RR  
124 AV tremissis, with Hijri year or undated RR

**Spanish type, legends in Latin & Arabic, 98 / 716-717**

- 124M AV solidus, obverse in Latin, reverse entirely in Arabic, known with mint al-Andalus, year 98 RRR  
Obverse center has only a star, reverse center has the second half of the kalima, mint & date in marginal legend.

**EARLY POST-REFORM COINAGE**

**UMAYYAD CALIPHATE**

In addition to Walker, *Arab-Byzantine* ..., see also:

Shams-Eshraq, A., *Nakhostin sekkeha-ye Emperaturi-ye Eslam* (in Persian), Isfahan 1369 SH (1990/1991), still useful for Arab-Sasanian silver and post-reform gold, now supplanted by Klat for post-reform silver.

Klat, Michel, *Catalogue of the Post-Reform Dirhams: the Umayyad Dynasty*, London 2002. This is now the standard and most up-to-date listing of known silver dirhams of both the Umayyad dynasty and the subsequent ‘Abbasid revolution. Very few additional mints or dates now known.

*After several experimental failures, the Umayyad caliphate successfully introduced a reform coinage beginning in the year AH77 (79 for silver, circa 78-80 for copper).<sup>72</sup> Only the reform coinage is considered under this rubric. Earlier coins struck by the Umayyads are classified as Arab-Byzantine and Arab-Sasanian issues.*

*All Umayyad gold and silver is anonymous, as is most copper. Both are often collected by reign, according to the date. Because Umayyad dirhams are always carefully struck, the date is always discernible except on heavily worn or damaged specimens.*

*The gold dinar weighs one mithqal, about 4.25-4.26g, which became a standard for most of the early Islamic coinage. The silver dirham weighed about 2.85g at the start, but by the 90s/710s, the weight seems to have been increased to something approaching the “canonical” dirham weight of about 2.97g (about 70% of the mithqal), which remains a theoretical weight standard in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, with some minor variations over the centuries.*

*Because copper coinage was left to local administration, it is now believed that there was no clear break between Umayyad and ‘Abbasid copper types, as there was for gold & silver. Some types classified by Walker as Umayyad are probably early ‘Abbasid; other types may have been retained unchanged over the dynastic succession. Further research is likely to establish a reliable chronology for most of the copper coinage*

*(for the greater Syrian mints, an excellent chronology was supplied in Bone’s regrettably unpublished dissertation).*

The regular post-reform Umayyad gold coinage lacks the mint name, and is presumed to have been struck solely at Damascus. Some rare dinars from 100-127 bear the mint name Ifriqiya or al-Andalus; these bear distinctive inscriptions in the reverse field until 110, normal dinar inscriptions thereafter. They are all very rare and expensive, and are catalogued here with separate type numbers.

For the silver dirhams, by far the most common mints are Wasit and Dimashq (Damascus), typically accounting for at least 75% of any hoard. The rarity of other mints is shown in the table before the type listings. In all, about 100 Umayyad silver mints have been recorded. Because they are attractively struck and easy to read, Umayyad dirhams are popularly collected by mint and date. During the 1990s, the prices of extremely rare mint/date combinations became truly astronomical, upwards of \$50,000, but since the shaykhs of Qatar stopped voraciously bidding against each other circa 1998, prices slid back to reality, until a dirham of ‘Uman 90 skyrocketed to about \$1,700,000 at an auction in 2011 (see note to Jiruft in the mint list).

Silver dirhams bear the Qur’an Surat 112 (*Allah ahad Allah samad lam yalid wa lam yulad wa lam yakun lahu kufiwan ahad*, “Allah, the One and Only; Allah, the Eternal, Absolute; He begetteth not, nor is He begotten; And there is none Like unto Him”) in the reverse field and a variation of Verse 9:33 (*muhammad rasul Allah arsalahu bi’l-huda wa din al-haqq liyuzhirahu ‘ala al-din kullihi wa law kariha al-mushrikun*), “Muhammad is the messenger of Allah, He sent him with guidance and the Religion of Truth, to proclaim it over all religion, even though the Pagans may detest [it].”) in the reverse margin. Gold dinars bear the same Qur’anic texts, although in shorter versions and with Verse 9:33 on the obverse rather than the reverse.

Copper coins are most common from Egypt and greater Syria (including Palestine). The common Syrian types are from the mints of Dimashq, Halab, Qinnasrin, Hims, Ba’albakk, Tabariya, al-Ramla and Harran, along with copious mintless types. Egyptian and Spanish fulus, frequently without mint name and mostly undated, were also produced in considerable quantities. On the other hand, eastern mints are all rare, except for al-Mawsil and one date of Wasit (120). In all, at least 75 mints are known for Umayyad copper, and additional ones continue to be discovered, mainly in the east.

Umayyad gold coins were superbly struck and are usually found in very fine or better condition; they are not rare in extremely fine, and are often quite minty. The silver was also almost invariably well struck, though slightly misstruck examples are occasionally found, mostly from the AH80s at eastern mints. Surviving examples are usually very fine or better, though worn, clipped, damaged or crystallized coins are not uncommon. Less care was taken in the production of copper coins, which are usually found worn, badly struck, damaged or corroded. Whereas gold and silver coins are usually found in hoards, sometimes larger than 1000 pieces, copper fulus are usually found individually, or sporadically in minuscule hoards of no more than a dozen pieces.

Dinars are typically collected by date. The year 77 is the rarest and by far the costliest, as described below under type #125. The years 107, 127 and 132 are also extremely rare, but sell for a mere fraction of the cost of the year 77. Other moderately rare dates are 85, 126, 128, 129, 130, and 131. Although common, the year 78, being the earliest purely Islamic coin that is dated and affordable, fetches about twice the price of the equally common dinars dated 79 and later.

For contemporary forgeries, see note before the list of ‘Abbasid dirham mints. In addition, there have been quite a few modern forgeries of Umayyad dinars and dirhams. Of particular worry are pressure-cast forged gold dinars of Ifriqiya 122 and al-Andalus 110, which first surfaced in the market about 1978. Less troublesome are various forgeries of gold dinars, mainly of common dates, though some quite deceptive forgeries exist for the rare years 77 and 127.

Some Umayyad dirhams have also been forged, though mainly common dates & mints have been observed thus far, including some crudely cast forgeries of Jayy 90 and Wasit 95.<sup>73</sup> In the late 1990s, some rather deceptive forgeries of rare or previously unknown dates and mints began to trickle into the market, casting an unwanted pall on all new discoveries in this highly sought-after series. These recent counterfeits are normally re-engraved from genuine common dirhams and thus easily identified.

<sup>72</sup> Some extremely rare silver dirhams are dated 78 (see footnote #99). The earliest reform copper coinage (#153 from Syria) probably also began in the period of 78-80, but no fals prior is dated before 86.

<sup>73</sup> A large group of dirham forgeries was discovered in Beverly Hills about 1981, all of common dates (does anyone have a list of the ten or so forged dates & mints?), said to have been primitively machine-struck in Jerusalem circa 1965, not to swindle collectors but to provide sturdy coins for a jeweler! In 1965, genuine examples may have been cheaper than the forgeries, but never as perfectly round!

## UMAYYAD DIRHAM MINTS

The following table lists the silver dirham mints of the Umayyads, with a general rarity for each mint, an occasional notation of the most common dates, and with commentary where appropriate. Mints not listed are all RRR. Mints RR or RRR are now in great demand, as are rare dates of more common mints, and command far higher prices than post-Umayyad coins of comparable rarity. For the Iraqi and Iranian mints, coins dated 79-84 are usually far rarer than those of 90-±98, except for al-Basra. The mints of al-Andalus and Ifriqiya continued to strike the Umayyad type for a few years after the demise of Marwan II in 132. The traditional Umayyad dirham was resumed in 148 at al-Andalus under the Umayyads of Spain, where it remained in use until 285, albeit with considerable alteration of style and epigraphy, but with unchanged inscriptions and arrangement (types #339 ff.).

A complete listing of dates and varieties can be found in Klat's comprehensive catalog noted above.

The mint read by Walker as Waba'a is a misreading for Herat. The putative mint of al-Mudar also does not exist.

Dirhams dated 78 are of type #T126 for the mints of al-Kufa, Adharbayjan and Arminiya, type #126 for Shaqq al-Taymara, al-Basra and Jayy. Altogether, fewer than 20 dirhams dated 78 have thus far been reported.

Abarqubadh	RR	active 79-83, plus 94 & 96-97
Abarsahr	R	active 79-80 and 90-100
Adharbayjan	R	active 78 and 105-106
al-'Al	RRR	active in 97 only
"Albanaq"	RRR	active 89 only <sup>74</sup>
Anbir	RRR	active 79 only
al-Andalus	R	active 103-135, but dates 103 and 120-135 are extremely rare <sup>75</sup>
"Anibar"	RRR	active 81 only <sup>76</sup>
Ard	RRR	active 79 & 82 only <sup>77</sup>
Ardashir Khurra	C	only dates 90-99 are common (except for 92 and 99, both great rarities), 80, 83-84 rare
Arminiya	S	active 78, 81-82, and 94-110
Arran	RR	active 89-91
Astan	RRR	active 89 only
Awdh	RRR	active 88 (unlocated)
al-Bab	R	active 93 and most years 114-128, of which 120 is by far the least rare
Badakhshan	RRR	active in 118 only
Bahurasir (Bahursir)	RRR	active in 79 & 97 only
Balkh	S	active 93 & sporadically 113-128, of which 115 & 128 are most available
Balkh al-Bayda	RRR	active 111-112 only
Bardasir	RRR	active 79 only
Bardha'a	RRR	active 92 only
al-Basra	C	active 78?, 79-82, 100-101, 103 (RRR), 128 (R), the rest common
Bazijakhusra	RRR	active 79 & 82 <sup>78</sup>

<sup>74</sup> Probably equivalent to Alvank (Albania) in the Caucasus, not to be confused with Albania in southeastern Europe. It was formerly read by Shams Eshragh and others as *al-niq*.

<sup>75</sup> An unusual variety of year 111 has the obverse field enclosed in a circle, listed separately as type #137A (RR); both types are known dated 111. Several dates between 123 and 135 are still unreported.

Also, dirhams dated 103 & 104 (and one example of 105) followed the Damascus style, whereas most of 105 and all later dates are based on the Wasit style. It has been suggested that 103-105 dies were cut at Damascus, 105-121 at Wasit and shipped to Spain, whereas dies dated 122 and later were engraved locally in Spain.

<sup>76</sup> The correct transcription of this unidentified mint remains obscure.

<sup>77</sup> Unlocated mint, once believed an error for Ardashir Khurra, but that idea seems unlikely in light of multiple dates now known. For the year 79 and a discussion of the mint, see Sotheby's, 25 May 2000, lot 294.

Bihqubadh al-Asfal	RRR	active in 90 only
Bihqubadh al-A'la	RRR	active 79 & 90 only
Bihqubadh al-Awsat	RRR	active in 90 only
Biramqubadh <sup>79</sup>	RR	active 79-80, 90-91 & 93-95
Dabil	RR	active 84-86 only
Darabjird	C	very rare 79-81, common 90-98, plus year 102 (RRR)
"Dard"	RRR	active 79 and 93 only <sup>80</sup>
al-Dasakir	RRR	active 87-88 only <sup>81</sup>
Dasht Maysan	RR	active 79-82 and 97 (RRR)
Dastawa	S	active 79-80, 83 & 90-98
al-Daybul	RRR	active 95 only, located on what is now the coast of Pakistan
Dimashq	A	all years 79-132 are known, but 116, 129, 130 and 132 are extremely rare (109, 110, 115 and 122 are moderately rare, a few others scarce)
Fasa	RR	active 79-82 only
Fil (or Qibal <sup>82</sup> )	RRR	active 79-80 & 82 only
al-Furat	RR	active 79-83, 90 & 95-97
Hamadhan	S	active 80-82, 84 & 90-98
(HR)	RRR	active 79, probably an abbreviation or typo for Herat
Herat	S	active 79-80 <sup>83</sup> & 90-99
Harran	RRR	active intermittently 80, 82, 87-89
al-Hira	RRR	active 79-80
Hulwan	RR	active 81, 90-91 & 93
Ifriqiya	S	active in nearly all years 97-120 plus a few years between 124 & 134, but only a few dates in the 100s and 110s are frequent
Istakhr	C	rare 79-84, common 90-98, rare 99 and 102
Janza	RR	active 90-94, but only 94 is occasionally seen
Jayy	S	active 78-83 (R) & 90-98 (S), also 102 <sup>84</sup> (RRR)
al-Jazira	S	very rare 79, 81, 92, 94-96 & 126, scarce 127-132 <sup>85</sup>
Jiruft	RRR	active 82 only <sup>86</sup>
al-Jisr	RRR	active 79-83

<sup>78</sup> The mint was read by Shams Eshragh as "Zijakhusraw".

<sup>79</sup> Also called Bizamqubadh, which in unpointed Arabic is written identically.

<sup>80</sup> Possibly a misconstrued form of Darabjird but more likely a hitherto undetermined location, especially because of its appearance during two separate years.

<sup>81</sup> Emirates Coin Auction 1, lot 100.

<sup>82</sup> Walker & others have interpreted the mint as Fil near Khwarizm, but that city was not yet conquered by the Muslims. An alternative reading is Qibal, which was the contemporary name of a suburb of Isfahan. The omission of the long *alif* is common on Umayyad dirhams, for example, on all Umayyad dirhams of Hamadan & Darabjird.

<sup>83</sup> Issues of 80 bear the mint name repeated in Pahlavi in the obverse field, now listed as type #126A.

<sup>84</sup> Recently confirmed, Sotheby's, 25 May 2000, lot 324.

<sup>85</sup> Al-Jazira 132 is the only relatively available Umayyad coin bearing that date but still rare. All other Umayyad mints of this year are RRR. The previously unreported year 79 appeared in Islamic Coin Auction 14, lot 19.

<sup>86</sup> A dirham of Jiruft 82 fetched the incredible price of £90,000 at a sale in 1999, the all-time record for an Umayyad dirham until April 2011, when a dirham of 'Uman 90 fetched £1,080,000 (including the buyer's fee), about \$1,700,000, at the Morton & Eden auction #48!

Junday Sabur	S	active 79-81, 83 (these early dates rare) & 90-98
Jur	RRR	active 83-84 only
Kaskar	RRR	active 79 & 97 only
Khusrashadh-Hormuz	RRR	active 97 only
Kirman	C	active 90-98 and 100-103
al-Kufa	S	active 78-82, 100-102, & 128-129 (see also #207 for year 128 with additional marginal inscription)
al-Madinat al-'Atiqa	RRR	active 97 only
al-Maghrib	RRR	active 105 only <sup>87</sup>
Mah <sup>88</sup>	RR	active 96 & 98 only
Mah al-Basra	RR	active 79-81 & 83
Mah al-Kufa	RRR	active 79 & 81
Mahayy <sup>89</sup>	S	active 90-99, the last year extremely rare
Manadhir	S	active 79-81 & 83 (early dates very rare), then 90-98
Marinan <sup>90</sup>	RRR	active 92 only
Marw	C	active 79-84, 90-102, then 110 (R) and 114-115 (RRR); all dirhams of 79-84 bear the name of the mint repeated beneath the obverse in the Pahlavi script, type #126A (RR)
Marw al-Rud	RRR	active 81 only, also with mint name in Pahlavi beneath obverse field <sup>91</sup>
Masabadhan	RRR	active 79 <sup>92</sup> and 90 only
Maskan	RRR	(date??) <sup>93</sup>
al-Mawsil	RRR	active 82-83 only
Maysan	RR	active 79-83 & 95-97
Mihrijanqudhaq	RRR	active 79, 90 and 94 only
al-Mubarak	S	(an epithetical name for Balkh), active under this name 106-110 & 116-120
Nahr Buq	RRR	active 90 only
Nahr Tira	S	active 79-81 & 83 (early dates RR), then 90-97
Naysabur	RRR	active 82 only
(al-Niq)	—	(now tentatively read as Albanaq, <i>q.v.</i> )
al-Qandal	RRR	active 95 only <sup>94</sup>
Qumis	R	active 91-93 & 95
Radhan	RRR	active 90-91 only
(Ralsa)	—	(now read as Risha, <i>q.v.</i> )
Ramhurmuz	S	active 79-81, 83 & 90-97; only the year 90 is frequent

al-Rayy	S	active 79-82 & 84 (early dates RR), then 90-98
Risha	RRR	active 90-91 only <sup>95</sup>
Sabur	C	active 79-84 (R) & 90-98
al-Samiya	S	active 131 only
Sarakhs	R	active 90-99
Shaaq al-Taymara	RR	active 78-83 (later al-Taymara, <i>q.v.</i> )
Sijistan	R	active 90-102 & 127-130 & 132, the latter dates at least very rare
Suq al-Ahwaz	S	active 79-81, 83 (all RR) & 90-98
Surraq	S	active 79-81, 83 (early dates R) & 90-98
al-Sus	R	active 79-81, 83 (early dates RR) and also 90-91 & 94-97
Tabaristan	RRR	active 102-103 only
"Tanbaran"	RRR	active 133 only ( <i>sic</i> ), unlocated but clearly written <sup>96</sup>
Tawwaj	RRR	active 82 only
al-Taymara	S	active 90-98, the last year very rare
Tiflis	RRR	active 85 only
Tustar	RRR	known only for the year 79
'Uman	RRR	active 81 & 90 only
("Waba'a")	—	misreading for Herat
Wasit	A	active 84-132 (years 84 and 101 are rare, 132 extremely rare); years 100 and 102 are unknown <sup>97</sup>
Zaranj	RRR	active 101-102
al-Zawabi	RRR	active 79 only

**WARNING:** Umayyad dirhams purporting to be of the mints of Makka, al-Bahrayn, Haram, Hims, Mukha, Qumm, etc., are modern forgeries, as are some "unlisted" dates of established mints. Most pieces I have seen are genuine coins on which the date or mint has been altered, then sold to unwary collectors at exorbitant prices.

### **temp. 'Abd al-Malik (b. Marwan I), 65-86 / 685-705**

All coins dated 77-86 are conventionally ascribed to this caliph. All post-reform coins of 'Abd al-Malik are anonymous. His name was mentioned only on some pre-reform Arab-Sasanian silver and Arab-Byzantine copper coins.<sup>98</sup>

### 125 AV dinar

The dinar of 77 is the first purely Islamic coin and held in great esteem. Auction prices reached \$400,000 in the 1980s, but later auction results have been at less than half that amount. More recently, a full set of all dates 77-132 fetched about \$250,000 at Morton & Eden (March 2006), of which the year 77 should account for something like \$175,000. Factor in inflation over the past 25 years, the early 1980s value must be adjusted to at least \$800,000 in 2011 dollars. Given the heated-up market of 2011, it

<sup>95</sup> Risha = Ra's al-'Ayn, formerly read tentatively as "Ralsa".

<sup>96</sup> This mint has been misread as Bayburt, a city northeast of Erzincan in Turkey, but this is impossible, as that region was then still under Byzantine control. Technically, this dirham of AH133 should be regarded as an issue of the 'Abbasid revolution.

<sup>97</sup> Forgeries of years 100 and 102 have recently appeared in the market. Those I have thus far seen are normal Wasit dirhams on which the date has been coarsely altered.

A peculiar coin dated 83 is calligraphically more like dirhams of the 90s than of the 80s, and may be a contemporary imitation with a misconceived date, perhaps of North African origin. North African imitations of Wasit dirhams dated in the 90s are well-known and only moderately rare; some have a star in the obverse or reverse field.

<sup>98</sup> There are no coins assigned to the first four Umayyad caliphs (Mu'awiya I, 41-60 / 661-680, Yazid I, 60-64 / 680-683, Mu'awiya II, 64 / 683-684, and Marwan I, 64-65 / 684-685), except for the Arab-Sasanian drachms citing the name of Mu'awiya, type #14. In theory, one can consider many drachms dated between 61 and 63 as issue of Yazid I, although they are always in a governor's name rather than the caliph (most common are the drachms of 'Ubayd Allah struck in al-Basra, type #12). There is no clear assignment of coins dated 64 or 65 to a specific caliph.

<sup>87</sup> Believed to be an alternative name for Ifriqiya in North Africa.

<sup>88</sup> Mah is the Arabic name for the ancient region of Media.

<sup>89</sup> Mahayy is the dual of Mah, and refers to the two portions of Media, Mah al-Kufa (= Dinawar) and Mah al-Basra (= Nihawand). The transliteration of the name is usually spelled Mahi in numismatic literature.

<sup>90</sup> Unlocated mint, probably in Iraq, tentative transliteration.

<sup>91</sup> Baldwin's, 8 May 2002, lot 78.

<sup>92</sup> Year 79 appeared in Islamic Coin Auction #14, lot 28, the 2<sup>nd</sup> known specimen of this mint. The year 90 example was in my collection, now at Tübingen, acquired from a lot of Umayyad dirhams sent to me from Afghanistan about 1967, at what was then the standard price of Umayyad dirhams purchased in groups, about \$1.50. George Miles of ANS correctly identified the mint for me, as I was then a novice collector of Islamic coins.

<sup>93</sup> Unique example in a private collection in Qatar, date unrecorded. The mint was located in Iraq.

<sup>94</sup> An unlocated mint, perhaps to be sought in the general vicinity of al-Basra.

	would not surprise me if a 77 dinar fetched considerably more than \$500,000, perhaps \$1,000,000 if two desperate collectors are bidding against one another. Year 78 is common but highly sought after, whereas 85 is somewhat scarce. <b>WARNING:</b> Forgeries of year 77 dinars are legion. Although most are fortunately not very deceptive, some recently produced examples are discouragingly difficult to condemn.		
T126	AR dirham, transitional type, struck at al-Kufa, Arminiya & Adharbayjan in 78, mint/date formula on reverse Similar to #126 except that the obverse field is separated from the surrounding margin by a circle.	RRR	
126	AR dirham, normal type, struck 78-86 <sup>99</sup> Coins dated 78 are exceedingly rare, perhaps introductory patterns for the future coinage, and those of 79 are rare (least rare are Dimashq and al-Basra), the initial issues of what was to become an immensely popular coinage (over thirty mints known for 79). The earliest common issues are dated 80, struck at Dimashq and al-Basra, the only common mints during the reign of 'Abd al-Malik prior to the Wasit dirhams dated 85-86.	C	
126A	AR dirham, normal type but with mint name repeated in Pahlavi beneath the obverse field Struck only at Marw 79-84, Marw al-Rudh 81, and Herat 80.	RR	
	<b>temp. al-Walid I (b. 'Abd al-Malik), 86-96 / 705-715</b> All coins dated 87-96 are conventionally ascribed to this caliph.		
127	AV dinar All dates are common.	C	
127A	AV ½ dinar (inscribed <i>nisf</i> , "half")	RR	
127B	AV ⅓ dinar ( <i>thulth</i> , "third")	R	
127K	AV dinar, with the mint name <i>ma'din amir al-mu'minin</i> <sup>100</sup> inscribed below the reverse field, dated 91 and 92 The location of this "mint" is undetermined. Because a similar is known dated 105 (#134K), on which the mint name is followed by <i>bi'l-hijaz</i> , "in the Hejaz", it has been suggested that the mint was located at Madina, the religious center in Saudi Arabia. However, there is no evidence to support this theory. These dinars were probably struck at Damascus, although it is plausible that they were struck somewhere else with dies exported from Damascus. The excellent quality of these coins would strongly suggest that they were manufactured at the Damascus mint.	RRR	
128	AR dirham <b>al-Walid I, in his name, same date range</b>	A	
129	AE fals, inscriptions only, without inscribed weight A few fulus were struck with the name of this caliph at Dimashq (S, rare with legible date), Tabariya (RR) and Ba'albakk (RR). All other post-reform Umayyad coppers lack the name of the caliph, except for the recently discovered fals of Tiflis, #142T citing Marwan II.	S	
129A	AE fals of 16 qirat, with lion facing upward, Tabariya mint only	RR	
129B	AE fals of 20 qirat, Tabariya mint, without lion	R	
	<b>temp. Sulayman (b. 'Abd al-Malik), 96-99 / 715-717</b> All coins dated 97-99 are conventionally ascribed to this caliph.		
130	AV dinar	C	
130A	AV ½ dinar ( <i>nisf</i> )	RR	
130B	AV ⅓ dinar ( <i>thulth</i> )	R	
131	AR dirham <b>temp. 'Umar (b. 'Abd al-'Aziz), 99-101 / 717-720</b> All coins dated 100-101 are conventionally ascribed to this caliph.	C	
132	AV dinar, without mint name	C	
132A	AV ½ dinar ( <i>nisf</i> )	R	
132B	AV ⅓ dinar ( <i>thulth</i> )	S	
132C	AV dinar, Ifriqiya mint (100 & 101) Dinars dated 101 come in two varieties, narrow flan (earlier, as 100) and wide flan (later, as 102+), probably of similar rarity.	RRR	
133	AR dirham <b>temp. Yazid II (b. 'Abd al-Malik), 101-105 / 720-724</b> All coins dated 102-105 are conventionally ascribed to this caliph.	C	
134	AV dinar	C	
134A	AV dinar, mint of Ifriqiya (all dated 102-105)	RR	
134B	AV dinar, mint of al-Andalus (102-104)	RRR	
134C	AV ½ dinar ( <i>nisf</i> ), mint of al-Andalus, year 102 only	RRR	
134D	AV ⅓ dinar ( <i>thulth</i> ), mint of al-Andalus, year 102 only	RRR	
134E	AV ⅓ dinar ( <i>thulth</i> ), without mint, year 103 only	RR	
134K	AV dinar, with mint name below the reverse field, <i>ma'din amir al-mu'minin bi'l-hijaz</i> , dated 105 only, and arranged similarly to #127K <sup>101</sup>	RRR	
135	AR dirham	C	
	<b>temp. Hisham (b. 'Abd al-Malik), 105-125 / 724-743</b> All coins dated 106-125 are conventionally ascribed to this caliph.		
136	AV dinar <sup>102</sup> <b>WARNING:</b> A fractional dinar of Wasit 106 is a modern fantasy, as are a number of similar fractions, of which many thousands were manufactured circa 1993, probably for sale to the jewelry industry rather than to deceive collectors. They are easily recognizable by stylistic and calligraphic incorrectness, and are struck in debased gold (10 carat?).	C	
136A	AV dinar, mint of Ifriqiya, short form of central inscriptions, as on type #134A (106-107, 110) Issues of Ifriqiya and al-Andalus struck between 100 and 110 bear shortened central inscriptions, <i>la ilah illa Allah</i> in the obverse field, <i>bism Allah al-rahman al-rahim</i> in the reverse field (types #136A, 136B, and all issues of previous caliphs). Later issues, dated 114-122 and 127, use the same obverse and reverse inscriptions as the common mintless dinars (#136C, 136D, also U138 assigned to Ibrahim).	RR	
136B	AV dinar, mint of al-Andalus, short form of central inscriptions, as #136A (106 & 108)	RRR	
136C	AV dinar, mint of Ifriqiya, normal central inscriptions <sup>103</sup> (114, 117, 121-122)	RRR	
136D	AV dinar, mint of al-Andalus, normal central inscriptions (114-115)	RRR	
137	AR dirham	A	
137A	AR dirham, with additional inner circle on obverse, struck only at al-Andalus in 111	RR	

<sup>99</sup> Until recently, Shaqq al-Taymara was the only known mint for this type dated 78, but an example from Jayy appeared in the Peus auction #369 (Oct. 2001, lot 1467), where the cataloguer, Lutz Ilisch, also reported a coin of al-Basra, presumably dated 78, that was published in 1863, noted by Walker as a misreading of al-Basra 79. Even though the alleged al-Basra 78 dirham is a mispublication, I am now convinced that the other two 78 coins are indeed the original silver issues and not misengraved dates as I had suggested in the first edition of this *Checklist*.

<sup>100</sup> The mint name can be translated as either "mine of the commander of the faithful" or "retreat of the commander of the faithful", of which the second seems more feasible.

<sup>101</sup> See the note to #127K. An example dated 106 (thus of Hisham) was reported in the Turath collection, but not illustrated. A typo for 105 is likely.

An example of the 105 dinar was sold in the Morton & Eden Auction #48 on 4 April 2011 (lot 12) for £3,720,000, approximately \$6,080,000 (including the buyer's fee). Only one coin has even fetched a higher price, the only 1933 twenty dollar US gold coin permitted in private hands, which sold for \$7,590,000 in 2002.

<sup>102</sup> The year 107 is extremely rare, 116 and 123 are scarce. Beware of "107" dinars that are altered dinars actually dated 106 or 109.

<sup>103</sup> All known examples of al-Andalus 110 are well-cast forgeries. If these were made from a genuine original dated 110, the original has disappeared. There are also well-made fakes of Ifriqiya 122, which I first saw about 1978. I was shown the original in 1979 at Damascus.

**temp. al-Walid II (b. Yazid II), 125-126 / 743**

All coins dated 126 that cannot be securely assigned to other rulers are traditionally assigned to this caliph.

T138 AV dinar, dated 126 R  
(See note after #140.)

138 AR dirham S  
Only the dirham of Wasit 126 with 5 annulets<sup>104</sup> in the margin can be securely attributed to this caliph. However, all 126 issues of other mints are traditionally assigned to this caliph, as annulet variations are unique to the Wasit mint.

**temp. Yazid III (b. al-Walid I), 126 / 743-744**

139 AR dirham S  
Only the dirham of Wasit 126 with 4 annulets in the margin can be securely attributed to this caliph. See comment to #138.

**temp. Ibrahim (b. al-Walid I), 126-127 / 744**

Only the dirham of Wasit 126 with 7 annulets can be assigned to this reign. All other anonymous coins of 127 are traditionally assigned to this caliph as well.

T140 AV dinar, dated 127 RRR  
U140 AV dinar, mint of al-Andalus, normal central inscriptions, dated 127 RRR

140 AR dirham S  
No gold dinars can be securely assigned to the above three short reigns. Dinars of 126 are rare and may belong to any of the three, but are customarily assigned to al-Walid II. Dinars of 127 are extremely rare and for convenience assigned to Ibrahim.

**temp. Marwan II (b. Muhammad b. Marwan I), 127-132 / 744-750**

All coins of purely Umayyad types dated 128-132 are conventionally assigned to this caliph. His name appears only on the copper fals of Tiflis (#142T).

141 AV dinar S  
142 AR dirham C  
142T AE fals, Tiflis mint, undated, caliph's name cited as *marwan bin muhammad*<sup>105</sup> RRR

**UMAYYAD COPPER COINAGE**

Ilich, L., "Die umayyadischen und abbasidischen Kupfermünzen von Hims: Versuch einer Chronologie", *Münstersche Numismatische Zeitung*, 10, August 1980, pp. 23-30. The seminal work for dating post-reform copper coinage.

Bone, Harry, *The Administration of Umayyad Syria: The Evidence of the Copper Coins*, dissertation, Princeton University, 2000. It is hoped that this remarkable work will some day be published.

Walker's still useful listings are increasingly obsolete, due to a plethora of new discoveries since 1956, many of which remain unpublished, including those listed in Bone's unpublished dissertation. Many have appeared in pricelists and auction catalogs since the 1970s.

*Copper coinage was generally regarded as a local affair at each mint, and for that reason is first listed regionally, then by mint. Some mints have numerous types, occasionally more than a dozen. Most are anonymous, but a few types bear the name of the caliph (listed under the appropriate caliph) or a local governor or other official (listed below, normally without the names of the officials).*

*The reform coppers were introduced in Syria circa 80/698, in the Jazira and Egypt shortly thereafter, but not until a few years before 100/718 in Iran and elsewhere (Treadwell suggests about 96/715).*

*For the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, I have attempted to include all known mints throughout the Umayyad caliphate. However, additional mints*

<sup>104</sup> Wasit 126 dirhams with 5, 4, or 7 annulets are assigned to al-Walid II, Yazid III and Ibrahim, respectively. Very rare dirhams with 6 or 8 annulets are probably engraver errors and cannot be assigned to a caliph.

<sup>105</sup> One example is dated AH125 (Zeno-51349), when Marwan was governor of Adharbayjan and its surroundings. Another is tentatively reported from the mint of al-Bab dated 115 (see the article by I. Paghava and S. Turkia in ONS Newsletter #201).

*will undoubtedly be discovered, especially in the east. Some "unlisted" mints may be misreadings, especially from old publications.*

*Also listed here are some lead coins from Arabia and northern Iran.*

Dates for individual types are mention only in the Hijri calendar. Each year can be approximated in the AD calendar by adding 618, e.g., 120 was approximately 738. Exact conversion is readily found online, as at [www.islamicfinder.org/Hcal/index.php](http://www.islamicfinder.org/Hcal/index.php).

**SPAIN**

Frochoso Sanchez, Rafael, "Los feluses del periodo de los gobernadores omeyas en al-Andalus, *Numisma*, vol. 237, 1997, pp. 259-289.

143 AE fals, **without mint name** and undated, Spanish style S

The evidence of recent discoveries suggests that the coinage of types #143-144 and #346 form a continuum overlapping the Umayyad and Spanish Umayyad periods. Further research, based on style and calligraphy, should eventually enable a clearer chronology for the two groups to be constructed.

144 AE fals, **al-Andalus**, dated or undated S  
Dated varieties bear only the years 108 and 110.

**NORTH AFRICA**

145 AE fals, **without mint name**, North African types S  
Coins of this type are readily identified by style, calligraphy, legend and ornamentation, and are relatively well catalogued by Walker. At least a dozen varieties exist, aside from #145A-145C (thus regarded as varieties of #145).

145A AE fals, without mint name, helmeted head right in obverse field RR

145B AE fals, without mint name, pentagram in obverse field R

145C AE fals, without mint name, *al-zakka lillah* ("for the alms of God") on reverse RR

T146 AE fals, **Atrabulus** (Tripoli in Libya), inscriptional types only, sometimes dated (120 or 130 reported) RRR

146 AE fals, **Tanja** (Tangiers), sometimes dated (from 100 to at least 116), occasionally with governor's name RR

**EGYPT**

147 AE fals, **without mint name**, Egyptian types, undated C

Egyptian post-reform fulus often share types used in Syria, but can be readily distinguished by their thickness, typically about 2.5-3mm, double that of the average Syrian piece, and by their dumpy fabric. They vary greatly in weight, but less so than their Byzantine-style predecessors. Most are typologically identical to the Syrian type #153.

147A AE fals, similar, but dated, weight typically between 5 and 10 grams S  
Known dated AH92-95 on the reverse, sometimes retrograde.

148 AE fals, in name of finance director, al-Qasim b. 'Ubayd Allah (116-124 / 734-742), always undated S

148A AE fals of 18 qirat, with mint name Misr, and inscribed with the denomination R

The following five types have *misr* in the obverse center, the mint name in the reverse center, and are always undated. All bear the name of the finance director 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwan (fl. 132).

149 AE fals, **Fayyum** RR

150 AE fals, **al-Fustat** (Old Cairo) R

151 AE fals, **al-Iskandariya** (Alexandria) RR

Most examples of this type bear the Greek letters ΑΑΕ beneath Arabic *misr* in the obverse center.

152 AE fals, **Atrib** RRR

A153 AE fals, **Ahnas** RRR

ARABIA

- P153 PB fals, **without mint**, date or ruler's name R  
Inscriptions as on #153. Found primarily in Bahrain or what is now eastern Saudi Arabia. Some may have been struck into the early 'Abbasid period.
- Q153 PB fals, **without mint** or ruler's name, dated 120 on the reverse RRR
- R153 PB fals, **al-Bahrayn**, anonymous and undated RRR  
Similar to #Q153 but inscribed *al-bahrayn thumma* in lieu of the date. Both #Q153 and R153 have just *la ilah illa Allah* within an ornamented circle on the obverse. Stylistic similarity strongly suggests that #R153 must have been made either just before or just after 120.
- S153 PB fals, **al-Bahrayn**, undated, in the name of 'Abd al-Hujur b. Sulaym RRR  
The calligraphy is stylistically earlier than the 'Abbasid copper fulus struck in the 140s, thus probably Umayyad rather than early 'Abbasid.  
Also known are 2 additional lead fulus, one citing Bishr b. Salam (undated), the other citing Hassan b. Sa' (id?) (dated 123). Both can now be regarded as variants of #S153.

GREATER SYRIA (BILAD AL-SHAM), INCLUDING PALESTINE, without mint names

- H. Bone's still unpublished dissertation (cited above) is the most up-to-date study of Syrian Umayyad copper coins. Bone lists the various types at each mint, examines their size and weight, and suggests tentative dating for each type. However, types without the mint name are included only when he could assign them to a specific mint.  
Nearly all of the date suggestions (Hijri years) in this section are based on Bone's dissertation.

- 153 AE fals, "common plain", **without mint** or date, Syrian types, with basic inscription only C  
This common type has just *la ilah illa Allah wahdahu* on obverse, *Muhammad rasul Allah* on reverse, often with stars, pellets, crescents or other rudimentary symbols in the field. I have nicknamed this type the "common plain." It is now generally regarded as the earliest reform type in copper, and should be dated circa 78-85 / 698-705. It was a failed attempt to introduce a uniform copper coinage that would match the successful uniform silver and gold. In some local regions it might have been retained until the 90s or even later. A local version of this type was not introduced in Iraq and Iran until circa 96/715 (type #M206). Bone assigned this basic type to Damascus (type #1), but the many variations for such a short-lived type indicated that there must have been many separate mints producing them.
- 154 AE fals, without mint name, similar, but longer or different inscriptions, many variations (most listed by Walker) S
- 154A AE fals, similar to #153, but with mint name added in the outer margin RR  
Known mints include Dimashq, Halab, Qinnasrin, Ma'arrat Masrin and Sarmin, with the city name sometimes accompanied by the word *ja'iz* or *darb*. Tentatively dated to the mid-80s Hijri / early 700s.  
The following items, #155 through #X165, bear pictorial designs but are without mint name and always undated. All are ascribed to the late Umayyad period, 730s-740s, and some may have continue to be struck during the early 'Abbasid period. It is believed that this series was struck entirely at Palestinian mints.
- 155 AE fals, without mint name, **horseman** RR
- 156 AE fals, without mint name, **forepart of horse** RR
- 157 AE fals, without mint name, **hawk**, sometimes described as a duck, walking left or right S
- 158 AE fals, without mint name, **pomegranate** S
- 159 AE fals, without mint name, **"amphora"** R  
If held upside-down, the "amphora" becomes a poppy, which is perhaps what was intended.
- 160 AE fals, without mint name, **fleur-de-lys** S  
Assigned to 'Amman, as the identical symbol and style exist on fulus citing the mint name (part of #166).
- A161 AE fals, without mint name, **tree** (or branch?) on both obverse and reverse R

- B161 AE fals, without mint name, **tree with fruit** RR
- 161 AE fals, without mint name, **pentagram**, assigned by Bone to Iliya (Jerusalem) S
- 162 AE fals, without mint name, **lion couchant** R
- 163.1 AE fals, without mint name, **5-branch candelabra** in obverse center, 2<sup>nd</sup> half of kalima on reverse R  
Turned upside-down, this design resembles the dome of a mosque, which may have been the engraver's intention. This type, normally found in Palestine or southern Syria, is nonetheless in great demand from collectors of Judaica, as the "candelabra" can be interpreted as the menorah. Both the 5-branch and the 7-branch candelabra (#163A) were assigned by Ilisch and Bone to the mint of Iliya (Jerusalem). Both types command prices much higher than their rarity would suggest.
- 163.2 AE fals, without mint name, **5-branch candelabra** in reverse center, 1<sup>st</sup> half of kalima on reverse, within a square (RRR) or circle (RR) RR
- 163A AE fals, without mint name, **7-branch candelabra** RR
- 164 AE fals, without mint name, **dove**, wings outstretched, flying left (SNAT 531 ff) S
- 164D AE fals, without mint name, **duck** in circle on obverse, facing either right or left, **lillah** in circle on reverse (SNAT 560 ff) R
- A165 AE fals, without mint name, **fish** R  
Assigned by Ilisch & Bone to the mint of Baysan based on archaeological evidence.
- B165 AE fals, without mint name, **scorpion** R
- X165 AE fals, without mint name, **other pictorial types** RR

GREATER SYRIA, INCLUDING PALESTINE, with mint names

- (See also #154A for an early type with mint name in the margin.)  
**WARNING:** Deceptive modern forgeries of rare Greater Syrian mint fulus have been seen since about 2008, coming principally from Israel and Lebanon. They are "too good to be true", usually enameled or otherwise coated, in order to hide their falsity.
- 165 AE fals, **'Akka** (Acre), one type, circa 80s-90s R  
Two subtypes, broad irregular flans (ca. 80s, RR) and small round flans (ca. 90s, R).
- 166 AE fals, **'Amman**, circa 78 until about 140, thus into the 'Abbasid period S  
Bone presents five types, two of which he classifies as having been produced circa 133-140, thus 'Abbasid (with 3-petal lily, either with or without the mint name).
- A167 AE fals, **Antakiya** (the classic Antioch, now Antakya in Turkey), one type, circa 90s RRR
- 167 AE fals, **'Asqalan** (Ashqelon), three types, circa 78 until the end of the 90s RR  
(For the presumptive mint of Ayla, see the note to #179 of Iliya.)
- 168 AE fals, **Ba'albakk** (Baalbek), circa 80s to the 130s+ C  
Bone suggests about 10 types, together with a number of somewhat similar types that he assigns to the 'Abbasid period. In particular he divides Walker #766-ff into subtypes from about 116 until at least the 140s, probably much later, demonstrating that at Ba'albakk, as at several other mints, the transfer from Umayyad to 'Abbasid rule did not affect the nature of copper coinage, thus illustrating that dynastic change was often irrelevant.  
There are two dated types, one of 99 (R), another of 124 (RR).
- 169 AE fals, **Balikh** (in northern Syria, uncertain location) S  
This mint name has not been satisfactorily explained. Walker assigned it to Balkh in Khorasan, but the coins are invariably found in Syria & the Jazira. Tanukh is another possibility, but unlikely, as the letter *waw* for the long *u* sound is almost never omitted, even in early Arabic writing. This mint name is perhaps associated with the Balikh river in northern Syria, though the name Balikh is normally written with *ya* between the *lam* and the *kha*.  
Bone dates the single known type (with minor variants) in the 120s. Weight varies from less than 2 to more than 5 grams.



- A170 AE fals, **Baniyas** (in Palestine), one type, circa 80s RRR  
The mint name is written in Arabic as *anbulus*, which has been interpreted as either Nablus or Baniyas, both in Palestine. Current theory suggests that the engraver's intention was Nablus.
- 170 AE fals, **Baysan** (Beit Shean in Israel), three or four types, circa 78 to 120 RR
- 171 AE fals, **Bayt Jibrin** (in Palestine), two types, both assigned to the 80s RRR
- 172 AE fals, **Busra** (in southern Syria), circa 90s until 105+, three types<sup>106</sup> RR
- 173 AE fals, **Dar'at** (sometimes written as Adhra'at, now Deraa in southern Syria), circa 80s to about 125, all undated RR  
Bone lists four types, all of which are included in SNAT. Many show the river symbol, an undulating horizontal line, below obverse or reverse or both.
- 174 AE fals, **Dimashq** (Damascus), circa 78 to the 130s C  
Bone reckons there were about 17 types, as well as his catchall post-Umayyad group of types which he calls type #18. Dated issues of 87-88 are included in type #129, as they bear the name of al-Walid. There are also anonymous Damascene fulus dated 102 and 126, both slightly scarce. See also #154A (Bone type #2) and #153 (Bone type #1, though it is likely that this abundant type was also produced at several additional mints).
- 175 AE fals, **Filastin** (Palestine) R  
Filastin (Palestine) is the provincial name. Fulus thus inscribed may have been struck at any of the local Palestinian mints, but current research strongly suggest Jerusalem (Bone & Ilich).
- A176 AE fals, **Ghazza** (Gaza), two types, one from the 80s, the other probably from the late 90s RRR
- 176 AE fals, **Halab** (Aleppo), circa 80 to 120± C  
Bone lists four types, only one of which is common, Walker #790 with a star between *illa* and *Allah* in the obverse middle line.
- 177 AE fals, **Hims**, circa 78-132 C  
Coins of this mint were studied and dated in the important and ground-breaking study by Ilich and more recently by Bone, as noted above. Bone suggests 10 Umayyad types, including three dated types of 116, 117 and 118, all three typologically identical except for the date. Only 116 is reasonably common, as are several of the dateless types.
- 178.1 AE fals, **Hims**, pictorial type with elephant, circa 120-132+ C  
Walker #799, usually very crudely struck.
- 178.2 AE fals, **Hims**, pictorial type with jerboa S  
With the name of Bishr b. Marwan, perhaps early 'Abbasid.
- 179 AE fals, **Iliya**<sup>107</sup> (Jerusalem, from its Roman name Aelia Capitolina), struck circa 78 to the 120s R
- 106 Syrian Busra is located near the modern Jordanian border, ancient Bostra. This mint should not be confused with al-Basra in Iraq. The last letter is *ya* rather than *ta marbuta*
- 107 On some examples the final *ya-alif* is replaced by a *ta marbuta* (SNAT-13/14, Zeno-62659). Some numismatists read this as Ayla, the modern Eilat at the southern tip of Israel, adjacent to the Jordanian city of 'Aqaba. This is indeed conceivable, as a copper smelting facility was in operation at Ayla in the Umayyad and early 'Abbasid periods. Nonetheless, it seems peculiar that a mint so far from Jerusalem would share identical designs, when several closer mints, such as Ludd, 'Asqalan and Ghazza, were employing very different designs. Might this just be a spelling error by a die-cutter confounding the Arabicized Roman name of Jerusalem with the name of its copper source?  
Neither Walker, Ilich or Bone mention the question of Iliya v. Ayla in their above-mentioned publications. Recent discussions increasingly favor Ayla for the variant with *ta marbuta*. Moreover, the spelling Ayla is known for both the Arab-Byzantine Standing Caliph type (#3545A) and the post-reform type, which seems to favor the argument that Ayla is not Iliya, even through stylistic similarity would suggest that the dies for Ayla were prepared at Jerusalem and carried to Ayla, which would have been a very simple task. A pair of dies would have weighed less than one kilogram, easily transported from Iliya to Ayla. Numismatists who prefer to regard this mint spelling as Ayla may classify this spelling as type #179A (RR).
- Bone suggests 7 different types, including two without mint name (#161 and 165 above). One type bears the mint name in the lower left of the obverse, after *Allah* (RR).
- A180 AE fals, **Jerash** (in Jordan), one type, circa 80s RRR
- 180 AE fals, **Jibrin**, circa 80s, two types RR  
In northern Syria, not to be confused with Bayt Jibrin in Palestine.
- 181.1 AE fals, **Ludd**, four types, circa 78 to late 90s. R
- 181.2 AE fals, **Ludd**, countermarked type RR  
Countermarked *bi-Ludd* on various hosts, mainly Arab-Byzantine, occasionally pure Byzantine.
- 182 AE fals, **Ma'arrat Masrin** (in northern Syria), circa 80 to the 90s, four types R  
The earliest type (Bone #1) is part of #154A above.
- A183 AE fals, **al-Madina Ma'din Amir al-Mu'minin** RR  
This type has been attributed to the holy city of Madina in Arabia, but actual find spots are consistently in central and eastern Syria, especially along the Euphrates River. Perhaps this mint was located at the caliphal palace compound at al-Rusafa in eastern Syria (see type #A293 for location of al-Rusafa). Only one type is known, which Ilich has dated to circa 115-125.
- 183 AE fals, **Manbij** (in northern Syria), circa 80s, two types R
- A184 AE fals, **Qaysariya?** (Caesarea in Palestine) RRR  
Mint normally written defectively with *tha* in lieu of *sin*. Bone also considers the identification as Qaysariya to be tentative, but probable. One type, circa 80s.
- 184 AE fals, **Qinnasrin**, circa 80 to the early 90s C  
Bone lists four types, the earliest of which is included in type #154A above. Only one type, similar to Walker 914, is common. The site of Qinnasrin, near the village of Hadir some 25 km south of Aleppo, was discovered in the late 1990s. It was located at or adjacent to the ancient city of Chalcis ad Belum.
- A185 AE fals, **Qurus** (in northern Syria), one type known, circa 80s RRR
- 185 AE fals, **al-Ramla** (Ramleh in Palestine) C  
Bone suggests four types, the first two types dating from the 90s, one dating from the 120s and one from the 140s (thus 'Abbasid).
- 186 AE fals, **Saffuriya** (Sepphoris in Palestine, near Nazareth), one type, circa 80s RR
- 187 AE fals, **Sarmin**, circa 80 to the 90s, four types S  
The earliest type (Bone #1) is actually part of #154A above.
- 188 AE fals, **Tabariya** (Tiberias, now Tverya in Israel), active circa 78 to the 120s C  
About 13 different types, of which several common types show either a small bird above the obverse or reverse legend, or a palm branch in the field. Most are undated, but a few are known dated 91 or 110 (both RR).
- 189 AE fals, **Tanukh** (in northern Syria) R  
This mint has been erroneously interpreted as Saruj in much of the literature. Only one type is known, dated by Bone to the 80s. Tanukh was a Syrian district to the east of Aleppo, not a city, home of the Arab tribe bearing the same name.  
(For **Tarabulus**, see *Atrabulus* under *Ifriqiya*, type #T146.)  
(For **Tiflis**, see #142T, as it cited the current caliph Marwan.)
- 190 AE fals, **al-Urdunn** ("the Jordan") S  
This mint was probably located at Tabariya, which was the capital of the military province of the Jordan.
- 191 AE fals, **Yubna** (Yavneh in southern Palestine), two types (one similar to #153 but with mint after *Allah* at bottom of obverse) circa 78 to the 80s. RRR
- A192 AE fals, **no mint or date**, countermarked Greek letter (usually ϞϞϞ) on various pre-reform fulus R
- B192 AE fals, **no mint or date**, countermarked as type #A192, but on post-reform fulus RR
- THE JAZIRA**
- R192 AE fals, **Balad**, undated, similar to type #195 RRR  
Balad is presumably the same as the modern Balad in Iraq.

192	AE fals, <b>Harran</b> , undated type circa 80s-90s plus two dated types	S	201.1	AE fals, <b>Jayy</b> , purely Arabic inscriptional types, always dated	RR
	The dated types are of years 92 (RRR) and 116 (R), of which the latter type is identical to #195 except for the mint name.			Dates 101 and 111 are known.	
193	AE fals, <b>al-Mawsil</b>	C	201.2	AE fals, <b>Jayy</b> , Sasanian bust on obverse, always dated (several years between 113 and 119 are reported)	RR
	Dated examples are 97 (sometimes incorrectly engraved as 79) (S), 110 (RR) and 114 (RRR). Other types struck after about 110 are undated but usually bear the name of the local governor, and are frequently overstruck on previous types. Twelve types were catalogued by Gernot Rotter in <i>American Numismatic Society Museum Notes</i> , vol. 19, 1974.			This subtype has the typical post-reform reverse, but with a Sasanian style bust and a still undeciphered Pahlavi legend on the obverse.	
A194	AE fals, <b>Nasibin</b> ( <i>aka</i> Nusaybin)	RRR	A202	AE fals, <b>Junday Sabur</b> , known dated 106	RRR
	One type only, dated year 92.		202	AE fals, <b>Jurjan</b> , often dated, without governor's name	R
194	AE fals, <b>al-Ruha</b> , one type known, dated 116, same design as #195	R		Known dated 101, 112, 114, 121, 126, 128, and undated. Additional dates will likely be discovered.	
195	AE fals, <b>without name of mint</b> , always dated 116 or 117, many minor variations	C	202A	AE fals, <b>Jurjan</b> , in the name of Yazid b. 'Umar & Nabata b. Hanzala, dated 130	RRR
	Identical to #194 and the subtype of #192 dated 116, except for the omission of the mint name. Copious variations in style suggest numerous mints in the Jazira and northern Syria struck this mintless type for a decade or longer, with frozen year 116. The date is sometimes crudely written or even totally illegible. Year 113 is likely a mis-engraving of 116. A somewhat similar type was also struck at Hims, with date and mint name (116-118), included in #177.		202L	PB fals of 1/60 dirham, <b>Jurjan</b> , anonymous, dated 107, <i>sittin bi-dirham</i>	RRR
			202M	PB fals, <b>Jurjan</b> , in the name of al-Walid b. 'Abd Allah, dated 112	RRR
			203	AE fals, <b>al-Kufa</b> , always dated	RR
				Known dated 100-102 and 126. All are anonymous, save one variety of year 100, which cites 'Abd al-Hamid.	
			A204	AE fals, <b>al-Mansura</b> (in Sind)	RR
				Known both undated and dated 116, 119 and 121.	
			B204	AE fals, <b>Marw</b> , always dated	RRR
				Years 112, 115 and 121 are reported. The coin of 112 bears the inscription <i>sittin bi-dirham</i> , "sixty to a dirham", and cites the governor Asad b. 'Abd Allah.	
			C204.1	AE fals, <b>al-Mubaraka</b> , dated 117 only	RRR
				Lion walking right / text only, including the denomination stated as <i>sittin bi-dirham</i> , "sixty to a dirham".	
			C204.2	AE fals, <b>al-Mubaraka</b> , known dated 119 only	RRR
				Inscriptions only, without citing a dirham-related denomination. According to al-Tabari, al-Mubaraka was a temporary epithet for Balkh; it was used for silver coinage between 106 and 120.	
196	AE fals, <b>Arminiya</b> , anonymous types, occasionally dated (normally 123)	R	204	AE fals, <b>al-Rayy</b>	R
196A	AE fals, <b>Arminiya</b> , in the name of Ishaq b. Muslim, undated (circa 132)	RR		Known dated 101, 104, 110 and numerous years between 116 and 131. Fulus dated 130 & 131 bear the name of a local governor, Yazid b. 'Umar, sometimes with the second name of a local prefect, Habib b. Budayl.	
196E	AE fals, <b>al-Bab</b> , known dated 115, 119, 121 and 125	RRR	A205	AE fals, <b>Sabur</b> , known dated 120	RR
	Al-Bab, also known as Bab al-Abwab, "the gate of gates", is now Derbent in the Russian Republic of Dagestan. It is likely that many "undated" specimens are just inferior examples of the year 125 variety. Some dated 115 cite Marwan b. Muhammad, twelve years before he would become the Umayyad caliph.		B205	AE fals, <b>al-Samiya</b> , dated 131 only, same style as the fals of Wasit	RRR
A197	AE fals, <b>Balkh</b> , anonymous, normally dated 93	R	C205	AE fals, <b>Shiraz</b> , with Sasanian bust obverse	RRR
	In the 1990s, a small group of perhaps 50-100 crudely cast fulus of Balkh reached the market, probably not a single hoard but scattered specimens found at a site in northern Afghanistan. All are dated 93 and inscribed "360 to a dirham", <i>i.e.</i> , evaluated at 1/360 dirham. Often weakly cast and partly illegible.			Known dated 126. For a similar but 'Abbasid issue dated 137, see #B335.	
B197	AE fals, <b>Balkh</b> , "60 to a dirham" ( <i>i.e.</i> , 1/60 dirham), anonymous, dated 111, with Sasanian bust on obverse	RRR	D205	AE fals, <b>Suq al-Ahwaz</b> , normally dated 110	RRR
C197	AE fals, <b>Balkh</b> , in the name of Nasr b. Sayyar	RRR	205	AE fals, <b>Wasit</b> , always dated, fine style	S
	The date is probably 122, though no known specimen is clear enough to confirm the date.			Many dated known from 101 to 130, of which 116 is rare and 120 is somewhat common. All other dates are very rare.	
197	AE fals, <b>al-Basra</b> , always dated (100 and 101)	RR	A206	AE fals, <b>Zaranj</b> , dated 117 or 120	RRR
198	AE fals, <b>Dabil</b> (in Armenia, where it is known as Dvin), undated, circa 80s or 90s, one type	RRR		A type dated 128 is known, without mint name but likely struck at Zaranj, as it cites the governor 'Abd Allah b. 'Umar (RRR).	
199	AE fals, <b>Darabjird</b> , usually dated	RRR	D206	AE fals, <b>no mint or date</b> , in the name of Qutayba b. Muslim (Zeno-13823)	RRR
	Known dates include 104, 117 and 119.			Inscribed <i>mi'a wa 'ashrin bi-dirham</i> , "120 to a dirham". Qutayba was governor of Khorasan, executed in 96/715 by order of the caliph Sulayman.	
199H	AE fals, <b>Hamadan</b> , dated 105, inscriptions only	RRR	M206	AE fals, <b>no mint or date</b> , Iranian fabric (thin flans, thin calligraphy, as Zeno-38820), inscription and arrangement as type #153	R
200	AE fals, <b>Isfahan</b> , always dated (usually 104)	RR		Dated by Treadwell circa AH96-100, just before mints & dates were added (in his article note here for Arab-Sasanian copper). The mint(s) of issue are undetermined, but all known examples share the calligraphy and broad thin flan characteristic of the fulus of al-Basra & al-Kufa dated 100-102.	
A201	AE fals, <b>Istakhr</b> , normally undated	RR			
	The least rare type names the governor Salm b. al-Musayyib (undated). An anonymous variety is dated 130.				

### THE EAST & NORTH

*Eastern and northern coppers are quite distinctive, usually dated, often with the name of a governor and struck from dies with thin delicate calligraphy. The following list of mints may not be complete.*

Arab-Sasanian types (#K41- A50.2) characterized nearly all copper coinage of Iraq and Iran until shortly before AH100, when purely Arabic types were introduced, at first without mint and date (type #M206), then usually with mint and often dated from AH100 onwards (earlier purely Arabic types are known from Balkh & Dabil). Some later types, especially from Jayy and Shiraz, combine an Arab-Sasanian obverse with a purely Arabic reverse.

- N206 AE fals, as last, but with *ja'iz* after *Allah* on reverse R  
Narrow thick flan, appears to be cast, likely somewhere in the Khorasan province. Probably circa 100/719.
- DIHQAN OF KISH**  
*A minor pre-Islamic dynasty that struck its own copper coins in Arabic, at or shortly before the collapse of the Umayyad caliphate. See Zeno-14025.*
- Ikhrīd, d. circa 134 / 752**
- S206 AE fals, Arabic legends RRR  
Bears the mint as *duriba hadha al-fals bi-kish* on reverse, and the legend *ikhrid dihqan kish* on obverse. Undated, and without religious inscriptions.
- 'ABBASID REVOLUTION**
- Wurtzel, Carl, "The Coinage of the Revolutionaries in the Late Umayyad Period," *ANS Museum Notes*, v. 23 (1978), pp. 161-199. Several additional types in silver and many in copper have subsequently been discovered, most of which have appeared in auction catalogs since the early 1980s.
- See also Klat, who lists the revolution dirhams together with the Umayyad dirhams.
- The opposition that led to the revolt of the black banners began in 116/733, but coins were struck only from 127 onwards. Not all the factions supported the candidacy of the 'Abbasid caliph al-Saffah, who acceded to the caliphate in 132/749. Some opposing factions continued to strike their own copper coins until at least 140.*
- More than a dozen mints struck dirhams, of which only Jayy and Marw are reasonably available. Most of the coppers lack the name of the mint, especially those bearing the name of Abu Muslim (#208). Nearly all were struck in Khorasanian or nearby mints in the east. There are no gold coins ascribed to the Revolution.
- Nearly all coins bear the Qur'anic verse 42:23, *qul la as'alukum 'alayhi ajran illa al-mawadda fi'l-qurba* ("say [to the Prophet Muhammad] 'no reward do I ask of you except to be kind to me for my kingship with you'") (longer section on #T206).
- Coins of the Revolution period are very popular and fetch higher prices than regular 'Abbasid dirhams of comparable rarity.
- Strictly speaking, several types listed in this section cite a commander or governor who was not pro-'Abbasid, but they are included here out of convenience, and because they also opposed the Umayyads. The non-'Abbasid types are marked with (\*) after the type number.
- Anonymous, circa 127-133 / 744-751**
- T206 AR dirham, as type 206.1, but with longer section of Qur'an 42:23 in the outer and the mint/date formula in the inner margin of the obverse RRR  
Struck at Jayy in 127 only, and thus probably the earliest of the standard Revolution types<sup>108</sup>.
- 206.1\* AR dirham, struck by partisans of 'Abd Allah b. Mu'awiya at about ten mints in central and southern Iran R  
This type has seven plain annulets in the outer obverse margin interspersed within the mint/date formula, Qur'an 42:23 in the inner obverse margin. Jayy is the least rare of known mints. Known dated 127-130.
- 206.2 AR dirham, struck by partisans of Abu Muslim ('Abd al-Rahman b. Muslim) at Balkh 130-132, Marw 130, Jurjan 130 & al-Rayy 131 RR  
Same Arrangement as #206.1, but with four annulet triplets in the outer obverse margin instead of 7 plain annulets.
- 206.3 AR dirham, as #206.2 but without the Qur'anic verse 42:23, struck only at Marw, dated 131-133 R  
With 8 annulet triplets in outer obverse margin. Otherwise, the same style as normal late Umayyad dirhams.
- 207.1\* AR dirham, struck by the Kharijites at al-Kufa in 128 only R  
With the Kharijite slogan *la hukm illa lillah*, "there is no judgment but God's", within one of the four segments of the obverse margin. There are also standard Umayyad dirhams of al-Kufa dated 128 and 129, each with 5 pairs of annulet in the margin.
- 207.2\* AR dirham, a Kharijite issue of Tanbarak, 133 only RRR  
As #207.1, but with the Kharijite slogan divided, one word in each of the four segments of the obverse margin. Both #207.1 & 207.2 lack the Qur'anic verse 42:23.<sup>109</sup>
- al-Kirmanī b. 'Ali, fl. 128 / 746**
- A208\* AR dirham, in his name (Marw 127-128 only) RRR  
The name appears in the obverse margin, *mimma amara bihi / al-amir / al-kirmanī / bin 'ali*.
- 'Abd Allah b. Mu'awiya, at al-Rayy, fl. 127-129 / 744-747**
- B208\* AE fals, dated 127-129 only RRR
- 'Abd Allah b. Mu'awiya, at Istakhr, fl. 130 / 748**
- C208\* AE fals, struck at Istakhr, dated 130 RRR
- 'Abd al-Rahman b. Muslim (known as Abu Muslim) 127-136 / 744-754**
- 208 AE fals, dated 130-136 R  
Generally without mint name, but some extremely rare examples are known from Herat and Sijistan.<sup>110</sup>
- al-Dahhak b. Qays, Kharijite leader at al-Mawsil, fl. 128-130 / 746-748**
- A209\* AE fals, struck only at al-Mawsil, always undated R
- 'Imran b. Isma'il, fl. 136 / 754**
- B209\* AE fals, struck only at Sijistan in 136 RR  
Inscribed *sittin bi-dirham*, "sixty to the dirham", in the reverse field. Because the copper coins of 'Imran b. Isma'il and his successor, Sulayman b. 'Abd Allah were dated several years after the establishment of the 'Abbasid caliphate, they should not be considered issues of the 'Abbasid revolution. However, Sijistan was not incorporated into the new caliphate until after 140.
- Sulayman b. 'Abd Allah (al-Kindi), governor of Sijistan, 138-140 / 755-757**
- C209\* AE fals RR
- Anonymous, various types**
- M209 AE fals, Tawwaj, anonymous, dated 132 RRR
- 209 AE fals, anonymous, miscellaneous types, without mint name, sometimes dated RR

## 'ABBASID CALIPHATE

There is no general work on the 'Abbasid coinage. The various collection catalogs must be consulted, together with auction and fixed price catalogs since the 1970s. The only general treatment, now hopelessly outdated, is the following (in Russian):

Tiesenhausen, V., *Monety vostochnago khalifata*, St. Petersburg 1873 (reprinted, London 1989).

Lowick, Nicholas, *Early 'Abbasid Coinage: A Type Corpus 132-218 H / AD 750-833*, London, originally expected by 1996 after Lowick's death in 1986, but now indefinitely postponed. The edition prepared posthumously proved hopelessly flawed, and subsequent efforts to revive the project have failed. Several dozen official photocopies were given to museums and universities.

Bates, Michael L., *The 'Abbasid Coinage System, 833-946*, forthcoming. A major historical treatment of the nomenclature on 'Abbasid coinage of the designated period.

<sup>109</sup> The mint has been published as "Tanbuk" and "Baybird" (for Bayburt in Anatolia), but I believe the correct reading is Tanbarak, probably for one of the several Iranian fortresses known as Tabarak in later times (one is near Isfahan), perhaps for the same locale known in Parthian times as Tambrax.

<sup>110</sup> Herat 132 in private collection in Ohio, Sijistan 131 at Tübingen.

<sup>108</sup> Sotheby's, 27 May 1999, lot 148.

Standard 'Abbasid coinage is divided into four periods:

First period (early), 132-218 / 749-833, mostly anonymous.

Second period (middle), 218-279 / 833-892, usually rarer, especially silver.

Third period (late), 279-334 / 892-946.

(Interim period, 334-555 / 946-1160, virtually no coins.)

Fourth period (renewed caliphate), 555-656 / 1160-1258.

Copper coins are not listed by ruler, but by mint, with mints organized alphabetically within each of seven regions, from North Africa to Iran and Central Asia. A fair number of fulus bear the name of either the caliph or the caliphal heir apparent, but I have retained their listing by mint rather than by caliph. For further information, see the analysis at the beginning of the listing of 'Abbasid coppers.

For dinars, fractional dirhams and other Yemeni issues, see the 'Abbasid section under Arabian Peninsula (#1048-1064).

**First period** (132-218). All dinars of this period lack the mint name until 198 (and frequently thereafter, until all dinars bore the mint name, commencing in 214), but were often struck at several different mints. While a few dinars struck before 170 bear a symbols or letters that might indicate the actual mint, most do not, and it is likely that before 170 there was usually only one operating mint. From 170 onwards, most "mintless" dinars can be assigned to a specific mint by names or symbols placed in the obverse or reverse fields, or by the general layout of the legends. Until 206 all dinars bear the date (and the mint after 199<sup>111</sup>) on the reverse, as on all Umayyad dinars, but gradually between 206 and 214 all mints transferred the formula to the obverse, as had always been the case for Umayyad and 'Abbasid silver dirhams.

Until 145, all 'Abbasid dirhams bore a common design, but thereafter, there is increasing variation from mint to mint, and from year to year. Although most lack the name of the current caliph, many cite the caliphal heir, while others cite names of local or regional governors, viziers, or other officials. Isolated letters and other symbols increasingly appear, as do variations in the number and form of the enclosing circles on obverse & reverse, as well as the annulets in the obverse margin. From the mid-140s onwards, there is no longer a set inscription used everywhere in the caliphate; each mint or group of adjacent mints follows its own agenda.

Copper fulus were generally abundantly issued during this period, with each mint determining its own designs, weights, and sequence of types. By the termination of this period in 218, most regions had suppressed the use of copper coinage. Although a few types are readily available, the great majority are rare, as they are almost never found in hoards. Moreover, new types continue to be discovered, especially from Iran, the Caucasus and Central Asia, given that the survival rate of 'Abbasid copper was generally poor.

**Second period** (218-279). The gold and silver coinage was once again standardized, with each coin bearing the mint, date, and name of the caliph, sometimes the name of his presumed successor, rarely with any additional name. Except for some details and special marks or isolated letters, gold and silver coinage was uniform throughout the caliphate, save for some years during the tumultuous reign of al-Mu'tamid. With few exceptions (e.g., Bardha'a and Arminiya after the 250s), all dies were centrally produced, presumably at Madinat al-Salam (Baghdad) or Surra man Ra'a, and distributed to the regional mints, which grew from about 10 locations to more than 20 by the end of this period. Copper was largely abandoned during this period, though a few copper mints in Syria and the Jazira operated as late as the 250s. Continuous copper coinage throughout this period was maintained only in Cilicia (also in Central Asia, which was no longer under 'Abbasid control).

**Third period** (279-334). The silver and gold are similar to those of the second period, but with greater uniformity for all mints throughout the caliphate. There is some variation in the number of enclosing circles around the obverse & reverse fields, as well as the appearance of special symbols (control marks?), mainly at the capital city, Madinat al-Salam. Except for a few mints in Cilicia, there is no longer any 'Abbasid copper coinage.

**Interim period** (334-555). With the exception of a few rare gold issues, all coins of this period that bear only the name of the caliph are actually issues of local dynasties that are in effect "anonymous", citing the caliph only for the sake of legitimizing the political authority of the issuer. For convenience, these caliphs and their dates are listed following type #265.<sup>112</sup>

**Fourth period** (555-656). Gold was issued regularly throughout this period, silver from 633 onwards. There are a few coppers from 631 onwards. All bear the name of the caliph.

**Rarity:** As noted above, most dinars of the first period lack the mint name, though recent research has shown that there were multiple mints in operation, especially after 170, perhaps as early as the 140s. An initial analysis had been expected with the publication of the Lowick material, but this project is now in abeyance.

First period silver also comes from many mints, but the mint name is always cited, together with the date, in the obverse marginal inscription. For the earlier years, until 147, al-Basra and al-Kufa are the only common mints (some issues of al-Basra in the 160s are also common). From 148 onwards, the most common mints are Madinat al-Salam<sup>113</sup> (= Baghdad) and al-Muhammadiya (= Rayy, near Tehran), though some years are elusive. Also common during portions of the first period are al-'Abbasiya, Ifriqiya, Balkh, Ma'din al-Shash (189-190 only), Samarqand, Isbahan (the Arabicized form of the name Isfahan), Jayy (162 only), al-Rafiq and Zaranj.

The rarity of copper mints is indicated in the listings below. However, the mint rarity refers only to the most available issues of that mint; some types can be much rarer.

For the second and third periods, the most common dirham mint is consistently Madinat al-Salam. Other common mints are al-Basra, Surra man Ra'a (= Samarra), Shiraz, and Wasit. Somewhat scarcer, but still frequently obtainable, are al-Kufa, al-Mawsil, Nasibin, al-Rafiq, Isbahan, Fars, al-Ahwaz, and Suq al-Ahwaz; some additional mints are reasonably available for a few dates only. As for the gold of the second & third periods, Misr is generally the most common mint, but San'a (listed separately under the Yemeni issues of the 'Abbasids), Madinat al-Salam, al-Ahwaz, Suq al-Ahwaz, and Tustar min al-Ahwaz are also not rare, at least during some periods.<sup>114</sup> With the exception of a few issues of Cilicia and Dimashq, virtually all copper fulus of this period are very rare.

<sup>112</sup> There are a few truly 'Abbasid coins dated 334-555 that cite only the caliph, such as the rebellious issues of al-Muqtadi (#A266) and al-Mustazhir (#B266). Local issues bearing only the name of the caliph but otherwise anonymous are normally assigned to the actual issuer, such as the Qarakhanid vassal type #3434, the Ziyarid #1536.2 and the Ghaznavid #1615A, all in the sole name of the caliph al-Qadir.

<sup>113</sup> The Madinat al-Salam mint was first opened in 146, but issues of 146 and 147 are extremely rare. There had been an earlier attempt at establishing a central mint at al-Hashimiya in Iraq in 138, with dirhams known for several years thereafter, but this endeavor failed. Dirhams of al-Hashimiya are very rare, especially dates other than 138.

<sup>114</sup> Two massive hoards of 'Abbasid and other contemporary gold dinars of the third period began sprinkling into the market in 2005 and 2009, respectively. The first hoard included large numbers of dinars from mints previously regarded as extremely rare, especially Hamadan and Qumm, and to a lesser extent also al-Karaj, Qazwin, al-Muhammadiya and Mah al-Kufa. The terminal date of the first hoard is approximately 331, with the great majority of the hoard dating after 300. One might expect the hoard to have been thoroughly dispersed within three years, but more and more specimens continued to trickle slowly into the market in 2009, if not later. Because the size of the hoard remains elusive, prices have collapsed, especially for dinars of Hamadan and Qumm.

The 2009 hoard, terminating in 323, began to penetrate the market early in 2009. The most common mints are Mah al-Basra and al-Muhammadiya, but many coins of al-Karaj, Qumm, al-Ahwaz (and its related cities) and others were also present in the hoard. As of November 2010, at least 1000 pieces had appeared on the market. Once again, the full size of the hoard remains unknown, and prices have collapsed, especially the Mah al-Basra 322 dinar of the Ziyarid ruler Mardawij (#1530) and the anonymous 'Alid dinar of al-Muhammadiya 316 (#E1524).

<sup>111</sup> The dinar of Madinat al-Salam 198 bears the mint name below the obverse field, the date in the reverse margin.

In the fourth period, only the gold coins of Madinat al-Salam (after about 595), as well as the silver and copper of Madinat al-Salam and Irbil, can be considered common.

**Weight standards:** In the first period and much of the second, the gold dinar was struck to a standard of about 4.25g, the silver dirham to the canonical 2.97g or slightly lighter. Some scarce dirhams of al-Ma'mun were struck to a heavier standard of about 4.15g (type #223A), ostensibly derived from the pre-reform drachm of the Sasanian and Arab-Sasanian periods. During the last 25 years of the second period, the weight pattern for the dirham flattens out, i.e., the weight distribution curve ceases to show a clearly defined peak. Individual weights vary from less than 2.5 grams to more than 3.3 grams, with a slight peak around 3.0g, though by the end of the period (reign of al-Mu'tamid), even greater fluctuation has been observed. The distribution curve becomes even flatter in the third period, with weights ranging from about 1.5 to more than 6 grams, with an even less palpably defined peak. It is clear that by then dirhams were no longer counted, but weighed.

During the third period, gold dinars also ceased to adhere to a fixed standard, though dinar weights cluster primarily between 4.1 and 4.3g until after about 320, after which the spread rapidly widens, from less than 3g to more than 7g.<sup>115</sup> In fact, gold dinars had ceased to be "coins" in the traditional sense, but stamped ingots, a policy that would remain in effect throughout most of the Muslim world (except North Africa, Yemen and India) until the 9<sup>th</sup>/15<sup>th</sup> century. Fourth period gold is even more variable, with weights from 1.5 to well over 15 grams. In the fourth period, however, the restored silver dirham and the associated half dirham adhere rather strictly to a weight of about 2.8g for the full dirham, about 5% lighter than the canonical standard of 2.97g.

There are no standard weights to any of the 'Abbasid copper coinage. The extent of weight variations differs from mint to mint.

**Quality of manufacturing:** With the exception of the dirhams of al-'Abbasiya, Ifriqiya and Tughra, virtually all gold and silver coins of the first period are well-made. At first, quality control remains excellent into the second period, but then declines rapidly for the silver dirham after the death of al-Wathiq in 232/847. From the 240s to the 270s, poorly struck dirhams are the rule. Many are virtually flat on one side (usually the reverse), the result of having been struck with a thoroughly worn out die. There was some improvement in the dirham in the third period, particularly at Iraqi and some Iranian mints, whereas Syrian mint products remain unpleasantly crude. Fourth period dirhams are generally well struck, because production technology was likely derived from contemporary Ayyubid or Rum Seljuq mints.

Gold dinars generally retain decent quality until the end of the third period in 334/946. Modest weakness occasionally occurs, mainly at Iranian mints in the 240s to the 260s and after about 300. During the fourth period, dinars were at first extremely carelessly struck, though quality improved after the early 600s, but fully struck examples in the 600s, without any weakness, are rare.

As in the case of Umayyad copper, nicely preserved and carefully struck 'Abbasid *fulus* are exceptional. Most are poorly struck, worn, damaged or corroded.

**Forgeries, old and new:** A large hoard of at least 1000 base-metal contemporary forgeries of certain dates of 'Abbasid and Umayyad dirhams was found in Iran in the 1960s. Other groups have also been found. They are not rare.

Contemporary forgeries of Umayyad and early 'Abbasid gold dinars, so-called *subaeratae* or copper-core forgeries, are also not uncommon, and currently (2010) sell for about \$30-60 in average condition.

Modern forgeries are virtually unknown, except for a pot-metal cast of a common dirham of al-Rashid (Madinat al-Salam 187), allegedly produced in the 1950s or 1960s as an advertising gimmick for a European pharmaceutical company. See also the note to type #224.

Needless to say, the most sought after 'Abbasid mint is Makka (Mecca), where dinars and dirhams were occasionally struck from 201 until the 320s. All too often, an alleged Makka coin is actually a Misr coin where the name has been altered, an easily accomplished scam, given the similarity of *makka* and *misr* in the Kufic script. Once the coin has been artificially doctored, it may be fobbed off as the "real McCoy". Fortunately, original dies for the genuine dinars of Misr and Makka were engraved with sufficient difference that the altered coin can usually be quickly detected. Makka dinars from modern forgery dies are increasingly common, usually so far very easily distinguished from the authentic.

<sup>115</sup> For a dinar of al-Ahwaz 322 weighing 9.32g, see Morton & Eden auction 6, lot 188. Unusually heavy dirhams and dinars are sometimes incorrectly called "double dirhams" and "double dinars".

## 'ABBASID DIRHAM MINTS

The following table includes the confirmed 'Abbasid mints for silver, for each of the first three periods noted above, designated here as A, B, and C. When no information is given for the 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> period, then either the mint did not operate during that period or is extremely rare (RRR) for that period. The rarity is indicated for specific periods only if different from the general rarity. Date ranges do not mean that the mint struck dirhams in every year within that range. Because the 'Abbasid dirhams have never been completely catalogued, it should be assumed that the date ranges suggested here are incomplete.

Additional mints continue to be discovered, primarily temporary mints which struck special types presumably intended for donation, such as Jazirat al-Raghistan or al-Luwiyya.

A few mints listed here are much more common for gold coins, especially Misr, or for copper coins, e.g., Hims or Balad.

Abarshahr	R	A, 192-193 (later dates are Tahirid)
al-'Abbasiya	A	A, 148-175, then sporadically until 183 (then Aghlabid after 184)
Adharbayjan	R	A, 165-169 B, 282 (RRR)
al-Ahwaz	S	B, most years 255-279 C, nearly all years 279-328, then Buwayhid
Amid	S	C, 286-313 <sup>116</sup>
Andaraba	R	B, 263-269, then Banijurid
Antakiya	R	C, sporadically, circa 300-333
Ardabil	RRR	C, occasionally in the 310s
(Ard al-Khazar)	—	see #J1481
Ardashir Khurra	R	A, some years 134-136, 145-146
Arminiya	S	A, operated 142-218 with gaps, 161 & 162 are most common dates <sup>117</sup> B, occasional issues 241-279 C, some dates in the 280s (R), then Sajid
Arrajan	R	B, 271-275 C, 299-322, then Buwayhid
Arran	R	A, 143-220 with several gaps, mid to late 180s least rare <sup>118</sup>
'Askar Mukram	RRR	C, 299 only
Balad	RRR	C, 263 only
Balkh	C	A, 181-200 B, 263 (RRR)
Banjhir	RR	B, 260-264, 270, then Banijurid
Bardha 'a	RR	B, 277 C, 280s & few later, then Sajid
al-Basra	C	A, 132-148, then 160-168 (S), then sporadic issues 181-204 (R) B, 235-279 (S) C, 279-334 (C)
Bukhara	S	A, 193-196
Dimashq	R	A, 132-137, then 180s, then 198-218 (all RR) B, 222-279 (many gaps) C, 279-333 (some short gaps)
al-Dunaysir	RRR	B, 277 C, 293
(Dustar min al-Ahwaz)	—	(see Tustar min al-Ahwaz)
Fars	S	A, 201-210 (RR) B, most years 219-259, then 273-276 C, 298-299 <sup>119</sup>

<sup>116</sup> The first issue, of 286, is inscribed "in the year of its conquest" (from Byzantium), perhaps the earliest true commemorative Islamic coin (RR).

<sup>117</sup> Dirhams of Arminiya dated from the 170s to the 210s cite the names of one or two local officials.

<sup>118</sup> Dirhams of Arran dated from the 170s to the early 220s cite the names of one or two local officials, usually different from their Arminiya cohorts.

<sup>119</sup> The mint name was changed to Shiraz during 299 (q.v.). Coins of the Fars mint may have been struck at Shiraz (most likely) or at other mints in Fars province, such as Istakhr, the former capital.

Filastin	RR	B, known dated 263 (RRR) C, sporadically, 290s-333
Fustat Misr	RRR	A, 209 only
Halab	R	C, 280s-333, some gaps
Hamadan	R	B, known dated 260 (RRR) C, sporadic years, 280s-320s
Harran	R	C, sporadically 285-333
Harunabad	R	A, 168-169 only (in Arminiya)
al-Haruniya	S	A, 169-171 only (in Arminiya)
al-Hashimiya	RR	A, 138-141, possibly also 145
Herat	S	A, 192-200 B, known dated 270 (RRR)
Hims	RR	C, sporadically, 290s-333
Hulwan	RR	C, sporadically, 280s-321
Ifriqiya	S	A, 165-184, then Aghlabid, normally with the local governor
Irbil	RRR	C, circa 329 only (only scarce in the 4 <sup>th</sup> period)
Isbahan	C	A, 196-210 B, 219-279 with gaps (S), some years in 270s & 280s are Dulafid C, 279-322, then Buwayhid
Istakhr	RR	A, 138-140
Jannaba	R	B, 275 only (RR) C, 299-322, then Buwayhid
Jayy	C	A, 162, 170, 171, of which only 162 is common
Jazirat al-Raghistan	RRR	A, 183 only
Junday Sabur	R	A, 134-140s
Jurjan	RR	A, 187 & 194 only
Jund Dimashq	RRR	A, 200 <sup>120</sup>
Al-Kamiliya (unlocated)	RRR	A, 184 (Umm Ja'far, <i>i.e.</i> , Zubayda)
al-Karaj	RR	C, 292-318, with some gaps
Kirman	S	A, 165-170, 177-178 <sup>121</sup>
al-Kufa	C	A, 132-147, then a few odd dates, then again 197-206 (R) B, sporadically from 256 (R) C, 279-333, probably all dates (C)
al-Luwiyya	RRR	A, 181
al-Mada'in	RRR	A, 197-198
Ma'din Bajunays	R	A, most years 190-218, normally citing local officials
Ma'din al-Shash	C	A, 189-190, 218 (see also al-Shash)
Madinat al-Salam (Baghdad)	A	A, all years from 146 except 168, several are rare (from 167-169, the mint was transferred to Qasr al-Salam, <i>q.v.</i> ) B & C, all years, and C, all years (some years are rare, especially 146-147, 172-174, 176-178, 332)
Mah al-Basra	RR	C, sporadically 280s-320s
Mah al-Kufa	R	B, sporadically 238-260 C, sporadically 280s-320s
Makka (Mecca)	RRR	A, 201-203 C, sporadically 280s-310s
al-Ma'muniya Sur	RRR	A, probably 202 <sup>122</sup>
Manadhir	RRR	A, 134 only
Marw	S	A, 139, 184-186, 193-203, 212-218 B, most years 219-253
al-Ma'shuq	RRR	B, 271 (gold only)

al-Masisa	RR	C, occasional dates 280s-333
al-Mawsil	S	B, 260s & 270s (RR) C, 283-331, nearly all dates
Misr	R	A, 171, 175, 180-182, then sporadically 194-218 B, sporadically, 219-260s (Tulunid 265-292) C, 292-320s sporadically
al-Mubaraka (in Tunisia)	RR	A, 174-175, 179-180
al-Muwaffaqiya <sup>123</sup>	RRR	B, 268-270
al-Muhammadiya (= [al-]Rayy)	A	(named changed from Rayy in 148) A, most years 148-210, and 218 B, most years (S) C, continuously, but many dates are issues of other dynasties (R)
al-Mutawakkiliya	R	B, 247 only
Nahr Tira	RRR	A, 134 only
Na'in	RRR	C, a few dates, notably 315
Nasibin	S	B, many years 251-279 C, most years 279-331
Nishapur	S	A, 192-203 (then Tahirid, 206-210)
al-Qasr al-Fakhir	RR	C, 295-296 only
Qasr al-Salam	R	A, 167-169 only (brief alternative for Madinat al-Salam)
Qumm	RR	B, 245-248, 250 C, sporadically 280s-310s (gold more plentiful!)
al-Rafiq	S	A, 183, 188-193, then occasionally till 209 B, 256-279 (R) C, most years (S)
(Madinat al-Raghistan)	RRR	(alternative reading of Jazirat al-Raghistan, <i>q.v.</i> )
al-Rahba	RR	C, most years, 280s-320s
Ramhurmuz	RR	A, 134 only C, 285 & 311 only
al-Raqq	RR	A, 199 only
al-Raqq al-Mu'tazziya	RRR	C, 254 only
Ra's al-'Ayn	R	C, most years 283-323
al-Rayy	S	A, 145-148 (S), 179 (RR)
al-Ruyan	RRR	A, 174 only
Samarqand	C	A, 193-205 (then Tahirid till 210), 217-218 B, most years 219-279 (S, but R after 253) C, 280-281 (RR), then Samanid
San'a	—	see #1048 ff.
al-Shash	C	A, 184, 195, 218, perhaps others B, regularly 219-253 (S), then few later years (R) C, 280-281 (RR), then Samanid
Shiraz	C	B, 275 (R) C, 287-289, 299-322 (then Buwayhid)
Sijistan	R	A, 166-176, 191-193 C, 301-304 (RR)
Suq al-Ahwaz	S	A, 134-135 (RR) C, 292-328, then Buwayhid
Surra man Ra'a (= Samarra)	C	B, 224-279, most years (251 is notoriously common) C, 279-333, probably all years
Surraq	RRR	A, 134-135
al-Sus	RRR	A, 134 only

<sup>120</sup> Citing 'Umar b. (Hamad??), known from Islamic Coin Auction 13, lot 132.

<sup>121</sup> Examples assigned to years 197 and 198 are actually 177 and 178.

<sup>122</sup> Reported by Ariel Berman in March 2010. Cites Tahir & al-Harb.

<sup>123</sup> al-Muwaffaqiya was established by al-Muwaffaq, the brother of al-Mu'tamid, as a military base for the final military campaigns against the Zanj rebellions.

Tabaristan	R	A, 146-148 (RR), 175 (RRR), 190-194
Tabariya	RRR	C, very few dates, of which only 329 is occasionally offered
Tarsus	RR	C, occasional dates 280s-320s
Tiflis	RRR	C, a few dates, of which only 287 and 294 are occasionally seen
Tudgha	RR	A, 165-179, some gaps (only 165-166 seem to be truly 'Abbasid, the rest Idrisid or other local rulers)
Tustar min al-Ahwaz	R	C, 284-328 (some of 284-287 have alternative spelling <i>Dustar min al-Ahwaz</i> with initial <i>dal</i> )
Al-Urdunn	RRR	C, 297 & 327 only
al-Walila	RRR	A, reported for 173 but probably also other dates in the early 170s
Wasit	C	A, 200-202 (RRR) B, 254-279 C, 279-332
al-Yamama	R	A, 165-170 (the only 'Abbasid mint now in Saudi Arabia, aside from Makka)
Zaranj	C	A, 166, 176-205 (then Tahirid till 210) C, few years early 300s (RRR)

The common mints for gold dinars are indicated for each caliph. Other mints can be quite rare, but most no longer bring the huge premiums recorded at auction during the early 1980s and again in the mid-1990s. Giulio Bernardi's corpus of Islamic gold coins up to the demise of al-Mustakfi in 334/946 provides a wealth of information about gold coins of the 'Abbasids and their rivals up to that year.

For obvious reasons, dirhams and dinars of Makka (Mecca) command prices vastly higher than those of other mints of comparable rarity. **WARNING:** Beware of dinars of Misr on which the mint name *misr* been altered to *makka*. Genuine examples of Misr and Makka can usually be distinguished by style and calligraphy, even when the mint name is unclear.

### FIRST PERIOD

#### temp. al-Saffah, 132-136 / 749-754

(Abu'l-'Abbas 'Abd Allah, b. Muhammad)

No coins of al-Saffah actually bear his name or titles.

210 AV dinar, always without mint name S  
Year 132 is extremely rare, but all later years are only scarce.

211 AR dirham C  
Dirhams of al-Saffah adhere to a uniform type, maintained at all mints until 145 during the reign of his successor al-Mansur. The calligraphy is also uniform, except at the mint of Damascus (plus a few rare issues of al-Hashimiya), which retains the distinctive style of late Umayyad Damascus dirhams.

#### temp. al-Mansur, 136-158 / 754-775

(Abu Ja'far 'Abd Allah, b. Muhammad)

No gold or silver coins of al-Mansur bear his name or titles, but many cite his heir apparent al-Mahdi.

212 AV dinar, always without mint name C  
A most remarkable imitation of this type is dated 157 and was struck by the Anglo-Saxon king Offa (757-796) bearing the Latin legend *OFFA REX* added to the reverse field (British Museum, unique). All other European imitations (RR) lack a name.

213 AR dirham A  
After the year 145 there was no longer a uniform dirham type. Different mints began to produce distinctive types, some anonymous, some with the name of the reigning caliph (after this reign, beginning with issues of al-Mahdi in 159), some with the name of the heir apparent to the caliphate, a governor or other official. Uniform silver coinage was gradually restored over the years 206-218, during the reign of al-Ma'mun. 'Abbasid dirhams of the period 136-218 are often collected by variety of inscription, governor's name, mintmark, etc. Principal types for this reign:

213.1 — **Anonymous**, identical to type 211, but assigned to al-Mansur by date (A).<sup>124</sup> The common mints are al-Kufa and al-Basra until 147, and from 148 onwards, Madinat al-Salam.

213.2 — With name of heir **al-Mahdi Muhammad** (C), common from al-Rayy (145-148) and al-Muhammadiya (148-155).

213.3 — As #213.1, but with name of a **local governor** (S), found on coins of al-'Abbasiya (in modern Tunisia).

213.4 — As #213.2, but with name of a **local official** (R), found on coins of Arminiya & Arran (152-155).

#### temp. Ibrahim b. 'Abd Allah, rebel, 145 / 762-763

F214 AR dirham, al-Basra 145 only, anonymous RRR  
Readily distinguished from ordinary 'Abbasid dirhams of same mint & date by the legend *Allah ahad ahad* filling the reverse field.

#### al-Mahdi, 158-169 / 775-785

(Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad, b. al-Mansur)

214 AV dinar, always without the caliph's name C  
A few varieties have a symbol (crescent, three dots, etc.) below or above the reverse field, sometimes calligraphically distinctive, usually not rare. Some of these varieties may be from mints other than Madinat al-Salam, but this has never been proven. Some very stylistically different examples are contemporary imitations, probably European.

215 AR dirham A  
Principal types for this reign:

215.1 — Citing **al-khalifa al-mahdi** (A), most common from Madinat al-Salam and al-Muhammadiya, but dirhams of this type from Arminiya, al-Basra, Ifriqiya, Jayy and Kirman are frequently seen. Sometimes quoting a local official.<sup>125</sup>

215.2 — **Without name of caliph**, but with a **local governor**. From al-'Abbasiya, Ifriqiya and Tudgha, with the name of the governor Yazid (C).

215.3 — With **al-khalifa al-mahdi** plus **Harun** (the future al-Rashid) as son of the caliph, struck at Ifriqiya 165-169 and at both Harunabad & al-Haruniya 168-169 (S).

215.4 — With **al-khalifa al-mahdi** plus **Musa** (the future al-Hadi) as heir, struck at al-Basra 165-168 and al-Muhammadiya 167-168 (S).

A216 AE fals, countermarked *al-mahdi* on older coins R  
Found mainly on fulus of al-Basra & Madinat al-Salam. Ordinary fulus citing al-Mahdi are categorized under the mint.

#### al-Hadi, 169-170 / 785-786

(Abu Muhammad Musa, b. al-Mahdi)

216 AV dinar, anonymous and without mint name R  
Only the year 170 is traditionally assigned to al-Hadi.

217 AR dirham S

217.1 — Citing **al-khalifa musa** alone (R), of which Ifriqiya and al-Haruniya are least rare. Also Jayy & Kirman (RR).

217.2 — Citing **al-khalifa al-hadi** alone (S), of which only Madinat al-Salam and al-Muhammadiya are not rare.

217.3 — **Anonymous**, struck only at al-'Abbasiya and dated 170 (R) (coins of this type dated 169 are traditionally assigned to al-Mahdi).

217.4 — As #217.2 but also citing **Harun** as either *wali 'ahd al-muslimin* ("heir of the Muslims") (169 only) or *ibn amir al-mu'minin* ("son of the commander of the faithful") (170 only), mints of Ifriqiya (both years) and al-Haruniya (170 only) (RR).

217.5 — As #217.3 but also citing **al-Rashid** as either "heir of the Muslims" or "son of the commander of the faithful", mint of Ifriqiya (S) or al-Haruniya (R).

Only coins of al-Haruniya and al-'Abbasiya, all types, cite a local official, in full or abbreviated.

#### al-Rashid, 170-193 / 786-809

(Abu Ja'far Harun, b. al-Mahdi)

218 AV dinar, always without mint name C  
Principal types for this reign, indicating the mints where these types are believed to have been struck:

218.1 — With the name of the caliph **Harun** as *amir al-mu'minin*, 170-171 (two variants, both RRR, presumably struck only at Madinat al-Salam).

<sup>125</sup> Dirhams of this type struck at al-Basra in 160 cite the official Muhammad below the reverse field, written either horizontally (S) or vertically (RR).

<sup>124</sup> All coins of this type dated 136 are assigned to his predecessor al-Saffah.

- 218.2 — **Without name** or symbol (171-179, S, probably all years and all likely from Madinat al-Salam).
- 218.3 — With **second margin on reverse**, citing **al-Amin** as heir apparent (Madinat al-Salam, 179-187, C).
- 218.3A — **Without name** or symbol (187-189, S, presumably struck at Madinat al-Salam, or which 187 is RR).  
Identical to #218.2 except for date and calligraphy.
- 218.4 — Arabic **H** (ه) below reverse (188-193, C, assigned to Madinat al-Salam mint).
- 218.5 — Arabic **R** (ر) below reverse (assigned to al-Rafiqqa mint, 190-191, R).
- 218.6 — ‘**Ali** cited below reverse (Misr, 170-171, S).
- 218.6A — *Anonymous*, with only the letter ‘**ayn** (ع) above the reverse, dated 170 (Misr, RR)  
The letter ‘ayn is plausibly the first letter of the Egyptian governor ‘Ali, cited on #218.6.
- 218.7 — **Musa** cited below reverse (Misr, 171-172, 175, R).
- 218.7A — *Anonymous*, with only Arabic **M** (م) above the reverse, dated (Misr, 170-171, R).
- This type is now assigned to Musa, cited on #218.7.
- 218.8 — ‘**Umar** cited below reverse (Misr, 172-175, R).
- 218.9 — **Da’ud** cited below reverse (Misr, 174, RR).
- 218.10 — **Ibrahim** cited below reverse (Misr, 176, RR).
- 218.11 — **Ja’far** cited below reverse (Misr, 176-187, C).
- 218.12 — **Khalid** cited below reverse (Misr, 187, S).
- 218.13 — *Anonymous*, inscribed *li’l-khalifa* below reverse (Misr, 187-193, C).

Additional dates and minor varieties are reported for many subtypes of #218. Some are undoubtedly correct, but most are misreadings, cataloguer’s typos, careless attributions, as well as contemporary mulings, imitations or counterfeits.

## 219 AR dirham

Harun al-Rashid was the caliph about whom the *Thousand and One Nights* was composed, memorialized in Rimsky-Korsakov’s *Scheherazade*. Most of his dirhams lack his name!

The silver coinage of al-Rashid is extremely complex, consisting of three basic types: (1) Anonymous coins lacking the name of the caliph or his heir, #219.2-219.3. (2) Coins in the name of the caliph, either as Harun, al-Rashid or al-Mardi, #219.1, 219.4-219.8. (3) Coins in the name of one of his sons as heir, either al-Amin, #219.9, 219.12-219.13, or al-Ma’mun, #291.10-291.11, based on the caliph’s intention to divide the caliphate between his two sons after his death.

**NOTE:** The mints and dates listed for each subtype are not necessarily complete. The rarity indicators are underlined.

- 219.1 — Caliph with titular name **al-Mardi** (instead of al-Rashid, not to be confused with al-Mahdi) and title *al-khalifa* (al-Haruniya, 170 also with *harun*, 170-171 without *harun*, RR, also on a few extremely rare Madinat al-Salam dated between 175 and 178).
- 219.2 — *Anonymous*, *muhammad rasul Allah*, sometimes followed by *salla Allah ‘alayhi wa sallam*, **without governor** (Madinat al-Salam 187-193, A, al-Muhammadiya 188-193, A, al-Rafiqqa 188-193, S, and Tabaristan 190-193, R).
- 219.2a — *Anonymous*, as last but **with governor** or other official, struck 171-183 & 192-193, mainly at al-‘Abbasiya (171-176, C) and Ifriqiya (171-183, S), (also rare issues of al-Mubarakka 174-175, al-Walila 173, Misr 171, 175, 180, Arminiya 175-179, Kirman 177-178, and scarce issues of Balkh 192-193, Abarshahr 192-193, Herat 192-193, Bukhara 193 and Samarqand 193).  
(All coins of this type dated 170 are assigned to al-Hadi.)
- 219.3 — Similar, but with the Prophet Muhammad entitled *nabi* instead of *rasul* (Ifriqiya 176-184, R, and al-Mubarakka 179-180, RR).
- 219.4 — Caliph as *al-khalifa harun* (Ifriqiya 170-174 and Sijistan 170-176, both S, also al-Muhammadiya 171, probably R).
- 219.5 — Caliph as *al-khalifa al-rashid* (al-Muhammadiya 170-175 & Zaranj 176-193, both C, Madinat al-Salam 170 citing al-‘Ala, RR, plus a few extremely rare issues of Madinat al-Salam 178, al-Ruyan 174 and al-Haruniya 171).
- 219.6 — Caliph as ‘*abd Allah*, with title *amir al-mu’minin* (“commander of the believers”), with names & titles in reverse field (Balkh & Nishapur 193, R).
- 219.6a — Similar to #219.6, except that the names & titles occur in a **second marginal legend** on the reverse (inner margin,

sometimes highly condensed) instead of within the field, with title ‘*abd Allah Harun amir al-mu’minin* (Madinat al-Salam 170-178, S, of which only the years 170, 171 & 175 are often available, the others at least RR).

- 219.7 — Caliph as *al-khalifa harun and amir al-mu’minin*, with governor (Arran 183-193, R, plus extremely rare issues of Jajay 171 and Tabaristan 175).
- 219.8 — Caliph as *al-khalifa al-rashid*, together with his son Muhammad cited as *ibn amir al-mu’minin* (struck at al-Muhammadiya 171-173, S, and Arminiya 171-172, RRR).
- 219.9 — Without caliph, citing only **al-Amin Muhammad** as *ibn amir al-mu’minin* (Madinat al-Salam 179-186 and al-Muhammadiya 180-187<sup>126</sup>, both A; also Misr 181-182, Ma’din Bajunays 190-192, al-Basra 181-185, al-Kufa 179-180, Jajay 187, and Marw 184-186, all rare except Marw, which is slightly scarce).  
Type #219.9 dirhams of al-Muhammadiya & Madinat al-Salam cite the vizier Ja’far (b. Yahya al-Barmaki), as do some examples of the uncertain mint “al-Muhammadiya” of type #219.9b.
- 219.9a — Without caliph, citing only **al-Amin** and/or **Muhammad** as *wali ‘ahd al-muslimin*, normally with local official (“al-Muhammadiya”<sup>127</sup> 176-181, also 184, 186, 193, various subtypes, RR, and Arminiya, most years 179-193, R).
- 219.9b — Without caliph, citing **al-Amin Muhammad** as *ibn amir al-mu’minin and wali ‘ahd al-muslimin* (“al-Muhammadiya”<sup>128</sup>, some dates 176-193 (R) & Balkh 181-186, both C).
- 219.9c — As 219.9b but with name of governor **Muhammad b. Yahya** included in obverse mint/date legend (al-Rayy 179 only, RR).
- 219.9d — Without caliph, citing **Muhammad** with no further titles except *ibn amir al-mu’minin* (al-Muhammadiya 174-176, RR).
- 219.10 — Without caliph, citing **al-Ma’mun ‘Abd Allah** as *ibn amir al-mu’minin* (Misr 185-188, Dimashq 185-189, and Arminiya 175, all RR).
- 219.11 — Without caliph, citing **al-Ma’mun ‘Abd Allah** as *ibn amir al-mu’minin and wali wali ‘ahd al-muslimin*, i.e., as second heir to the caliphate (Balkh 185-190 and Ma’din al-Shash 189-190, both C, also extremely rare issues of al-Rafiqqa 183 and Marw 186).
- 219.12 — As 219.9, citing al-Amin Muhammad, but with name of the governor **Muhammad b. Yahya** following *fi wilayat* in reverse field (al-Muhammadiya 180, R).
- 219.13 — As 219.9 (citing Muhammad al-Amin) but citing the vizier **Ja’far b. Yahya** following *fi wilayat* in reverse field (Dimashq 181, RRR).

(Former #219A, the Tabaristan style ½ dirham of Rayy 168 with the name Nusayr is now listed under Tabaristan as #L73.)

## 219E AR dirham, North African imitation of Madinat al-Salam or al-Muhammadiya

The most common variety is based on type #219.9 of Madinat al-Salam, dated 180 but likely struck around the 190s. Specimens from the recent hoard weighed about 2.85g on the average, but individual examples varied from 2.58g to 3.47g.

**‘Ubayd Allah (b. al-Mahdi),  
as governor of Armenia, 172-175 / 788-791**

## 219G AR dirham, in his sole name, struck at Arminiya 172-175

The name ‘Ubayd Allah is cited in the reverse field as though he were heir to the caliphate, though historic evidence suggests that he never claimed any position beyond the governorship of Armenia.

<sup>126</sup> Non-standard issues of “al-Muhammadiya” following this type were struck various years 176-193 (R). See footnote #127.

<sup>127</sup> All “al-Muhammadiya” dirhams of this type vary from the standard issues, usually with a name above or below the reverse margin, often both. Bates has tentatively assigned all these special types to the region of Armenia. A thorough investigation of al-Rashid’s dirhams bearing the mint name *al-muhammadiya* is essential.

<sup>128</sup> See footnote #127.



- ‘Ali b. ‘Isa, as client under the caliph,  
fl. 183-190 / 799-806**
- 219H AR dirham, in his sole name RR  
Struck at Balkh and Ma’din al-Shash in 190, and Arran 183.  
Neither the caliph nor any of his potential heirs are cited.
- Zubayda, wife of al-Rashid, fl. 181-196 / 797-812**  
Died in 216/831.
- 219I AR dirham, struck at Jazirat al-Raghistan in 183  
only, in her name RRR  
The “island” (*jazira*) of Raghistan was perhaps located near Baghdad. The coin cites Zubayda as the mother of the heir apparent (*umm wali al-‘ahd*), who could only have been al-Amin, as al-Amin’s brother al-Ma’mun was her stepson.<sup>129</sup>
- 219J AR dirham, struck at *al-hada’iq dhat bahjat*  
 (“the glorious gardens”) in 185 only RRR  
An unusual donative dirham, citing only Zubayda as *umm wali ‘ahd al-muslimin* (“mother of the heir to the Muslims”) followed by a reference to Yasir (unknown?). The obverse and reverse fields contain Qur’an 15:46-48, divided at the middle of 15:47, which refers to two brothers facing each other on thrones, positing peace and alliance between her own son, al-Amin, and his half brother, al-Ma’mun. The “mint” location is unknown, but Cécile Bresc suggested either somewhere in the Caucasus or along the highway between al-Kufa and al-Basra.<sup>130</sup>
- 219L AR dirham, struck at al-Luwiyya 181, in her name as  
*umm ja’far* RRR  
Umm Ja’far is cited in the reverse margin as mother of the heir-apparent to the caliphate (Zeno-18199). Medieval Arab geographers located al-Luwiyya about 24 miles north of Mecca along the pilgrim road from al-Kufa. Qur’an 20:8 and 59:24 on the obverse, the beginning of 48:29 on the reverse.
- 219M AR dirham, al-Dayr 184, in her name *umm ja’far*  
and her assistant Yasir, Qur’an 5:56 on reverse RRR  
The word *al-dayr* means “monastery” and was used for Christian facilities. Yahya Ja’far, who published this coin in the *ONS Newsletter* 204, p.6-7, suggests the locale al-Dayr al-Rumman, “the monastery of the pomegranate,” along the Euphrates River between Baghdad & al-Raqq, through which al-Rashid and Umm Ja’far passed in 184. The city is now Deir oz-Zor, a petroleum center with a population of more than 240,000.
- 219S AR dirham, struck at Ma’din Bajunays in 196, where  
she is cited without her name, but as *al-sayyida*  
*umm al-khalifa*, in the reverse field RRR  
Her son, the caliph al-Amin, is also cited in the reverse field.  
Some additional dirhams also cite a reference to Zubayda, such as type #219.9 struck at Ma’dan Bajunays and several interesting examples struck at al-Muhammadiya.<sup>131</sup>
- al-Natiq Musa (b. al-Amin), recognized as heir  
to the caliphate at Damascus in 194 / 810-811**
- A220 AR dirham RRR  
Struck at Dimashq in 194, with inscription *mimma amara bihi al-amir al-natiq bi’l-haqq musa bin amir al-mu’minin*.
- al-Amin Muhammad, 193-198 / 809-813**  
(Abu Musa, b. al-Rashid)
- 220 AV dinar, always without mint name C  
Principal types for this reign, indicating the mints where these types are believed to have been struck:
- 220.1 — *Anonymous*, *li’l-khalifa* below reverse (Misr, 194, S).  
220.2 — Citing **al-Amin** below and *li’l-khalifa* above reverse (Misr, 195, S).  
220.3 — As #220.2 but name **al-‘Abbas** added to obverse (Misr, 195 only, RRR).  
220.4 — *Anonymous*, **rabbi Allah** above reverse (Madinat al-Salam, 193-194, S).
- 220.5 — Citing **al-‘Abbas** below and with **rabbi Allah** above obverse (Madinat al-Salam, 194-196, S).  
220.6 — Citing **al-Amin** with **rabbi Allah** above obverse (Madinat al-Salam, 197, RR).  
220.7 — *Anonymous*, **no names** or extra legends (Iraq, mint undetermined, 197-198, RR).<sup>132</sup>
- Additional dates and minor varieties are reported for many subtypes of #220. See note to #218.
- 221 AR dirham C  
The attribution of coinage to al-Amin has long been controversial. There are three basic series: (1) *Anonymous*, inscribed only *muhammad rasul Allah*, almost always with **rabbi Allah** above. (2) With the name of al-Amin, entitled either as *al-khalifa* or as *amir al-mu’minin*. (3) Without the name of al-Amin, but citing his brother and heir, al-Ma’mun, as heir to the believers (*wali ‘ahd al-muslimin*) and as son of the commander of the faithful (*ibn amir al-mu’minin*), either as *al-amir* (#221.4) or as *al-imam* (#221.5). Coins citing al-Ma’mun as *al-imam* but as *amir al-mu’minin* rather than as *ibn amir al-mu’minin* are assigned to al-Ma’mun himself. While it might seem extraordinarily perplexing that al-Ma’mun could have been the Imam but not the caliph, *i.e.*, son of the commander of the faithful, the terms Imam and caliph are not interchangeable in Islamic tradition.  
Principal types for this reign:
- 221.1 — *Anonymous*, **rabbi Allah** above just *muhammad rasul Allah* (Madinat al-Salam and al-Muhammadiya, 193-194, C, also Tabaristan 193, RR).  
221.2 — As #221.1, but with the name **al-Amin** added below the reverse field (Madinat al-Salam 198 only, RRR).  
221.3 — Citing the caliph **al-Amin** as *al-khalifa* only, struck only at Madinat al-Salam in 197 (RRR).  
221.3a — Citing the caliph **al-Amin** as *amir al-mu’minin*, struck at Madinat al-Salam 194-196 (C) also naming the vizier **al-‘Abbas**, plus some extremely rare examples of Arran 194 and Arminiya 195, both citing local governors.  
The issues of Madinat al-Salam also include the additional title *‘abd Allah*, “servant of God”, an epithet referring to al-Amin, not the personal name of his brother al-Ma’mun.  
221.3b — Citing the caliph **al-Amin** as *both al-khalifa and amir al-mu’minin*, struck at al-Muhammadiya 194-195 (without governor, R), and at Arminiya & Ma’din Bajunays, both dated 194-195 (with governor, RR).  
221.4 — Without the caliph, citing his brother **al-Ma’mun** as *both wali ‘ahd al-muslimin* and as *ibn amir al-mu’minin*, with the title *al-amir*, struck at eastern mints only, most commonly al-Muhammadiya 194-195, Balkh 193-195, Herat 193-195, Marw 193-195, Nishapur 193-195, Bukhara 193-194 and Samarqand 193-195 (all S), as well as very rare issues of Tabaristan 194 and Zaranj 193-197.  
221.5 — As #221.4 citing **al-Ma’mun** with the title *al-imam and ibn amir al-mu’minin*, from al-Muhammadiya 195, Balkh 195, Herat 195, Samarqand 194-195 and Bukhara 194-195 (all S) (formerly assigned to al-Ma’mun as #223.1).<sup>133</sup>  
221.5a — As #221.5 but the name of the chief general **Tahir b. al-Husayn** (subsequently founder of the Tahirid dynasty) cited in an additional outer marginal inscription on the obverse (al-Muhammadiya 195, R).  
**NOTE:** Most issues of #221.4 dated 193 lack a secondary name, whereas most of type #221.4 dated 194-197, most of #221.5 and all of #221.5a include the name of the vizier al-Fadl (b. al-Rabi’), sometimes with the personal name of a local governor.<sup>134</sup>

<sup>129</sup> ICA 10, lot 73.

<sup>130</sup> Spink, sale 5003, lot 337, with historical analysis by Cécile Bresc.

<sup>131</sup> For Zubayda’s other coins, struck 184-195, see Samir Shamma’s article in *Yarmuk Numismatics*, v.3 (1991). The dirhams of al-Luwiyya 181, Ma’din Bajunays 196 and several others are illustrated in Zeno under *Abbasid > Umm Ja’far Zubayda*.

<sup>132</sup> This type might be the same as #222.14A of al-Ma’mun, but they are listed by Bernardi as separate types. Further research needed.

<sup>133</sup> On this type, al-Ma’mun has taken the title of Imam but not yet the formal title of caliph (*amir al-mu’minin*), as though he was formally recognizing his brother al-Amin as caliph. These were nonetheless struck only in areas ruled by al-Ma’mun.

<sup>134</sup> Strictly speaking, types #221.4 and 221.5 are issues of al-Ma’mun before he rejected al-Amin as caliph in the west. The distinction is in the title: on #221.4 al-Ma’mun is both heir to the believers and *son* of the caliph (*i.e.*, of the deceased al-Rashid), on #221.5 both Imam and *son* of the caliph, whereas on later issues he is cited as caliph himself, either as *al-khalifa* or as *amir al-mu’minin*.

**al-Ma'mun 'Abd Allah, 194-218 / 810-833**  
**(Abu Ja'far, b. al-Rashid)**

**222 AV dinar, single obverse margin, with or without mint name**

All examples are dated, always in the *reverse* margin, with the mint name Misr added on some examples of subtypes 222.5, 222.6, 222.7 and 222.9 (mostly common). The only other example bearing a mint name is subtype 222.12 dated 198 inscribed Madinat al-Salam below the *obverse* field (RR).

Principal types for this reign.

222.1 — *Anonymous*, *li'l-khalifa al-imam* on reverse (Misr, 196, S), without any governor or other official.

222.2 — Citing al-Ma'mun & 'Abbad (Misr, 196-198, S).

222.3 — Citing al-Ma'mun & al-'Abbas (Misr, 198, R).

'Abbad and al-'Abbas were two separate individuals, not a spelling error!

222.4 — Citing al-Ma'mun & al-Muttalib (Misr, 198, S).

222.5 — Citing **Dhu'l-Ri'asatayn, al-Muttalib & al-Fadl** (Misr, 198-199, S).

222.6 — Citing **Dhu'l-Ri'asatayn, Sulayman & al-Fadl** (Misr, 200-201, S).

222.6T — Citing al-Ma'mun as 'Abd Allah in inner reverse margin, **Tahir** in reverse field (unknown mint, 198, RR)

222.7 — Citing the governor **al-Sari**, usually with **Tahir & Dhu'l-Ri'asatayn**, several variants (Misr 200-206, C).<sup>135</sup>

222.8 — Citing **Muhammad b. al-Sari** (Misr, 205-206, R).

222.9 — Citing **'Ubayd Allah b. al-Sari** (Misr, 206-211, S).

222.10 — Citing **'Abd Allah b. Tahir** (Misr, 211, RRR).

222.11 — Inscribed *li'l-khalifa al-Ma'mun*, no governor (Misr, 212-215, S).

222.12 — Citing *only Dhu'l-Ri'asatayn* (Madinat al-Salam, 198-204, S). Some pieces bear the location *al-'iraq* beneath the obverse field.

222.13 — Citing **al-Hasan and Dhu'l-Ri'asatayn** (uncertain mint in Iraq, perhaps Wasit, 200-202, S).

222.14 — **Without any name** at all, **single** obverse margin (Madinat al-Salam, 204-208, 217, R).

222.14A — **Without any name** at all, similar, but struck at unknown location (197-199, R).

(222.15 — *Relisted as #222A.1*)

Similar dinars citing Muhammad, 'Abd Allah, al-Ifriqi or Ahmad are of Yemeni origin and are listed as varieties of type #A1050.

A few additional subtypes of #222 are reported, all extremely rare. Additional date, minor varieties, and alleged types have also been reported (see note to type #218).

**222A.1 AV dinar, with double obverse margin, date in the inner margin, without mint name**

Known dated 206-210, also without mint name but probably struck only at Madinat al-Salam. Formerly type #222.15.

**222A.2 AV dinar, similar, but with mint name added before the date**

As #222.15, but with mint name, Misr and Madinat al-Salam, 214-218 (S), also Marw 215 (RRR), always without the name of governor or other official. Similar coins of San'a dated 215-217 are listed as #B1050.

Some Misr 214 dinars cite Abu Ishaq (the future caliph al-Mu'tasim) below the reverse (RR), some of Misr 214-215 cite the caliph al-Ma'mun below reverse (R).

**223 AR dirham, standard denomination (about 2.97g)**

The coins of al-Ma'mun are rather simpler to understand than those of his brother al-Amin. Again, there are three basic series:

(1) Anonymous, inscribed *only muhammad rasul Allah*, often with name of a governor or other official. (2) In his name al-Ma'mun, with one or more of the titles *al-khalifa, al-imam, khalifat Allah*, or his personal name *'abd Allah*, usually with the additional title *amir al-mu'minin*, often with a vizier, governor or other official. (3) In his name al-Ma'mun, with the title *khalifat Allah*, and citing al-Rida' as heir apparent (type #224). However, coins in his name with the titles of *al-amir, wali 'ahd* or *ibn amir al-mu'minin* are issues of either his father al-Rashid or his brother al-Amin, as explained under #219 and #221.

<sup>135</sup> Dinars of al-Sari without Dhu'l-Ri'asatayn are inscribed *al-maghrif* ("the west") below the obverse field.

A new and usually anonymous reform type, with double marginal legend on obverse, was introduced in 206 for both gold and silver (#222A & 223.6). It was gradually extended to all mints during the following decade. The reverse of this type bears only the legend *muhammad / rasul / Allah* in 3 lines.<sup>136</sup>

(#223.1 and 223.1a have been reassigned to al-Amin, now #221.5 and 221.5a, respectively)

223.2 — Citing the caliph **al-Ma'mun** as *al-imam* only, with no additional titles, struck at Fustat Misr 204 (RRR), Misr 199 (RRR), and the eastern mints Balkh 195-196, Herat 195-196, Marw 195, Nishapur 195, Bukhara 195-196, Samarqand 195 (S to R).

223.3 — Citing the caliph **al-Ma'mun** as *al-imam and amir al-mu'minin* (without *ibn*), at Madinat al-Salam 200 (C), Bukhara 196 (R), and Samarqand 195-198 (C).

223.3a — Citing the caliph **al-Ma'mun** as *'abd Allah and amir al-mu'minin*, together with the name of **Tahir b. al-Husayn** added in obverse margin, al-Muhammadiya 195-196 (R). A variant has just the name **Tahir** below reverse field, without the patronymic, 195 only (R).

223.7 — Citing the caliph **al-Ma'mun** as *al-khalifa*, struck at Misr 205, 209-210, 214-215, Fustat Misr 204, Madinat al-Salam 204 with *haqqa* (S), Madinat al-Salam 204 with *humayd* (S), and al-Muhammadiya 204 (R). Those of Misr & Fustat are at least RR.

223.8 — Citing the caliph **al-Ma'mun** as *al-imam and amir al-mu'minin* and *'abd Allah*,<sup>137</sup> struck at Arran 196-197, 209-217, Ma'din Bajunays 210, al-Mada'in 197-198, Ma'din al-Shash 195 and al-Shash 195 (all RR), usually citing one or two local officials at Arran and Ma'din Bajunays.

223.8a — As #223.8 but name of **Muhammad b. Bayhas** added (Dimashq only, 198-209, RR) (was #223.3B).

223.9 — Citing the caliph **al-Ma'mun** as *khalifat Allah*, struck only at Samarqand in 210 (RR?).

223.4 — *Anonymous*, just *muhammad rasul Allah* in reverse field, often with name of governor or other official on the reverse, **single margin** on obverse (also citing the vizier Dhu'l-Ri'asatayn on most issues dated 198-205). Struck at Misr 199, 200, 212-213, Fustat Misr 201-202, Makka 201-202, Dimashq 212-213, al-Rafiqqa 199-200, al-Raqqqa 199, Armīniya 202-207, 217-218, Arran 215-218, Ma'din Bajunays many years 199-217, al-Basra 198-204, al-Kufa 199-204, Madinat al-Salam\* 198-203, al-Muhammadiya\* 196-201 & 204-205, Wasit 200, 203, Isbahan\* 196-202, Balkh\*\* 196-199, Herat\*\* 196-199, Marw 197-198, Nishapur\* 195-203, Zaranj 199-205, Bukhara 196, Samarqand\* 196-206.

Mints marked with (\*) are *common*, (\*\*) are *scarce*, all others much rarer.

223.4b — *Similar*, no name and *haqqa* below reverse, Madinat al-Salam 203 (S).

223.4c — *Similar*, but with the name **Humayd** below reverse, referring to his military commander Humayd b. 'Abd al-Hamid al-Tusi, Madinat al-Salam 203 (R).

223.5 — *Anonymous*, as #223.4 but with **double margin** on obverse, **old style calligraphy**, al-Rafiqqa 208-209 (RR), al-Kufa 204-206 (RR), Madinat al-Salam 204-206 (C), Isbahan 201-210 (C), al-Muhammadiya 206-208 (C), Fars 201-202, 207-210 (R), and Marw 198-202 (S). The outer obverse margin contains Qur'an Verse 30:3-4.<sup>138</sup>

223.6 — *Anonymous*, similar to 223.5 but **revised calligraphy** (larger letters, with tall letters only slightly taller than short letters), Misr 215-218 (R), Dimashq 214-216 (RR), Madinat al-Salam 206-218 (C, but some dates very rare, especially 211 & 212), al-Muhammadiya 218 (R), Marw 212-219 (R),

<sup>136</sup> This reform has recently been studied by Tayeb el-Hibri, "Coinage reform under the 'Abbasid caliph al-Ma'mun," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, v. 36, 1993, pp. 58-83.

Note that on the reform dinars, mint & date were transferred from the reverse to the obverse margin, whereas silver dirhams had always posted mint & date in the obverse margin.

<sup>137</sup> On dirhams of Arran dated 209 and later, al-Ma'mun bears the title *'abd Allah twice*, once as his personal name, then as an honorary title meaning "servant of God".

<sup>138</sup> It is likely that some or all of Fars 201-202 and Marw 198-202 listed under this type are actually the heavy dirhams of type #223A, published without indication of their weight.

Samarqand 217-218 (S), al-Shash or Ma'din al-Shash 217-218 (S).<sup>139</sup>

There are a few additional types of al-Ma'mun's dirhams, all of them extremely rare.

The title *dhu'l-ri'asatayn*, "possessor of two commands", refers to the vizier al-Fadl b. Sahl al-Sarakhsi, who was in charge of both the civilian and military administrations.

During this reign, especially on dirham subtypes #223.4 and 223.5, and on most dinar subtypes, the term *lillah* ("for God") was added atop the reverse margin. This term was retained on most 'Abbasid dirhams and dinars thereafter, and on many issues of subsequent independent dynasties.<sup>140</sup> It had already appeared on a very few issues of al-Amin in 193-194.

223A AR dirham, heavy weight (about 4.15g), struck at Fars & Marw circa 199-203 R

223H AR ½ dirham, anonymous, known only from al-Muhammadiya 209, as type #223.4 RRR

224 AR dirham, naming al-Rida as heir (202-205 / 817-820), with Qur'an 30:3-4 in obverse margin<sup>141</sup> R

'Ali b. Musa al-Rida, Imam of the Shi'ite faction, was named heir to the caliphate as part of a failed attempt to reconcile the Sunni and Shi'ite branches of Islam. Struck at Isbahan 202-205, al-Muhammadiya 202-204, Fars 203-204, Marw 202, Nishapur 203, and Samarqand 202-203. All but one variant of Samarqand 202 (RR) also cite the vizier *Dhu'l-Ri'asatayn*.

Issues dated 204-205 were struck after al-Rida's death in 203.

224A AR dirham naming al-Rida, but with annulets instead of Qur'an 30:3-4 in outer obverse margin RRR

Struck only at al-Muhammadiya in 204, sometimes without al-Rida's personal name *'ali bin musa*.

#### Abu'l-Saraya al-Shaybani, in rebellion, 199-200 / January-September 815

A225 AR dirham, in the name of *al-asfar al-fatimi*, al-Kufa 199 only RR

#### temp. Ibrahim (b. al-Mahdi), rival caliph at Baghdad, Muharram 202-Dhu'l-Hijja 203 / 817-819

E225 AR dirham, anonymous R

Struck only at Madinat al-Salam in 202, distinguished from ordinary coins of al-Ma'mun by the letters *alif* and *ha* (s) below the reverse field. Ibrahim was briefly declared caliph at Baghdad while al-Ma'mun was still residing in Marw. He was not the same Ibrahim who struck coins at San'a in 200 (type #A1051).

### SECOND PERIOD

Rispling, Gert, *Islamic Coins, 218-279 H*. Unpublished computer inventory, 1993. Printed out copies can be found at some museums & universities.

*Coins of al-Mu'tasim commence in the year 219. With the exception of a few very rare anonymous donatives, coins of the second period invariably bear the name of the caliph, a feature which characterizes all subsequent 'Abbasid coinage in gold and silver. The maintenance of a uniform type throughout the caliphate, with a few exceptions, was retained throughout the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> periods, until the political demise of the 'Abbasids in 334/946.*

From the time of al-Mutawakkil onwards, many 'Abbasid coins bear the name of the proposed heir to the caliphate, more rarely the name of a vizier or chief amir. These are indicated below (with subtype numbers, e.g., 230.1, 230.2, 230.3, etc.) together with an indication of rarity.

<sup>139</sup> The dividing dates between 223.5 and 223.6 given here are only estimates, due to lack of accurately published material.

<sup>140</sup> Following our own Civil War, in 1866 the United States added the phrase *In God we Trust* to its coinage, which has been maintained ever since.

<sup>141</sup> There is a remarkable "forgery" of this type, bearing the mint name Samarqand and the date 202, on reduced silver planchets of about two grams. This was first published by George Miles in 1950, in the *ANS Museum Notes*, volume 18, who explained that "I do not believe the coin is a counterfeit—at least, if it is a counterfeit, it is a contemporary one..." He was apparently unaware of examples dated AH1318. These were made in Mashhad in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, as souvenir tokens for visitors to the holy shrine of 'Ali b. Musa al-Rida! I purchased one in Mashhad in 1965, dated 1318.

Coins of al-Mu'tasim, al-Wathiq, al-Muntasir, al-Muhtadi, and al-Mu'tadid are all of uniform type and all lack the heir (with a few very rare exceptions).

'Abbasid coins of the San'a mint in the Yemen are listed under the Yemeni coinage. They are more or less identical in type to the normal 'Abbasid issues (types #1051 ff.), but usually follow a different weight standard, both silver and gold.

#### al-Mu'tasim (billah), 218-227 / 833-842 (Abu Ishaq Muhammad, b. al-Rashid)

225 AV dinar S

Common mints: Madinat al-Salam, Misr.

The first eastern gold coinage commenced at Marw in 225 (RR).

Z226 AR dirham, anonymous, dated 219 only RR

The caliph al-Ma'mun died on 19 Rajab 218, and al-Mu'tasim was installed the same day. Since Rajab was the 7<sup>th</sup> month of the year, it seems logical that anonymous dirhams of type #223.6 dated 218 were struck both under al-Ma'mun and al-Mu'tasim during 218, whereas those dated 219 could only have been struck under al-Mu'tasim. This suggests that al-Mu'tasim's reform – placing his name on all gold and silver coins – did not occur until shortly after the beginning of 219.

226 AR dirham, in his name, struck 219-227 S

An extremely rare dirham of Arran 220 cites a local governor, the last occurrence in regular 'Abbasid coinage.

#### al-Wathiq (billah), 227-232 / 842-847 (Abu Ja'far Harun, b. al-Mu'tasim)

227 AV dinar S

Most common mints: Madinat al-Salam, Misr.

228 AR dirham S

**WARNING:** Purported fractional dinars and dirhams in the name of al-Wathiq are crudely produced modern forgeries, first seen about 1993. These were marketed together with the jewelry fakes noted under type #136.

#### al-Mutawakkil (bi-amr Allah), 232-247 / 847-861 (Abu'l-Fadl Ja'far, b. al-Mu'tasim)

T229 AV double dinar (about 8.4g), type as #229M, known only from Surra man Ra'a 245 RRR

229 AV dinar C

Common mints: Madinat al-Salam, Misr; al-Basra and Marw are scarce.

Coins of al-Mutawakkil dated after 235 normally bear the name of the prospective heir, as follows:

229.1 — Without heir (dated 233-235) (R).

229.2 — With heir cited as Abu 'Abd Allah (236-240) (S).

229.3 — With same heir designated by his future caliphal title al-Mu'tazz (240-247) (C).

229.4 — As #229.3 but struck on thick narrow flans, dated 247 only (for general circulation, not as a donative) (RR).

229M AV donative style dinar, known from al-Shash 236<sup>142</sup>, Madinat al-Salam (several years between 238 and 246), and Surra man Ra'a (242-246) RRR

The donative dinar is distinguished from the normal dinar by its broad blank outer margin on both sides.

230 AR dirham S

230.1 — Without heir (233-235) (S).

230.2 — With heir cited as Abu 'Abd Allah (236-240) (S).

230.3 — With same heir cited as al-Mu'tazz (240-247) (S) (normal flan).

230.4 — As #230.3 but struck on thick narrow flans, dated 247 only (for general circulation, not as a donative) (S).<sup>143</sup>

<sup>142</sup> Sotheby's, 15 November 1984, lot 334.

<sup>143</sup> It seems logical that the introduction of thick narrow planchets in 247 was an attempt to mimic the planchets of the contemporary silver coinage of the Hindushahis in the Kabul region. The Hindushahi silver coins were carefully struck and circulated for lengthy periods without damage. Most 'Abbasid mints reverted to the broad thin planchets in 248, after the accession of al-Musta'in, though the narrow planchets were retained at Surra man Ra'a until 251, and at the far eastern mints of Banjhir and Andaraba until about 280 for both 'Abbasid and subsequent Banijurid issues. When the mints of

230C	AR double dirham (about 6.0g), donative style, broad thin flan, Surra man Ra'a 242 only <sup>144</sup>	RRR	<b>al-Mu'tamid ('ala Allah), 256-279 / 870-892</b> <b>(Abu'l-'Abbas Ahmad, b. al-Mutawakkil)</b>
230A	AR dirham, donative style, thick narrow flan, struck from special dies intended only for this series, various dated between 233 and 246 Struck principally at Surra man Ra'a. This style was adopted for the standard circulating silver coinage in 247 (type #230.4).	R	The 'Abbasid caliphate reached its nadir during this tumultuous reign. 'Abbasid territories were lost to emerging dynasties, such as the Tulunids, Saffarids, Samanids, etc.
230B	AR dirham, donative style, broad thin flan, struck with wide blank outer margins from normal style dies, but of superior calligraphy The donatives of al-Mutawakkil, struck principally at Surra man Ra'a <sup>145</sup> , are the least rare of any 'Abbasid donatives (types #230A & 230B). There are also a few donative silver fractional dirhams of this reign, all RRR. Style as #229M.	RR	239 AV dinar Common mints: Madinat al-Salam, Misr (until 265, when the Tulunid ruler's name was added), and scarce mints, al-Rafiqa, al-Ahwaz and Samarqand. This is the only 'Abbasid caliph after al-Ma'mun with a large number of subtypes for his coinage. Each subtype is described for the dirham, type #240, each 239.x corresponding to the 240.x with the same "x". Details are provided with the subtypes of #240.
	<b>al-Muntasir (billah), 247-248 / 861-862</b> <b>(Abu Ja'far Muhammad, b. al-Mutawakkil)</b>		239.1 — Struck 256-261, then at Misr until 265 (S), mainly at Misr & Madinat al-Salam (see also #A241 for dinar of Misr 258). 239.2 — Struck 262-273, mainly Misr & Surra man Ra'a (S). 239.3 — Struck 270-272, no common mints (RRR). 239.3a — Similar to #239.3, but citing <b>Dhu'l-Sayfayn</b> ("possessor of the two swords") instead of Dhu'l-Wizaratayn, known only from al-Mawsil 278 (RRR). 239.4 — Struck 270-278, mainly at al-Rafiqa (R). 239.5 — Struck 262-276, mainly at Madinat al-Salam & Samarqand (S). 239.6 — Struck 270-272, mainly at al-Ahwaz (R). Issues dated 271 bear the laqab of al-Muwaffaq, al-nasir li-din Allah. 239.7 — Struck 274-277, mainly at Madinat al-Salam and al-Ahwaz (R). See note to #240.7. 239.8 — Struck 278-279, no common mints (RR). 239.9 — Struck 257-260, mainly at Samarqand in 260 (RR).
231	AV dinar Dinars & dirhams are exclusively from the Surra man Ra'a mint, except for a dinar of Misr, much rarer than Surra man Ra'a. All known examples in either metal are dated 248.	RRR	239A AV dinar, donative type, struck at al-Ma'shuq in 271, broad outer blank margins <sup>147</sup>
232	AR dirham, narrow flan only <b>al-Musta'in (billah), 248-251 / 862-866</b> <b>(Abu'l-'Abbas Ahmad, b. al-Mu'tasim)</b>	RR	240 AR dirham The subtypes of this reign were different for the eastern and western divisions of the caliphate from 262 to 278 (northern mints of Armenia usually follow the eastern, those of al-Jazira follow the western). The boundary between these two regions passed between Samarra (Surra man Ra'a) on the coins, a punning name that means "he who sees it is pleased") and Madinat al-Salam. 240.1 (C) — With heir <b>Ja'far</b> (later entitled al-Mufawwidh) struck at all mints (256-261). 240.2 (S) — With heir <b>al-Mufawwidh</b> , northern & western mints (262-269 & 272-274). 240.3 (R) — With heir <b>al-Mufawwidh</b> and vizier <b>Dhu'l-Wizaratayn</b> , north & west (270-272). 240.4 (R) — With heir <b>al-Mufawwidh</b> and second heir <b>Ahmad b. al-Muwaffaq</b> , north & west (273-278). <sup>148</sup> 240.5 (C) — With heir <b>al-Muwaffaq</b> , eastern mints (262-270 & 272-273). Also used at Arminiya and Bardha'a until 277 (silver only). 240.6 (R) — With heir <b>al-Muwaffaq</b> and the vizier <b>Dhu'l-Wizaratayn</b> , "possessor of the two vizierates", eastern mints (270-272); Dhu'l-Wizaratayn was the laqab assigned to Sa'id b. Makhlad, for whom the initial letter <i>sin</i> of his personal name appears on most 'Abbasid dinars & dirhams dated 269. 240.7 (S) — With heir <b>al-Muwaffaq</b> and the second heir <b>Ahmad b. al-Muwaffaq</b> (the future caliph al-Mu'tadid), eastern mints (273-278) (R, S). Most dinars & dirhams of this type dated 276-278 have the additional phrase <i>al-quwwa lillah jami'</i> , "power is God's, entirely", in both obverse and reverse fields; they are slightly more common than the earlier issues that lack this phrase. 240.8 (R) — With heir-apparent cited as <b>al-Mu'tadid</b> , in all regions (278-279). 240.9 (R?) — <b>Without any heir</b> or other individual, struck at Samarqand and al-Shash, from about 262 until 279 (exact
233	AV dinar Common mints: Misr, Marw, al-Shash. Subtypes as follows: 233.1 — Without heir (248) (RR). 233.2 — With heir Abu'l-'Abbas (249-251) (S).	S	RRR
234	AR dirham 234.1 — Without heir (248) (R). 234.2 — With heir Abu'l-'Abbas (249-251) (S).	S	C
	<b>al-Mu'tazz (billah), 251-255 / 866-869</b> <b>(Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad, b. al-Mutawakkil)</b>		
235	AV dinar Common mints: Madinat al-Salam, Misr, al-Shash. Subtypes as follows: 235.1 — Without heir (251-253) (S). 235.2 — With heir 'Abd Allah (253-255) (RR). <sup>146</sup>	S	
236	AR dirham Subtypes as follows: 236.1 — Without heir (251-253) (C). 236.2 — With heir 'Abd Allah (253-255) (S). Type #236.1 of Surra man Ra'a dated 251 is the most common dirham of the second period. Some years ago I examined about 90 examples and found more than 60 different obverse dies, but did not strain my eyes by studying the reverse!	C	
	<b>al-Muhtadi (billah), 255-256 / 869-870</b> <b>(Abu Ishaq Muhammad, b. al-Wathiq)</b>		
237	AV dinar Madinat al-Salam is the least rare of the five reported mints.	RRR	
238	AR dirham Unlike the carefully struck gold dinars of al-Muhtadi, his dirhams were poorly produced, often abysmally struck from severely worn dies. Well-struck examples are virtually unknown.	R	

Farwan and Ghazna restored silver coin production under Ghaznavid rule in about 380 and 387, respectively, the preference of Hindushahi style flans resumed, and remained the standard of Ghaznavid silver coinage for more than 200 years.

<sup>144</sup> Sotheby's, 25 May 2000, lot 377.

<sup>145</sup> A donative dirham of al-Muhammadiya 245 appeared in Islamic Coin Auction 12, lot 3153.

<sup>146</sup> On some examples of Misr 255, the names of the caliph and the heir have been intentionally scratched out of the dies. Bernardi has assigned this type to an interregnum between al-Mu'tazz and al-Muhtadi.

<sup>147</sup> The coin was sold at auction by Spink, auction #13 (July 1999), lot 345. I am indebted to Muhammad Jazzar of Amman, Jordan, for the identification of the mint.

<sup>148</sup> Some dinars of al-Rafiqa dated as early as 270 bear the names of both al-Mufawwidh and Ahmad b. al-Muwaffaq, perhaps because reverse dies citing Ahmad b. al-Muwaffaq were muled with obsolete obverse dies. The al-Rafiqa mint was at times under Tulunid control during the 270s, but virtually all dates 270-278 are known with and without the Tulunid name.

dates undetermined). They were struck under Samanid authority but are regarded as 'Abbasid because they bear no reference to the Samanid ruler, Nasr I. Dinars struck at Samarqand during these years follow #239.5.

240.10 (R) — **Without any heir**, struck at Andaraba or Banjhir, under Banijurid authority but solely in the 'Abbasid name. Struck on small thick planchets, similar to Hindushahi drachms in shape and weight. Type unknown for gold.

A241 AV dinar, citing the amir Nahrir RR  
Based on type 239.1, struck at Misr in 258 only.

From 259 until the end of the third period in 334 gold and silver 'Abbasid coins no longer cite a local governor or other official, with the exception of a few issues at Arminiya and Bardha'a. A few later issues mention the vizier or other Baghdad officials, almost only in 270-272, 291, 320, 329 and 333-334. All coins that cite other rulers are assigned to the dynasty related to that person.

**al-Muwaffaq (b. al-Mutawakkil),  
second heir to the throne, 262-278 / 875-892**

B241 AR dirham, donative style only, mint of Isfahan RRR  
Struck during his campaign against the Dulafids and Saffarids during the mid-270s.  
The ruling caliph al-Mu'tamid is not mentioned on this type.

**al-Mufawwidh (b. al-Mutawakkil),  
first heir to the caliphate, 256-279 / 870-892**

C241 AR dirham, donative style only, without mint name RRR  
Coins of this presentation type cite the heir al-Mufawwidh only by his personal name Ja'far. They lack any reference to the caliph al-Mu'tamid.

**THIRD PERIOD**

*'Abbasid gold and silver coinage of the third period, 279-334, is remarkably consistent. Dies were engraved for virtually all mints at a central facility, in all likelihood located at Baghdad or Surra man Ra'a. This is confirmed by the large number of dies on which the original mint name has been re-engraved for distribution to alternative mints.*

In addition to normal coins, special coins were produced in gold and silver as donatives, carefully struck on neatly prepared flans. Most are of two basic styles: **Type A**: with normal inscriptions (including mint & date) but struck on flans with a wide blank outer margin around on both sides, **Type B**: with shorter inscriptions, single margins on both sides, normally dated but without mint.<sup>149</sup> Only a small selection is listed here.

**al-Mu'tadid (billah), 279-289 / 892-902  
(Abu'l-'Abbas Ahmad, b. al-Muwaffaq b. al-Mutawakkil)**

241 AV dinar R  
Least rare mints: Madinat al-Salam (San'a is more common, listed as type #1056).

241A AV dinar, donative, type B RRR

241B AV ¼ dinar, donative, type B RRR

242 AR dirham C  
Dinars and dirhams of al-Shash & Samarqand dated 280-281 were issued by the Samanid ruler Isma'il I, but solely in the name of the 'Abbasid caliph.

242A AR dirham, donative, type B R

242B AR ½ dirham, donative, type B RR

242G AR dirham, donative, type A RRR

242M AR dirham, commemorative issue, struck at Amid (now Diyarbakir) in 286 to proclaim the conquest of that Byzantine city by the 'Abbasids RRR

**al-Muktafi (billah), 289-295 / 902-908  
(Abu Muhammad 'Ali, b. al-Mu'tadid)**

243 AV dinar S  
243.1 — No additional names (289-290 & 292-295) (S). A few coins of this subtype have been reported for 291(RR).

243.2 — With the vizier Wali al-Dawla (291 only) (R).

Least rare mints: Misr, Madinat al-Salam. (also San'a, #1057). Very high quality dinars of Misr 292 & 293 entered the market in 2005, from a rather large Egyptian hoard of Tulunid & 'Abbasid dinars terminating in 293, many still displaying original luster.<sup>150</sup>

244 AR dirham C  
No coins of al-Muktafi bear the name of an heir, but there are nonetheless two subtypes, same as the gold coins:

244.1 — No additional names (289-290 & 292-295) (C). A few examples dated 291 lack the name of Wali al-Dawla (RR).

244.2 — With the vizier Wali al-Dawla (291 only) (C).

**al-Muqtadir (billah), 295-320 / 908-932  
(Abu'l-Fadl Ja'far, b. al-Mu'tadid)**

245 AV dinar C  
Common mints: al-Ahwaz, Madinat al-Salam, Suq al-Ahwaz, Tustar min al-Ahwaz, and especially Misr.  
Subtypes as follows:

245.1 — Without heir (296-297) (R).

245.2 — With heir Abu'l-'Abbas (297-320) (C).

245A AV dinar, donative, type A (wide blank outer margins) RR

245B AV dinar, bull & horseman motif (as #247) RRR

246 AR dirham C

Subtypes as follows:

246.1 — Without heir (296-297, also 298 at the mint of Fars) (S).

246.2 — With heir Abu'l-'Abbas (297-320) (C).

For dinars & dirhams citing the vizier 'Amid al-Dawla, see #248-249.

246A AR dirham, donative, type A (broad outer margins) R

246B AR ¼ dirham, donative, type B RRR

247 AR dirham, bull & horseman motif, no mint or date RRR

Fabric and design derived from the abundant Hindushahi coinage of the Kabul Valley, but probably struck at Baghdad. The caliph's name *al-muqtadir billah* is above the bull, *lillah ja'far* above the horseman.

A248 AR dirham, donative, hare motif (both sides), no mint or date, name of caliph on both sides RRR

248 AV dinar, citing the vizier, 'Amid al-Dawla (dated 320 only)<sup>151</sup> S

249 AR dirham, similar to #248 (320 only) S

**al-Qahir (billah), 320-322 / 932-934  
(Abu Mansur Muhammad, b. al-Mu'tadid)**

250 AV dinar R  
Most frequently seen mints: al-Ahwaz, Suq al-Ahwaz, and Tustar min al-Ahwaz.

250.1 — Without heir (320-321) (R).

250.2 — With heir Abu'l-Qasim (321-322) (S).

251 AR dirham S

Subtypes as follows:

251.1 — Without heir (320-321) (S).

251.2 — With heir Abu'l-Qasim (321-322) (S).

For the third type, see #252 & 253.

252 AV dinar, citing the heir Abu'l-Qasim and his own title *al-muntaqim min a'da' Allah li-din Allah* R

"The avenger of God's enemies for the sake of God's religion."

This and the following type are popularly called the avenger dinar and dirham. Both types #252 & 253 are dated 322 only.

253 AR dirham, with the same title S

<sup>150</sup> Might these lustrous Misr dinars of 292 and 293 nowadays be slabbed as MS-67 or better, and absurdly sold to investors at obnoxiously inflated prices? While a traditional numismatist motivated by a fascination of history would surely comprehend the grading difference between an attractive fine or very fine and a superb uncirculated example, he would likely be sufficiently satisfied by an attractive coin in a circulated grade.

<sup>151</sup> Both gold and silver coins of this type are often incorrectly assigned to the Buwayhid ruler 'Imad al-Dawla 'Ali b. Buwayh, but this is impossible, as 'Ali did not acquire the title 'Imad al-Dawla until 334, some 14 years later.

<sup>149</sup> Ilisch (cited in introduction) calls these types D.I and D.III, respectively. Since his pioneer study of the donative coins, many additional types have been discovered, but there is no subsequent comprehensive study.

	<b>al-Radi (billah), 322-329 / 934-940</b> <b>(Abu'l-'Abbas Ahmad, b. al-Muqtadir)</b>		
254	AV dinar Common mints: al-Ahwaz, Madinat al-Salam, Misr, Suq al-Ahwaz, Tustar min al-Ahwaz. Since 2006, dinars of Hamadan, Qumm and Karaj have appeared in significant numbers, from the two new hoards of unrevealed size. Subtypes as follows: 254.1 — Without heir (322-327) (C). Some dinars of 328 and 329 lack the heir as well, but were actually issues of local rulers who neither included their own names nor adopted the revised protocol of Baghdad. Most common are Suq al-Ahwaz and Tustar min al-Ahwaz. 254.2 — With heir Abu'l-Fadl (327-329) (R). Only Madinat al-Salam is occasionally available. 254.3 — With heir Abu'l-Fadl and chief amir Abu'l-Husayn Bajkam with title <i>mawlahu</i> ("his servant") (329 only) (RRR).	S	
254A	AV dinar, donative, type B (short legends)	RRR	
254B	AV 2/5 dinar, donative, type B (about 1.6g)	RR	
254C	AV 1/5 dinar, donative, type B (about 0.8g)	RRR	
255	AR dirham 255.1 — Without heir (322-327) (C). Some dated 328 and 329 lack the heir as well. These were issues of local rulers who did not adopt the formal protocol of Baghdad (R). 255.2 — With heir Abu'l-Fadl (327-329) (S). 255.3 — With heir Abu'l-Fadl and chief amir Abu'l-Husayn Bajkam with title <i>mawlahu</i> (329 only) (RRR).	C	
255A	AR dirham, donative, type A (wide margins, with mint & date)	RRR	
255B	AR double dirham (about 6g), donative, type B (short legends)	RRR	
255C	AR dirham, donative, type B	RRR	
	<b>al-Muttaqi (lillah), 329-333 / 940-944</b> <b>(Abu Ishaq Ibrahim, b. al-Muqtadir)</b>		
256	AV dinar Least rare mints: Madinat al-Salam, to some extent Wasit. Subtypes for reign: (first subtype, with chief amir Bajkam, no heir, listed separately as #A258 below) 256 — With heir Abu Mansur and without the name of the chief amir (329-330 & 332-333). The types of 329-330 and 332-333 differ slightly in the central reverse inscriptions. (third subtype, with the sole Hamdanid ruler Nasir al-Dawla, see #V259) (fourth subtype, with the Hamdanid brothers Nasir al-Dawla & Sayf al-Dawla, see #260)	R	
257	AR dirham (first subtype, type #258) 257 — With heir Abu Mansur and without the name of the chief amir (329-330 & 332-333) (see note to #256). All dirhams dated 332 or 333 are very rare. (third subtype, with the sole Hamdanid ruler Nasir al-Dawla, see #259) (fourth subtype, with Nasir al-Dawla & Sayf al-Dawla, see #261)	S	
A258	AV dinar, citing the chief amir Abu'l-Husayn Bajkam (dated 329 only), with title <i>mawla amir al-mu'minin</i>	RR	
258	AR dirham, as #A258	R	
V259	AV dinar, citing the Hamdanid chief amir, Nasir al-Dawla (330 only) <sup>152</sup>	RRR	
259	AR dirham, similar (330 only)	RR	
260	AV dinar, citing the joint chief amirs Sayf al-Dawla and Nasir al-Dawla (dated 330 & 331) These two brothers later founded the Hamdanid dynasty ( <i>q.v.</i> ). This type was quite rare in gold until the discovery of several hundred pieces, circa 1980. The word <i>ibriz</i> ("pure gold") appears beneath the reverse field. The only common mint is Madinat al-Salam.	S	
261	AR dirham, similar, only Madinat al-Salam is common, Wasit modestly rare <b>al-Mustakfi (billah), 333-334 / 944-946</b> <b>(Abu'l-Qasim 'Abd Allah, b. al-Muktafi)</b>	C	
262	AV dinar, with heir Abu'l-Hasan Muhammad (334 only) Least rare mint: Madinat al-Salam.	RR	
263	AR dirham, similar	R	
A264	AV dinar, with chief amir Tuzun, cited on the coins as al-Muzaffar Abu'l-Wafa (dated 333-334)	RRR	
264	AR dirham, similar In an important forthcoming study of 'Abbasid titlature, M.L. Bates will describe five distinct variants bearing the name of Abu'l-Wafa (both years), three without heir (333 only) and two with heir Abu'l-Hasan Muhammad (334 only).	R	
	<b>INTERIM PERIOD</b>		
	For 'Abbasid coins 447-552, see Y. Jafar, listed for the Great Seljuqs.		
	<b>al-Muti' (lillah), 334-363 / 946-974</b>		
265	AR dirham Al-Muti' struck no coins on his own behalf, but coins were struck in his name by minor princes in Cilicia (silver, this type) and Yemen (both gold and silver, types #1062-B1064, listed in the section on Yemen). From 334-555, there are virtually no proper issues of the 'Abbasid caliphs, the only occasionally available exceptions being #A266 & B266. However, examples of secular dynastic coins can be readily found for all but one of the intervening caliphs (al-Rashid). These are noted in the following list, together with the most common dynasties citing the caliph and the rarity of gold and silver coins for each. <b>al-Muti'</b> (lillah), 334-363 / 946-974: Buwayhid (C), Samanid (A). <b>al-Ta'iq</b> (lillah), 363-381 / 974-991: Buwayhid (C), Samanid (A). <b>al-Qadir</b> (billah), 381-422 / 991-1031: Buwayhid (C), Samanid (A) – A few billon and copper coins are known bearing only the name of al-Qadir, struck at Ghazna by the Ghaznavids (#1615A, R) and at Jurjan by the Ziyarids (#1536.2, RR). Neither is a proper 'Abbasid issue. <b>al-Qa'im</b> (bi-amr Allah), 422-467 / 1031-1075: Ghaznavid (C), Great Seljuq (A) – Otherwise anonymous billon dirhams of Saghaniyan dated in the 420s, struck by the local Dihqan, are in the sole name of al-Qa'im (R). <b>al-Muqtadi</b> (bi-amr Allah), 467-487 / 1075-1094: Ghaznavid (C), Great Seljuq (C). <b>al-Mustazhir</b> (billah), 487-512 / 1094-1118: Ghaznavid (C), Great Seljuq (C). <b>al-Mustarshid</b> (billah), 512-529 / 1118-1135: Ghaznavid (A), Great Seljuq (C). <b>al-Rashid</b> (billah), 529-530 / 1135-1136: Great Seljuq, Seljuq of Iraq, and contemporary atabegs (all RR), gold and debased gold only. <sup>153</sup> <b>al-Muqtafi</b> (bi-amr Allah), 530-555 / 1136-1160: Ghaznavid (C), Great Seljuq (C), Qarakhanid (R) ("silver" coins of this caliph are either rather pure silver "dinars" or highly debased broad Central Asian "dirhams").	RR	
	<b>al-Qa'im (bi-amr Allah), 422-467</b>		
265Q	AV dinar, Madinat al-Salam 455 only Struck after the death of the Great Seljuq Tughril Beg, before the confirmed accession of Alp Arslan in 455.	RRR	

<sup>152</sup> Citing Nasir al-Dawla (Abu) Muhammad on the reverse, and the same person as Nasir al-Dawla al-Hasan b. 'Abd Allah on the obverse, from al-Jazira 330 (Zeno-7422).

<sup>153</sup> Al-Rashid was dethroned in 530, fled to Mosul, and was murdered by the Seljuqs in 532, but some later coins of local atabegs continue to cite him as caliph until well into the 530s.

	<b>al-Muqtadi (bi-amr Allah), 467-487 / 1075-1094</b>			
A266	AV dinar, struck at Madinat al-Salam in 486 only	RR		
	Types A266 and B266 represent unsuccessful attempts by the current 'Abbasid caliph to reassert political independence for the caliphate.			
	<b>al-Mustazhir (billah), 487-512 / 1094-1118</b>			
B266	AV dinar, struck at Madinat al-Salam 491-496	RRR		
	Jafar has demonstrated that from 491-498, Great Seljuq dinars were struck each year at Madinat al-Salam for either Barkiyarug or his opponent Muhammad, as well as purely Abbasid dinars 491-493 and 495-496.			
	<b>al-Mustarshid (billah), 512-529 / 1118-1135</b>			
D266	AV dinar, struck at Madinat al-Salam in 521 and most dates 525-529	RRR		
	<b><u>FOURTH PERIOD</u></b>			
	<b>al-Muqtafi, 530-555 / 1136-1160</b>			
F266	AV dinar, struck at Madinat al-Salam in 541 and regularly from 552 onwards	RRR		
	The 541 & 548 issues was connected to a disputes between and the caliph and the Great Seljuq rulers, those of 552 and later after the death of the Seljuq ruler Sanjar, which brought an end to Seljuq influence in Baghdad.			
	<b>al-Mustanjid (billah), 555-566 / 1160-1170</b>			
266	AV dinar, Madinat al-Salam only	RR		
	Dinars of al-Mustanjid, al-Mustadi, and of al-Nasir until the late 590s are very coarsely struck, usually on extremely thin planchets weighing between 1.5 and 3.5 grams.			
	Other coins bearing the name of this caliph:			
	Gold — Qarakhanid (RR), Zangid (R), Salghurid (S)			
	Silver — Ghorid (R)			
	Silver-washed copper dirhams — Qarakhanid (C)			
	Copper — Artuqid, Zangid (C)			
	<b>al-Mustadi (bi-amr Allah), 566-575 / 1170-1180</b>			
267	AV dinar, mainly Madinat al-Salam <sup>154</sup>	RR		
	Other coins bearing the name of this caliph:			
	Gold — Zangid (R), Amirs of Nishapur (R), Ghorid (R), Ayyubid (R), Salghurid (S)			
	Silver — Ghorid (R), Zangid (R), Ayyubid (R)			
	Silver-washed copper dirhams — Qarakhanid (S)			
	Copper — Artuqid (C), Zangid (C)			
	<b>al-Nasir (li-din Allah), 575-622 / 1180-1225</b>			
268	AV dinar, Madinat al-Salam only <sup>155</sup>	C		
	Early dinars, until about 595, remain light and sloppily struck on very thin flans, as described above for #266. After 595, they were much more carefully struck, on much thicker flan. Their weight varies widely from under 3 to as much as 20 grams, averaging in the range of 6 to 9 grams. The same standards were retained by the later 'Abbasids until their demise in 656. Some cataloguers have incorrectly divided these into dinars, double dinars, triple dinars, etc., but in fact they are ingots of random weight termed dinars, irrespective of weight. Coins over about 12 grams are scarcer and command a premium, especially now that the price of gold is approaching \$1400 per ounce (November 2010).			
269	AE fals	R		
	Other coins bearing the name of this caliph:			
	Gold — Khwarizmshah, Ghorid, Ayyubid (C)			
	Silver — Ayyubid, Seljuq of Rum, Sultans of Delhi, Sultans of Bengal (A)			
	Silver-washed copper dirhams — Qarakhanid, Khwarizmshah (C)			
	Copper — Artuqid, Zangid, Ayyubid, Seljuq of Rum (C)			
	There are also numerous non-'Abbasid gold, silver and copper coins bearing only the name of al-Nasir, mainly of Central Asian origin. These were struck by the Mongols and are listed amongst their issues,			
				including some "anonymous" types of the Golden Horde and the Chaghatayids. Current theory has shown that some, probably the majority, were struck posthumously, i.e., after 622/1225.
	<b>al-Zahir (bi-amr Allah), 622-623 / 1225-1226</b>			
270	AV dinar, Madinat al-Salam only	RR		
	Other coins bearing the name of this caliph:			
	Gold — All other gold is at least as rare as the pure 'Abbasid issues. They were struck by the Ayyubids, Seljuqs of Rum, and possibly also the Zangids of al-Mawsil.			
	Silver — Ayyubid, Seljuq of Rum, Sultans of Delhi (S)			
	Copper — Ayyubid, Seljuq of Rum (S)			
	<b>al-Mustansir (billah), 623-640 / 1226-1242</b>			
	His name was occasionally retained posthumously, as on the Ottoman akces of Orhan, who ruled 724-761 (type #1288.2).			
271	AV dinar	R		
	The only common mint is Madinat al-Salam; dinars of Irbil & Daquqa are extremely rare.			
	Al-Mustansir is cited on Ayyubid, Zangid and Lu'lu'id dinars, as well as gold tankas of the Sultans of Delhi (C).			
272	AR dirham (approximately 2.80g), Madinat al-Salam only	C		
	Silver coinage resumed in 633, becoming plentiful from 636 on. Coins of 633-635 have the marginal legends in <i>naskhi</i> script (RR), those of 636-640 in <i>Kufic</i> (C).			
	Ayyubid and Seljuq of Rum dirhams citing this caliph are abundant.			
273	AR ½ dirham (approximately 1.40g), Madinat al-Salam only	R		
	Style as #272. Both the full dirham and the half dirham of this and the following reign adhere rather carefully to the weight standard.			
274	AE fals, mainly Irbil, somewhat more rarely Madinat al-Salam	S		
	Ayyubid and Seljuq of Rum coppers citing al-Mustansir are very common.			
274E	AE fals, type #274 countermarked <i>Irbil</i>	RR		
	The countermark may have been applied posthumously, most likely either during the reign of his successor, al-Musta'sim or around the time of the Mongol invasion in 656/1258.			
	<b>al-Musta'sim (billah), 640-656 / 1242-1258</b>			
275	AV dinar, Madinat al-Salam only	C		
	Al-Musta'sim is also cited on many common gold and silver coins of the Ayyubids, Seljuqs of Rum (only silver is common), Rasulids, Sultans of Delhi, Sultans of Bengal, etc.			
276	AR dirham, Madinat al-Salam & Irbil, same standard as the previous reign (about 2.80g)	C		
277	AR ½ dirham, Madinat al-Salam & Irbil (about 1.40g)	R		
	Ayyubid half dirhams citing al-Musta'sim are common.			
277A	AR ½ dirham (central areas in triangle) (about 0.93g)	RR		
277B	AR ¼ dirham (central areas in square), with mint name Madinat al-Salam (about 0.70g)	RR		
277C	AR 1/6 dirham, without mint name (about 0.46g)	RRR		
	Additional fraction varieties exist, all very rare. All fractions of 1/3 dirham and smaller lack the mint name but were likely struck solely at Madinat al-Salam.			
278	AE fals, mainly Irbil	R		
	Ayyubid, Artuqid and Seljuq of Rum coppers citing al-Musta'sim are very common.			
	The name of al-Musta'sim was retained on virtually all the Rasulid silver coinage of the Yemen for nearly 200 years after his death!			
	In 1258, the Mongols overran Baghdad, seizing the caliph al-Musta'sim, whom they allegedly put to death by rolling him in a carpet and allowing elephants to trample him to death, so as to uphold the Mongol tradition of never spilling royal blood. The details of this story may well be apocryphal. In 659/1261, the 'Abbasid caliphate was resuscitated at Cairo, but the names of these caliphs were rarely cited on the coinage of either Egyptian			

<sup>154</sup> A few extremely rare dinars were struck by this caliph at al-Hilla.

<sup>155</sup> Some extremely rare dinars were struck at the Iraqi mints of Daquqa, al-Hilla, and Tikrit.

or other dynasties. Only one of these “shadow” caliphs struck coins of his own, al-Musta’in (types #984-986 of the Mamluk dynasty). Some of them are cited on coins of the Delhi Sultanate struck under Muhammad b. Tughluq (725-752 / 1325-1351) and Firuz Shah III (752-790 / 1351-1388), including some common and otherwise anonymous issues of Muhammad b. Tughluq struck circa 740-752 that cite only the Egyptian caliph (Goron #D425-D451). And al-Mu’tadid (763-779) is cited on most Muzaffarid coins struck during the 760s.

#### ‘ABBASID COPPER COINAGE

Shamma, S., *A Catalogue of ‘Abbasid Copper Coins*, London, 1998.

A handy reference guide to most previously published types, together with a few unpublished additions. Errors in previous publications are rarely corrected. Only about 50 pieces illustrated. Nearly all mintless types are excluded.

*Like its Umayyad antecedents, copper coinage of the ‘Abbasid period is essentially municipal coinage locally regulated at each mint. Over 100 mints have been reported, but fulus of only a portion of these are easily acquired. An approximate date range is given for each mint, even though many or all coins may be undated. Most bear the name of a local governor or other official, but relatively few cite the caliph. Nearly all ‘Abbasid regions ceased producing copper coinage between 200 and 250 Hijri. Fulus were struck or cast, depending on the time & place of manufacture.*

*There are no ‘Abbasid copper mints that changed the dates of their copper coinage from year to year. For example, copper fulus of Dimashq bear only four different dates between 182 and 234. It would not be surprising if dates were frozen for many years, with additional quantities struck as needed for several years without change of date, especially at the more prolific mints.*

*There remain hundreds of ‘Abbasid fulus types that cannot be assigned to a specific mint. I have classified them in five distinct groups, distinguishable by fabric, calligraphy and style:*

- (1) #X281 for a limited number of **North African** types.
- (2) #281 for **Egyptian** types are so easily recognizable that they are included with the standard Egyptian type.
- (3) #295 for a large potpourri of items from **Syria** and the Jazira.
- (4) #300 for readily distinguishable cast coppers of **Cilicia**.
- (5) #338 for issues of **the East**, including Arabia, Iraq, Armenia and everywhere to the east thereof.

There remain some issues that **cannot be assigned** to one of these five regions, which I have categorized into two subgroups, those that cite a governor or other official (#338Q) and those that are totally anonymous (#338R).

*Unofficial, quasi-official and imitative ‘Abbasid fulus are prodigious, usually without a legible date or mint, and usually anonymous. The vast majority of known specimens come from greater Syria and Iraq, where they seem to account for 50-80% of bulk lots of ‘Abbasid coppers. Virtually nothing is known about where they were minted, when and for whom. These are also included with types #338Q and 338R, as noted above, except for the obvious imitations of the al-Kufa fulus that normally cite the caliph al-Mahdi, which is type #306A.*

*There is no comprehensive study of the ‘Abbasid period copper coinage, and many of the date ranges given here are tentative.*

#### NORTH AFRICA

(see also #A216)

- |      |   |     |
|------|---|-----|
| 279  | AE fals, <b>al-‘Abbasiya</b> , 160s-180s  | S   |
| 280  | AE fals, <b>Ifriqiya</b> , 142-147, then 160s-184   | R   |
|      | The issue of 142-147 is an anonymous type actually issued by local ‘Ibadi sectarians. Later coins, commencing in the 160s, are properly ‘Abbasid, usually dated, and citing the same governors named on the silver dirhams of Ifriqiya. |     |
| A281 | AE fals, <b>al-Mahdiya</b> (in Tunisia), dated 153, citing ‘Umar b. Hafis   | RRR |
|      | The same governor is cited simply as ‘Umar on some silver dirhams of al-‘Abbasiya dated in the early 150s.  |     |

- |      |   |     |
|------|---|-----|
| B281 | AE fals, <b>al-Mubaraka</b> (in Tunisia), circa 180                                       | RRR |
| X281 | AE fals, <b>without mint name</b> , usually with the name of a governor or other official | RR  |

#### EGYPT

Miles, George C. “The Early Islamic Bronze Coinage of Egypt”, *Centennial Publication of the American Numismatic Society*, New York, 1958, pp. 471-502. A few more types have subsequently been discovered.

- |     |   |   |
|-----|---|---|
| 281 | AE fals, <b>Misr</b> (Egypt), 133-210s, of which the only known dated specimen is of 133 (S)  | C |
|     | Most Egyptian issues lack the name of the mint, but are readily discerned by the governor’s name, calligraphic style & by fabric. Within each issue, individual coins vary immensely in both size and weight. A few pieces are illustrated at Zeno. |   |

#### SYRIA & PALESTINE

Most of the Palestinian mints are well covered in the Tübingen Sylloge *IVa: Palästina*.

- |      |   |     |
|------|---|-----|
| A282 | AE fals, <b>Adhra‘at</b> , normally undated (170s-200s, occasionally dated 198)   | RRR |
|      | Ilich has assigned several “mintless” fulus to this mint in the Tübingen Sylloge.   |     |
| B282 | AE fals, <b>‘Akka</b> , occasionally dated 200, which cites Ibrahim b. Humran   | RR  |
| C282 | AE fals, <b>‘Amman</b> , crude anonymous types (undated but probably before about 160)  | RR  |
|      | See #166, which includes the type with 3-petal lily in reverse center, most likely first struck during the Umayyad period (SNAT 496-505). |     |
| F282 | AE fals, <b>‘Asqalan</b> , undated but circa 200  | RRR |
| 282  | AE fals, <b>Ba‘albakk</b> , undated (130s-160s?)  | C   |

This type was assigned by Walker to the Umayyads (Walker #766). It was probably begun in or shortly after 116 (thus under the Umayyads) and retained after the dynastic change, perhaps as late as the 160s. Examples vary greatly in style and size. There are no other types securely assigned to the ‘Abbasids.

The distinction between Umayyad and ‘Abbasid issues of this type (#168 and 282) can be approximately determined by size and calligraphy, with the Umayyad examples larger and thicker, and with broader Arabic letters in the fields. However, the boundary between the two groups remains vague.

- |      |   |     |
|------|---|-----|
| 283  | AE fals, <b>Bayrut</b> (Beirut), undated  | RR  |
|      | Very crudely struck coins, probably circa 250-300, often on flans cut from copper plates. Many bear names of officials, none of whom have been identified. Similar mintless types were struck at either Bayrut or Jubayl, perhaps additional mints as well. |     |
| 284  | AE fals, <b>Dimashq</b> , 130s-234  | S   |
|      | Earlier issues are undated, and have only recently been reassigned to the ‘Abbasid period (from the Umayyad). From 182 onwards, coins are fully dated, bearing the years 182, 192, 222, and 234, of which only 182 is rare.                                 |     |
| 285  | AE fals, <b>Ghazza</b> , dated 217 or undated   | R   |
|      | Only the coarsely cast issue of 217 is reasonably available. A type citing the governor Sa‘id b. Ibrahim may be dated 203.  |     |
| 286  | AE fals, <b>Halab</b> , 130s-250s   | R   |
|      | Dated specimens run from 134-139, as well as 239 and 256, the last two years extremely rare. See Khazanat Halab below for fulus dated 146-148.  |     |
| 287  | AE fals, <b>Hims</b> , circa 130s-after 200, always undated   | C   |
|      | The most common type cites ‘Amrw b. ‘Isa in the reverse field, probably struck in the 180s or slightly later.   |     |
| A288 | AE fals, <b>‘Irqa</b> (in Lebanon), undated, similar to Ba‘albakk issues, two slightly different types  | RRR |
|      | Bone convincingly argues that this mint, which he transliterates as ‘Arqa, operated from the 130s to about 200, thus only in the ‘Abbasid period.   |     |
| 288  | AE fals, <b>Jubayl</b> (in Lebanon), undated, probably circa 250-300, coarse fabric similar to #283 of Bayrut   | RR  |



289	AE fals, <b>Khazanat Halab</b> ("the treasury of Aleppo"), 143 <sup>156</sup> and 146-148, all in the name of Salih b. 'Ali	C	coins lacking a mint name were primarily produced at Tarsus. See also the Tulunid issues #663.2, 665A, 669 and 669A.
	Many coins of this type, especially those dated 147-148, bear additional names below the obverse or the reverse or both. The significance of these names remains obscure.		
A290	AE fals, <b>Khunasir</b> , undated (circa 170s?)	RRR	
	Similar to a contemporary issue of the nearby mint of Hims in the names of 'Abd Allah b. Salih and 'Abd al-Karim.		
B290	AE fals, <b>Ludd</b> , dated 185 (SNAT #214-218) or coarsely cast undated types, often citing Dinar b. 'Abd Allah, probably made circa 220s-230s	RRR	
C290	AE fals, <b>Qaysariya</b> (Caesarea in Palestine), mainly of a type sometimes dated 204	RRR	
290	AE fals, <b>Qinnasrin</b> , 157-180s, always dated	C	
	Only the issue of 157 is common.		
291	AE fals, <b>al-Quds</b> , dated 219 only	RR	
	Al-Quds is the Arabic epithet for Jerusalem. This is the only coin type to bear the name <i>al-Quds</i> . It is a cast type similar to #285 of Ghazza. On some specimens, it is unclear whether the date was intended to be 217 or 219.		
292	AE fals, <b>al-Ramla</b> , 190s-230s+, dated 195, 217, 218 and what is tentatively read as 232, or undated	S	
	Only the anonymous issue of 217-218 is relatively available, a coarsely cast type similar to #285 of Ghazza. All other issues are RR.		
A293	AE fals, <b>al-Rusafa</b> , undated, probably circa 180	RRR	
	Al-Rusafa was the ancient city of Sergiopolis, south of al-Raqqa in east central Syria. An important Umayyad palace was constructed there. See also the Umayyad type #A183.		
293	AE fals, <b>Sur</b> (Sour, ancient Tyre, in Lebanon), 190s-230s, dated 196, 200, 202, or undated	R	
	The least rare are crudely cast, undated fulus with the mint name poorly written beneath the reverse field. On some coins of this mint, the mint name is given as <i>Sur al-Ma'muniya</i> , in honor of the caliph al-Ma'mun (dated 200 and 202).		
A294	AE fals, <b>Tabariya</b> , dated 200 or undated	RRR	
	A variant dated 211 has been reported, but remains unconfirmed.		
294	AE fals, <b>Tarabulus</b> (Tripoli in Lebanon), dated 219 or undated	RR	
295	AE fals, <b>without mint name</b> , with or without name of governor, usually undated, hundreds of subtypes	C	
	Only a few subtypes are common, most are very rare but generally regarded with little interest, and hence of little commercial value. Current research is gradually assigning more and more of these types to specific mints, especially in Palestine.		
<b>CILICIA</b>			
Miles, George, "Islamic Coins from the Tarsus Excavations of 1935-1937", <i>Aegean and the Near East: Studies Presented to Hetty Goldman</i> , Locust Valley 1956, pp. 297-312.			
296	AE fals, <b>Adhana</b> (= Adana), undated or dated 193	RR	
	All bear the name of Ahmad b. Harun, perhaps a son of the caliph al-Rashid. The same name is found occasionally on similar fulus of al-Masisa.		
297	AE fals, <b>al-Masisa</b> (= Misis), undated or dated 193	R	
	Undated issues may have been struck or cast as late as 300.		
298	AE fals, <b>Thaghr al-Masisa</b> , undated (late 2 <sup>nd</sup> C.)	R	
	Based on the type of al-Kufa 167, with the mint name transferred to the reverse field. <i>Thaghr</i> = "frontier".		
299	AE fals, <b>Tarsus</b> , 240s-330s, virtually always undated, with mint name	RR	
300	AE fals, <b>without mint name</b> , produced circa 240s-330s	S	
	Most Cilician coppers were cast rather than struck. Most lack a mint name, but are readily attributed to Cilicia by style, fabric, and the names of local governors. It has been postulated that		
<b>IRAQ &amp; THE JAZIRA</b>			
301	AE fals, <b>al-Bahrain</b> , 140 until after 155, frequently dated	RR	
	Crudely struck, almost always overstruck on earlier types of the same mint, very light (approximately 0.75-2.00g). Most dated specimens are so atrociously struck that the date is rarely legible. Some lead fulus of type #P153 may have been struck during the early years of the 'Abbasids.		
302	AE fals, <b>Balad</b> , 155 only, carefully struck on a large thick flan	R	
	Citing the local ruler, Musa b. Mus'ab.		
303	AE fals, <b>al-Basra</b> , virtually always dated, from 133-190s	R	
304	AE fals, <b>al-Jazira</b> , 130s-140s, always undated	C	
	One issue only, in the name of al-'Abbas b. Muhammad, one of the most common early Islamic copper coins.		
305	AE fals, <b>Kafr Tutha</b> (near Mardin), circa 200	RR	
	Some specimens are dated 198.		
306	AE fals, <b>al-Kufa</b> , known dated 143-195	C	
	The Kufan issue of 163-170 is the most common 'Abbasid fals of all, especially the year 167. Coins of the 167 types were extensively imitated in northern Syria for at least several decades. The imitations can readily be distinguished by fabric and calligraphy. They are frequently cast, almost always undated and usually weigh from 0.5g to 1.75g. They are even more common than the prototype. They are now catalogued here as #306A.		
306A	AE fals, " <b>al-Kufa</b> ", undated, later imitations, as described under #306	C	
	First struck after 167, probably in the 170s, and thereafter for at least several decades. Often with short marginal inscription, without mint and date, sometimes with illegible traces of what was formerly mint or date.		
307.1	AE fals, <b>Madinat al-Salam</b> , dated 155 (RR), 157 (R) & 166 (S) only, always dated	S	
	The fals dated 166 was likely produced for several years with frozen date, but not for long, given its scarcity and stylistic uniformity. It seems strange that the principal mint for gold and silver never resumed fals production for more than 450 years!		
307.2	AE fals, <b>Madinat al-Salam</b> , countermarked <i>ja'iz</i> ("current") on types of 155 or 157	R	
308	AE fals, <b>al-Mawsil</b> , 130s-190s, usually dated, though a few undated types are also relatively common	S	
	One of the most extensive series of 'Abbasid copper, usually bearing the name of the local governor, and almost always dated. Some are of very large module (over 10 grams!).		
309	AE fals, <b>Nasibin</b> , always dated, from 178-206	S	
310	AE fals, <b>al-Rafiq</b> , always dated, from 181 to 226, with a possible type from the 240s	S	
	The issue dated 189 is carefully struck on broad flans, stylistically resembling a dirham struck on a thick copper flan but clearly labeled <i>al-fals</i> (not rare). Other years are normal copper style.		
311	AE fals, <b>al-Raqqa</b> , occasional dated issues between 181 and 250	R	
312	AE fals, <b>Ra's al-'Ayn</b> (Ras Al Ain, in Syria), occasional dated issues between 181 and 224	R	
M313	AE fals, <b>Sinjar</b> , in the name of 'Ali b. Sulayman (known dated 167 but usually undated)	RRR	
313	AE fals, <b>Wasit</b> , undated or dated, between 146 and 189	RR	
313K	AE fals, <b>al-Yazidiya</b> , dated 149 & 150 only	RRR	
	The location of this mint is arguable. It may be in Iraq or may be in the general region of Armenia.		
<b>ARMENIA &amp; THE NORTH</b>			
D314	AE fals, <b>Adharbayjan</b> , dated 145 & 166, the latter with the governor Bakkar	RRR	

<sup>156</sup> Although clear on the coins, the date 143 is likely an error for 146.

A314	AE fals, <b>Arminiya</b> , 150s, normally undated Some specimens bear the name of Yazid b. Usayd.	RR	N321	AE fals, <b>Fars</b> , known dated 214 & 220, citing the governor al-Qasim b. Nasr	RRR
314	AE fals, <b>Arran</b> , probably always dated, 153-207	RR	321	AE fals, <b>Fasa</b> , 150s-220s, probably always dated Most specimens are more crudely struck than expected for a mint in Fars province.	RR
A315	AE fals, <b>al-Bab</b> (Derbent), known dated 153 & 178 (both now on Zeno)	RRR	322	AE fals, <b>Hamadan</b> , 140s-220s, probably always dated Many dates known. See note to #329 of al-Muhammadiya.	R
315	AE fals, <b>Bardha'a</b> (in Armenia), 140s-189, always dated <sup>157</sup> Years 142, 158 and 159 are the only ones occasionally seen.	R	323	AE fals, <b>Herat</b> , always dated, from 141 to 197 or 199	R
A316	AE fals, <b>Dabil</b> , 150s-190s	RRR	324	AE fals, <b>Isbahan</b> , known dated 154 and 213 On nearly all coins struck from 104 until the 440s, this mint is written isbahan instead of the later isfahan, an arabicization of the Farsi name.	RR
316	AE fals, <b>al-Haruniya</b> , 169-170	RR	325	AE fals, <b>Istakhr</b> , 140s-180s, always dated Formerly quite rare, now frequently seen in the market.	S
<b>IRAN &amp; THE EAST</b>			A326	AE fals, <b>Jabal al-Fidda</b> , 155 & 165 Undetermined location in eastern Iran, probably in Khorasan, possibly near Herat. The name means "silver mountain".	RR
<p>'Abbasid coppers of Iran and the East have a distinctive style, ultimately derived from the Umayyad reform fals of Wasit first struck in 116. Most eastern fulus are dated and bear the name of a local governor or another official, or both, and are thus important historical documents for early provincial history. In general, eastern coppers are far rarer than Syrian, Egyptian, Iraqi, and Jaziran coppers.</p> <p>Most mints produced only sporadic issues, at intervals of from three to 15 years, and it has been suggested that some issues may have been struck with frozen dates for several years after inception.</p> <p>Although most types were carefully struck, well-preserved specimens are remarkably rare. No proper hoards have been reported, and it is presumed that virtually all known specimens were found individually of in tiny groups, thus misplaced, discarded or lost pieces. Many were extensively worn before they were lost, and many have been corroded since burial. Hence their disproportionate rarity.</p>			326	AE fals, <b>Jayy</b> , always dated, from 130s to at least 191	RR
P317	AE fals, <b>Akhsikath</b> , dated 194	RRR	F327	AE fals, <b>Jiruft</b> (in Kirman province), struck in the 220s, known dated 229 All specimens appear to be rather thick cast examples with barely legible calligraphy.	RR
T317	AE fals, <b>Amul</b> , dated 186 (Zeno-84317)	RRR	J327	AE fals, <b>Junday Sabur</b> , always dated, from the 150s and 170s	RRR
W317	AE fals, <b>Ardabil</b> , known dated 142 & 149, the latter citing Ja'far b. (...) <sup>158</sup>	RRR	K327	AE fals, <b>Jur</b> (Firuzabad in Fars province, now spelled Firouzabad), known dated 145 & 182 <sup>161</sup> For another issue citing the mint Jur in the field, but with the provincial name Ardashir Khurra in the standard marginal inscription, see #317A. For another type, with Kurat al-Mahdiya in the marginal inscription and Jur in the field, see #328.	RRR
317	AE fals, <b>Ardashir Khurra</b> , 134-200s	RR	327	AE fals, <b>Jurjan</b> , always dated, from 139-190, many different years Jurjan is now seen surprisingly often in the market.	S
317A	AE fals, <b>Ardashir Khurra</b> , dated 167, with the alternative city name Jur below the obverse field Most examples of 167 lack the name Jur and are thus #317. Jur was the municipal name for the capital city of the Ardashir Khurra province.	RRR	A328	AE fals, <b>Kazirun</b> , known dated 156 & 163 (B328 of Khwarizm is now listed as Tahirid, type #J1395.)	RRR
318	AE fals, <b>Arrajan</b> , dated in the early 180s	RRR	D328	AE fals, <b>al-Khuttal</b> , dated 177, citing Muhammad b. al-Hasan (Zeno-93025)	RRR
B319	AE fals, <b>Aydhaj</b> , known undated or with years 162 and 167	RRR	F328	AE fals, <b>Kish</b> , date 173, citing Ja'far b. Muhammad and an unread local amir (Zeno-100891)	RRR
E319	AE fals, <b>Badghis</b> (near Herat), undated, probably circa 150-160	RRR	C328	AE fals, <b>Kirman</b> , known dated 199	RRR
319	AE fals, <b>Balkh</b> , always dated, occasional years between 142 and 206 Least rare are the fulus of 182 and 187.	S	328	AE fals, <b>Kurat al-Mahdiya min Fars</b> , 161 Some examples cite the name Jur in the reverse field, hence it is believed to be the same mint as Ardashir Khurra, or perhaps an administrative development near the city of Jur. The name translates as "al-Mahdi's territory in Fars (province)", referring to the caliph al-Mahdi.	RR
319N	AE fals, <b>Binkath</b> , dated 186, citing Siba' b. Mas'ada (Zeno-42076)	RRR	328K	AE fals, <b>Mah</b> , dated 150 The abbreviated name Mah related to either Mah al-Basra or Mah al-Kufa, probably the former.	RRR
A320	AE fals, <b>Bizamqubadh</b> , dated 141 <sup>159</sup>	RRR	328L	AE fals, <b>Mah al-Kufa</b> , known undated and dated 156, 161 and 168	RRR
320	AE fals, <b>Bukhara</b> , always dated, 140s-200s	R	A329	AE fals, <b>Marw</b> , always dated, from about 153 until 188 and perhaps also 194	RR
C321	AE fals, <b>Bust</b> , undated, in name of al-Aswad, or dated 202, citing Dhu'l-Ri'asatayn All variants presumably struck shortly before or after 202. A recently discovered specimen is clearly dated 138, possibly attributable to the aftermath of the 'Abbasid revolution rather than the dynastic period. An issue dated 209 with Sasanian-style bust obverse cites Talha and is assigned to the Tahirids (#1394).	RR	B329	AE fals, <b>Marwrud</b> (Marw al-Rud), known dated 155 only In the names of Malik b. Hammad and Humayd b. Qahtaba, who also appear on fulus of Marw.	RRR
K321	AE fals, <b>Darabjird</b> , known only dated 145, in the name of Isma'il b. 'Ali <sup>160</sup>	RRR	329	AE fals, <b>al-Muhammadiya</b> , always dated, from 148 to 209 or possibly some time in the 210s Most years between 148 and 209 have been reported, suggesting that dated fulus were struck continuously and dated with the year	S

<sup>157</sup> V.N. Nastich has not confirmed any fulus of Bardha'a dated after 166. Bardha'a is now Barda, formerly Armenian but now in central Azerbaijan.

<sup>158</sup> Peus Auktion 378, lot 1238.

<sup>159</sup> Miles, G.C., *Excavation Coins from the Persepolis Region* (= ANS NNM N° 143), New York, 1959, pp. 64-65.

<sup>160</sup> Baldwin's, 8 May 2002, lot 207.

<sup>161</sup> For these two issues, see Islamic Coin Auction #14, lots 83 & 108, respectively. The name Jur (Gur in old Persian) was changed to Firuzabad during the reign of the Buwayhid 'Adu al-Dawla in the 4<sup>th</sup>/10<sup>th</sup> century, purportedly because the Persian word *gur* had come to mean "tomb".

- of production. This phenomenon also applies to the admittedly rarer mint of Hamadan.
- A330 AE fals, **Nasaf**, 157, with horse (similar to the Tahirid #J1395 dated 228, some 70 years later) RRR  
Nasaf is now the city of Karshi (Qarshi) in southern Uzbekistan. Its soccer team is known as Nasaf-Qarshi FC.
- 330 AE fals, **Nihawand**, 150s and 180s, always dated RR  
The issue of 186 was struck on large flans, very similar to the fals of al-Rafiqah dated 189, and is especially attractive, also the least rare of this mint.
- 331 AE fals, **Nishapur**, always dated, reported for 156, 191, 204 and 206 RR
- 331N AE fals, **Nawkath**, dated 205 RRR  
Citing Ghassan & Layth (Zeno-27690). This mint name was formerly read as Tunkath.
- 331Q AE fals, **Qumis**, always dated, known for 154 and 181 RRR
- A332 AE fals, **Ramhurmuz**, known dated 138 & 165 RRR
- 332 AE fals, **al-Rayy**, dated most years between 138-148 and 160 RR  
In 148, Rayy was renamed al-Muhammadiyah (*q.v.*).
- A333 AE fals, **al-Ruyan**, 145 only, in the name of 'Umar b. al-'Ala, governor in Tabaristan<sup>162</sup> RRR
- 333 AE fals, **Sabur**, periodic dated issues from 145-183, plus some undated types S  
The issue of 167 (least rare for this mint) bears the mint name atop the reverse field, whereas all others have it in the obverse or reverse margin.
- A334 AE fals, **al-Saghaniyan**, known dated 146, 148 & 166 (all now on Zeno) RRR
- 334 AE fals, **Samarqand**, almost always dated and with governor's name, 143-198 and 205 RR  
The fals of 205 cites Ghassan b. 'Abbad. Further issues of 205 cite the Samanid ruler Nuh b. Asad (type #M1440).
- 334E AE fals, **al-Shash**, 149 only, in name of Sa'id b. Yahya RR  
Denominated *sittin bi-dirham*, "sixty to a dirham" in the reverse margin. Recently discovered, but no longer extremely rare.
- 334F AE fals, **al-Shash**, dated 204, citing Ghassan b. 'Abbad RRR  
Without dirham fractional denomination. Also reported for 184, unknown name(s).
- A335 AE fals, **Shiraz**, normal Arabic style, known only from 192 in name of 'Abd Allah b. al-Musayyib RR
- B335 AE fals, **Shiraz**, obverse with Sasanian style portrait, dated 137 only RRR  
See #C205 for a similar coin dated 126 in the Umayyad period.
- 335 AE fals, **Sijistan**, always dated, occasional issues from 142 to 194 R  
One variety, dated 151 and in the name of the heir apparent al-Mahdi Muhammad, was struck on flans with a small square central hole, as though mimicking a Chinese cash (RRR).  
**WARNING:** Fakes of the square hold issue dated 151 are now abundant in the market.
- 336 AE fals, **Suq al-Ahwaz**, always dated, occasional issues between 137 and 210 R
- 336A AE fals, **al-Sus**, always dated, known dated 141 and from the 170s RRR
- 337 AE fals, **Tabaristan**, occasionally dated, issued between 155 and 174 RR  
These fulus correspond to the Tabaristan hemidrachms struck between 'Umar and Hani (types #55-69), representing the true copper coinage of Tabaristan, as opposed to the copper hemidrachms, which were contemporary forgeries.
- 337C AE fals, **Taliqan**, circa 150-155 RR  
Most are full fals coppers about 20mm in diameter. A small number appear to be half fals coppers, about 15mm in diameter and with a circle of dots around the mint name, which always appears in the center of the reverse, possibly a half fals by denomination. Only the year 152 is confirmed.<sup>163</sup>
- 337G AE fals, **al-Tarband**, undated, citing 'Abd Allah b. Muhammad (Zeno-69951) RRR  
The mint name, also Turarband, is an early name for Otrar.
- 337H AE fals, **Tawwaj**, countermarked *tawwaj* on other Abbasid fulus RRR  
Reported on an example of type #333, Sabur 156.
- 337K AE fals, **Tirmidh**, dated 142, citing Hasan b. Hamran (Zeno-87255) RRR
- A338 AE fals, **Tustar** (modern Shushtar), known dated 145 & 166 only RRR
- 338 AE fals, **without mint name**, many variations R  
Most have the name of a governor, and some are dated.
- UNDETERMINED ISSUES**
- 338Q AE fals, **without mint**, usually undated, with the name of one or two local individuals R  
For the sake of convenience, this type consolidates unattributed examples that cannot comfortably be assigned to groups #X281, 281, 295, 300 or 308.  
At least 100 local governors, prefects, etc., are known, many also well-known from historical documents. The general region can usually be established for these issues, by style or archaeology, but the specific ruling localities of these officials are frequently unknown.
- 338R AE fals, **without names** of individuals or mints, almost always undated C  
Also for miscellaneous types that cannot be assigned to the same five regional groups.  
These are believed to have been issued mainly in Syria and Iraq. There are dozens, if not hundreds, of minor variations, mostly lightweight, between 0.5g and 2.0g.  
Large quantities of fulus that are stylistically derived from the common type of al-Kufa 167 are found in Syrian and Jaziran accumulations. These are now listed as type #306A.

## SPANISH DYNASTIES

### UMAYYAD OF SPAIN

Miles, George C., *The Coinage of the Umayyads of Spain* (ANS Hispanic Numismatic Studies No. 1), in 2 parts, New York, 1950. A few more types and many new minor variants have been discovered in the subsequent half century, many published in various books and articles in Spain.

Frachoso Sanchez, Rafael, *Las Monedas Califales de ceca al-Andalus y Madinat al-Zahra' 316-403 H.*, Córdoba 1996.

Frachoso Sanchez, Rafael, *Los Feluses de al-Andalus*. Numismatica Córdoba, Madrid, 2001. For the copper coinage (not available to the author in time for this edition of the *Checklist*).

*The Spanish Umayyads established themselves in southern Spain during the 130s/750s (officially in 138/756), and survived for nearly three centuries. At first the Umayyads in Spain adopted the title al-amir, whence the state is termed the Umayyad emirate (138-316 / 756-928). In 316/928 'Abd al-Rahman III acknowledged what had been reality since the dynasty's foundation, and formally took the caliphal titles al-imam and amir al-mu'minin, after which the dynasty was known as the Umayyad caliphate (316-422 / 928-1031). Until about 285/898, the emirate coinage consisted of anonymous silver dirhams, together with a modest issuance of coppers. During the next few decades, only undated and normally anonymous copper coinage was produced, in relatively limited*

<sup>162</sup> This is the same 'Umar b. al-'Ala whose name appears on common hemidrachms of Tabaristan (#55-57).

<sup>163</sup> Taliqan was unknown as an 'Abbasid mint until the late 1990s, when a group of about 30-40 examples reached the market. The group appeared to have been an actual hoard rather than an accumulation of individual finds.

quantities. The caliphate resumed silver dirham production in 316/928, from then onwards citing the ruler's name and titles, together with a limited production of gold coinage. Copper coinage was abandoned under the caliphate.

All coins of the emirate bear the mint name al-Andalus (Andalucía, now a semi-autonomous province in southern Spain), which was presumably located at Córdoba (Qurtuba in Arabic), as do most caliphate coins from 316-335 and again from 365 until the end of the dynasty. From 336 to 364, all coins were minted at the newly established palace compound of Madinat al-Zahra ("the brilliant city", now spelled Medina Azahara), located just outside the city of Córdoba. It briefly struck a few coins during the year 400, before it was almost completely destroyed in the following year. There are dirhams from Madinat Fas (Fès in Morocco) from the late 360s until about 402, as well as a few sporadic issues bearing the names of additional mints, all very rare.<sup>164</sup> After 402, all coins bear the mint name al-Andalus, irrespective of where they were physically produced. The term al-Andalus ("Andalucía") referred to the Islamic region of Spain, at one time nearly the entire peninsula, gradually shrinking to just the region of Granada by the 14<sup>th</sup> century.

There was no gold coinage produced under the emirate, with the first caliph dinar struck in 317. Most of the caliph rulers also struck fractional dinars, modestly rare under 'Abd al-Rahman III but very rare thereafter.

The copper coins of the Umayyads of Spain generally lack the mint name. They are assigned to this dynasty by style and provenance, as they are only found in Spain. There was no proper copper coinage during the caliphate, though some copper strikes from dirham dies are known, probably contemporary forgeries possibly struck from official dies. Some of the late 4<sup>th</sup> and early 5<sup>th</sup> century silver is occasionally slightly debased.

Until the 180s, Umayyad dirhams are remarkably well struck, closely resembling the traditional dirhams of the great Umayyads. Thereafter, quality control deteriorated. With the exception of a few years in the 240s to 260s, truly nice examples from the late 190s until the end of the emirate are rarely encountered. Excellent production accompanied the resumption of precious metal coinage in 316, though for some reason specimens are commonly found lightly crimped or bent. For most years from the 350s to the very early 400s, gorgeous examples are by no means uncommon. The gold dinars were almost always carefully struck.

Unlike the emirate dies, the inscriptions on the coinage dies of the caliphate period were no longer engraved with chisels, but with punches, thus enabling the mints or their assistants to quickly engrave a die. The British engraver David Greenhaugh, [www.grunal.com](http://www.grunal.com), who sets up at Renaissance Faires in England, showed me how a pair of dies could be created in less than three or four hours.

Occasionally in the 200s and almost always from 321 onwards, the name of a subordinate official is added to the obverse or reverse field. While some of these officials are known from historical sources, including viziers and other high officials, most of the names are known only from the coins. It has been hypothesized that these names refer to mintmasters, and that the viziers and other identified names refer to persons who may also have held the position of mintmaster. In this edition, I have divided each ruler's dirhams into subtypes representing each of the mintmaster or other names. Approximately the same division applies to the gold coinage, but I have not attempted that here.

#### First period, the emirate:

Coins of the emirate retain the anonymous type of the Syrian Umayyad post-reform dirham, and are similarly assigned by date to specific rulers. However, unlike their Syrian Umayyad prototype, these coins often have special symbols, letters, or names, and were struck in several styles, suggesting the possibility either of multiple mints or of secret marks to encode the engraver, workshop, or some other control mechanism.

Emirate dirhams are occasionally found slotted, with a small strip of additional silver inserted into the slot, in order to increase the total weight of the coin (#A346). These unusual pieces are rare and avidly sought after. The purpose of this perplexing habit is unknown.

#### **'Abd al-Rahman I, 138-172 / 756-788**

- 339 AR dirham C  
The standard silver coinage of this ruler began in 145. Coins of all years between 145 and 149 are known, but are extremely rare, but from 150 onwards most dates are reasonably common.

<sup>164</sup> According to Miles, the additional dirham mints are Madinat Tarifa (380), Madinat Qurtuba (381), al-Mansura (395), al-Nakur (372, 387, 396-397), and al-Wata (402). For the gold dinars, only Sijjilmasa (various years 378-395) and Safaqs (384). Others have likely been subsequently discovered.

#### **Hisham I, 172-180 / 788-796**

- 340 AR dirham R

#### **al-Hakam I, 180-206 / 796-822**

- 341 AR dirham C

During this reign, varying symbols were sometimes incorporated into the obverse and reverse fields. Most of these variants are described by Miles, though additional minor variants are constantly discovered.

#### **'Abd al-Rahman II, 206-238 / 822-852**

- 342.1 AR dirham, without official names C

- 342.2 AR dirham, citing Yahya, 219-221 & 230 S

- 342.3 AR dirham, citing Basil, 222-224 R

#### **Muhammad I, 238-273 / 852-886**

- 343.1 AR dirham, without local name C

Later issues after about 250 were struck on very broad, thin flans, usually much more carefully. There is considerable calligraphic variation during this reign.

- 343.2 AR dirham, citing Mu'adh, 240-244 S

- 343.3 AR dirham, citing Ibn Fahd, 263-266 R

This name appears on the obverse, either in the field or in the outer margin, between two of the annulets.

- 343F AE fals, struck at al-Andalus & dated 268 RR

#### **al-Mundhir, 273-275 / 886-888**

- 344 AR dirham RR

#### **'Abd Allah, 275-300 / 888-912**

- 345 AR dirham RR

The latest confirmed date is 285. Thereafter, no silver was struck in Spain until 316. One coin of 279 is said to bear the name of an official, Husayn.

#### **"Slotted" dirhams**

- A346 AR dirham, slotted with additional piece of metal inserted into the slot, various reigns as above RR

Found on silver dirhams from al-Hakam I through 'Abd Allah, possibly earlier.

The additional metal was apparently added to increase the weight of the coin, for reasons unknown. Specimens with such slots but lacking the added piece of silver are much more common (S) than intact examples. Most of the added slivers seem to have been cut from a normal full dirham, and most seem to weigh about 0.1-0.2 grams.

#### **Anonymous copper coins, circa 130s-310 / 750s-920**

- 346 AE fals, without name of governor, occasionally with date and/or mint (al-Andalus), various types, circa 130s-200s / 750s-820s S

Few of these and later Spanish Umayyad fulus were published prior to the remarkable study by Frochoso Sanchez. Most have only recently been identified, due to some accumulations or hoards found in the early 1990s. Most are small and thick, but vary greatly in weight, from less than 1g to more than 3g. Normally with marginal inscriptions on one or both sides.

- B347 AE fals, style of silver dirham, very thin flans, always dated, dates in the middle to later 200s/800s RRR

See #343F for the fals dated 268 that cites the amir by name.

- 347 AE fals, with name of local governor, many variants, never dated, believed struck circa 300/910, thin flans RR

At least a dozen names have been recorded, virtually none of whom have been identified from historical records.

- 347A AE fals, similar, but without governor's name, always undated, struck circa 280-310 / 895-920, thin flans R

These two issues (#347 & 347A) are the last Islamic copper coins struck in Spain, except for a brief Nasrid issue of the 15<sup>th</sup> century (#418).

Types #B347, 347 and 347A can be easily distinguished from #346 by their thin flan and fine calligraphy. Type #B347 is always dated in a marginal legend (frequently off flan), whereas #347 and 347A have no marginal legends and are never dated.

Second period, the caliphate:

Coins of this period bore the name and title of the caliph, usually with one or two additional names which refer principally to mint officials unknown from the contemporary written sources, sometimes to viziers and other higher officials. In addition, the caliphs took a regnal name, which is included in the reverse field legends on nearly all coins and is noted here in parentheses after the caliph's proper name.

**'Abd al-Rahman III, 300-350 / 912-961  
(al-Nasir li-din Allah)**

Coinage of this ruler began in 316 for silver and 317 for gold. Most of the gold coins cite the same mint director as found on the silver, though fewer dates are usually known for the gold than for the silver. The same factor applies to later reigns.

Most fractional dinars dated 319-328 are without mint name.

- |   |   |     |
|---|---|-----|
| 348   | AV dinar  | R   |
| A349  | AV 1/3 dinar  | RR  |
| 349   | AV 1/4 dinar  | R   |
| It is not always possible to distinguish worn examples of types #A349 and 349, as both indicate the denomination as <i>dinar</i> .  |   |     |
| 350.1   | AR dirham, without name of an official, struck 316-320                                | RR  |
| One extremely rare variety of year 316 retains the Qur'anic verse (Surat 112) in the reverse field (as on all coins of the emirate), with the name of the ruler beneath the obverse field.  |   |     |
| 350.2   | AR dirham, citing Ibn Yunus, 320 only   | RRR |
| According to the historian Ibn 'Idhari, Yahya b. Yunus was named mint director on 4 Shawwal 320. Such detailed information is unknown for all other named individuals, other than those who served as vizier or in another high position. |   |     |
| 350.3   | AR dirham, citing Muhammad I, 320-321   | RR  |
| One example is known allegedly dated 330, possibly a misreading of 320 or just a publisher's typo.  |   |     |
| 350.4   | AR dirham, citing Sa'id, 322-329  | S   |
| 350.5   | AR dirham, citing Qasim, 330-332  | S   |
| 350.6   | AR dirham, citing Muhammad II, 332-334  | S   |
| 350.7   | AR dirham, citing Hashim, 334-335   | R   |
| 350.8   | AR dirham, citing 'Abd Allah, 335-336   | R   |
| 350.9   | AR dirham, citing Muhammad III, 336-346   | C   |
| It is not known whether the three Muhammads of #350.3, 350.6 and 350.9 refer to the same or different individuals.  |   |     |
| 350.10  | AR dirham, citing Ahmad, 346-350  | C   |
| 350B  | AE "dirham", dated mainly in the 340s, either contemporary forgery of local imitation | R   |

**al-Hakam II, 350-366 / 961-976 (al-Mustansir)**

- |   |   |    |
|---|---|----|
| 351   | AV dinar <sup>165</sup>   | R  |
| 352.1   | AR dirham, citing Yahya, 350-351  | R  |
| 352.2   | AR dirham, citing 'Abd al-Rahman (not to be confused with the previous caliph), 351-356 | C  |
| 352.3   | AR dirham, citing Shahid, 356   | R  |
| 352.4   | AR dirham, citing 'Amir, 356-361, 363-366   | C  |
| This person was Abu'l-'Amir Muhammad b. 'Abd Allah, known popularly as Almanzor, the <i>hajib</i> ("chamberlain") of Hisham II and the effective leader of the Spanish Umayyad caliphate from the late 350s until his death in 392. |   |    |
| 352.5   | AR dirham, without name of any mint director or vizier, 361-363                         | C  |
| 352.6   | AR dirham, citing Yahya, 363 only   | RR |
| This Yahya is likely a different individual than the Yahya of type #352.1.  |   |    |

- |      |  |   |
|------|--|---|
| 352B | AE "dirham", citing 'Amir, date intended either for 350 or 365, contemporary forgery | S |
|------|--|---|

**Hisham II, 1<sup>st</sup> reign, 366-399 / 976-1009  
(al-Mu'ayyad)**

- |   |   |     |
|---|---|-----|
| 353   | AV dinar (about 4.3g), fine style (al-Andalus mint)   | R   |
| An extremely rare dinar of this type is known from the mint of Fès, dated 389.  |   |     |
| 353S  | AV dinar, coarse style (Sijilmasa mint, though mint name and date are usually off flan or omitted)        | R   |
| A354  | AV fractional dinar   | RR  |
| Most fractions seem to be about 1/3 dinar weight, but can vary from less than one quarter to fully half the dinar weight. It seems that no fixed denomination was intended.   |   |     |
| 354.1   | AR dirham, citing only 'Amir (= Almanzor), 366-386  | C   |
| The alleged year 399 of this type is a misreading of 379, the first common year of this reign. Dates prior to 379 are scarce or rare. Some examples of types #354.1-354.8 in nearly pure copper are known, either "mint forgeries" or private forgeries from purloined dies, or less likely, 19 <sup>th</sup> or early 20 <sup>th</sup> century fakes for collectors. |   |     |
| 354.2   | AR dirham, citing 'Amir & Muhammad, 384-385 and occasionally in 386 and 387, then commonly again 388-391  | C   |
| It remains undetermined whether the Muhammad of 386-387 and his namesake of 388-391 are the same or different individuals.  |   |     |
| 354.3   | AR dirham, citing 'Amir & Mufarrij, 386-387   | S   |
| 354.4   | AR dirham, citing 'Amir & Tamlij, 391-392   | C   |
| 354.5   | AR dirham, citing the <i>hajib</i> 'Abd al-Malik together with Tamlij, 392 only                           | RR  |
| 354.6   | AR dirham, citing the <i>hajib</i> 'Abd al-Malik on reverse and another 'Abd al-Malik on obverse, 393-397 | C   |
| The <i>hajib</i> 'Abd al-Malik was the son of 'Amir (Almanzor), while the other name refers to 'Abd al-Malik b. 'Isa, who was the mint director during these five years.  |   |     |
| 354.7   | AR dirham, citing the <i>hajib</i> 'Abd al-Malik & Shahid, 397-398  | S   |
| 354.8   | AR dirham, citing Ibn Burd on obverse + the <i>hajib</i> 'Abd al-'Aziz on reverse, 399 only               | RRR |
| Ibn Burd is Ahmad b. Burd al-Akbar, the vizier in Córdoba, 394-399.   |   |     |
| 354A  | AR dirham, mint of Fès, dated occasionally from 367-371, then continuously from 377-399                   | RR  |
| From about 386 onwards, Fès dirhams cite a different director than the director found on the common dirhams of al-Andalus.  |   |     |

Third period, decline of the dynasty

**Muhammad II, 399-400 / 1009 (9 months) (al-Mahdi)**

Coins of Muhammad II and his immediate successors Sulayman (1<sup>st</sup> reign) and Hisham II (2<sup>nd</sup> reign until 403) are surprisingly common for so short a span. Perhaps they were struck in immense quantities to cover the dynastic feuds that broke out in 399, or were hidden and lost during the warfare. All Spanish Umayyad coinage dated after 402 is rare.

- |       |  |    |
|-------|--|----|
| 355   | AV dinar   | RR |
| 356.1 | AR dirham, citing Jahwar, 399-400  | S  |
| 356.2 | AR dirham, citing Ibn Maslama, 400   | S  |
| 356.3 | AR dirham, citing Muhammad (perhaps a mint official bearing the same personal name as the caliph), 400 | S  |

**Sulayman, 1<sup>st</sup> reign, 400 / 1009-1010  
(6½ months) (al-Musta'in)**

- |  |   |    |
|--|---|----|
| 357  | AV dinar  | RR |
| 358.1  | AR dirham, citing Ibn Maslama, mint of al-Andalus | S  |
| Some other names occur on very rare dirhams, which may be imitations or contemporary errors. |   |    |

<sup>165</sup> Gold dinars dated 357 cite a certain Ja'far as *hajib*, not recorded on contemporary silver dirhams.

- 358.2 AR dirham, citing Ibn Shuhayd & the *wali al-'ahd* Muhammad, mint of Madinat al-Zahra S  
 A few very rare dirhams exist dated 401 and 402, some with names different from those found on #358.1 and 358.2.

**Hisham II, 2<sup>nd</sup> reign, 400-403 / 1010-1013**

- 359 AV dinar RR  
 359A AV fractional dinar (perhaps ¼ dinar) RRR  
 360.1 AR dirham, citing Ibn Maslama, dated 400 R  
 360.2 AR dirham, citing al-Bakri, 401 S  
 360.3 AR dirham, citing 'Abd Allah, 401-402 R?  
 360.4 AR dirham, citing Sa'id bin Yusuf, 402-403 R?  
 360.5 AR dirham, citing Ibn 'Abbas, 402-403 RR

A rare variant is struck from dies meant for the dinar (probably several types).

- 360E AR dirham, citing only Hisham and struck at the mint of al-Wata (probably Elota), 402-403 RRR

- 360M AR dirham, posthumous issues, dated 404 until 409 or perhaps later, al-Andalus mint only RR

Names noted on these posthumous issues include Sa'id b. Yusuf, Mudrik, probably several others.

After Hisham's death in 403/1013, his name was retained on many coins of the Muluk al-Tawa'if as the ostensible source of their legitimacy, beginning in the year 422 and continuing at least until 476, the latest date published by Vives. In addition, his name was retained on the early Hammudid coinage struck by 'Ali b. Hammud, dated 403-406.

**Sulayman, 2<sup>nd</sup> reign, 403-407 / 1013-1016**

The heir (*wali al-'ahd*) Muhammad appears on the reverse of all coins of Sulayman's 2<sup>nd</sup> reign.

- A361 AV dinar RRR  
 361.1 AR dirham, citing Muhammad and Wali al-'Ahd Muhammad, dated 403 RR?  
 The term *wali al-'ahd* means "heir"; it is unknown whether the names Muhammad without and Muhammad with that title refer to the same person. Some examples have only Wali al-'Ahd Muhammad.  
 361.2 AR dirham, citing Habib, 403-404 R  
 361.3 AR dirham, citing Ibn Hudayr in 403 or Hudayr in 404 (may also be read as Hukayr) RR  
 361.4 AR dirham, citing Mudrik, 404-405 RR

**'Abd al-Rahman V, 414 / 1023-1024 (for 47 days) (al-Mustazhir)**

- A362 AR dirham RRR  
 Citing 'Amir beneath obverse. This cannot be the famous 'Amir known as Almanzor who died 22 years earlier, in 392/1002.

**Muhammad III, 414-416 / 1024-1025 (al-Mustakfi)**

- B362 AV dinar RRR  
 Citing Bakr beneath obverse.  
 C362 AV fractional dinar RRR  
 Three varieties, citing either Iftitah, Hisham, or Ibn Tamam beneath obverse.  
 D362 AR dirham, names as on #B362 RRR

**Hisham III (al-Mu'tadd), 418-422 / 1027-1031**

- E362 AV dinar RRR  
 Citing Iftitah beneath reverse in 418, Ibn Dhakwan beneath obverse in 422, only years known.  
 F362 AV fractional dinar RR  
 Citing Ibn Tamam<sup>166</sup> beneath obverse, known dated 421-425 (*sic*), though the date is rarely visible.

**MULUK AL-TAWA'IF**

Miles, George C., *Coins of the Spanish Muluk al-Tawa'if* (ANS Hispanic Numismatic Studies No. 3), New York, 1954.

Prieto y Vives, Antonio, *Los Reyes de Taifas*, Madrid, 1926. The standard reference on the series, though now somewhat outdated.

Vives y Escudero, Antonio, *Monedas de las Dinastías Árabe-Española*, Madrid, 1893, reprinted in 1978. The Arabic coin inscriptions are written out in full, only in Arabic. Only a small number of types are illustrated, but the full plates were finally published in Madrid in 1998, more than a century after its preparation! References abbreviated VyE.

Medina Gómez, Antonio, *Monedas Hispano-Musulmanas, Manual de lectura y clasificación*, Toledo, 1992, also useful for other Spanish dynasties. This remains the best guide to deciphering the often very obscure legends on coins of the Muluk al-Tawa'if, pictured both in Arabic and in Spanish transliteration.

Wasserstein, David, *The Rise and Fall of the Party-Kings*, Princeton 1985. The most up-to-date genealogical listing, with occasional references to the coins, and an absolute prerequisite for the understanding of the complex historical context of the coinage.

*After the collapse of the Umayyad caliphate in the 400s/1010s, Spain was divided between a large number of rival dynasties, known as the Muluk al-Tawa'if, in Spanish los reyes de taifas, "factional kings." More than 20 small states produced coinage, much of it extremely rare. In general, coins of the Muluk al-Tawa'if fetch relatively high prices in comparison with coins of other regions of comparable rarity, due to their popularity amongst Spanish collectors. Moreover, significant hoards have very rarely been discovered since the 1930s.*

*After about 430/1040, the silver coins of the Muluk al-Tawa'if were struck from increasingly alloyed silver, so that by the end of the 5<sup>th</sup>/11<sup>th</sup> century, most are nearly pure copper. They are designated in the Checklist as silver or billon, irrespective of their actual alloy.*

Most early coins bear the mint name al-Andalus, a generic term for any location within Spain, but gradually, the actual names of local mints replaced the generic name, as noted in the listings below.

The gold coins are generally carefully struck (except the fractions, which are often badly struck), but the silver coins vary considerably, with the majority poorly struck, especially the increasingly debased issues of the later 5<sup>th</sup>/11<sup>th</sup> century.

Many of the Muluk al-Tawa'if struck fractional dinars (usually in addition to full dinars). These approximate the quarter of a standard dinar of about 4.25g, but individual specimens vary widely in weight, from as little as 0.3g to more than 1.5g. Later gold coinage, after mid-century, is often debased, especially the fractional issues, where the debasement level is sometimes extreme, either with silver, copper or a mixture thereof.

In addition to the ruler, other names are commonly mentioned on coins of the Muluk al-Tawa'if. Most cite a caliph, either the Hammudid (until the demise of that dynasty in 446/1055, the deceased Umayyad caliph Hisham II, or 'Abd Allah, "Servant of God", a generic term for an unspecified caliph. Many cite a subordinate official normally known as al-hajib, literally "chamberlain", but referring normally either to the royal heir or to a regent or chief amir.

Most coinage of the Muluk al-Tawa'if reflects a coarse calligraphic style due to the method of die production that had been introduced during the reign of the Spanish Umayyad 'Abd al-Rahman III. Letters were not engraved or chiseled, but were hand-stamped into the die with a limited number of punches. While this method was inexpensive and convenient, the result was an unpleasantly coarse calligraphic style. Only a few later issues, such as the coinage of the Kingdom of Mallorca, were produced from more artistically engraved dies.

Due to the infrequency with which the Muluk al-Tawa'if coins appear for sale, the rarity estimates are somewhat conjectural, partly based on Prieto y Vives, partly my own guess. This applies especially to the fractional dinars and dirhams, largely disdained by traditional collectors prior to the 1960s. The prices of all full-size dirhams of the Muluk al-Tawa'if have risen significantly over the past few years, whereas the gold has been expensive for many decades.

**HAMMUDID OF MÁLAGA**

Rodriguez Lorente, Juan José, and Tawfiq ibn Hafiz Ibrahim, *Numismática de Ceuta musulmana*, Madrid 1987. Also included are coins of other dynasties struck at Ceuta (*sabta* or *madinat sabta* in Arabic).

*Originally Umayyad governors at Ceuta, the Hammudids rose to power following the collapse of Umayyad rule in 399-400.*

<sup>166</sup> Read as Ibn Hamam by Prieto y Vives, Ibn Tamam by Medina Gómez, the latter now believed to be correct. He has been described as a quasi-independent "gobernador".

In 407 al-Nasir 'Ali assumed the caliphate at Córdoba after deposing and then murdering the Umayyad Sulayman. The Hammudids remained caliphs at Córdoba until 416, when they were driven out once again by the Umayyads. Thereafter, they established the seat of their caliphate on the Mediterranean coast at Málaga. They were the only dynasty amongst the Muluk al-Tawa'if to retain the title of caliph, rather than amir ("officer") or malik ("king").

Nearly all Hammudid coins struck on the Spanish side of the Strait of Gibraltar bear the name al-Andalus for their mint, and were struck 406-413 and 437-446. Only a few extremely rare types cite the mint as Málaga (malaqa in Arabic), though it seems plausible that the mint entitled al-Andalus was actually located at Málaga. Those of Ceuta on the African side use the mint name Sabta (Ceuta), and were struck continuously from 403-444. Most Hammudid coins are rather well struck, especially before about 440.

Although the first three rulers, 'Ali, al-Qasim and Yahya, were members of the Hammudid dynasty, some scholars, including Medina Gómez, regard these three as a continuation of the Umayyad caliphate.

#### al-Nasir 'Ali, 400-408 / 1009-1018

On both the dinars and dirhams, issues of 403-405 recognize the Umayyad caliph Sulayman, those of 405-407 the deceased caliph Hisham II.

- 362.1 AV dinar, as nominal vassal of the Umayyad RR  
Struck 403-406 only.
- 362.2 AV dinar, as caliph, without overlord RR  
Struck 407-408 only. Citing Yahya as heir.
- 363.1 AR dirham, as Umayyad vassal (403-407) R
- 363.2 AR dirham, as caliph (407-408), without overlord, RR  
citing Yahya as heir

#### al-Ma'mun al-Qasim (b. Hammud), 408-414 / 1018-1023

Most dinars and dirhams of al-Qasim cite the heir Yahya (as *wali al-'ahd*). One dinar of al-Andalus 413 cites Muhammad as heir (RRR).

- 364 AV dinar RR
- 364A AV dinar, citing the governor Sa'id b. Yusuf RRR  
(al-Andalus 411 only)
- 365 AR dirham S

#### al-Mu'tali Yahya (b. 'Ali), 412-427 / 1021-1035

Rival to al-Qasim until 414. All his coins also cite the heir Idris on the obverse, except a few extremely rare dinars struck at mints other than Sabta.

- 366.1 AV dinar, without governor (412-418) RR
- 366.2 AV dinar, also citing the governor Qasim (418-426), RR  
not to be confounded with the previous Hammudid caliph al-Qasim
- 367.1 AR dirham, without governor (412-418) S
- 367.2 AR dirham, also citing the governor Qasim S  
(418-426)

#### al-Muta'ayyad Idris I (b. 'Ali), 427-430 / 1035-1038

- A368 AV dinar, with heir al-Hasan RRR
- 368 AR dirham, with heir al-Hasan RR

#### al-Mustansir al-Hasan (b. Yahya), 430-434 / 1038-1042

- 369 AR dirham, without heir, dated 430 only<sup>167</sup> RRR

#### al-'Ali Idris II (b. Yahya), 1<sup>st</sup> reign in Spain, 434-438 / 1043-1047

- 370 AR dirham, without heir, mint of al-Andalus RR  
Known coins are dated 437-439 (*sic*).

#### al-'Ali Idris II, in Ceuta (Sabta), 438-444 / 1047-1052

- 370A AR dirham, Sabta mint, 439-444, with Muhammad RR  
either as *amir* or as *wali al-'ahd*

#### al-'Ali Idris II, 2<sup>nd</sup> reign in Spain, 444-446 / 1052-1054

- 370B AR dirham, with Muhammad as heir (*wali al-'ahd*) RR  
Mint name al-Andalus 444-445 and Málaga in 446.

#### al-Mahdi Muhammad I (b. Idris), in Málaga, 438-446 / 1047-1055

- 371.1 AR or billon dirham, without the title RR  
*al-amir* (438-440)
- 371.2 BI dirham, with Yahya as *al-amir* (440-446) S

On both types, the mint name is always al-Andalus. The metal is often nearly pure copper, especially #371.2, which is perhaps the most common dirham of all the Muluk al-Tawa'if.

#### al-Qasim II, in Algeciras (al-Jazira), 440-446 / 1048-1054

- 371A AR dirham RR  
The mint name for this ruler at al-Jazira is always al-Andalus. All his dirhams cite him as *al-amir*, together with the Málaga Hammudid caliph Muhammad as *al-imam*.

### HAMMUDID OF WADI LAU

Medina, Antonio, "Wadi Lau, ceca africana de los Hammudies de Málaga", *I Jarique*, Zaragoza 1988, pp. 173-174

#### Hasan, fl. 441 / 1050

- A372 BI dirham, nearly copper, full flan R
- B372 BI ½ dirham, similar, irregular flan RR
- The affiliation of Hasan to the Hammudid line has not been established. All his coins are dated 441, minted at Wadi Lau (modern Oued Laou in Morocco), and derive from a single hoard of a few hundred examples that surfaced in the 1970s. All cite the Málaga Hammudid al-Mahdi Muhammad (#371) as overlord. The weights of both denominations vary considerably. Those struck on full flans are regarded as full dirhams, irrespective of weight. Those struck on irregular flans, always smaller than the dies, are regarded as halves.

### ZIRID OF GRANADA

The Zirid dynasty arose in North Africa as Fatimid allies in the early 4<sup>th</sup>/10<sup>th</sup> century. The family split into two branches later in the 10<sup>th</sup> century, one remaining in Tunisia, one coming to Granada. The Granada issues are listed here. See #458-460 for the Tunisian branch.

All coins of Badis lack his name or titular references. Issues of his two successors, sons of Buluggin, bear their titular names.

Nearly all coins of this dynasty were struck at Granada (Madinat Gharnata), with a few rare pieces from Málaga. The mint al-Andalus for this series is assumed to have been at Granada.

#### temp. Badis b. Habbus, circa 429-465 / 1038-1073

- H372 AV fractional dinar, no caliph, always undated RR  
Citing two individuals entitled *al-hajib*, Sayf al-Dawla (= his son Buluggin) and al-Mu'izz (= his grandson Tamim).
- I372 AV fractional dinar, totally anonymous, usually dated R  
Type of Medina Gómez #77, two circular marginal inscriptions each side, religious text in the center, expanding on the obverse to the date in the outer margin, almost never legible.
- 372 AR double dirham, no caliph, fully anonymous, usually with mint name Granada, struck on squarish flans (5.5-7.5g), always undated S  
Individual specimens of types #372 & 373.1 vary considerably from the weight standards, but can be distinguished, with those over about 4.5g reckoned as double dirhams. The mint name is frequently off flan.
- G372 AR dirham, with mint name, citing the deceased Hammudid al-'Ali Idris II as caliph, either dated or undated RR  
Known from mints Málaga (450-453), al-Andalus (453), and Granada (454-455). Undated versions also known for all three mints. This type, struck 450-454, is usually well struck and dated, where the other dirhams, as well as the doubles and fractionals, are haphazardly made.

<sup>167</sup> Most sources place the death of Idris I and succession of al-Hasan in 431/1039, but the coins seem to confirm 430 as correct.

373.1	AR dirham, no caliph, fully anonymous, type as #372, round flan (2.5-3.5g), undated Made from rather thin flans, usually rather evenly struck. Some bear the word <i>jahan</i> above the reverse field (RR).	R	376.5	AR dirham, with al-Muzaffar & Ibn Aghlab (448-451)	R
373.2	AR dirham, similar, but square flan (2.5-3.5g), undated	S	376A	AR fractional dirham, with the names al-Mansur and al-Mu'tasim, mint al-Andalus or Balansiya, almost always undated	RR
373.3	AR fractional dirham (1.0-1.75g), undated Struck on square or irregular planchets, normally thin, probably struck with the same dies used for the single dirhams.	R		Almost always without legible mint or date, though dated examples are recorded as early as 431, thus four years before the earliest full dirhams. Many cite a subordinate governor.	
	<b>'Abd Allah b. Buluggin (b. Badis), in Granada, 465-483 / 1073-1090</b>		376B	AR fractional dirham, mint of Mursiya (Murcia), with the names of al-Mansur and al-Muzaffar, undated	RRR
373A	AR dirham With his titles <i>al-Muzaffar billah</i> and <i>al-Nasir li-din Allah</i> , as well as his <i>kunya</i> Abu Muhammad, but without his personal name 'Abd Allah. Known dated 474 only.	RRR		<b>'Abd al-Malik al-Muzaffar, 452-457 / 1061-1065</b>	
	<b>al-Mu'izz Tamim b. Buluggin, in Málaga, 459-483 / 1067-1090</b>		377	AV fractional dinar	RR
373C	AV dinar, known from Málaga 474 & 477 only	RRR	378	AR dirham, mint of Balansiya, citing Ibn Aghlab (453-457)	RR
373B	AR dirham, Málaga mint, dated 474-477 Tamim's coins are without his personal name, but with his titles <i>al-Mustansir</i> and <i>al-Mu'izz li-din Allah</i> , together with his <i>kunya</i> Abu Mu'add. His dinars also cite <i>al-hajib</i> Sayf al-Dawla, possibly his heir. He was a descendent of the Hammudids, through al-Qasim II. It is possible that <i>al-Mustansir Abu Mu'add</i> is a reference to the Fatimid Imam (427-487/1036-1094), not the title and <i>kunya</i> of al-Mu'izz Tamim.	RRR		Dirhams dated 456-457 and some fractional dinars cite al-Zahir, presumably the title of al-Muzaffar's heir.	
	<b>BARGHAWATID OF CEUTA</b>			<b>'AMIRID OF ALMERÍA</b>	
	<b>Saqawt b. Muhammad (al-Mansur), 453-471 / 1061-1078</b>			Normally the mint name is not cited on coins of this principality. The Almería fractions are usually distinguished from their Valencia counterpart by the longer inscription: the name and titles of the deceased caliph Hisham are written in one or two lines on the Valencia pieces, in three lines on the Almería. All Almería types bear the name of a local individual, perhaps a governor, of which three are known: Ghalib, Muhammad b. Aswad and Ibn 'Abd al-Rahim, cited in the obverse margin, therefore usually illegible.	
374	AR dirham, minted at Sabta (Ceuta), known dated 464-467 Coins of this type cite his son al-'Izz as <i>al-hajib</i> , together with his pre-accession title of Baha' al-Dawla.	RR		<b>'Abd al-'Aziz al-Mansur of Valencia, in Almería, circa 429-435 / 1037-1044</b>	
	<b>al-'Izz b. Saqawt (Diya' al-Dawla), 471-476 / 1078-1083</b>		379	AV fractional dinar	S
374A	AR dirham, without mint or date	RRR		Most were struck from dies with mint name al-Mariya (Almería) & date, but these are rarely legible. Some are from dies without any marginal inscriptions, thus without mint or date.	
	<b>'AMIRID OF VALENCIA</b>		380	AR fractional dirham, similar	R
	Until 431, all coins bear the generic mint name al-Andalus, thereafter Balansiya (Valencia), plus a few later issues of Mursiya (Murcia). The dirhams usually bear the name of an additional official, ostensibly the mintmaster. The dirhams of 'Abd al-'Aziz also bear a second title, al-Mu'tasim (435-442), al-Nasir (442-448) and al-Muzaffar (448-452); these titles probably refer to his sons named as heir, of which only the last one is known in history (his immediate successor 'Abd al-Malik). The personal names 'Abd al-'Aziz and 'Abd al-Malik never appear on the coins.			<b>SLAVE KINGDOM OF DENIA</b>	
	<b>'Abd al-'Aziz al-Mansur, 412-452 / 1021-1061</b>			Most coins struck at Daniya (Denia), with a few rare examples from Mayurqa (Mallorca).	
T375	AV dinar, known only of al-Andalus 427, citing Ibn Najba	RRR		<b>Mujahid al-'Amiri, 1<sup>st</sup> "reign", 404-?? / 1013-??</b>	
375	AV fractional dinar, known dated 427 & 428, but usually without legible date or undated These relatively common fractional dinars lack the ruler's proper name and bear only his dynastic name 'Amir. Later fractional dinars are known bearing his <i>laqab</i> al-Mansur together with the title of his heir, either al-Nasir or al-Muzaffar (R?). Those dated 427 & 428 bear the name (Ibn) Najba. A common type of the dateless variant cites Ibn 'Abd al-Rahim.	S	E381	AR dirham	RRR
376.1	AR dirham, with al-Mu'tasim and the amir Najba (435-440) All full dirhams bear the mint name Balansiya (Valencia), and are struck on debased silver, both this and all subsequent issues.	RR		Struck only at al-Wata (probably Elota) in 405-406, citing the hypothetical 'Abd Allah as caliph. Struck in good silver, citing 'Abd al-Rahman (unknown official) on obverse, Mujahid on reverse. Earlier issues of al-Wata, citing only the caliph Hisham II and dated 402-403, are regarded as Umayyad issues (type #360E).	
376.2	AR dirham, with al-Mu'tasim and no local amir (441-442)	RR		<b>Sa'd al-Dawla Hasan b. Mujahid, fl. 430-432 / 1038-1040</b> Possibly in rebellion against his father.	
376.3	AR dirham, with al-Nasir and Tarfa b. Qumis (442-443)	RRR	F381	AR fractional dirham	RRR
376.4	AR dirham, with al-Nasir & Ibn Aghlab (443-448)	R		Occasionally showing the mint Daniya or the date. Some bear the title Sa'd al-Dawla, none bear his father's name.	
				<b>Mujahid al-'Amiri, 2<sup>nd</sup> reign, after 432-436 / after 1040-1044</b>	
			G381	AV fractional dinar, without mint and undated	RRR
			H381	AR dirham	RR
				Both the gold & silver cite 'Ali & Hasan (his two sons?) on the obverse. Mints Mallorca & Denia, always dated.	
				<b>Iqbal al-Dawla 'Ali b. Mujahid, 436-468 / 1044-1076</b>	
			V381	AV fractional dinar, no mint or date	RRR
				Citing Iqbal al-Dawla (title only) & either 'Abd al-Malik or Mu'izz al-Dawla.	
			381.1	AR dirham, citing Muhammad (437-441), mints of Mallorca & Denia)	RR
			381.2	AR dirham, citing 'Abd al-Malik (442-443, mint of Denia only)	RRR?



381.3 AR dirham, citing Mu'izz al-Dawla (446-468, mint of Denia only) RR

### KINGDOM OF MALLORCA

All coins struck at Mayurqa (Mallorca, aka Majorca), normally well struck with handsomely engraved dies, unlike virtually all other later coins of the Muluk al-Tawa'if. Mallorca belonged to the kings of Denia before 468.

'Abd Allah al-Murtada, 468-486 / 1076-1093  
382 AR dirham, struck 480-486 RR

Nasir al-Dawla Mubashshir (b. Sulayman),  
486-508 / 1093-1115

383 BI dirham (very coppery) S

383A BI fractional dirham, irregular flans R  
Probably clipped down from full dirhams to use as change.

### TUJIBID OF ZARAGOZA

All coins struck at Saraqusta (Zaragoza), and generally rather well struck, with the mint name Saraqusta often legible. All rulers bore the title of al-hajib ("chamberlain").

Yahya b. Mundhir I, 414-420 / 1023-1029  
A384 AV dinar RR

Struck as *al-hajib* first citing the Hammudid caliph al-Qasim (415), later the imaginary caliph 'Abd Allah (416-417).

B384 AV fractional dinar, no mint or date RRR  
al-Mansur Mundhir II (Mu'izz al-Dawla),  
circa 420-430 / 1029-1038

384 AV dinar, always dated RR  
Citing either Hisham III or the imaginary 'Abd Allah as caliph.

384A AV fractional dinar, with mint & date (usually off flan) RR

384B AR dirham, citing 'Abd Allah as caliph, known dated 430 RRR

'Abd Allah b. al-Hakam, 430-431 / 1038-1039

384C AR dirham, known dated 430 RRR  
Zaragoza passed to the Hudids in 431/1039.

### HUDID OF ZARAGOZA

All coins struck at Saraqusta (Zaragoza). Full dinars and dirhams always bear mint and date, and often bear either the title *al-hajib* or the dynastic title Ibn Hud. They are generally well struck, from carefully engraved dies.

al-Musta'in Abu Ayyub Sulayman (b. Muhammad),  
431-438 / 1039-1046

385 AV fractional dinar, normally with mint & date (usually off flan) RR

386 AR dirham, with mint & date RR  
Additional individuals are named on both denominations, 'Ali on coins of 432, Ahmad 436-437. On both his gold and silver coins, Sulayman is usually mentioned only as al-Musta'in, occasionally solely as Ibn Hud.

Taj al-Dawla Sulayman (b. Yusuf), 438-441 / 1046-1049

387 AV dinar, with mint & date RRR  
Most coins of this ruler, all denominations, also cite the name Ibn 'Abi Nasr, who appears to be unknown. His name Sulayman is also engraved, often with his *laqab* Taj al-Dawla as well.

387A AV fractional dinar, without mint or date RR

387B AR dirham, with mint & date RR

al-Muqtadir Ahmad I ('Imad al-Dawla, b. Sulayman),  
441-475 / 1049-1083

388 BI dirham (generally very coppery) S

Some dirhams dated 441 cite the imaginary caliph 'Abd Allah (RR?), all other cite the long deceased Hisham. Also, some dated 441 bear only the title 'Imad al-Dawla. Others also include his personal name Ahmad, as on all later dates.

al-Mu'taman Yusuf (b. Ahmad),  
rival, circa 474-476 / 1081-1083

389 BI dirham (coppery), known dated 474 RRR

al-Musta'in Ahmad II (Sayf al-Dawla, b. Yusuf),  
476-503 / 1083-1110

390 BI dirham (almost pure copper in general), known dated 476-489 and 497-500 S

'Imad al-Dawla 'Abd al-Malik (b. Ahmad II), 503 / 1110

A391 BI dirham, known dated 503 only, citing his full name RRR

### HUDID OF LÉRIDA

All coins struck at Larida (Lérida, now officially Lleida in Catalan).

al-Muzaffar Sayf al-Dawla Yusuf,  
circa 438-459 / 1046-1067

N391 AV fractional dinar, probably without mint or date RRR  
On these fractionals the ruler is cited as al-Muzaffar Ibn Hud, sometimes with the additional title Sayf al-Dawla, never with his personal name Yusuf.

391.1 BI dirham, normal style (4-line or 5-line legend in central fields, single marginal legend around) RRR  
Known dated 439, 440 and possibly 443. Type 391.2 is known with a few dates between 441 and 459.  
On one dateless type, the ruler takes the additional title of Dhu'l-Siyadatayn, "of the two domains", conceivably a reference to Lérida and Zaragoza.

391.2 BI dirham, Fatimid style (single word in small central field, surrounded by two or three marginal legends) RR  
The type is known both as well-struck fully round dirhams or as squarish, crudely struck dirhams. The central words are *dirham* on obverse and *tayyib* ("good") on reverse.<sup>168</sup> A recently found example of the latter type clearly shows *tayyib*, with 2 dots below Y and one dot below B, hence confirming this reading (WNA auction 1, lot 224).

### HUDID OF CALATAYUD

All coins minted at Qala'at Ayyub ("Ayyub's Fort", now Calatayud in Aragon). The ruler is entitled *al-hajib*, as is typical of the Hudids.

'Adud al-Dawla Muhammad b. Sulayman,  
fl. 438-440 / 1046-1048

B392 AV fractional dinar RRR  
These fractions probably were all struck from dies bearing the mint & date, but they are both normally off flan.

A392 AR dirham, with mint & date (438-440) RR

### HUDID OF DENIA

Most coins struck at Daniya (Denia), with a few at Tartusha (Tortosa). Coins of Mundhir bear the name of his son Sulayman as heir, but those of Sulayman lack the mention of an heir. Mundhir was the son of Ahmad I of Zaragoza and was always entitled *al-hajib*.

'Imad al-Dawla Mundhir, 474-483 / 1081-1090

392 BI dirham (coppery) R  
Struck only at Denia, always dated.

Sayyid al-Dawla Sulayman (b. Mundhir),  
483-492 / 1090-1099

393 BI dirham (almost pure copper) R  
Struck at Denia 483-485 and Tortosa 484-492.

<sup>168</sup> All previous major authors have read *tayyib* as *dirham* and *dirham* as *tuba'*, including Vives y Escudero, Prieto y Vives, and Medina Gómez.

## HUDID OF HUESCA

Coins struck at Washqa (Huesca) in 439 only.

**Lubb b. Sulayman (b. Hud), fl. 438-439 / 1046-1047**

F394 AV fractional dinar RRR

## HUDID OF TUDELA

Coins struck at Tudela, denoted as either Tatila or al-Andalus.

**al-Zafir Mundhir b. Sulayman, fl. 438-442 / 1046-1050**

H394 AR dirham RRR

Most bear the additional name of an unidentified local official: Ibrahim, 'Ali, Faraj, perhaps others. The ruler is almost always entitled *al-hajib*, occasionally with the *laqab* Nasir al-Dawla.

## KINGDOM OF TORTOSA

All coins of this state were minted at Tortosa (Tartusha), which passed to the Hudids in 453/1061. The relationship of the three rulers to one another has not been determined. With the exception of a unique dirham of Ya'la (not listed here), all coins of this kingdom bear the actual name of the ruler.

**Muqatil, circa 427-445 / 1036-1053**

394 AR dirham RR

With title Mu'izz al-Dawla 431-438 and Sayf al-Milla 438-445. At times his dirhams also bear the name of a local official, Musallam 436-440, then 'Abd al-Malik b. Rida 441-443.

**Ya'la, 445-450 / 1053-1058**

394A AR dirham RR

With the *laqab* Sayf al-Milla 445-448 or Mu'izz al-Dawla 450. There are no additional names of local officials.

**Nabil, 450-453 / 1058-1061**

394B AR dirham or fractional dirham, unknown with legible dates RRR

With the title *al-khalifa* (caliph), and rarely the name 'Abd al-Mu'min, either part of Nabil's titlature or the name of an unknown local official.

## DHU'L-NUNID OF TOLEDO

Most coins were struck at Tulaytila (Toledo, often off flan), with a few additional examples from Qurtuba (Córdoba), Qunka (Cuenca) & Balansiya (Valencia), of which only Valencia is not extremely rare. All rulers frequently assume the title *al-hajib*.

**al-Zafir Isma'il, circa 423-435 / 1032-1043**

Only the title al-Zafir appears on Isma'il's coins, never his proper name Isma'il.

395 AV fractional dinar, often struck in debased gold R

For both silver and gold fractions, some dies have mint & date, but almost always neither can be read, as the dies were much larger than the planchets, perhaps intended for full-size coins, none of which are known. The title *al-zafir* always appears at the top of the reverse field, or divided, *al-za* above and *fir* below the reverse field.

395A AR fractional dirham RR

**Sharaf al-Dawla Yahya I (al-Ma'mun), 435-467 / 1043-1075**

Many coins of this ruler bear the title Dhu'l-Majdayn, "possessor of the two glories." Most bear either the name Yahya or his *laqab* Sharaf al-Dawla, sometimes both, occasionally also his title al-Ma'mun. In addition, some bear the names of local officials, including Ahmad, Muhammad, and Ibn Aghlab, all of whom are unidentified.

396 AV fractional dinar R

Known from Toledo 435 (RRR) or without mint & date. Some fractional dinars are mulings of this type with various types of the Amirs of Valencia!

397 AR full dirham (no fractional dirhams known), with mint & date RR

Known from mints Toledo (448 & 462-468), Valencia (457-462), and Córdoba (467).

**Yahya II, 467-483 / 1075-1090**

All coins of this ruler bear the title *al-qadir billah*, always without his personal name Yahya.

T398 AV fractional dinar, no mint or date RR?

398 AR dirham RR

Struck at Toledo (468 & 475), Cuenca (474 & 478) & Valencia (470-476).

**Anonymous, circa 478-479 / 1085-1086**

398H AR dirham, mint of Toledo, dated 478 or 479 RRR

Struck under the authority of Alfonso VI, who seized Toledo on 27 Muharram 478 (25 May 1085).

## QASIMID OF ALPUENTE

When showing, the mint is al-Bunt (Alpuente). Both denominations bear mint & date, but as usual, they are normally off flan on the fractional pieces.

**Yumn al-Dawla Muhammad, 421-434 / 1030-1042**

A399 AR fractional dirham RRR

Citing his son Ahmad beneath obverse field.

**'Izz al-Dawla Ahmad (b. Muhammad), 434-450 / 1042-1058**

B399 AR dirham RRR

Citing an uncertain Muhammad beneath the obverse field.

## JAHWARID OF CÓRDOBA

Mint is always Qurtuba (Córdoba).

**temp. Abu'l-Walid Muhammad, 435-450 / 1043-1058**

D399 AV fractional dinar RRR

Either totally anonymous (only the kalima), or in the name of the imaginary *al-imam 'abd Allah*, always with mint & date, usually off the flan. Dates 439-442 are known for the gold.

When the date & mint are off flan, these two types can only be identified by comparison with published illustrations, as in Medina Gómez.

E399 AR fractional dirham, similar RRR?

## SUMAYDIHID OF ALMERÍA

**Anonymous, circa 435-443 / 1044-1052**

399 AR dirham or fraction, always without date S

Medina Gómez assigns this type to Ma'n b. Muhammad (433-443 / 1041-1052), though it may have been struck into the following reign as well. On some coins the mint name can be read, either Almería or al-Andalus.

**al-Mu'tasim Muhammad (b. Ma'n), 443-484 / 1052-1091**

399A AR dirham, mint of Almería, undated RR

Many coins of this type cite one of more of the titles *al-hajib*, Mu'izz al-Dawla or *al-Wathiq bi-fadl Allah*. A few coins bear all or parts of the last digit of a theoretical date, but the decade cannot be determined.

## AFTASID OF BADAJOZ

The mint name is usually given as al-Andalus, more rarely as Batalyus (Badajoz). The fractional denominations are almost always without mint and always without date, but the full dirhams include both.

**al-Muzaffar Muhammad, 437-460 / 1045-1068**

A400 AV fractional dinar RRR

Mint always Batalyus, but rarely legible, always undated. Name inscribed as just *al-Muzaffar*.

**al-Mansur Yahya, as *al-hajib*, 455-460 / 1063-1068, and as *amir*, 460 / 1068**

On dirhams dated 455-457 Yahya bears the title of *al-hajib*, but from later in 457 onwards, the title *al-mansur billah*. Perhaps his

actual reign began in 457 rather than 460, even though the title *amir* does not appear on his coins until 460. Nearly all his coins also bear the name Muwaffaq, of undetermined meaning, perhaps the governor of Badajoz or the mintmaster. The name Yahya is always included.

B400 AV fractional dinar RRR  
C400 AR dirham, al-Andalus mint only RR

**al-Mutawakkil ‘ala Allah Abu Hafis ‘Umar,  
460-487 / 1068-1094**

400 AV fractional dinar R  
400A AR dirham, mint of al-Andalus or Batalyus RR  
Nearly all full dirhams (dated 460-465) bear the *laqab* Majd al-Dawla, not seen on the fractions, which may have been manufactured principally or entirely after 465.  
400B AR fractional dirham RR  
The fractional dirhams and some of the other denominations bear the title *al-Mansur billah* together with *al-Mutawakkil ‘ala Allah* (the latter on all his coins). Neither his *kunya* Abu Hafis nor his *ism* ‘Umar ever appear on the coins.

**‘ABBADID OF SEVILLA**

Until 464, all coins have the mint as al-Andalus (except a few of Córdoba), thereafter as Ishbiliya (Sevilla, beginning 465), Qurtuba (Córdoba, beginning 461, year of conquest), or Mursiya (Murcia, beginning 478, though already conquered in 470). All pre-461 coins were presumably minted at Sevilla.

The fractional dinars, once considered very rare (probably because all collectors simply ignored them!), normally lack mint & date, whereas the full dinars and dirhams always have both.

**al-Mu‘tadid ‘Abbad, 433-461 / 1042-1069**

401 AV dinar R  
The dinars can be divided into subtypes as the dirhams, except that the equivalent of #402.2 is not known in gold, and the gold equivalent of #402.5 lacks the name Muhammad.

401A AV fractional dinar S  
402.1 AR dirham, titles *muhammad* & *al-hajib ‘abbad* (435-439) R  
402.2 AR dirham, titles *al-hajib ‘abbad* & *al-mu‘tadid billah* (439 only) RR  
402.3 AR dirham, titles *al-hajib isma‘il* & *al-mu‘tadid billah* (439-448) S  
402.4 AR dirham, titles *al-hajib muhammad* & *al-mu‘tadid billah* (450-457) S  
402.5 AR dirham, titles *al-zafir muhammad* & *al-mu‘tadid billah* (456-461, *sic*) S

**al-Mu‘tamid Muhammad, 461-484 / 1069-1091**

Coins of *al-Mu‘tamid ‘ala Allah* never bear his personal name Muhammad. His heirs are also cited on both gold & silver, the first of which was known as *al-hajib* Siraj al-Dawla 461-466, then as al-Zafir al-Muwaffaq 466-467, assassinated in 467, followed by the second heir, known as *al-hajib* ‘Adud al-Dawla 467-470, then as al-Rashid 470-483.

There are several local names on either silver or gold or both: Hashim at al-Andalus 461-464, Ibn Farjun at Córdoba 463-465, al-Ma‘mun at Córdoba 473-480, and Ibn Ja‘far at Murcia 478-483, of whom only al-Ma‘mun is recorded in history. I have divided only the dirhams into subtypes.

403 AV dinar, with mint & date RR  
403A AV fractional dinar, usually without mint & date R  
404.1 AR dirham, al-Andalus mint (= Sevilla), citing the *hajib* Siraj al-Dawla & Hashim (462-464) RR  
Dirhams of all 6 subtypes are with mint & date, frequently off flan or worn away.  
404.2 AR dirham, Ishbiliya (Sevilla) mint, citing only the *hajib* Siraj al-Dawla (465-466) R  
Prieto y Vives reported the heir al-Zafir al-Muwaffaq (466-467) only on the gold dinars of Ishbiliya.

404.3 AR dirham, Ishbiliya mint, citing only the *hajib* ‘Adud al-Dawla (467-469) RR  
404.4 AR dirham, Ishbiliya mint, citing only al-Rashid, but without the title *al-hajib* (470-472) RR  
Gold dinars of this type were struck until 478.  
404.5 AR dirham, Qurtuba (Córdoba) mint, citing the *hajib* Siraj al-Dawla & Ibn Farjun (463-464) RRR  
Gold dinars of this type were struck 461-465, without Ibn Farjun 461-462, with him 463-465.  
There are no later dirhams of Qurtuba, but dinars were struck, citing ‘Adud al-Dawla in 469, then al-Rashid 471-480.  
404.6 AR dirham, Mursiya (Murcia) mint, citing al-Rashid without *al-hajib* and Ibn Ja‘far (474? and 478-483) RR

**TAIFAS ALMORAVIDES**

Kassis, Hanna E., “Les Taifas Almoravides”, *II Jarique*, Lleida, 1988, pp. 51-91.  
See also Vives y Escudero and Medina Gómez, as for the Muluk al-Tawa‘if.  
*As with the demise of the Umayyad caliphate circa 407/1016, the collapse of the Murabitids in 541/1146 and of the Almohades about a century later each spawned a number of factional kingdoms, most of whose coinage is very rare.*

Medina Gómez refers to this entire series as Anti-Almoravides.

**Anonymous, circa 541-556 / 1146-1161**

405 AV dinar of Almoravid type, unassigned to specific rulers RR  
Without mint name, reported dates 544-548 and 556, several variants (VyE-1997/2002). Some may be North African rather than Spanish.  
405Q AR qirat, numerous varieties (VyE-2003/2018, without mint & date RR  
Also reported by Vives y Escudero are ½, ¼, ⅓, and 1/16 qirat.

**KINGS OF CÓRDOBA**

**Hamdin b. Muhammad, circa 539-540 / 1145-1146**

With the title *al-mansur billah* on all his coins.

406 AV dinar, Almoravid style, with mint & date RR  
A407 AR qirat, normally with mint name Qurtuba, always undated S  
A407A AR ½ qirat, blank obverse, without mint name RRR

**Ibn Wazir, after 540 / 1146**

B407 AR qirat, citing Hamdin b. Muhammad RR  
His full name was Muhammad b. ‘Ali b. Wazir, but only Ibn Wazir appears on the coins.  
See #J408 for coins of another Ibn Wazir, without the name of Hamdin b. Muhammad.

**Anonymous, in the name of the Banu Tashufin  
circa 542-543 / 1148-1149**

C407 AV dinar RRR  
Issued under the authority of Yahya b. Ghaniya at Córdoba in 542-543. Inscribed *Allahumma urhum umara’ al-muslimin bani tashufin*, “O God, have mercy on the commanders of the Muslims, sons of Tashufin.” See #476M-476T for related silver coinage.  
Also struck at Gharnata (Granada) in 545, by authority of the local Lamtuna governor, Maymun b. Badr.

**Anonymous, without any name, undated**

D407 AR ¼ qirat (⅓ dirham), Qurtuba, undated RRR  
Inscribed *hadhai thum al-dirham* on obverse, *min sikka qurtuba* on reverse (VyE-2013). Probably struck during time of Hamdin.  
E407 AR 1/16 qirat, Qurtuba, undated RRR  
Just *qurtuba* on obverse, blank reverse (VyE-2012).

**HUJIDS IN EASTERN SPAIN**

Coins were minted at Jayyan (Jaen), Murcia, and Ubbada (Ubeda). All Hudid dinars state the Qur’an Verse 3:85 in the reverse margin.

### Ahmad b. Hud, killed 540 / 1145

- G407 AV dinar RRR  
Struck at Murcia in 540. On most examples, the ruler is cited only as al-Mustansir, but one type (Kassis #60) has both his name and title al-Mustansir, as on the silver coins. Yes another variety cites him as vassal under the Imam al-Qa'im bi-amr Allah b. Qasi (Medina Gómez 149). Ahmad is known in the sources as Sayf al-Dawla (Zafadola).
- H407 AR double qirat (approximately 1.75g), without mint name RR
- I407 AR qirat (approximately 0.87g), similar RR
- 'Abd al-Rahman b. Hud, 540+ / 1145+
- J407 AV dinar, struck only at Jayyan in 540 RRR
- K407 AR double qirat, without mint name RRR
- L407 AR qirat, mint of Ubbada only RRR

### Anonymous, circa 544-548 / 1149-1153

- M407 AV dinar, Murabitid style RR  
An unusual coin, as it cites three mints on one coin, Bayyasa (Baeza), Jaen, and Sevilla. Struck at the "three mints" 544-546 and at Baeza alone in 548. Kassis assigns these coins to Ibn Ghaniya, who, despite his power, never decorated the coinage with his name.
- N407 AR qirat, in the name of the Banu Tashufin (Vives #1980-1982), always without mint name RR
- O407 AR ½ qirat, similar RRR

### KINGS OF MURCIA

Unless otherwise noted, all coins were minted at Murcia (Mursiya). All dinars bear Verse 3:85 in the obverse margin.

#### 'Abd Allah b. 'Iyad, 1<sup>st</sup> reign, 540 / 1145-1146

- R407 AV dinar RRR

#### 'Abd Allah b. Faraj, 540-541 / 1146

- S407 AV dinar RRR

#### 'Abd Allah b. 'Iyad, 2<sup>nd</sup> reign, 541-542 / 1146-1147

- T407 AV dinar RRR

#### Muhammad b. Sa'd, 542-567 / 1147-1171

- 407.1 AV dinar, without heir, struck 542-563 R  
Struck at both Murcia and Valencia (Balansiya), the latter RRR.
- 407.2 AV dinar, with heir Hilal (wali 'ahduhu), struck only at Murcia, 565-566 RR
- 407A AV ½ dinar, as #407.2 (with Hilal), 564-566 RRR
- 407B BI dirham, round flan, known only from Murcia for the year 556 RRR
- 407C BI fractional dirham, irregular flans, type as #407B but mint & date inevitably off flan RR
- 407D AR qirat, without mint or date, about 0.9g RRR

Stylistically similar to late qirats of the Murabitun.

The demise of the kings of Murcia did not put an end to Murabitid style gold dinars. These were adopted by the Spanish kings of Castile, dated in the Spanish era, aka Safar, by Alfonso VIII (1158-1214) and Enrique I (1214-1217). The Safar year is the AD year + 38, and the coins are dated Safar 1212-1255 (= AD 1184-1217, AH570-614). The text is in Arabic, with a large cross in the obverse field, and from the year Safar 1222 onward, the Latin letters ALF for Alfonso added beneath the cross.

### BANU GHANIYA

A petty dynasty of Sanhaja Berber origin, based on the Balearic Islands, with their mint at Mayurqa (Mallorca).

#### temp. Ishaq b. Muhammad, 550-579 / 1155-1183

- 407N AV dinar, similar to type #407 but with the ruler's name replaced by *jalla wa 'izza*, "exalted and powerful", mint of Mayurqa, dated 565-567 RRR

### KINGS OF MERTOLA & SILVES

The cities of Mertola and Silves are now located in southern Portugal.

#### Ahmad b. Qasi, active 539-546 / 1145-1152

- H408 AV dinar, struck only at Shilb (Silves) RRR  
Anonymous, dated 544, hence the attribution of Ahmad b. Qasi. With Qur'an Verse 3:85 in the obverse margin.

- I408 AR qirat, Mertola (Martula) mint RR

#### Sidray b. Wazir, at Shilb, 546-552 / 1152-1157

- J408.1 AR qirat, in his own name RRR

This ruler is cited as *ibn wazir* on all his coins. For coins citing Ibn Wazir together with Hamdin b. Muhammad, see type #B407. It is unclear whether the Ibn Wazir on #B407 refers to Sidray b. Wazir or someone else.

- J408.2 AR qirat, also citing al-Mahdi billah Muhammad b. 'Abd Allah RR

### KINGS OF BADAJOZ

#### Muhammad b. 'Ali, fl. 543 / 1148

- M408 AV dinar, struck at Badajoz (Batalyus) in 543, Almoravid style RRR

### REBELLION AT JAEN

#### Anonymous, 541 / 1146

- P408 AV dinar, struck only at Jayyan (Jaen) in 541 RRR

In the name of the Muwahhidun ruler *al-Mu'min ibn 'Ali*, written out in full, with the title *amir al-mu'minin* (Medina Gómez 151a). Murabitid style, but with Qur'an Verse 9:33 instead of 3:85.

The above list of the Taifas Almoravides is not complete. Most of the other types are anonymous, usually without mint and date, often unassigned, mostly very rare.

### TAIFAS ALMOHADES

See Vives y Escudero, *Monedas...*, as for the Muluk al-Tawa'if, useful for attribution, as the Arabic inscriptions are written out in full, and also Medina Gómez, who calls the series Anti-Almohades.

A group of minor principalities that emerged out of the ashes of the Almohad empire. Most were ephemeral apparitions, but a few survived to become significant powers, namely the Spanish Nasrids, along with the North African Merinids, Hafsid, and Ziyandids, whose coinage is listed under the respective dynasties. Both gold and silver were struck by the Taifas Almohades, but only the silver coins are occasionally available.

All gold dinars follow the Muwahhidun weight of about 4.65g, with the fractions proportionate. The silver dirhams, both round and square, maintain the weight of 1.54g. All issues of both metals were carefully struck with elegantly engraved dies.

### LATER HUDIDS OF MURCIA

Silver coins were minted at Murcia, Sevilla, Játiva (Shatiba), Córdoba, Granada and Málaga. All are round. Gold coins are usually dated, silver always undated.

#### al-Mutawakkil Muhammad (b. Yusuf), 621-635 / 1224-1237

- Y408 AV dinar, Mursiya mint, dated 626<sup>169</sup> RRR

The mint & date appears in the obverse margin in words, and the reverse field bears the Qur'an Verse 65:3.

- Z408 AV ½ dinar, without mint & date RRR

Half dinars of al-Mutawakkil and al-Wathiq (#Z409) have an inner circle field surrounded by a single marginal inscription on both faces. Stylistically and calligraphically they are so similar to the Rasulid silver dirhams introduced in Yemen by al-Muzaffar Yusuf in 648 that I am inclined to suggest that the Yemeni mints obtained a Murcia ½ dinar of these rulers as their model. The first Murcia dinar of this style was struck no later than 635, thirteen years before the Yemeni type was introduced.

<sup>169</sup> III *Jarique*, Madrid 1992, p. 75. This unusual coin is dated 626, one of the few dated coins of the period. Also illustrated as Gómez-216.

408 AR dirham R  
Struck at all 6 mints noted above, also without mint.

408A AR ½ dirham, several different mints R

**al-Wathiq Muhammad (b. Muhammad),  
635-636 / 1237-1238 and 661-668 / 1262-1269**

Y409 AV ½ dinar, inner circle with outer margin on both sides, Mursiya mint, undated RRR

Z409 AV ½ dinar, without marginal legends, Shatiba (Játiva) mint, undated RRR

W409 AV ¼ dinar, as #Y409 but much shorter legends, without mint & date RRR

409 AR dirham, struck at Mursiya, Shatiba, without mint RR

409A AR ½ dirham, same mints all the full dirham RRR

**temp. Baha' al-Dawla, circa 639-659 / 1241-1261**

All gold coins of this reign follow the traditional Muwahhidun square-in-circle layout on both sides.

A410.1 AV ½ dinar, Mursiya 644 RRR  
Mint & date in words filling the lower two lines of the reverse square.

A410.2 AV ½ dinar, Mursiya 656 (perhaps also 650) RRR  
Mint & date within the four segments of the reverse margin.

B410.1 AV ¼ dinar, Mursiya 645 RRR  
Mint & date fill the entire obverse & reverse square, *duriba / bi-mursiya / 'am* on obverse, *khamis / wa arba'in / wa sittim'a* on the reverse. This remarkable arrangement was not used again until the 950s, on silver coins of the first of the Sa'idian Sharifs in Morocco!

B410.2 AV ¼ dinar, Mursiya [6]56 RRR  
Same arrangement as #A410.2, shorter legends.

**INDEPENDENT GOVERNOR OF SABTA**

**Ahmad b. Muhammad (al-Muwaffaq billah),  
known as Ahmad al-Yanashti, 630-635 / 1232-1237**

Local governor after Sabta lost to the Hudids in 630/1232.

D410 AV dinar, dated 631<sup>170</sup> RRR  
Fine style, similar to contemporary Almohad dinars, but with full date written out in words in the reverse margin (631). Struck only at Thaghr Sabta al-Mahrusa, an unusual expanded title for the mint of Sabta (Ceuta), "port of Sabta, the protected".

E410 AR round dirham, anonymous, Sabta 635 RRR  
Obverse citing the 'Abbasid caliph al-Mustansir, reverse with only the mint and date in words. Each side has the text in four horizontal lines, as the Hudid of Murcia dirhams (Gómez 212).

**MISCELLANEOUS TAIFAS**

**Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Baji,  
at Sevilla, 629-631 / 1232-1234**

F410 AR square dirham, mint of Ishbiliya (Sevilla) RR

G410 AR square ½ dirham, no mint RRR

**Abu Jumayl Zayyan b. Mardanish,  
at Valencia, 626-636 / 1229-1238**

H410 AR square dirham, mint of Balansiya (Valencia) RRR  
His name fills the obverse as *al-Amir al-Mu'ayyid billah al-Mujahid fi sabil Allah Abu Jumayl*.

**Musa b. Muhammad, known as Ibn Mahfuz,  
in Algarbe, 631-660 / 1234-1262**

I410 AR square dirham RR  
Without mint name & undated. Ruler entitled *amir al-gharb*, "amir of the west", i.e., of Algarbe (now spelled Algarve in Portuguese).<sup>171</sup>

*Other types exist, mostly anonymous, probably all very rare. A few of these issues are listed by Vives, #2124 & 2127 with name, #2128-2129 anonymous.*

**NASRID OF GRANADA**

Rodriguez Lorente, Juan J., *Numismática Nasri*, Madrid 1983.

*Originally one of the Taifas Almohades, the Nasrids survived until the final expulsion of the Arabs and Jews from Spain by Ferdinand and Isabella in 897/1492, ironically the same year that the Spanish adventurer Columbus "discovered" America.*

*Nasrid coinage consists of the gold dinar (dobla), the tiny gold dinarin, the large silver double dirham<sup>172</sup> (2.8g), single, half, and quarter dirhams, and the copper fals. The dinar and fals are round, all other denominations are square.*

Although Granada (Gharnata) was the principal mint, and the sole mint for gold, silver coins were also struck at Málaga (Malaqa), Almería, Wadi Ish (Guadix), and Jayyan (Jaen). Except for the copper fals (#418), all Nasrid coins are undated.

Rarity indications for Nasrid gold are tentative.

It is not easy to distinguish the gold and silver double dirhams by ruler, without consulting the works of Rodriguez Lorente or Medina Gómez.<sup>173</sup> For convenience, I have indicated each ruler's name, together with all his ancestors, as it appears in the obverse field. Immediately before the name appears the word *al-amir* up to and including Muhammad VII (794-810), thereafter the title *'abd Allah*.

All gold and silver coinage of the Nasrids bears the phrase *wa la halib illa Allah* ("and there is no victor other than God").

**Muhammad I, 630-672 / 1237-1273**

*Muhammad b. Yusuf b. Nasr*, cited in the obverse margin. All other Nasrids inscribe their names in the obverse field.

L410 AV dinar, Gharnata, Malaqa & Mursiya mints RRR

L410A AR square dirham RRR

**Muhammad II, 672-702 / 1273-1302 (sic)**

*Muhammad b. 'Abd Allah b. Nasr*

M410 AV dinar, Gharnata mint RRR

There are no coins known for his successors Muhammad III (702-709) and Nasr I (709-714)

**Isma'il I (b. Faraj), 714-724 / 1314-1325**

*"Isma'il b. Faraj b. Nasr"*

N410 AV dinar, Gharnata mint RRR

**Muhammad IV (b. Isma'il), 724-734 / 1325-1333**

*Muhammad b. Amir al-Muslimin Abi'l-Walid Isma'il b. Faraj b. Nasr*

O410 AV dinar, without mint name RRR

**Yusuf I (b. Isma'il I), 734-755 / 1333-1354**

*Yusuf b. Amir al-Muslimin Abi'l-Walid Isma'il b. Faraj b. Nasr*

410 AV dinar, without mint name S

**Muhammad V (b. Yusuf I),  
755-761 / 1354-1359 & 764-794 / 1362-1391**

*Muhammad b. Amir al-Muslimin Abi'l-Hajjaj Yusuf b. (mawlana) Amir al-Muslimin Abi'l-Walid Isma'il b. Nasr*, with or without the word *mawlana*

411 AV dinar, Gharnata of Sabta, or without mint name R

411A AR double dirham RRR

**Isma'il II (b. Yusuf I), 761-762 / 1359-1360**

(full inscription needed)

<sup>171</sup> In the late 1990s a hoard of about 100-120 pieces appeared in the market, but these are now dispersed, so that the type is once again eagerly sought, but hard to locate.

<sup>172</sup> Always five lines of inscriptions on both sides, the obverse (royal side) normally identical to the obverse center of the corresponding dinar.

<sup>173</sup> I have selected Rodriguez Lorente's dates for the Nasrid rulers. The dates presented by Medina Gómez are quite different.

<sup>170</sup> Reported by Husni Bakkar and identified by Tawfiq Ibrahim, 13 May 2002.

411H AV dinar<sup>174</sup> RRR

No coins reported for his immediate successor Muhammad VI (762-764), as well as Yusuf II (794-795), who briefly succeeded Muhammad V.

**Muhammad VII (b. Yusuf I), 795-811 / 1392-1408**

*al-Musta'in billah Muhammad b. Yusuf b. Muhammad b. Yusuf b. Isma'il b. Nasr*

A412 AV dinar, Gharnata mint RR

B412 AR double dirham RRR

**Yusuf III (b. Yusuf II), 811-820 / 1408-1417**

*al-Nasir li-din Allah Yusuf b. Yusuf b. Muhammad b. Yusuf b. Isma'il b. Nasr*

C412 AV dinar, Gharnata mint RRR

D412 AR double dirham RRR

**Muhammad VIII (b. Yusuf III), 819-821 / 1417-1419 and 831-832 / 1427-1429**

*al-Mutamassik billah Muhammad b. Yusuf b. Yusuf b. Muhammad b. Yusuf b. Isma'il b. Nasr; on some dinars the first title is al-Ghani billah.*

E412 AV dinar, Gharnata mint RR

F412 AR double dirham RRR

**Muhammad IX (b. Nasr), several reigns between 821 / 1419 and 856 / 1453**

*al-Ghalib billah Muhammad b. Abi'l-Juyush b. Nasr b. Muhammad b. Yusuf b. Isma'il b. Nasr, sometimes without Abi'l-Juyush.*

412 AV dinar, Gharnata and Malaqa mints RR

No coins reported for his several rivals, Yusuf IV (835), Muhammad X (848 and again 849-850), and Yusuf V (first reign, 848, then again 866-867).

**Muhammad XI (b. Muhammad VIII), 851-858 / 1448-1454**

*al-Mansur billah Muhammad b. Muhammad b. Yusuf b. Yusuf b. Muhammad b. Yusuf b. Isma'il b. Nasr*

A413 AV dinar, Gharnata mint RRR

**Sa'd (b. 'Ali b. Yusuf II), 858-866 / 1454-1462 & 868 / 1464**

*'al-Musta'in billah Sa'd b. 'Ali b. Yusuf b. Muhammad b. Yusuf b. Isma'il b. Nasr'*

B413 AV dinar, Gharnata, al-Mariya, and Wadi Ish mints RR

**'Ali (b. Sa'd), 868-889 / 1464-1485**

*al-Ghalib billah 'Ali b. Sa'd b. 'Ali b. Yusuf b. Muhammad b. Yusuf b. Isma'il b. Nasr*

413 AV dinar, Gharnata and Malaqa mints R

A414 AR double dirham RRR

414 AR square ½ dirham (about 0.8g) S

414A AR square ¼ dirham (about 0.4g) R

**Muhammad XII (b. 'Ali b. Sa'd), 886-896 / 1482-1491**

*al-Ghalib billah Muhammad b. 'Ali b. Sa'd b. 'Ali (b. Yusuf b. Muhammad b. Yusuf) b. Nasr; a second type omits the names within parentheses.*

415 AV dinar, Gharnata mint RR

**Muhammad XIII (b. Sa'd), in opposition to Muhammad XII, 889-894 / 1485-1489**

*al-Ghalib billah Muhammad b. Sa'd b. 'Ali b. Yusuf b. Muhammad b. Yusuf b. Isma'il b. Nasr*

A416 AV dinar, Gharnata mint RR

B416 AV ½ dinar, Gharnata, al-Mariya & Malaqa mints RRR

**Anonymous**

There are numerous varieties of these anonymous silver coins, struck predominantly during the 8<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup>/14<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>175</sup>

The copper coins are always dated (in words).

E416 AV dinarín (about 0.17g) RR

Struck on square planchets, unusual for gold.

416 AR square half dirham (about 0.8-1.0g) S

417 AR square quarter dirham (about 0.4-0.55g) S

418 AE fals, several mints, dated 879-894/1474-1489 S

Only Gharnata is often available. The other mints are all very rare (Malaqa, Wadi Ish & al-Mariya).

These coppers are the only dated coins of the Nasrids, the first western Islamic coins in any metal to bear a date since 567 (except for a few Hudid coins between the 620s and 650s. Dates were restored for many North African issues during the later 10<sup>th</sup>/16<sup>th</sup> century.

**NORTH AFRICAN DYNASTIES**

**IDRISID**

Eustache, Daniel, *Corpus des dirhams idrisites et contemporains* (= Études sur la numismatique et l'histoire monétaire du Maroc, vol. 1), Rabat, 1970-1971.

*The Idrisids ruled in Morocco and struck only silver dirhams and a few coppers. After the death of Muhammad b. Idris in 221/836, most Idrisid coins retain the name of a deceased ruler, making their attribution somewhat confusing. Also after 221, many Idrisid coins bear the name of a local ruler, either a member of the Idrisid family or a local governor. After about 250, the coinage is mostly anonymous.*

Idrisid silver coinage can be divided into three periods. The first, extending from 173 until 197, is characterized by a dirham struck to a standard of about 2.6-2.7g. The dirham weight of the second period, 197-246, started around 2.3g but gradually fell to about 2.1g; it bears the name of a ruler, alive or deceased. Finally, the third period, from 247 to at least 276, is characterized by crudely struck, mainly anonymous coins, apparently to the same standard as the second period. In all periods, individual specimens often weigh 10% or more short of the standard.

More than 20 mints have been identified, and several unattributed mint names have also been recorded. The most common for the early period (before 197) are Tudgha and Walila, thereafter the principal mint was al-'Aliya, an honorific name for Fès, and Wazaqqur is also occasionally available. All other mints are very rare.

Idrisid silver of the first and third periods is usually somewhat weakly struck, often quite unattractive. Coins of the second period are usually neatly engraved, struck from fastidiously cut dies, and often found in nice condition. The fals is universally crude and unattractive, rarely well struck, and normally found corroded or worn. Most fulus are dated, many bear the mint, but mint & date are almost always illegible on surviving specimens.

Pre-reform dirhams of Idris I and of Idris II until 196 bear Qur'an Verse 17:81, *ja' al-haqq wa zahaqa al-batil inn al-batil kana zuhuqa*", in the reverse margin, whereas 197 and later dirhams normally bear the standard inscription, Verse 9:33, as on Umayyad & 'Abbasid issues.

There was no gold coinage produced by the Idrisids or their contemporaries.

**Idris I, 172-175 / 789-791**

419 AR dirham R

Ruler's name in reverse margin, as *idris bin 'abd Allah*. Most coins bear the name 'Ali below the reverse field.

**Idris II, 175-213 / 791-828**

420 AR dirham, first series, ruler's name in reverse margin, as *idris bin idris* (before 197, 2.6g) S

With Qur'an Verse 17:81. Tudgha is the most frequent mint.

421 AR dirham, second series, ruler's name in reverse field (197 and later, about 2.2-2.3g) R

<sup>174</sup> Published by Tawfiq Ibrahim in *al-sikka*, v.3.1, Summer 2001. No coins of his successor Muhammad VI are known.

<sup>175</sup> The weights of the various subtypes vary, but are still tentatively determined. Further research is needed.

Idris II was born about a month after his father's death and ruled under a regent until 187/803. The coinage was reformed in 197, with the name of the ruler moved from the reverse margin to the reverse field. The calligraphy was changed to a more refined and readily decipherable style. With Qur'an Verse 9:33.

422 AE fals, normally without mint name, sometimes dated, usually ugly RR

**Muhammad b. Idris, 213-221 / 828-836  
(al-Muntasir billah)**

423 AR dirham R  
For posthumously dated coins, see #424, 425, 425A and 425G.

423A AE fals, crudely struck, with name *muhammad* only, may have mint or date RRR

**'Ali b. Muhammad, 221-234 / 836-849**

Coins of 'Ali were struck in the name of his deceased father, Muhammad b. Idris.

424 AR dirham R

A very few also mention 'Ali in the obverse field, though it has not been determined if this 'Ali refers to the Idrisid ruler, a local governor, or the long deceased caliph 'Ali b. Abi Talib.

**Yahya I b. Muhammad, 234-249 / 849-863**

Like dirhams of his brother 'Ali, those of Yahya I are in the name of his father, Muhammad.

425 AR dirham, technically anonymous R

425A AR dirham, with the governor of Fès, Abu Sahl (al-Judhami), struck at al-'Aliya 238-250 (*sic*) R

**Yahya II b. Yahya, 249-252 / 863-866**

425G AR dirham, dated only 250, technically anonymous RRR  
Citing only the deceased Idrisid ruler Muhammad b. Idris, with Muhammad's title al-Muntasir billah as usual.

**Anonymous, descendants of 'Isa b. Idris II,  
233-276+ / 847- 890+**

426 AR dirham RR

The obverse field bears the three names 'Ali, 'Isa and Idris, from top to bottom, none of which refer to a living person. The reverse field has *muhammad khatim al-nabiyyin sadiq*, "Muhammad is the Seal of the Prophets, the Friend". Struck at Wazaqqur from 233 until at least 276, with some rare issues struck at Baht & Warzigha.

*After the death of Idris II in 213/828, much of the patrimony was partitioned amongst various family members, of whom the following are known to have struck coins:*<sup>176</sup>

**al-Qasim b. Idris II, at al-Basra,<sup>177</sup>  
fl. circa 245-254 / 859-869**

427 AR dirham RR

**Ibrahim b. al-Qasim, at al-Basra, fl. 270-280 / 883-893**

427E AR dirham, known dated 270 & 280 RRR

**Yahya b. Idris II, at Tudgha, circa 213-233 / 828-847**

428 AR dirham RR

Struck only at Tudgha 224-233, often with an additional name, perhaps a moneyer.

**'Isa b. Idris II, at Wazaqqur, Wamahna and Ziz,  
circa 225-233 / 840-848**

429 AR dirham RR

Coins mainly from Wazaqqur, also some extremely rare issues struck at Ziz and Wamahna.

**Da'ud b. Idris II, in northern Morocco,  
213-263+ / 828-877+ (died before 270/884)**

A430 AR dirham RRR

Struck at Ama'den, precise location unknown, dated 225 only.

**Muhammad b. Da'ud, at Wazaqqur, fl. 270 / 883-884**

B430 AR dirham RR

Known only from Wazaqqur dated 270.

**KHARIJITE OF TUDGHA**

*The following four issues can be securely attributed to the Kharijites, either by historic references in medieval chronicles (Khalaf b. al-Muda' & 'Iyad b. Wahd) or by the religious inscriptions on the coins.*

**Khalaf b. al-Muda', 175-176 / 791-792**

430 AR dirham S

Khalaf was a leader of the Sufri sect of the Kharijites. All of his dirhams were minted at Tudgha. They usually bear a few letters (sometimes a full name), most commonly to the left of *la ilah illa* in the obverse field.<sup>178</sup> The meaning of these marks is unknown (could it refer to the owner of the silver brought in for mintage?). The name of Khalaf appears on later dirhams of Tudgha through at least the year 189, though there is no indication that Khalaf had retained any actual authority after 176.

On dirhams dated 175-176, the reverse margin bears the full name of Khalaf followed by an unusual inscription, *amara bi'l-haqq wa'l-wafa al-barr wa'l-taqwa barakat min Allah*,<sup>179</sup> purportedly in order to attest the purity of the silver!

**Anonymous, circa 180-187 / 796-803**

430C AR dirham, similar to #430 but without any name RR

With Qur'an Verse 9:33 in reverse margin.

**'Amr b. Hammad, 176 / 792-793**

431 AR dirham RR

'Amr was the ephemeral successor to Khalaf b. al-Muda'. All his coinage was minted at Tudgha, and bear Qur'an Verse 17:81 in the reverse margin, following 'Amr's name.

**'Iyad b. Wahb, fl. circa 178-180 / 794-796**

432 AR dirham RR

Another Kharijite leader. Coins minted at Tudgha and Wazzana.

**OTHER CONTEMPORARIES OF THE IDRISIDS**

*A number of local rulers, mostly of the Sufri and 'Ibadi sects, struck coins in southern Morocco during the reigns of Idris I and Idris II. Only the dirhams of Khalaf b. al-Muda' (listed above as #430) are frequently available.<sup>180</sup> Most of these are included in Eustache's corpus of Idrisid coins, though additional variants continue to be discovered.*

**Zufar, fl. 175-186 / 791-802**

A433 AR dirham RR

Unknown personage. All coins minted at Tudgha.

**Ibrahim, fl. 177 / 793**

C433 AR dirham, Tudgha mint, dated 177 RRR

Unknown personage, likely not the Ibrahim that later founded the Aghlabid dynasty. Peus auction 378, lot 1282, with clear date.

<sup>176</sup> Several other names are found as issuers of coins of the Idrisids and their contemporaries, including some who are probably collateral members of the Idrisid royal line in local apanages (after circa 250). These issues have been catalogued by Eustache.

<sup>177</sup> Al-Basra in Morocco, not to be confused with al-Basra in Iraq or Busra in Syria, both of them also early Islamic mints.

<sup>178</sup> Most of these were published by Eustache. For an illustrated group, see SARC-5, lots 128-152. Some bear these initials or short names hidden in the reverse field, or tucked beneath a word somewhere in the obverse or reverse margin. In a few cases, there are two separate names or initials, or the same one repeated in two locations.

<sup>179</sup> "God ordered faith and justice on piety and reverence, blessing from God", said to confirm the fineness of the silver coins.

<sup>180</sup> I acquired a group of about 150 pieces in 2006, and have been offering them in my auctions & fixed pricelists since then, sold out by 2011.

**Qays b. Yusuf, fl. 181-185 / 797-801**

- D433 AR dirham RRR  
Qays b. Yusuf is unknown, but may have been governor at Fès, as one of his dirhams bears that mint name (dated 184). Coins struck at Fès & Walila.

**Zaynab, at Tudgha only, fl. 200 / 815**

- B433 AR dirham, with the moneyer's name Ya'akov in Hebrew (Eustache-75) or without (Eustache-74) RRR  
These remarkable coins were struck only at Tudgha in 200.<sup>181</sup>

**In the name of Ma'zuz b. Talut, 223-224 / 838-839**

- 433 AR dirham RR  
Ma'zuz b. Talut has never been identified, but may well refer to Abu Talut, who was an important Kharijite officer during the last 1<sup>st</sup>/7<sup>th</sup> century, probably in contact with Qatari b. al-Fuja'a (active 69-78, see type #33).  
Dirhams of this type dated 223-224 are believed to have been authorized by the Mu'tazilite party, but it is conceivable that an undetermined Kharijite leader in Morocco might have adopted the name as an honorific title. These coins usually bear an additional name, of unknown significance, perhaps a moneyer (at least half a dozen are known). The two known mints are Watit and Ijerhan.  
All dirhams of this type bear the phrase *al-'adl lillah* in the obverse center, *'abd Allah* above the reverse field.<sup>182</sup>

**SULAYMANID**

Lowick, N.M., "Monnaies des Sulaymanides de Suq Ibrahim et de Tanas", *Revue Numismatique*, 6<sup>th</sup> series, v. 25 (1983), pp. 177-187.

Ibrahim, Tawfiq, "Coin Supplement...", *al-Sikka*, v.3.1 (Summer 2001).

*A minor dynasty in what is now western Algeria, founded no later than 217/832 by Muhammad b. Sulayman b. 'Abd Allah, whose father Sulayman was the brother of Idris I, the founder of the Idrisid dynasty. Their coinage consists exclusively of silver dirhams, though some obscure anonymous copper fulus were perchance issued by the Sulaymanids.*

The coins of the first ruler bear the mint name Tilimsan (Tlemçen). Subsequent coins bear the mint Madinat X, where X repeats the name of the ruler, "the city of X", presumably referring to the capital, Suq Ibrahim. Most later coins lack the mint name altogether. Except for coins of Sulayman b. Muhammad and the latest issues (#H434-J434), all are dated. They are generally found in excellent preservation and strike.

**Muhammad b. Sulayman, fl. 213-227 / 828-842**

- A434 AR dirham, Tilimsan mint only RRR

**Ibrahim b. Muhammad, fl. 256-258 / 870-872**

- B434 AR dirham, mint Madinat Ibrahim RRR

**'Isa b. Ibrahim, fl. 273-277 / 886-890**

- C434 AR dirham, mint Madinat 'Isa RRR

**al-Qasim b. 'Isa, fl. 281-283 / 894-897**

- D434 AR dirham, mint Madinat al-Qasim RRR

**Ahmad b. 'Isa, at Suq Ibrahim, fl. 287-295 / 901-908**

- E434 AR dirham, mint Madinat Ahmad RR

**Sulayman b. Muhammad, genealogy unknown, probably at Tanas, circa 290s / 900s-910s**

- F434 AR dirham (undated) RRR

**Yahya b. Muhammad (b. Ibrahim), at Tanas, fl. 293-297 / 906-910 & later**

- G434 AR dirham (about 2g), without mint name RRR

<sup>181</sup> The Hebrew name appears upside-down atop the reverse margin. The specimen published by Eustache lacks the date, but the example at Tübingen (item BB3 A3) clearly reveals the date.

<sup>182</sup> Eustache notes two other types with the same phrases, with the name of Ma'zuz b. Talut replaced by tentatively deciphered names, either Mukabir? B. Zarqam or Muhammad b. Aksal?, both struck at Wazaqqur in 230.

- H434 AR fractional dirham (about 0.80g) R

Denomination is possibly ¼ dirham or ½ qirat. A few of these fractional dirhams bear the mint name Tanja (Tangiers), and a few are dated in the marginal inscription, usually so coarsely engraved as to be undecipherable. This type has also been assigned to the Maghrawid dynasty, for which there is no convincing evidence. These tiny coins are very crudely struck, normally with debased epigraphy. Several small groups were in the market in the 1970s and 1980s, now thoroughly dispersed.

**'Abd al-Mutallib, unknown, early 4<sup>th</sup> / 10<sup>th</sup> century**

- I434 AR fractional dirham (0.80g±) RRR

Known mints are Aghmat & Tanja, probably always undated.

**Anonymous, early 4<sup>th</sup> / 10<sup>th</sup> century**

- J434 AR fractional dirham (0.80g±), coarse imitation of types H434 & I434, usually with illegible name(s) R

**AMIRS OF TILIMSAN**

*An unknown local authority, believed to have represented a tribal group known as the Nefza, who controlled Tilimsan (Tlemçen) when it fell from Idrisid domination, circa 180-198 / 796-814. All coins from the mint of Tilimsan.*

**Anonymous, circa 180-198 / 796-814**

- T434 AR dirham RR

Known dated 180 with *rabbī* below reverse (often very coarsely written), 191 with *tayyib* and 198 with *al-layth* below reverse. All bear Qur'an Verse 9:33 in the reverse margin.

**MAGHRAWID** (see #H434 ff., now assigned to the Sulaymanid dynasty)

**AGHLABID**

al-'Ush, Muhammad Abu-l-Faraj, *Monnaies aglabides*, Damascus 1982, an excellent work, now somewhat obsolete, especially for silver.

See also De Luca 1998 (cited for the Fatimid Caliphate).

*Aghlabid coinage followed 'Abbasid models. The gold dinars are similar to those of the 'Abbasid caliph al-Rashid, but have the name of the Aghlabid beneath the reverse, with the date in the reverse margin. The early silver retains the western 'Abbasid style of al-'Abbasiya and Ifriqiya, as does the copper. The Aghlabids were overthrown by the rising Fatimids in 296/908.*

Aghlabid gold coins never mention the mint name, but are believed to have been struck at either Ifriqiya or the nearby settlement al-'Abbasiya. These two mint names do occur on the silver and copper, both of which normally bear the name of a mint. A few other mints are known, including Balarm (Palermo) in Sicily, where a local silver coinage was introduced after its conquest from the Byzantines in 215/831.

Aghlabid gold coins were always carefully struck, but are typically found worn, crinkled or damaged. Because the letters were stamped in by punches, the calligraphy tends to be distressingly poor, especially on the quarter dinars. All gold coinage bears the word *ghalib* (غلب) above the reverse field, as does most of the silver and copper.

The early dirhams (until about 210) were well struck, with full mint and date almost always visible on well-preserved specimens. With a few extremely rare exceptions (and some limited Sicilian issues), silver coinage was not resumed until the reign of Ibrahim II, who struck half dirhams (or were they called "dirham" or "qirat"?) at Ifriqiya and al-'Abbasiya. Some of the later rulers also struck fractional silver dirhams of varying weight in Sicily.

Copper coins were generally rather indifferently struck, and commonly found in worn, damaged or corroded condition. Copper coinage was discontinued after the death of Muhammad I in 242/856.

Many gold coins from the 240s onward cite an additional name below the obverse field. These individuals have not been identified, and were perhaps the current mintmasters.

**Ibrahim I, 184-196 / 800-811**

- 434 AV dinar RR

Struck only 189-192; gold resumed under 'Abd Allah I in 197.



435.1	AR dirham, in the sole name of Ibrahim, without al-Ma'mun, heir to the 'Abbasid caliphate, struck 184-187	R	443	AV dinar	S
	A few dirhams dated after 187 also lack the name of the caliph al-Ma'mun, perhaps the use of obsolete reverse dies. However, the type without caliph was restored 194-195 (undetermined rarity). Most dirhams of Ibrahim I were struck at Ifriqiya, less at al-'Abbasiya.				
<b>Muhammad I, 226-242 / 840-856</b>					
				Some examples have the name of an unidentified official beneath the obverse. Thereafter, from 242-296, dinars were struck both with and without the additional name, about seven different names in all.	
435.2	AR dirham, citing both Ibrahim and al-Ma'mun, struck 187-194, possibly also 195	S	A444	AV ¼ dinar	RR
435.3	AR dirham, as #434.1 but with the name Musa added in the obverse center, struck 195-196 at Ifriqiya (dates sometimes misread as 185 or 186)	RR	B444	AR dirham, approximately 3g, al-'Abbasiya mint	RRR
435.4	AR dirham, as #434.1 but with the name Isma'il added in the obverse center, 196 only	RRR	C444	AR fractional dirham, Sicilian mints only (normally Balarm, i.e., Palermo)	RRR
436	AE fals	S	D444	AE fals	RRR
<b>Ahmad, 242-249 / 856-863</b>					
<b>Rebellion against Ibrahim, anonymous, 195 / 210-211</b>					
Strictly anonymous, without the caliph and without <i>ghalib</i> above the reverse field.					
436R	AR dirham, anonymous, with <i>bakh</i> above & <i>li'l-khalifa</i> beneath reverse field, Ifriqiya 195 only	RRR	444	AV dinar	S
<b>'Abd Allah I, 196-201 / 811-816</b>					
437	AV dinar	R	A445	AV ¼ dinar	RR
A438	AV ¼ dinar	RRR	B445	AR ⅓ dirham (0.6-0.9g), Siqilliya only	RRR
B438	AR dirham, Ifriqiya, all dates 196-201	RRR		Known from mint of Balarm dated 246 and 249. The relationship of this denomination as one third of the canonical dirham is very tentative.	
<b>Ziyadat Allah II, 249-250 / 863-864</b>					
<b>Ziyadat Allah I, 201-223 / 816-837</b>					
438	AV dinar	C	T445	AV dinar	RRR
	Most dinars of this reign struck 206-223 have the word <i>masrur</i> , of unknown significance, beneath the obverse. It is also recorded on the obverse of a dirham of Ifriqiya 209.		445	AR ¼ dirham, about 0.6-0.7g	RRR
A439	AV ¼ dinar	RRR		Struck in Sicily, with mint name <i>Siqilliya</i> or <i>Balarm</i> (Palermo). Denomination uncertain.	
439.1	AR dirham, Ifriqiya mint, dated 202-204, citing Musa in obverse center	RR	<b>Muhammad II, 250-261 / 864-874</b>		
	No dirhams dated 205 or any time have been reported.		446	AV dinar	S
439.2	AR dirham, Ifriqiya 206-209, citing Masrur in obverse center, later date may exist	RR	A447	AV ¼ dinar	RR
439S	AR dirham, Siqilliya mint, known dated 214, 217, and 220	RRR	<b>Ibrahim II, 261-289 / 874-902</b>		
	Year 214 cites Muhammad b. al-Jawari (?), 217 cites 'Uthman b. Musa, 220 cites Muhammad b. 'Abd Allah.		447	AV dinar	C
440	AE fals	R	448	AV ¼ dinar	S
<b>Rebellion against Ziyadat Allah I, 207-210 / 822-825</b>					
A441.1	AR dirham, fully anonymous, with <i>bakh</i> above & <i>li'l-khalifa</i> beneath reverse field, Ifriqiya	RRR	449	AR ½ dirham (1.45g)	S
	Known dated 207-210. For a similar type dated 195, see #436R.			This is the most common ¼ dinar of the Aghlabid series. Die engraving is often so ghastly that the date is illegible.	
A441.2	AR dirham, with <i>li'l-khalifa</i> and name 'Ulwan beneath 2 <sup>nd</sup> line of obverse field, Ifriqiya, known dated 210	RR	450	AR 1/10? dirham (0.25g)	RR
A441.3	AR dirham, with <i>li'l-khalifa</i> and name 'Ali beneath 2 <sup>nd</sup> line of obverse field, Majjana mint (tentative reading), dated 210	RRR		Struck in Sicily, but without mint name. The denomination is uncertain, perhaps a <i>kharuba</i> . Several dates are known, between 275 and 281.	
A441.4	AR dirham, without <i>li'l-khalifa</i> but name Mansur b. Nasr beneath reverse, Ifriqiya, dated 210	RRR	<b>'Abd Allah II, 289-290 / 902-903</b>		
	Al-'Ajjabi read the date as 220 but the illustration by De Luca clearly shows that the date is 210.		451	AV dinar	RR
<b>al-Aghlab, 223-226 / 837-840</b>					
441	AV dinar	S	451A	AV ¼ dinar	RRR
442	AE fals	R	<b>Ziyadat Allah III, 290-296 / 903-908</b>		
<b>AMIRS OF SICILY</b>					
<b>Sulayman b. Da'ud, fl. 216 / 831</b>					
			C453	AR dirham, Siqilliya 216 only	RRR
				With <i>sulayman bin / da'ud</i> in the obverse center. Mint & date on reverse, with Qur'an Surat 112 in the field.	
			<b>Ahmad b. Qurhub, 299-304 / 912-916</b>		
			G453	AV ¼ dinar, without mint name, known dated 302 & 303	RRR
				Cited as simply Ahmad, distinguished from #A445 by date and style. The name is beneath the reverse field, as on Aghlabid gold.	

## MIDRARID

A minor dynasty at Sijilmasa in east central Morocco, now close to the Algerian border, only one of whose members struck coins.

Midrarid coinage, produced only in gold, never bears the name of the mint, but was undoubtedly struck at the capital, Sijilmasa. The dinars are generally very carefully struck, though sometimes on narrow flans, and are stylistically similar to contemporary western Fatimid dinars.

### al-Shakir Muhammad b. al-Fath, 321-347 / 933-958

- 453 AV dinar, with ruler's name & no titles (struck circa 334-340) R
- 454 AV dinar, similar, but with added title *amir al-mu'minin* (struck from about 340 onwards) RR

## BANU KHAZAR

Tawfik Ibrahim, "Coins of al-Khayr b. Muhammad b. Khazar of the Maghrawa", unpublished, presented at the 10<sup>th</sup> International Numismatic Congress, 1986.

A minor dynasty of a confederation of Berber tribes known as the Maghrawa, centered in what is now the north-western region of Algeria. Their capital was probably located at or near the medieval city of Tahart. They ruled from before 298/911 until 361/972, and were often vassals of either the Umayyads of Spain or the Fatimids.

Coins are known only of al-Khayr b. Muhammad, known to have been a subordinate ruler during the reign of Muhammad b. Khazar. None of the surviving coins reveal a mint name.

### al-Khayr b. Muhammad, circa 316-342+ / 928-953+

- Q455 AR dirham, as vassal of the Spanish Umayyad, 'Abd al-Rahman III, known dated 330 RRR
- R455 AR dirham, as vassal of the Fatimid al-Mu'izz, allegedly recognized as overlord in 342 RRR
- Lavoix #932, without mint or date, apparently still unique.

## KHAZRUNID

A minor dynasty in Sijilmasa, of Berber origin and distantly related to the Banu Khazan. The Khazrunids struck crude gold dinars and silver qirats, the latter extremely rare. The family originally served as officials for the Spanish Umayyads, obtaining independence after the Umayyad collapse.

All coinage was presumably struck at Sijilmasa, though the mint name is never indicated and all are normally undated.<sup>183</sup> The coinage of Wanudin is anonymous, whereas that of Mas'ud bears the ruler's name, occasionally with his patronymic. All coins were crudely struck, with virtually illegible marginal inscriptions.

### Wanudin, d. circa 440 / 1048

- 455 AV dinar R
- Most of Wanudin's coinage is technically anonymous, usually citing only the fictitious Spanish caliph 'Abd Allah, some without any caliphal name. Its style is distinctive and rather unattractive.

### Mas'ud b. Wanudin, circa 440-445 / 1048-1053

- 456 AV dinar, with the name Mas'ud, sometimes with the patronymic *bin wanudin* RR
- 457 AR qirat, several variants RRR

## BANU IFRAN

An important Berber tribal dynasty, part of the Zenata tribal complex spread throughout various portions of what is now Morocco and Algeria. They ruled from pre-Islamic times until the middle of the 5<sup>th</sup>/11<sup>th</sup> century.

Coins are reported solely of Yaddu b. Ya'la, without known mint (possibly Fès?). Yaddu normally allied with the Spanish Umayyads, more rarely with the Fatimids, though little is known of these relationships.

<sup>183</sup> One example, in Palombo auction 8, lot 94, is clearly dated, read by the editor as [4]40 but more likely 4xx.

### Yaddu b. Ya'la, 347-383 / 958-993

- 457N AR dirham, as vassal of the Fatimid al-Mu'izz (341-365) RRR
- First published by Lavoix, #933. Unknown with legible mint or date.

## ZIRID OF QAYRAWAN

A Sanhaja Berber dynasty in what is now Tunisia. Distinctive Zirid coins were struck only 441-449 and are all anonymous, distinguished from contemporary Fatimid gold coins by the legend within the reverse field, *Qur'an Verse 3:85*. Earlier and later issues were struck in the name of the Fatimid caliph and are therefore catalogued as Fatimid issues. See #372-373 for coinage of the Spanish Zirid branch. There are a few extremely rare billon black dirhams struck much later, during the lengthy reign of al-Hasan b. 'Ali (515-563).

Zirid dinars were minted predominantly at al-Qayrawan, usually preceded with the epithet *madinat 'izz al-islam*, and are always dated. A few dinars bear the mint name al-Mahdiya (446-447, both RRR). Quarter dinars and the silver lack the mint and are normally undated. Dinars of al-Mahdiya dated 449-457 are purely Fatimid, even though Hazard assigned them to the Zirids.

### al-Mu'izz b. Badis, 406-454 / 1016-1062

- 458 AV dinar R
- Isma'ili dinars and quarter dinars of Sabra 439-440 assigned by Hazard to al-Mu'izz are normal Fatimid types of al-Mustansir (type #719).
- 459 AV ¼ dinar R
- 460 AR fractional dirham S
- Most are struck in somewhat debased to heavily debased silver, always without mint or date, from dies with loathsome calligraphy.

### al-Hasan b. 'Ali, 515-563 / 1121-1168

- 460D BI dirham aswad, no mint or date, various types RRR

## BANU HILAL

A local Sunni polity in western Libya, the Banu Hilal struck billon and gold coins during the mid-5<sup>th</sup>/11<sup>th</sup> century. All bear the standard kalima in the obverse field, the names of the four Rashidun (Abu Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthman, 'Ali) in the reverse field.

Most dinars and all fractions and billon lack the mint name, but on a few dinars, the mint name Atrabulus can be discerned (Tripoli in Libya), but they are always undated. They are always weakly struck and rather ugly.

### Anonymous, mid-5<sup>th</sup>/11<sup>th</sup> century

- A461 AV dinar<sup>184</sup> RR
- B461 AV ¼ dinar RRR
- C461 BI dirham RR

## BARGHAWATID OF SFAQS

The Barghawatid rulers served as Zirid governors, but then rebelled against their rulers. They distinguished their coins by using Sunni instead of Shi'ite inscriptions. All of their coinage is anonymous.

All coins were of Fatimid/Zirid design and were struck at Madinat Sfaqus (Sfax) in Tunisia. The obverse & reverse area inscriptions are similar to those of the North African Zirids, but the obverse margin is the Prophetic Mission (Qur'an Verse 9:33).

### temp. Mansur al-Barghawati, 449-451 / 1057-1059

- E461 AV dinar (Safaqus 449 and 450 only) RRR
- With the extended Sunni kalima in the obverse field, Qur'an Verse 3:47 in the reverse field.

<sup>184</sup> Nicol has published two dated specimens, #1491 of Tarabulus 426 and #1492 of Atrabulus 431 (sic), which he assigned to the Khazrunids, each with the four Rashidun in the reverse field. Further research necessary.

	<b>temp. Hammu b. Malil, 451-493 / 1059-1100</b>		
F461	AV dinar, type as #A461, Safaqs mint, known dated 461 only	RRR	
	Normal <i>kalima</i> in the obverse field, the names of the four Rashidun in the reverse field.		
<b>MURABITUN (ALMORAVID)</b>			
Hazard, H.W., <i>The Numismatic History of Late Medieval North Africa</i> (ANS Numismatic Studies #8), New York, 1952. This work also covers many subsequent dynasties.			
Hazard, H.W., "Late medieval North Africa: additional and supplementary notes," <i>ANS Museum Notes</i> , v. 12 (1966), pp. 195-221.			
<i>The Almoravids descended from the Berber tribe known as Lamtunah. They struck coins in gold and fine silver, the latter known by the name of qirat ("carat"), as well as some billon dirhams struck at Spanish mints under 'Ali b. Yusuf. Some of their coins show exquisite calligraphic art (especially #466.3). Coins were struck at mints both in North Africa and in Spain after the first Spanish conquests in the 480s/1090s. The dinar weighed about 4.15g, the qirat about one gram.</i>			
Except for the early Khazrunid-style issues (#M461 & 461.1), nearly all Almoravid gold bears the mint & date. For the early period (until 500), the only common mint is Sijilmasa, the sole mint until 479. Thereafter, several mints are frequently seen: al-Mariya (Almería), Ishbiliya (Sevilla), Ighranata (Granada), Fès, Marrakesh, Aghmat, Nul Lamta, together with Sijilmasa. In all, more than 30 mints struck gold for this dynasty. Coins of the Spanish mints are generally more highly priced, as they are sought by Spanish numismatists who, not surprisingly, usually eschew the North African mints.			
The silver qirats and fractions are always undated and rarely bear the name of the mint. Those with mint name are rare.			
Both the silver of the qirat series and all gold were generally struck with great care, and tend to be well-preserved. The Spanish billon dirham series was not so fastidiously manufactured, and examples are usually less attractively preserved. The North			
All Murabitid gold dinars, except #M461 and 461.1, bear the Qur'anic Verse 3:85 in the obverse margin. The mint and date appear in the reverse margin, with the generic caliph <i>al-imam 'abd Allah amir al-mu'minin</i> in the reverse field. For "year", most dinars employ the traditional word <i>sana</i> , some later dinars use the alternative word <i>'am</i> .			
Contemporary, or near-contemporary, imitations of Almoravid gold dinars are not especially rare, usually in the name of 'Ali b. Yusuf. They were struck from badly engraved dies, with poor calligraphy and many spelling errors. They are almost always found holed or pierced, which suggests that they were made for jewelry, either in Muslim regions or in the southern parts of Christian Europe.			
<b>Yahya b. 'Umar, 445-448 / 1053-1056</b>			
M461	AV dinar, crude style of previous Khazrunid issues, without mint or date	RRR	
<b>Abu Bakr b. 'Umar, 448-480 / 1056-1087</b>			
461.1	AV dinar, crude Khazrunid style as M461, never dated, probably struck circa 448-450	RR	
461.2	AV dinar, new fine style (commencing in 450, always dated)	S	
Mints other than Sijilmasa are extremely rare. Henceforth, with the exception of the ¼ dinar, all gold coins bear full mint & date, and were painstakingly struck on broad thin round flans.			
462	AR qirat	RRR	
462A	AR ½ qirat	RRR	
<b>Ibrahim b. Abi Bakr, governor of Sijilmasa, 462-467 / 1070-1074</b>			
463	AV dinar, struck only at Sijilmasa	RRR	
These dinars cite only Ibrahim, who might have been in some sort of rebellion at Sijilmasa against his father Abu Bakr.			
<b>Yusuf b. Tashufin, 480-500 / 1087-1106</b>			
464.1	AV dinar, in his name only	S	
Struck 480-498 at North African mints (S), 489-497 at Spanish mints (R).			
464.2	AV dinar, also citing the heir 'Ali b. Yusuf	R	
Struck 497-499 and possibly 500 at North African mints (RR), 497-500 at Spanish mints (R).			
464A	AV ¼ dinar, Sijilmasa mint only (Hazard #91)	R	
Somewhat uncertain attribution, possibly belonging to a much later but still undetermined ruler. Always undated, and stylistically utterly different from any other Murabitun coins.			
465.1	AR qirat, several variants, in the name of Yusuf only, usually without mint, always undated	R	
Reported mints are Fès, Ishbiliya and Sanluka, all RRR.			
465.2	AR qirat, citing Yusuf as well as his son and heir al-Amir 'Ali, almost always without mint	RR	
A466	AR ½ qirat	RR	
Both the ½ and ¼ qirat bear the ruler's name on obverse ( <i>al-amir / yusuf</i> on the ½, just <i>yusuf</i> on the ¼), with a blank reverse.			
B466	AR ¼ qirat	RRR	
<b>'Ali b. Yusuf, 500-537 / 1106-1142</b>			
466.1	AV dinar, without heir, struck 500-522	C	
Dinars of Ishbiliya dated 519-522 and 522-526 of type #466.2 bear the name Yasir beneath the reverse field. The only instance of a local name (mintmaster?) on Murabitun dinars.			
466.2	AV dinar, with Sir as heir, struck 522-533	C	
466.3	AV dinar, with Tashufin as heir, struck 533-537	C	
Dinars of this type struck at Fès and dated 535-537 exhibit superbly delicate calligraphy, and are much prized by collectors, though they are actually amongst the most common examples of Almoravid gold coinage. On the other hand, dinars of Almería 530-537 are calligraphically rude, also common.			
466E	AV fractional dinar (pale gold), without mint or date, stylistically similar to Muluk al-Tawa'if issues	RR	
A pointillate circle between two linear circles on both sides, no marginal inscriptions. Known without heir, with Sir, but not with Tashufin. Always without mint & date, probably struck in Spain.			
467.1	AR qirat, normally without mint, without heir	C	
The qirats and fractions reflect the heir, as on the gold, but are always undated. All three subtypes of #467 occur in a large number of inscriptional, calligraphic, and arrangement variations. Very few examples of each variety bear the mint name. <sup>185</sup>			
467.2	AR qirat, normally without mint, heir Sir	C	
467.3	AR qirat, normally without mint, heir Tashufin	C	
468	AR ½ qirat, normally without mint	R	
Half qirats with mint name are extremely rare. The reverse is usually blank, sometimes bears a small symbol. Known without the heir, and with either Sir or Tashufin as heir.			
A469	AR ¼ qirat, similar, almost always without name of mint and usually with blank reverse	RRR	
B469	AR ⅛ qirat, similar, just <i>'ali</i> on obverse, blank reverse	RRR	
469	BI dirham, usually with mint name and almost always dated	RR	
Average about 3-4g. Broad & round, rather brownish in color. Struck at Valencia (503), Zaragoza (504-509), Cuenca (506), Murcia (508-511 & 525-526), Granada (519-520 or undated) and Jaen (536), of which only Granada is occasionally available.			
470	BI fractional dirham, style as last	R	
Struck on irregularly shaped blanks (hacksilver), at one or more undetermined mints in Spain. Because these fractions were struck from broad dies made for the full dirhams, minor portions of the marginal text is occasionally legible, but the mint and date are almost never discernible. <sup>186</sup>			
<sup>185</sup> Hazard reports the qirat mints of Sabta, Miknasa, Ishbiliya, Qurtuba and Malaqa for #467.1, Sabta and Tanja for #467.2, only Sabta for #467.3. All are very rare, and all are undated, except for Qurtuba, whose qirats are always dated (502-507).			
<sup>186</sup> In 1893, Vives y Escudero published four specimens (VyE-1835, 1842, 1844 and 1848), each described as "fragmento de dirhem sin orlas" (sin orlas = without margins). In 1952, Hazard quoted all four (his #908, 910, 909, 975, respectively), listed them as dirhams with "margins, if any, illegible", and assigned them to North Africa. Only #1835 (908) is described as a "fragment", but in his supplement in <i>ANS Museum Notes</i> , he "corrected"			

**Anonymous, circa 502-503 / 1108-1109**

A471 BI dirham, struck only at Murcia in 502-503 RRR  
Similar to #469, but without any ruler's name.

**Tashufin b. 'Ali, 537-540 / 1142-1145**

471.1 AV dinar, without the heir, dated 537-539 S  
471.2 AV dinar, with the heir Ibrahim (b. Tashufin),  
dated 539-540 R  
472.1 AR qirat, without heir S  
All silver qirats and fractions lack a mint name.  
472.2 AR qirat, with heir Ibrahim RR  
473 AR ½ qirat, with or without heir RR  
473C AR ¼ qirat, without heir RRR  
473D AR ⅛ qirat, without heir, sometimes with blank  
reverse RRR

**Ibrahim b. 'Ali, as sole ruler, 540 / 1145**

A474 AV dinar, struck only at Aghmat in 540<sup>187</sup> RRR  
B474 AR qirat, always without mint name RRR

**Ishaq b. 'Ali, 540-541 / 1145-1146**

474 AV dinar R  
475 AR qirat, without mint name R  
475A AR qirat, fancy *Naskhi* script, with mint name  
Qurtuba RR  
476 AR ½ qirat RR  
476C AR ¼ qirat RRR  
476D AR ⅛ qirat RRR

From 'Ali b. Yusuf onwards, there are a few additional silver fractions of the qirat, including some alleged 1/16 qirat, all extremely rare, as well as a plethora of variants of the "mintless" full qirat.

**Yahya b. Abi Bakr b. 'Ali, ca. 542-543 / 1147-1148**

Yahya was the last Murabitid to hold out against the Muwahhidun, called al-Sahrawi ("of the Sahara"), based in Sabta (Ceuta).

476G AV dinar, standard Murabitid style, struck only at  
Sijilmasa in 543 (Hazard-443) RRR

**"Bani Tashufin" ("sons of Tashufin"),  
struck briefly after 541 / 1146**

Kalima obverse, reverse legend *Allahumma arham umara al-muslimin bani tashufin*. "O God, have mercy on the commanders of the Muslims, the sons of Tashufin".  
The ½ qirat has only the qirat reverse legend, divided between the two sides. See type #C407 for related gold coinage.

476M AR qirat, without mint RR  
476N AR ½ qirat, without mint RRR

**Anonymous, probably just after 541 / 1146**

476T AR ¼ qirat, *muhammad rasul Allah* / symbol closely  
resembling Latin Z RRR

himself and reclassified it as a qirat, "not a dirhem", but still a fragment. Moreover, like Vives, he classified all of these as silver, not billon, with a few pieces described as copper "pseudo-dirhams". Since Vives did not describe their shape or appearance, their nature was unknown until his illustrations were published in 1998. In the 1980s I purchased a small group of several dozen pieces, which appeared to have been struck as fractions, not cut or broken fragments of full dirhams, a policy noted for some of the Muluk al-Tawa'if (cf. VyE-1249 of Lerida) and later very common under the Mamluks. And of course, I considered them important rarities that had never been published, but still inexpensive, \$10 fine and \$25 vf on my pricelist #40 in 1985!

In 1992, Medina Gómez cites the existence of *dirhemes de vellón* (billon dirhams) under the Almoravids, but does not describe them, and completely ignores the fractions. Hopefully, it is now clear, in 2011.

<sup>187</sup> Emirates Coin Auction n° 2, March 2000, lot 366.

**RIYAHID**

A minor dynasty in what is now modern Tunisia, centered at the city of Gabès (*Qabis*).

**al-Rashid b. Rafi', circa 517-554 / 1123-1149**

477 AV dinar, Qabis mint only, known dated 537-551 RRR

**MUWAHHIDUN (ALMOHAD)**

For general references, see Murabitun.

Hohertz, H. Edmond, *A Catalog of the Square Islamic Coins of Spain, Portugal, and North Africa 1130-1816 A.D.*, Wooster, Ohio, 2008.

The Muwahhidun (Almohades) introduced the square dirham, normally without name of ruler, together with gold dinars and fractional dinars, virtually always citing the ruler's name or his recognizable titulature. The gold dinar came to be known by the Spanish name *dobla*, which was misinterpreted to mean a double dinar (as accepted by Hazard and others). The *dobla* was a single dinar, weighing one mithqal to a local standard of about 4.62g.<sup>188</sup> The square dirham, used by subsequent dynasties until early in the Sa'dian period (10<sup>th</sup>/16<sup>th</sup> Century), was based on a standard of about 1.54g.

All coins of the Almohades and their Maghrebi successors until the rise of the Sa'dians in the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century are invariably undated. For nearly four hundred years, no dated coins were struck in Morocco or Spain in any metal (with a few exceptions, such as #418, Y408 and B410, all at least very rare).

Nearly all Almohad gold lacks the mint name, though coins of the first ruler, 'Abd al-Mu'min, sometimes show the mint, of which only Fès and Tilimsan are relatively common. Later gold coins with mint name are much rarer, except for dinars and ½ dinars of Abu Haf's 'Umar, struck at Sabta & Sijilmasa. Almohad gold coins employ the square-in-circle design, which was an innovation of 'Abd al-Mu'min.

Although the majority of the anonymous silver square dirhams lack a mint name (and all are undated), those showing the mint names Fès or Tilimsan (Tlemçen) are relatively common. Other relatively available mints include Sabta, Mursiya (Murcia), Marrakesh and Mayyurqa. Altogether, at least 25 different mints are known for the square dirhams, at least 10 in Spain and 15 in North Africa.

Almohad gold is always beautifully struck, from exquisitely engraved dies, some of which are amongst the most elegantly produced medieval Islamic coinage. However, by the time of Abu Haf's 'Umar (646-665), the manufacturing quality began to diminish. The square silver dirhams vary widely in quality, but even choice examples are not especially rare, especially the mintless types and those of Fès and Tilimsan.

Attribution of Almohad gold is difficult, as most coins cite not only the current ruler, but also the founder of the dynasty and sometimes one or more intermediate rulers. Hazard sorted out most of these difficulties, which are clearly summarized in the general study of Medina Gómez.

There is no official copper coinage of the Muwahhidun, but see #497A for a contemporary copper imitation.

The obverse field inscription on Muwahhidun gold coins normally begins with either *bism Allah al-rahman al-rahim* (full dinars) or *la ilah illa Allah* (fractions). The issuing ruler's name appears in the margin, either on the obverse or reverse, with his ancestors typically cited in the central field or in the opposite margins. From the gold coinage of Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad (595-610) onwards, the actual ruler was always cited in the obverse margin.

**Abu Muhammad 'Abd al-Mu'min (b. 'Ali),  
524-558 / 1130-1163**

See #P408 for a Murabitid style dinar of Jayyan (Jaen) 541, struck by a local rebel, in the full name *'abd al-mu'min b. 'ali*.

<sup>188</sup> The term *dobla*, Spanish for "double", was applied to the first full Almohad dinars introduced during the reign of Abu Yusuf Ya'qub (580-595). Earlier Almohad gold coinage was the half dinar, which was probably still called *maravedi* in Spanish, *i.e.*, "murabitid". Present theory is that the earlier 4.15g dinar of the Murabitun was called *maravedi* in Spain and the term was applied to the Almohad half dinar of about 2.35g after the collapse of the Murabitun in Spain in 541. When Abu Yusuf introduced the 4.62g full dinar some 40 years later, it was regarded as a double *maravedi*, the *dobla*. Contemporary Arabic texts refer to the 4.62g Almohad gold coin as a dinar, not a double dinar. Ironically, the Spanish *maravedi* eventually became a small copper coin worth but a pittance, last struck in 1850.

V478	AV dinar (4.62g), Fès of without mint (Gómez-168)	RRR	<b>Abu Muhammad 'Abd Allah b. Ya'qub, 621-624 / 1224-1227</b>
	The full dinar, <i>aka</i> <i>dobla</i> , bears 'Abd al-Mu'min's name and titles in the reverse field, with lengthy religious legends in the outer segments on both sides. The ½ and ¼ dinars cite 'Abd al-Mu'min in the reverse outer segments.		
478	AV ½ dinar (2.31g)	C	
479	AV ¼ dinar (1.15g)	R	
Q480	AR qirat (about 0.9g), Murabitid style (Gómez-194)	RRR	<b>Abu'l-'Ula Idris I, 624-629 / 1227-1232</b>
480	AR round dirham (square-in-circle both sides), with ruler's name (about 1.54g), without mint name	R	487 AV dinar RR
481.1	AR square ½ dirham, with ruler's name (about 0.77g), without mint name	R	Obverse margin: <i>al-mujahid al-ma'mun / amir al-mu'minin abu'l-'ula / idris bin al-mansur amir al-mu'minin / bin al-khalifatayn amiri al-mu'minin.</i>
	A square ¼ dirham is reported but not confirmed, without mint, perhaps a clipped down specimen of the half dirham.		
481.2	AR square ½ dirham, similar, but with mint name (Gómez lists five Spanish & three African mints)	RRR	<b>Abu Zakariya' Yahya, 624-633 / 1227-1236</b> In rebellion against Abu'l-'Ula until 629, then opposed by Abu Muhammad 'Abd al-Wahid II 630-633.
	<b>Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad, as heir, 551-558 / 1156-1163</b>		488 AV dinar RRR
482	AV ½ dinar	R	Obverse margin: <i>amir al-mu'minin / abu zakariya' / yahya ibn al-khulafa' al-rashidin.</i> <b>Abu Musa 'Imran, in rebellion at Ceuta (Sabta), 629-630 / 1227-1228</b> Only silver coins reported for this rebel.
	Upon the death of 'Abd al-Mu'min, this prince Muhammad was eliminated from the succession in favor of Abu Ya'qub. His coins were struck during his father's lifetime as heir, and were minted principally at Bijaya (Béjaïa in Algeria, spelled Bougie in French). They cite 'Abd al-Mu'min in the reverse field and Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad in the reverse margin.		A489 AR square dirham, without mint name <sup>191</sup> RRR
	<b>Abu Ya'qub Yusuf I, 558-580 / 1163-1184</b>		<b>Abu Muhammad 'Abd al-Wahid II (al-Rashid), 630-640 / 1232-1242</b>
483	AV ½ dinar	C	489 AV dinar RR
	In 563/1168, Yusuf acquired the title <i>amir al-mu'minin</i> , which was subsequently added to the coin legends. Both types, with or without that title, are relatively common. His name always appears in the reverse marginal segments, with 'Abd al-Mu'min cited in the reverse field.		Obverse margin: <i>amir al-mu'minin al-rashid / abu muhammad 'abd al-wahid / bin amir al-mu'minin al-ma'mun / ibn al-'ula bin amir al-mu'minin al-mansur.</i>
	No full dinars have been assigned to Yusuf I.		A series of round silver qirats struck at North African mints and assigned by Hazard and Gómez to this ruler are the normal 'Alawi muzunas of al-Rashid (type #582), struck more than 400 years later.
483A	AV ¼ dinar	RR	<b>Abu'l-Hasan 'Ali (al-Mu'tadid), 640-646 / 1242-1248</b>
	Yusuf cited in reverse margin, 'Abd al-Mu'min in obverse margin.		490 AV dinar RRR
	<b>Abu Yusuf Ya'qub (b. Yusuf), 580-595 / 1184-1199</b>		Obverse margin: <i>amir al-mu'minin al-as'ad / al-mu'tadid billah abu'l-hasan / ibn amir al-mu'minin al-ma'mun / ibn al-khulafa' al-rashidin.</i>
484	AV dinar ( <i>dobla</i> , 4.62g)	S	A variation ends in <i>al-ma'mun amir al-mu'minin</i> . All lack his personal name 'Ali.
	The name & titles of his father Yusuf are in the lower 2 lines of the reverse field, and Ya'qub's name & titles in the reverse margin, <i>amir al-mu'minin abu yusuf ya'qub bin amir al-mu'minin bin amir al-mu'minin</i> . The obverse margin has purely religious legends.		<b>Abu Hafs 'Umar (al-Murtada), 646-665 / 1248-1266</b>
A485	AV ¼ dinar (1.15g)	R	Obverse margin: <i>amir al-mu'minin al-murtada li-amr / Allah abu hafs bin al-amir / al-zahir abi ibrahim / ibn al-khalifatayn</i> (sometimes slightly differently arranged). The fractions have shorter versions but all include the title <i>abu hafs</i> in the obverse margin. His personal name 'Umar never appears on his coins. Many examples of #491 and 492 bear the mint name, either Sabta or Sijilmasa.
	<b>Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad (b. Ya'qub), 595-610 / 1199-1213</b>		491 AV dinar S
485	AV dinar	R	492 AV ½ dinar R
	The reverse field and margin are identical to #484, but the religious inscription of the obverse margin has been replaced with the name & titles of Muhammad, <i>amir al-mu'minin abu 'abd Allah muhammad bin al-khulafa' al-rashidin</i> .		493 AV ¼ dinar, always without mint name RR
	Commencing with this ruler Muhammad, all issues retain this style, so only the obverse margin is noted hereafter.		493A AR square dirham, anonymous R
	<b>Abu Ya'qub Yusuf II (b. Muhammad), 610-620 / 1213-1224</b>		Similar to the usual anonymous dirham (#497) but with <i>al-hadra al-mu'miniya al-murtadiya</i> in place of mint name. <sup>192</sup>
486	AV dinar	RR	<b>Abu'l-'Ula Idris II (al-Wathiq), 665-668 / 1266-1269</b>
	Yusuf II retained the same reverse margin as #484, with his own name and titles in the obverse margin, <i>amir al-mu'minin abu ya'qub yusuf bin al-khulafa' al-rashidin</i> .		494 AV dinar RR
486A	AV ½ dinar	RRR	Obverse margin: <i>amir al-mu'minin al-wathiq / billah abu'l-'ula ibn / sayyidina abi 'abd Allah bin / sayyidina abi hafs al-khalifa.</i> All his coins lack his personal name Idris.
	The ½ dinar of Yusuf I (#483) bears a religious inscription in the obverse margin, whereas those of Yusuf II bear the inscription <i>amir al-mu'minin abu ya'qub bin al-khulafa' al-rashidin</i> in the obverse margin <sup>189</sup>		495 AV ¼ dinar RR
			Shortened obverse margin: <i>amir al-mu'minin / al-wathiq / al-mu'tamid / abu'l-'ula.</i>

<sup>189</sup> The assignment of this coin to Yusuf II is still regarded as tentative; it was published by Madina Gómez as type no. 180, assigned to Yusuf II.

<sup>190</sup> A. Medina, "Aparece una dobla del califa almodahe 'Abd-Allah I", *I Jarique*, Zaragoza 1988, pp. 179-180.

<sup>191</sup> Illustrated by Hazard, his no. 1076.

<sup>192</sup> Hohertz has suggested that the mint name refers to Sijilmasa.

### **Anonymous, circa 558-668+ / 1163-1269+**

The square dirham retained the weight of about 1.54g introduced by 'Abd al-Mu'min b. 'Ali, and carefully made examples of both the *Naskhi* and *Kufic* types adhere closely to that standard. However, square dirhams of poorer quality are significantly lighter, down to 1.2g or even less, and were likely unofficial contemporary imitations or later issues of undetermined origin.

#### 496 AR square dirham, without mint name, *Naskhi* or similar calligraphy A

For dating, see the description under #497. It is not known whether the "mintless" types were struck simultaneously with those bearing a mint name. The *Kufic* types (#496A) were probably struck during a brief period, probably early in the series. Large hoards containing both types #496 and 497 are commonly found. The coins are often heavily worn, which suggests that they remained in circulation for a century or more. For a much later stylistic variation tentatively assigned to the Merinids, see #547E.

#### 496A AR square dirham, without mint name, similar, but with fine *Kufic* calligraphy R

Unlike the rather coarse *Kufic* calligraphy of the Hafsids equivalent (#514).

#### 497 AR square dirham, with mint name C

The mint name is usually below the obverse, sometimes below the reverse (according to Hazard's classification). Some mints are very rare. Fès and Tilimsan are by far the most common. Mints were located in both North Africa (C) and Spain (R).<sup>193</sup> The Almohad square dirham was probably struck with little alteration, except in calligraphy and ornamentation, from the 550s/1160s until long after the fall of the last member of the dynasty in 668/1269, perhaps as late as the middle of the 8<sup>th</sup>/14<sup>th</sup> century, when moderately large quantities of Merinid square dirhams were first introduced. The mint origin and chronology of the "mintless" coins (type #496) have not been determined. See #514 for similar coins with ornamental *Kufic* writing.

#### 497A AE square "dirham", struck at Sabta (Ceuta) S

Believed to be a contemporary forgery, possibly intended to have been silver plated, but all known specimens lack the plating. They are of excellent calligraphy, either struck from stolen official dies, or officially issued by the Almohades in times of economic or political despair.

#### 497R AR ½ square dirham RR

#### 497S AR ¼ square dirham RRR

'*Afiya taqwa* on obverse, *huda Allah huwa huda* on reverse.<sup>194</sup>

#### 498 AR square dirham, Christian imitation from Spain, known as *millares*, fairly often with pseudo-mint name Sabta or Tunis C

Distinguished by broader flan and degenerate calligraphy. Probably struck in the 7<sup>th</sup>/13<sup>th</sup> century.

The Almohad North African lands were subsequently divided between three kingdoms, those of the Hafsids, the Ziyenids, and the Merinids, east to west, corresponding approximately to the modern nations of Tunisia (plus eastern Algeria), western Algeria and Morocco. All three struck primarily gold, to the same standard as the Muwahhidun. There are several rare rulers and rebels, which are not included in this *Checklist*.

## **HAFSID**

For references, see under Murabitun.

'Amid al-'Ajjabi, *Jami' al-maskukat al-'arabiya bi'-ifriqiya*, Tunis, circa 1998. Of some usefulness for this dynasty.

*The Hafsids were the successors to the Almohades as caliphs (amir al-mu'minin), and ruled in what is now Tunisia and eastern Algeria. Their coinage is almost exclusively in gold, always with the name of the ruler. There is a limited issuance of silver dirhams and just one issue in copper at the end of the*

<sup>193</sup> Hohertz lists 39 mints, together with 14 additional possibilities.

However, some of his "secure" mints are at best tentative readings. Many of the "rare" mints are most likely either misreadings, diecutter's carelessness, or contemporary imitations. Medina Gómez lists just 23 mints, seemingly accurate, though a couple more North African mints are likely.

<sup>194</sup> See Medina Gomez 203 & 203a for #497R and 497S, respectively.

*dynasty. From time to time between 1284 and 1394, the kingdom was torn by rivalries.*

Many Hafsids gold coins lack a mint name, especially those of the first five rulers. Bijaya and Tunis are the most common mints before 796, after which the leading mint is Tarabulus (Tripoli in Libya). All Hafsids coins are undated, of which the sole exception is the silver square dirham of the late ruler Ahmad III, type #B514.

All gold coins adhere to the square-in-circle design. Coins of Yahya I and early issues of Muhammad I bear the ruler's name in the marginal inscription (often on both sides of the coin). Thereafter, the ruler's name appears in the central field, on the side regarded by Hazard as the reverse (with a few exceptions, as noted). The mint name invariably appears at the bottom of the obverse or reverse field.

Most of the rulers bear additional titles which are usually inscribed in the reverse margin. These are not noted here (see Hazard).

### **Abu Zakariya' Yahya I, 627-647 / 1230-1249**

#### **(b. Abi Muhammad b. Abi Hafs)**

#### 499.1 AV dinar, citing the Muwahhidun 'Abd al-Mu'min RR

Hazard dates this type to 634-640. Struck without mint name. The Hafsids ruler is stated in the reverse margin, the ancient Muwahhidun ruler in the reverse field.

#### 499.2 AV dinar, without 'Abd al-Mu'min R

Found without mint name, also from mints Bijaya, Tilimsan, Jaza'ir, Sabta and, Sijilmasa. Extremely rare issues were struck in the name of Abu Zakariya' Yahya by Hafsids partisans in Spain, mints of Ishbiliya and Gharnata. These are the only Spanish issues of the Hafsids, Ziyenids or Merinids.

#### 500.1 AV ½ dinar, with 'Abd al-Mu'min, without mint name RR

Yahya I is cited in the reverse margin, 'Abd al-Mu'min in the obverse margin.

#### 500.2 AV ½ dinar, without 'Abd al-Mu'min S

Without mint name save for a single issue of Sijilmasa (RR).

#### 500B AV ¼ dinar, without 'Abd al-Mu'min, no mint RR

### **Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad I, 647-675 / 1249-1277**

#### **(b. Yahya I, entitled al-Mustansir billah)**

#### 501 AV dinar R

Without mint name, or with name Bijaya, Tunis or Tilimsan. Later issues of this ruler add the title *amir al-mu'minin*.

#### 502 AV ½ dinar, normally without mint S

Known with mint name Bijaya (R).

#### 503 AV ¼ dinar, without mint RR

#### 503A AV ⅓ dinar, without mint R

### **Abu Zakariya' Yahya II (b. Muhammad I),**

#### **675-678 / 1277-1279**

#### A504 AV dinar, without mint RRR

#### E504 AV ½ dinar, without mint RRR

### **Abu Ishaq Ibrahim I, 678-681 / 1279-1283**

#### B504 AV dinar, without mint name RRR

Coins of this ruler bear the name of the long deceased Abu Zakariya' Yahya I in the reverse field, the name Abu Ishaq Ibrahim in the reverse margin.

### **Ahmad b. Marzuq, pretending to be Abu'l-'Abbas al-Fadl**

#### **(b. Yahya II), in rebellion, 681-683 / 1282-1284**

In opposition against the Hafsids claimants Ibrahim I, 'Abd al-'Aziz I (no coins), and 'Umar I.

#### M504 AV dinar, mint of Tunis only RRR

### **Abu Hafs 'Umar I, 683-694 / 1284-1295**

#### 504 AV dinar R

Struck at Bijaya and Tunis, neither especially rare. Surprisingly, this type is not known without mint name.

#### 504A AV ½ dinar, struck at Tunis RR?

<b>Abu Zakariya' Yahya III (b. Ibrahim I), at Bijaya, 683-700 / 1284-1301</b>			
505	AV dinar, without mint or mint Bijaya His full title normally appears as <i>al-amir al-mustanjib al-ihya' din Allah abu zakariya'</i> , without his personal name.	RR	
<b>Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad II, 694-709 / 1295-1309</b>			
506	AV dinar, struck at Tunis or without mint His dinars are identified by the peculiar reverse field inscription <i>abu 'abd Allah Muhammad / bin amir al-mu'minin / bin amir al-mu'minin</i> .	RR	
<b>Abu'l-Baqa' Khalid I, 700-711 / 1301-1311</b>			
A507	AV dinar, struck at Tunis	RRR	
<b>Abu Yahya Zakariya', 711-717 / 1311-1318</b>			
B507	AV dinar, without mint name	RRR	
C507	AV ½ dinar, without mint name (Hazard assigns a mintless dinar, his #594, to Abu 'Abd Allah III b. Zakariya', 717-723 / 1317-1323, but this attribution is at best conjectural. The reverse field inscription reads <i>abu 'abd Allah muhammad / ibn al-umara al-rashidin / ayaddahu Allah ta'ala.</i> )	RRR	
<b>Abu Yahya Abu Bakr II, 710-747 / 1310-1346</b>			
507.1	AV dinar, as <i>al-amir al-ajall</i> (as governor of Bijaya & Qusantina, 710-718) Without mint, or with mint Bijaya or Qusantina.	RR	
507.2	AV dinar, as <i>amir al-mu'minin</i> (as general ruler, 718-747) Types of Bijaya and without mint are relatively common. Other known mints are Baskara and Qafsa, both extremely rare.	R	
508.1	AV ½ dinar, no mint name	RR	
508A	AV ¼ dinar, no mint name	R?	
<b>Abu Hafis 'Umar II (b. Abu Bakr II), 747-748 / 1346-1347</b>			
A509	AV dinar, without mint name Ruler's name is given as <i>abu hafis 'umar ibn amir al-mu'minin abu yahya abu bakr</i> , whereas the name of 'Umar I (#504) is given as <i>abu hafis 'umar ibn al-umara al-rashidin</i> . There is some doubt that these coins are really issues of different rulers.	RRR	
<b>Abu'l-'Abbas al-Fadl (b. Abu Bakr II), 749-751 / 1348-1350</b>			
B509	AV dinar, always with mint name, both with and without the title <i>amir al-mu'minin</i> Minted at Bijaya, Tunis and Tarabulus (in Libya). A type assigned by Hazard to Abu'l-'Abbas al-Fadl b. Yahya II, 681-683 (no. 570) may well belong to this ruler.	RR	
C509	AV ¼ dinar, without mint name	RRR	
<b>Abu Zayd 'Abd al-Rahman (b. Muhammad), at Qusantina, 749-755 / 1348-1355</b>			
G509	AV dinar, mint of Qusantina	RRR	
<b>Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad III (b. Yahya), at Bijaya, 1<sup>st</sup> reign, 749-753 / 1348-1352</b>			
L509	AV dinar, without mint Ruler described on his coins as <i>abu 'abd Allah ibn yahya ibn amir al-mu'minin</i> .	RRR	
<b>Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad III, 2<sup>nd</sup> reign, 761-767 / 1360-1366</b>			
M509	AV dinar, mint of Bijaya Ruler described as <i>muhammad amir al-mu'minin ibn al-amir abi zakariya ibn abi bakr</i> , which confirms this attribution. The mint name is written as <i>madinat bijaya al-mahrusa</i> in the reverse margin.	RR	
<b>Abu Ishaq Ibrahim II, 751-770 / 1350-1369</b>			
509	AV dinar Without mint name, or with mint Tarabulus or Qafsa, the latter extremely rare. Ruler described as <i>abu ishaq ibrahim / ibn amir al-mu'minin / abi yahya abi bakr</i> .	RR	
B510	AV ¼ dinar, without mint name <sup>195</sup>	RR	
<b>Abu'l-'Abbas Ahmad II, 755-758 / 1354-1357 and 761-796 / 1360-1394</b>			
Coins of the two reigns cannot be distinguished, at least not as they are currently understood.			
510	AV dinar Normally without mint name, but also known from the mints of Bijaya and Tunis. There are two major varieties, one with just three-line inscriptions in the obverse & reverse squares, the second of Merinid style, with five-line inscriptions in both. <sup>196</sup>	R	
510A	AV ½ dinar, known from mint of Tuzar	RRR	
<b>Abu Faris 'Abd al-'Aziz II, 796-837 / 1394-1434</b>			
Most coins of this reign are rather clumsily struck, often with much weakness and scruffy calligraphy. The quality declined more rapidly under his success, Abu 'Amr 'Uthman.			
511	AV dinar, with mint name Known from mints Baskara, Bijaya, al-Hamma, Qafsa, Qusantina, Tarabulus, Tunis and Tusar. Bijaya and especially Tarabulus are most common.	S	
512	AV ½ dinar Without mint, or with mint names Mahdiya, Qafsa or Tunis.	R	
512A	AV ¼ dinar, without mint (Hazard ascribes a dinar to Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad IV, 837-839 / 1434-1435, but with "attribution tentative". It seems highly unlikely!)	RR	
<b>Abu'l-Hasan 'Ali (b. 'Abd al-'Aziz II), 839-856 / 1435-1452</b>			
E513	AV dinar, Bijaya mint	RRR	
<b>Abu 'Amr 'Uthman, 839-893 / 1435-1488</b>			
513.1	AV dinar, normal type with title <i>amir al-mu'minin</i> Known from mints Bijaya, Qusantina, Tarabulus and Tuzar, of which only Tarabulus is common. Dinars and half dinars of this ruler have only recently become relatively common. They are almost always poorly struck, with considerable weakness, and were probably just ignored in the past due to their unimpressive appearance, typically 10-30% flat.	S	
513.2	AV dinar, similar, but with additional title <i>al-malik al-sultan</i> , struck only at the mint Jaza'ir (Algiers)	RRR	
513.3	AV dinar, with Merinid style and titular description <i>'an amr 'abd Allah amir al-mu'minin</i> in four lines, struck at Tilimsan and Tanas	RR	
513A	AV ½ dinar, titles as #513.1 This type has recently become quite common, especially without mint or from mint Tarabulus. The only other known mint is Qafsa (RR).	S	
513B	AV ¼ dinar, titles as #513.1, no mint name	R?	
<b>Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad V, 899-932 / 1494-1526</b>			
513H	AV dinar, without mint or mint of Tunis Coins of this ruler differ from those of earlier rulers with the same name by the marginal titles, <i>al-mutawakkil 'ala Allah</i> and <i>al-mujahid fi sabil Allah</i> , as well as by flans even more irregular than those of his predecessor Abu 'Amr 'Uthman.	RR	
513J	AV ½ dinar, no mint, poor style	RR	
513K	AV ¼ dinar, no mint, poor style	RR	

<sup>195</sup> S. Album, pricelist 156 (Sept 1999), #9.

<sup>196</sup> Hazard ascribes the three-line type to his first reign, 755-758, the five-line type to his second reign, 761-796, when he was at least partly under Merinid influence. This division is uncertain. It seems likely that the first reign produced relatively fine quality three-line pieces, then the five-line adopted in 761, with the three-line type restored soon afterwards. The five-line type seems to be much rarer.

A few rulers after 932 allegedly struck gold coins, but their attributions remain insecure. All are very rare.

**Abu'l-'Abbas Ahmad III (b. al-Hasan),  
948-977 / 1542-1569**

A514 AR double dirham (presumably about 2.35g), mint of Tunis, dated 956 (Hazard-1127) RRR

B514 AR square dirham (about 1.18g), dated in numerals or undated, mint of Tunis RR

Hazard reports numerous dates between 952 and 964, of which 964 is the least rare. The obverse inscription is Qur'an 65:3 for year 952-958, the kalima for 961-964. Always poorly struck, usually 25% flat or worse.

F514 AE fals, mint of Tunis, two versions (Hazard-1173 & 1174) RRR

Attribution is likely correct, especially given the mint name and calligraphic style.

**Anonymous, circa 700 / 1300 & later**

514 AR square dirham S

The Hafsid square dirhams are identical to the Muwahhidun, but are written in square Kufic instead of rounded *Naskhi* script, but much coarser than the Muwahhidun Kufic equivalent (#496A). Some bear the mint name Tunis, more rarely Bijaya and Tilimsan.<sup>197</sup>

**ZIYANID**

For references, see Murabitun.

The Ziyanids were leaders of the Zanata Berbers, and founded a kingdom in what is now western Algeria, with their capital at Tlemçen (Tilimsan). Their coinage is exclusively in gold, mostly rare, though a few silver coins have been hesitantly assigned to this kingdom.

With the exception of one variety of #515 struck at Jaza'ir (modern Algiers), all Ziyanid coins were struck exclusively at Tilimsan.

As with contemporary Hafsid and Merinid coins, there is a definite decline of style and quality of strike, especially after about 800. However, some of the latest issues were once again more carefully struck (after about 930), perhaps due to Ottoman or European assistance.

From Abu Ziyani Muhammad II (796-802) until Abu'l-'Abbas Ahmad I (834-866), each ruler chose characteristic Qur'anic quotes for the obverse field. The tradition was abandoned thereafter, replaced by traditional North African arrangements of the kalima.

**Abu Hammu Musa I, 707-718 / 1308-1318**

A515 AV dinar RR

Hazard assigns to Musa I coins with the phrase *ma aqrab faraj Allah* (see #M520) beneath the obverse and *ayyadahu Allah wa nasarahu* ("may God affirm him and assist him") beneath the reverse. Coins assigned to Musa II lack these legends.

**Abu Tashufin 'Abd al-Rahman I, 718-737 / 1318-1337**

515.1 AV dinar, with his name as *al-mutawakkil 'ala Allah 'abd al-rahman* in the obverse field RRR

515.2 AV dinar, with his name as *'abd al-rahman ibn al-khulafa' al-rashidin* in obverse margin S

Subtype #515.2 is usually well struck, and is by far the most frequently available Ziyanid coin. Minted at Tilimsan and Jaza'ir, the latter very rare.

The Ziyanid interregnum occurred 737-749 and again 753-760, when under Merinid control. No coins are known from the brief reign of the Ziyanid Abu Sa'id 'Uthman II (749-753 / 1348-1352). Type #515.2 may have been struck posthumously after 737, perhaps until the Ziyanid re-emergence under Musa II in 760/1359.

**Abu Hammu Musa II, 760-791 / 1359-1389**

A516 AV dinar RR

(No coins have been confirmed for his immediate successor 'Abd al-Rahman II, 791-795 / 1389-1393.<sup>198</sup>)

**Abu Ziyani Muhammad II, 796-802 / 1394-1399**

B516 AV dinar RRR

Muhammad II is cited as *al-ghani billah muhammad*.

**Abu Muhammad 'Abd Allah I, 802-804 / 1399-1402**

C516 AV dinar RRR

Cited simply as *abu muhammad 'abd Allah*.

**Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad III, 804-813 / 1402-1411**

516 AV dinar RR

Muhammad III is cited either as *al-wathiq billah muhammad* or with these names reversed, *muhammad al-wathiq billah*.

**Abu Malik 'Abd al-Wahid,  
814-827 / 1411-1424 and 831-833 / 1428-1430**

517 AV dinar R

517A AV ½ dinar, mint of Tilimsan RR

**Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad IV,  
827-831 / 1424-1428 and 833-834 / 1430-1431**

518 AV dinar RR

518A AV ½ dinar, mint of Tilimsan RRR

Muhammad IV is cited as *abu 'abd Allah* without his personal name Muhammad or any other titles except *al-mutawakkil 'ala Allah*, and Qur'an 65:3 on the reverse.

**Abu'l-'Abbas Ahmad I, 834-866 / 1431-1462**

519 AV dinar R

Ahmad I is cited as *abu'l-'abbas ahmad* with the additional laqab *al-mu'tasim billah*.

519A AV ½ dinar, similar, various subtypes RR

Numerous half and quarter dinars have been assigned by Hazard and others to various Ziyanid kings other than those included here, mainly during the period 866-932 / 1462-1526, but none of these can be classified even as tentative.

**Abu Hammu Musa III, 932-934 / 1526-1528**

519M AV dinar<sup>199</sup> RRR

Cited as *abu hammu* followed by *ayyadahu Allah*, "may God assist him". Unlike earlier issues, each line of the central square, both obverse & reverse, bears a small arch in the center.

**Abu Muhammad 'Abd Allah II, 934-947 / 1528-1540**

A520 AV dinar, citing the Ottoman sultan Süleyman I as overlord RR

**Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad VIII, 947-950 / 1540-1543**

B520 AV dinar, as vassal of the Ottoman Süleyman I RR

The Ottoman sultan is cited on dinars of both this and the following ruler Ahmad III as *amir al-mu'minin abi'l-rabi' sulayman*.

**Abu'l-'Abbas Ahmad III,  
949 / 1542 and 951-957 / 1544-1550**

C520 AV dinar, as vassal of the Ottoman Süleyman I RRR

Citing the Ottoman sultan Süleyman I as overlord on obverse (*bism Allah al-rahman al-rahim* at the top), his own name on reverse (ICA 13, lot 219).

**Abu Muhammad Hasan, 957-964 / 1550-1556**

E520 AV ½ dinar, Tilimsan mint RRR?

Kalima obverse, *abu muhammad / hasan / ayyadahu Allah* in reverse field, tentative attribution.

**Anonymous, 8<sup>th</sup>/14<sup>th</sup> century**

M520 AR square dirham, mint of Tilimsan or without mint name RR

With *ma aqrab faraj Allah* ("how close is the glory of God") below the obverse. The attribution of this rare type to the

<sup>197</sup> Hohertz lists 8 additional mints, all of which are tentative, at best.

<sup>198</sup> Hazard no. 652, assigned to 'Abd al-Rahman II, is probably a variant of #515.2 of 'Abd al-Rahman I.

<sup>199</sup> Sotheby's October 1994, lot 292.



Ziyaniids remains uncertain. Hazard and Hohertz have temporarily assigned the type to the Merinids (Hazard-1147).<sup>200</sup>

*Hazard knew of just 28 Ziyaniid gold types, but many more have been discovered since then. The attribution of many Ziyaniid coins, especially the half dinars and others allegedly struck between 866 and 934, remains questionable.*

## MERINID

For references, see Murabitun.

*The Merinids inherited the western part of the Almohad patrimony, more or less congruent with modern Morocco. They struck moderate quantities of silver in addition to gold coins in multiple denominations. Most gold coins bear the name of the ruler, except as noted below (the attributions of the anonymous coins are from Hazard).*

In general, Merinid gold was somewhat carelessly struck, especially from about 710/1310 onwards. The earlier silver is also poorly struck, but the silver of the last two rulers was more carefully manufactured. The gold is commonly found holed for jewelry (usually two holes).

Most Merinid gold and silver coins lack a mint name. However, the mints of Fès, Marrakesh, and Sijilmasa are not rare. Some gold issues of Azzemour and Sabta (Ceuta) are also reasonably available.

Three rulers issued anonymous coins, Abu Bakr, Yusuf, and Abu'l-Hasan 'Ali. Their dinars and half dinars are distinguished as follows (for further details, see the work of Hazard<sup>201</sup>):

**Abu Bakr, 642-656 / 1244-1258:** Three-line legends obverse & reverse. The top line of the reverse is typically *al-shukr lillah, al-mulk lillah* or *al-'azuma lillah* ("thanks to God", "the kingship is God's", "greatness is God's").

**Yusuf, 685-706 / 1286-1307:** 5-line legends obverse & reverse. The top line of the reverse is always *al-mulk lillah wahduhu* ("the kingship is God's alone").

**'Ali, 731-752 / 1331-1351:** 4-line or 5-line legends on both obverse & reverse, with much coarser script than in earlier reigns. The top line of the reverse varies greatly and can be the same as the previous two types. See Hazard for details.

Hafsid & Merinid coins of similarly named rulers can be distinguished by title. The Hafsids proclaimed themselves caliph, with the title *amir al-mu'minin* ("commander of the believers"), whereas the Merinids adopted a subordinate title *amir al-muslimin* ("commander of the Muslims"), except for Abu'l-'Inan Fars and 'Abd al-'Aziz II, who usurped the title *amir al-mu'minin* instead. Most named Merinid coins cite the ruler in the obverse square.

Most silver coinage of the Merinid period was anonymous. Only the extremely rare issues of Abu Zayd 'Abd al-Rahman (#A539) and the rather common types of the last two rulers 'Abd al-'Aziz II and 'Abd al-Haqq II bear the ruler's actual name. The attribution of some extremely rare silver coins to Abu Ya'qub Yusuf seems plausible (#525-526). Hazard's assignment of the common anonymous type to 'Abu'l-Hasan 'Ali (#530) also seems reasonable, though its production likely continued for many decades after his death, and may have been initiated at some undetermined time prior to his accession. All other assignments by Hazard or Hohertz to specific rulers remain highly questionable.

Although Hazard's pioneering work in 1952 represented a major advance for the attribution of Merinid coins, recent discoveries suggest that some modifications will be necessary. Before this work is done and published, I have chosen to retain Hazard's attributions.

The mint name may appear in any of three different places: (1) beneath the obverse or reverse field, (2) in the first or second line of the reverse margin, (3) atop the reverse field as part of the inscription commencing in the upper marginal section.

### temp. Abu Yahya Abu Bakr, 642-656 / 1244-1258

All coins assigned to Abu Bakr are anonymous. Hazard concluded that they continued to be struck without change of text or design under his successor, Abu Yusuf Ya'qub (656-685 / 1258-1286), at least until the year 668/1270, but all are traditionally assigned to Abu Bakr for the sake of convenience.

<sup>200</sup> The phrase *ma aqrab faraj Allah* appears on Ziyaniid gold coins struck under Musa I (707-718) and 'Abd al-Rahman I (718-737), as well as during the Merinid occupation of Tlemçen circa 737-749. Hence this anonymous dirham can perhaps be assigned to either dynasty.

<sup>201</sup> Hazard's attributions represented a major milestone in the classification of these coins when he published his results in 1952. His conclusions are now being re-evaluated by several scholars in Spain, and it is anticipated that their results will eventually be published.

It may never be possible to separate these anonymous gold dinars into the two reigns.

The fractional gold coins assigned by Hazard to this and Ya'qub's reign (#521-523A) come in many variations, and may have been struck for many decades, probably more than a century, after Abu Bakr's death in 656/1258.

Silver coins attributed by Hazard to this ruler (his #1133, VyE-2211) were struck much later, probably during or even after the Wattasid period, and remain unassigned. They bear the reverse legend *wa ma bikum min ni'ma fa-min Allah* in 3 lines ("there is no favor unto you except from God").

520	AV dinar, most common without mint name	C
	Known mint names are Fès, Marrakesh, Sabta and Sijilmasa, none especially rare.	
521	AV ½ dinar	R
	Usually without mint name, but known from Fès and Sijilmasa.	
522	AV ¼ dinar, almost always without mint name	S
	One type, Hazard-688, bears the mint name Fès but might be of a much later period.	
523	AV ⅛ dinar, always without mint name	R
523A	AV 1/16 dinar, always without mint name	RR

### Abu Yusuf Ya'qub (b. 'Abd al-Haqq), 656-685 / 1258-1286

All coins of Ya'qub bear the lengthy titlature *nasir al-din al-qa'im lillah ... ya'qub ibn 'abd al-haqq* in the reverse field. All are without a mint name. This is the first Merinid type that bears the title *amir al-muslimin*.

A524	AV dinar	RR
B524	AV ½ dinar	RRR

### temp. Abu Ya'qub Yusuf, 685-706 / 1286-1307

524	AV dinar	S
	Also anonymous, his dinars are characterized by the top line of the reverse, <i>al-mulk lillah wahduhu</i> ("kingship belongs to God alone"). Either without mint name, or struck at Fès, Sabta or Sijilmasa.	
525	AR square dirham, without mint name	RR
	With obverse legend <i>al-hamd lillah rabb al'alam</i> and reverse legend <i>al-amr kulluhu lillah la quwwa illa billah</i> ("the command is entirely God's; there is no power except God's"). Types #525 and 526 are only tentatively assigned to this ruler. Probable weight standard is about 0.88g for the dirham.	
526.1	AR square ½ dirham, without mint name	RRR
	With reverse legend <i>wa ma al-nasr illa min 'ind Allah</i> ("there is no succor except from God"). Weight & denomination uncertain.	
526.2	AR square ½ dirham, normally without mint name	RRR
	With obverse legend <i>al-amr kulluhu lillah wahduhu</i> , reverse ( <i>wa</i> ) <i>la quwwa illa billah</i> . Weight & denomination uncertain.	
526.3	AR square ½ dirham (0.44g), without mint name but perhaps from Sabta (Ceuta)	RRR
	Obverse <i>al-amr kulluhu lillah wahduhu</i> , reverse <i>la quwwa illa billah</i> . Weight & denomination uncertain.	

### Abu Sa'id 'Uthman II, 710-731 / 1310-1331

Coins of 'Uthman II bear his name, occasionally with his laqab *al-mustansir billah*, and virtually always citing the mint name.

Known from Azammur, Fès, Sabta and Sijilmasa.

527	AV dinar	S
A528	AV ½ dinar, similar, known from Fès, Marrakesh and Sijilmasa.	R
B528	AV ¼ dinar, similar, without mint name	RR

### temp. Abu'l-Hasan 'Ali, 731-752 / 1331-1351

All gold coins of this ruler are anonymous. Hazard has described the many types in detail, confessing that some are tentatively assigned to this ruler. Merinid power attained its apogee under this ruler.

Known mints for gold coins are Azzamur, Bijaya, Fès, Jaza'ir, Sala, Sijilmasa, Tilimsan (sometimes as Mansurat Tilimsan), and Tunis. The eastern mints reflect 'Ali's conquest of much of the Ziyaniid and Hafsid regions.

528.1	AV dinar, with characteristic term <i>la quwwa illa billah</i>	R	<b>Abu'l-'Abbas Ahmad (al-Mustansir billah), 775-786 / 1373-1384 and 789-796 / 1387-1393</b>		
528.2	AV dinar, with the Nasrid term <i>la ghalib illa Allah</i>	C	The gold coinage of Abu'l-'Abbas Ahmad is quite complex, with a large number of distinctive types noted by Hazard, who divides his coinage into four series, with or without the title <i>amir al-muslimin</i> , each of which comes with or without the Nasrid phrase <i>wa la ghalib illa Allah</i> .		
528.3	AV dinar, with the Ziyamid term <i>ma aqrab faraj Allah</i> , referring to 737-749 occupation of Tilimsan	C			
529	AV ½ dinar, similar, struck at Azammur and Fès, also without mint name	S			
530	AR square dirham (normal standard 0.88g) Otherwise identical to the Almohad coins, these anonymous square dirhams have <i>al-qur'an imamuna</i> ("The Qur'an is our Imam") in the bottom line of the reverse, a veiled reference to the Merinid refusal to claim the caliphate. Often poorly struck. Known mints are Fès, Sabta, Sijilmasa and Tilimsan, but mintless types are much more common. This type may have well been struck for several decades after 'Ali's death, ultimately replaced by the next common issue, type #542 of 'Abd al-'Aziz II (796-799 / 1393-1396). Some specimens are known that follow the previous Muwahhidun weight of about 1.50g. It is not known whether these represent an earlier type, a separate regional type, or belong to a different ruler or another dynasty.	S	535	AV dinar, many subtypes	S
				Mints are Azammur, Fès, Marrakesh, Sabta, Sijilmasa and Titwan.	
			536	AV ½ dinar, almost always with mint name	S
				Struck at Azammur, Fès, Marrakesh and Sabta, or no mint.	
			536A	AV ¼ dinar, without mint name	R
				A square "half" dirham assigned by Hazard to this ruler is type #550 of the Wattasids.	
				<b>Abu Zayd 'Abd al-Rahman, 776-784 / 1374-1382</b>	
			537	AV dinar, struck at Marrakesh	RR
				Abu Zayd's gold coins bear his name as <i>al-sayyid 'abd al-rahman bin 'ali</i> .	
			538	AV ½ dinar, mint of Marrakesh or without mint	RR
			A539	AR square dirham (0.88g), with the ruler's name ' <i>abd al-rahman bin 'ali</i> , without mint name	RRR
				<b>Abu Faris Musa, 786-788 / 1384-1386</b>	
			539	AV dinar, mints of Azammur and Fès	RR
			539A	AV ½ dinar, mint of Fès	RR
				<b>Abu Ziyam Muhammad V (al-Muntasir), 788 / 1386</b>	
			539G	AV dinar, struck only at Fès	RR
				Distinguished from other rulers named Muhammad by the title <i>al-muntasir billah</i> .	
			539H	AV ½ dinar, similar to the dinar, Fès mint	RR
				<b>Abu Faris 'Abd al-'Aziz II (al-Mustansir), 796-799 / 1393-1396</b>	
			540.1	AV dinar, Merinid series with 5-line texts	R
				Reported mints are Fès and Marrakesh. See note to type #533 of 'Abd al-'Aziz I for identification information.	
			540.2	AV dinar, Hafsid style, 3-line text on both sides	S
				Mints are Azzamur, Fès, Marrakesh and Sijilmasa. The Hafsid style dinars of 'Abd al-'Aziz II come in several different varieties, and are astoundingly common for so short a reign.	
			541	AV ½ dinar	S
				Either without mint, or with mint Fès, Marrakesh or Sijilmasa. This relatively common type was unknown to Hazard.	
			541A	AV ¼ dinar	RR
				Either without mint, or Sijilmasa.	
			542	AR square dirham (0.80g), without mint	S
				Actual specimens vary from about 0.72 to 0.88g.	
			543	AR square ½ dirham (0.40g), without mint	R
				Types 542 & 543 cite the ruler's name, thus easily distinguished from the anonymous issues.	
				Given the relative availability of 'Abd al-'Aziz II's silver coins and the lack of any silver coins of his immediate successors 'Abd Allah and 'Uthman III, one might conjecture either that these continued to be struck until some point just before or during the reign of 'Abd al-Haqq II (823-869), or had been produced in sufficient quantities that no further production was needed until after 823.	
				<b>Abu 'Amir 'Abd Allah, 799-800 / 1396-1398</b>	
			544	AV dinar	R
				Hafsid style gold coins only, with short obverse inscription ' <i>abd Allah / al-mustansir billah / 'abd Allah</i> . All later Merinid gold coins follow this Hafsid style.	
				Mints are Azammur, Fès and Sijilmasa.	
			544A	AV ½ dinar, known only from Azammur	RR
531	AV dinar Struck at Bijaya, Fès, Marrakesh, Sijilmasa and Tilimsan.	S			
A532	AV ½ dinar, struck at Marrakesh & Sijilmasa (Hazard has tentatively attributed dinars to Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad II, 759-760 / 1358-1359, and Abu Salim Ibrahim, 760-762 / 1359-1361, both very uncertain, Hazard-787 & 788, respectively, also his silver coin #1148 to Ibrahim.)	R			
				<b>Abu Ziyam Muhammad III, 763-767 / 1361-1366</b>	
				His name on the coins is <i>al-mutawakkil 'ala Allah muhammad al-sa'id</i> .	
532	AV dinar, minted at Fès and Sala Full dinars assigned to this ruler have a long Qur'an inscription beginning <i>ana fatahna laka fath<sup>an</sup> mubin<sup>an</sup></i> ... beginning in the margin and continuing in the obverse central field (Qur'an Verse 48:1-3).	RR			
532A	AV ½ dinar, ruler's titles as noted above, mint of Azzamur	RRR			
				<b>Abu Malik 'Abd al-Mu'min b. 'Umar, at Sijilmasa, 764-765 / 1362-1363</b>	
532F	AV dinar, struck only at Sijilmasa	RRR			
				<b>Abu Faris 'Abd al-'Aziz I, 768-774 / 1366-1372</b>	
533	AV dinar, mints Fès and Tilimsan <sup>202</sup> Dinars of 'Abd al-'Aziz I and 'Abd al-'Aziz II are both entitled ' <i>abd Allah</i> , but they can easily be distinguished. All dinars of 'Abd al-'Aziz I cite him as <i>amir al-muslimin</i> , with his name followed by <i>ibn al-khulifa al-rashidin</i> ; all have 5-line field inscriptions. Five-line dinars of 'Abd al-'Aziz II either have his title <i>al-mustansir</i> or <i>amir al-mu'minin</i> in the obverse square, or have five religious phrases in the obverse square with his own name and the in the obverse margin. Three-line dinars of Hafsid style were struck only by 'Abd al-'Aziz II.	RR			
				<b>Abu Ziyam Muhammad IV, 774-776 / 1372-1374</b>	
				His name on the coins is ' <i>abd Allah muhammad al-sa'id</i> .	
534	AV dinar, minted only at Fès Dinars of Muhammad IV can be distinguished by Hazard from those of Muhammad III by the obverse inscription, which lacks the Qur'anic phrases used by Muhammad III (#532). The obverse field begins with the <i>bismilla</i> , as on the anonymous dinars of Abu'l-Hasan 'Ali.	RR			
534A	AV ½ dinar, mint of Fès	RRR			

<sup>202</sup> The dinar of Tilimsan was assumedly struck during the brief 3<sup>rd</sup> Merinid occupation of Tilimsan in 772.

### Abu Sa'īd 'Uthman III, 800-823 / 1398-1420

- 545 AV dinar S  
Mints are Fès, Marrakesh, Sabta and Sijilmasa.
- 545A AV ½ dinar, always with mint name S  
Mints are Azammur, Fès, Marrakesh and Sijilmasa. Although this denomination was unknown to Hazard, it is now quite common.
- 545B AV ¼ dinar, same four mints as the ½ dinar R

### Abu Muhammad 'Abd al-Haqq II, 823-869 / 1420-1465

There is no gold coinage known from this reign.

- 546 AR square dirham (0.80g), normally without mint name, numerous subtypes S  
Known with mint names Meknès and Taza, both very rare.<sup>203</sup> With Qur'an inscriptions on obverse, the ruler's name on reverse (sometimes with a short religious expression), of which the variety with Qur'an 3:53 is apparently the least rare.
- 547 AR square ½ dirham (0.40g), apparently always without mint name RR

#### Anonymous

The chronology of these types is unknown. All were probably struck very late in the 8<sup>th</sup>/14<sup>th</sup> century or early in the 9<sup>th</sup>/15<sup>th</sup>.

- 547A.1 AR square dirham (0.75g), Asila mint R  
Obverse *al-hamdu lillah rabb al-'alamin*, reverse *la ghalib illa Allah* above the mint name.
- 547A.2 AR square dirham (0.75g), Asila mint R  
Obverse as last, reverse has *duriba bi-madinat Asila* without any religious inscription.
- 547B AR square ½ dirham (0.38g), similar to #547A.2 RR
- 547E AR square dirham (1.25-1.30g), without mint name, late *naskhi* style script R  
As #496 of the Muwahhidun except for calligraphic style and reduced weight standard. Probably struck circa 1280-1350, perhaps as a local regional coinage.

- 547H AV imitative dinar, religious inscriptions both obverse & reverse R  
Made for jewelry, sometimes imitating an actual Merinid dinar, more often purely religious inscriptions, identical on both sides. Sometimes fine gold, often debased gold or gilt bronze. Hazard referred to these jewelry items as "hybrids". They are believed to have been produced from the 14<sup>th</sup> century until at least the 17<sup>th</sup>. Many have the Arabic partly or mostly discombobulated, and a few have crosses in the field.

### AMIRS OF ASFI (SAFI)

The dynastic connection of the only numismatically observed ruler at this city remains unknown.

#### Muhammad al-Mas'ud, early 800s / 1400s

- 547J AV ½ dinar, mint of Asfi RRR
- 547K AV ¼ dinar, mint of Asfi RR

These two types were found amongst a Merinid hoard terminating with fractional dinars and a few full dinars of 'Uthman III (800-823). Gold coins of other rulers at Asfi may exist, still unconfirmed.

### WATTASID

No substantive study exists for the coinage of this dynasty, although a tentative listing of the silver coins appears in the Hohertz work cited under the Muwahhidun.

A minor dynasty, originally majordomos at the Merinid court, independent from 869/1465 until overthrown by the Sa'dians in 956/1549. Their coinage consists of a few extremely rare gold coins and some square silver dirhams half dirhams, and quarter dirhams, and a very few dated anonymous coppers.

<sup>203</sup> The silver coins of 'Abd al-'Aziz II and 'Abd al-Haqq II were unknown and extremely rare, respectively, when Hazard wrote his dissertation in 1952. They were first reported in quantity by Henri Arroyo, "Un trésor de dirhams de la fin de l'empire mérinides", *Revue Numismatique*, 6me série, v. 16, 1974, pp. 115-122.

Dates of rulers for this dynasty are tentative, as are the coin attributions.

All coins of this dynasty were struck at Fès and the nearby city Meknès. The gold coins were well struck, as was traditional, whereas most silver coins are loathsomely struck, usually only partially legible. Most, if not all, of the silver coins bear the name or title of the ruler on the obverse, and except for #549, *al-hamdu lillah rabb al-'alamin* on the reverse.

The copper coins are always very coarsely struck.

The gold coins assigned by Hazard to this dynasty are jeweler's imitations of earlier types and not at all Wattasid.

### Muhammad I al-Shaykh, 876-910 / 1471-1504

- 548 AR square ¼ dirham (0.35-0.48g) RR  
Entitled *al-shaykh amir al-muslimin*. Very crudely struck. Tentatively reckoned as a ¼ dirham.<sup>204</sup>

### Muhammad II al-Burtuqali ("the Portuguese"), 910-932 / 1504-1526

- C549 AR square dirham, as #A549 (about 1.9g) RRR
- A549 AR square ¼ dirham (about 0.45-0.50) RR  
With ruler's name as *'abd Allah muhammad amir al-muslimin*. Always without mint and date.
- B549 AE fals, anonymous RRR  
Struck only at Fès, dated 913 or 930 only, written out in words, though the date is usually illegible.

### Abu'l-Hasan 'Ali, 932-933 / 1526 & 961 / 1554, then rival to Abu'l-'Abbas Ahmad until 952 / 1545<sup>205</sup>

- Z549 AR square dirham (about 1.50g) RR?  
Ruler's name as #549, but the obverse has *al-mutawakkil* instead of *al-hamdu lillah* (Hohertz #301).
- 549 AR square ½ dirham (about 0.75g) R  
With ruler's name as *'abd Allah 'ali amir al-muslimin* on the obverse and title *al-mansur* instead of *al-hamdu lillah* atop the reverse. Always without mint and date.

### Abu'l-'Abbas Ahmad, 932-952 / 1526-1545 & 954-956 / 1547-1549

- A550 AV ½ dinar RRR
- 550 AR square dirham or half dirham R  
Obverse inscription *'abd Allah ahmad amir al-muslimin*.
- A551 AE fals, struck at Fès 951 only RRR

### Nasir al-Din Muhammad III, 952-956 / 1545-1549

Rival to Abu'l-'Abbas 954-956. Both succumbed to the Sa'dians in 956/1549.

- 551 AR square ¼ dirham (about 0.45g) RR  
Obverse inscription *nasir al-din / al-shaykh / amir al-muslimin*. Tentative attribution.

### SA'DIAN SHARIFS

Brèthes, J.D., *Contribution à l'histoire du Maroc par les recherches numismatiques*, Casablanca, 1939. The work covers all Moroccan dynasties, but has been superseded by more recent work most dynasties other than the Sa'dian Sharifs.

The first dynasty of Sharifs in Morocco. Their coinage consists of gold dinars and fractions, at first square and then round silver dirhams, also with several fraction, and copious ugly copper fulus. The gold, square silver and early round silver retain the Almohad standard of 4.6g for the gold dinar and 1.45g for the silver dirham (about 8% lighter than the Almohad standard). Later round silver follows a series of reduced standards, noted in the listings. There are also some

<sup>204</sup> Hohertz has reassigned this type to Muhammad III. At present, the precise attribution remains uncertain. Unless this type lacks the laqab *nasir al-din*, as indicated in my notes, then I would accept Hohertz' reattribution.

<sup>205</sup> According to the French Wikipedia, Abu'l-Hasan 'Ali claimed the throne in 1526 (932-933), and again in 1554 (961), exercising limited power in between. His coins may have been struck at any time between 1526 and 1554. He was executed by the Sa'dians in 1554.

anonymous copper coins, of which only a few dated types can be attributed to individual rulers.

There is no agreement among scholars on the precise dates of reign for the Sa'dian Sharifs, especially the rivals after the death of Ahmad in 1012/1603. The dates provided here are to be regarded as tentative.

Although large numbers of Sa'dian gold coins have been published, mainly by Brèthes and auction catalogs during the 1980s and early 1990s, the silver and copper coins are very poorly represented in the published literature.

Most gold coinage was struck at Fès, Marrakesh and al-Kitawa, though about ten mints are recorded in all, including Tafilalt, Sous, Sijilmasa, al-Muhammadiya, and several others. The earlier silver, up until 1012, was struck mainly at Fès, the later silver mainly at Marrakesh. Silver coins of the second ruler, Abu Muhammad 'Abd Allah are also known for at least two other mints, Sus and Meknès.

Early Sa'dian gold coins are usually rather weakly struck, but the quality of strike was greatly improved beginning in the year 1000. The new dinars of that year mention part of the Qur'an Verse 33:33, *innaha yaridu Allah liyudhhibha 'ankum al-rijs ahl al-bayt [wa yutahhirakum]*, "God wishes only to remove the sins from you, O members of the family, and purify you thoroughly", in the obverse segments, as do most later full dinars. However, most existing Sa'dian gold coins are holed, mounted or otherwise damaged, having survived because of use in jewelry or cloth ware. The silver is generally rather weakly struck and often found worn or holed. From 1016 onwards, all silver dirhams are square-in-circle on both sides, except perhaps some issues of Zaydan. The copper fulus are generally poorly struck, severely worn, and rarely well preserved.

Most gold full and double dinars bear the phrase *bism Allah al-rahman al-rahim* atop the obverse field, followed by the ruler name and some of his titlature. The remaining titlature fills the reverse field, together with patronymic information on the gold coinage.

#### Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad II al-Shaykh, 923-964 / 1517-1557

Effective ruler 946-964 / 1540-1557, but no coinage was struck prior to his conquest of the Wattasids in 956/1549.

552	AV dinar	RR
553	AR square dirham, dated (about 1.45g)	R
554	AR square ½ dirham, dated (about 0.72g)	RR

Production of square dirhams concluded with this issue, after about 400 years, except within the Ottoman Empire, which produced limited quantities of square silver coins until the reign of Mahmud II (1808-1839), mainly at Tunis, which was never under Sa'dian control.

Types #553 and 554 are anonymous, bearing just the mint and date in words, divided between the two faces. All later silver bears the name of the ruler. This type is dated 956-968, with most years known, including the posthumous years 965, 966 and 968, which could be assigned to his successor 'Abd Allah al-Ghalib. The great majority of subsequent silver coins are undated.

#### Abu Muhammad 'Abd Allah al-Ghalib, 965-981 / 1557-1574

555	AV dinar (about 4.0g)	R
556	AV ½ dinar (2.0g)	RR
556A	AV ¼ dinar (1.0g)	RRR
557	AR round dirham (about 1.45g)	S

Found in 2 variants, broad thin flan (typically 18-19mm) and narrow thick flan (typically 13-15mm). Sequence of the two is unknown. At least six different mints known, Fès, Marrakesh, Meknès, al-Muhammadiya, Sus and Tafilalt.

#### Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad III, 981-983 / 1574-1576

With title *al-mutawakkil 'ala Allah*.

558	AV dinar (4.0g)	RR
559	AV ½ dinar (2.0g)	RR
559A	AV ¼ dinar (1.0g)	RRR
560	AR dirham (about 1.45g)	R
561	AR ½ dirham (about 0.72g)	R
A562	AR ¼ dirham (about 0.36g)	RRR

#### Abu Marwan 'Abd al-Malik I, 983-986 / 1576-1578

With title *al-mu'tasim billah*.

562	AV dinar (4.0g), date in numerals	RR
562A	AV ¼ dinar (1.0g)	RRR
563	AR ½ dirham (0.72g)	RR
A564	AR ¼ dirham (0.36g)	RRR

#### Abu'l-'Abbas Ahmad, 986-1012 / 1578-1603

With title *al-mansur billah*, and on rare occasions *al-mujahid fi sabil Allah*.

Gold was struck at many mints, including Dra'a, Fès, al-Kitawa, Marrakesh, al-Muhammadiya, Sijilmasa, and Taroudant. His silver was struck only at Fès and Marrakesh.

T564	AV dinar, first standard (4.0g), used until about 992	RR
The first standard designs are similar to the first group of the second standard. They are best distinguished by date or weight.		
U564	AV ½ dinar, first standard (2.0g)	RRR
V564	AV ¼ dinar, first standard (1.0g)	RRR
564	AV double dinar, second standard, square-in-circle type, as #565.2	RRR
565.1	AV dinar, second standard (4.6g), inner-circle type, struck 992-999	R
The inner-circle type has the royal name and lengthy titles within the inner circle, commencing on the obverse and continuing on the reverse, with the mint & date in one or both margins.		
565.2	AV dinar, second standard, square-in-circle type, struck 1000-1012	S

Part of Qur'an Verse 33:33, in the obverse segments, the mint date in the reverse segments. The half dinars omit the Qur'anic text, with one set of the segments for the mint name, the other for the year.

566.1	AV ½ dinar, second standard (2.3g), inner-circle type	R
566.2	AV ½ dinar, second standard, square-in-circle type	RR
A567	AR écu <sup>206</sup> (about 27g)	RRR
C567	AR ¼ écu (about 6.5g+)	RRR
The standard for the écu coinage was presumably derived from contemporary French coinage.		
D567	AR 1/10 écu (about 2.7g)	RRR
Possibly a double dirham.		
567	AR dirham, many variants	S

The weight standard of the dirham of this reign has not been elucidated, probably 1.45g during his early years, but reduced to undetermined levels later.

After the death of Ahmad, the Sa'dian dynasty fragmented into rival factions.

#### Abu Faris 'Abd Allah al-Wathiq, at Marrakesh, 1012-1017 / 1603-1608

V568	AV double dinar, mint of Marrakesh	RRR
568	AV dinar	RR
568A	AV ½ dinar	RRR
568C	AR 2/3 écu (about 18.5g), known only from Marrakesh 1015	RRR
568F	AR 1/6 écu (about 4.2g)	RRR

#### Muhammad al-Shaykh al-Ma'mun, at Fès, 1012-1022 / 1603-1612

Muhammad also controlled Marrakesh briefly in the mid-1010s.

569	AV dinar, mints of Fès & Marrakesh	RR
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<sup>206</sup> The term *écu* derived from French scholars; the coin was perhaps known as *mithqal* in Morocco, as were the thaler-size coins of the 'Alawi ruler Muhammad III and his successors (#591, 592, etc.).

**Abu'l-Hasan Muhammad b. Ahmad,  
rebel at Marrakesh, 1016 / 1607**

With principal titles *al-nasir li-din Allah* and *al-qa'im bi-amr Allah*, used together on his gold coins. All coins bear his name as *muhammad b. ahmad*.

- 569M AV dinar, known only from Marrakesh 1016 RRR  
569N AR dirham, also Marrakesh 1016 RRR  
The obverse legend is *muhammad b. ahmad / al-qa'im / bi-amr Allah*, the date in words in the obverse segments, mint in the reverse segments.

**Zaydan al-Nasir, 1012-1037 / 1603-1627**

Known as *al-imam al-nasir* or *al-malik al-nasir*, often with the remarkable title *al-fatimi*.

- 570 AV dinar R  
Known from Fès, al-Kitawa, Marrakesh and Sus.  
Some types struck during the latter portion of this reign bear an ornate touhra on the reverse, composed of the ruler's name.  
570A AV ½ dinar, without mint name RRR  
U571 AR écu (about 27g), known only from Marrakesh 1015 (same year as #568C!) RRR  
571 AR dirham, known from Fès & Marrakesh R  
Obverse legend is usually *al-fatimi / zaydan amir / al-mu'minin*.  
The standard of the dirham was reduced to about 1.25g for this reign, but reduced in later reigns to as low as 0.7g by the end of the dynasty. Further research on the silver standards of the Sa'dians is needed.  
A572 AE fals, with name of ruler (struck circa 1023) R  
This is the only Sa'dian copper coin that bears the name of a ruler. All others are currently catalogued generically as #580.

**'Abd Allah al-Ghalib, in Fès, 1021-1033 / 1612-1623**

- B572 AV dinar, known from Fès, dated 1021-1022 RRR  
572 AR dirham S  
With square-in-circle on both sides, whereas silver coins of the earlier 'Abd Allah al-Ghalib (A-557) are in plain circle both sides. The obverse text is *'abd Allah / al-ghalib / billah*.

**Abu'l-'Abbas al-Mahdi<sup>207</sup>, rebel in or near the region of  
Sijilmasa, circa 1021-1022 / 1612-1613**

- K573 AV dinar RR  
Struck at Marrakesh and al-Kitawa, despite the distant location of his rebellion, possibly. Without Qur'anic text.  
L573 AV ½ dinar, normally without mint or date RRR  
A recently discovered example struck at al-Kitawa, dated 1021, on which al-Mahdi claims the additional title *al-imam*. Private collection, Dubai.

**'Abd al-Malik, al-Mu'tasim, in Fès,  
1033-1036 / 1623-1626**

- 573 AR dirham (about 1.2g) R  
With the obverse text *'abd al-malik / al-mu'tasim / billah*.

**Abu'l-'Abbas Ahmad III, in Fès,  
circa 1037-1038 / 1627-1628**

- 574 AR dirham (about 1.15g) R  
With obverse text *al-sultan / ahmad amir / al-mu'minin*. Square-in-circle design, as are most of the later Sa'dian dirhams.

**Abu Marwan 'Abd al-Malik II, 1037-1040 / 1627-1629**

- 575 AV dinar RR  
A lovely type with crescent design formed by a small circle tangentially engraved within a larger circle.  
Abu Marwan ruled only in Marrakesh until 1038, then throughout the kingdom, which thereafter remained united until its demise.  
575A AV ½ dinar, known only from Marrakesh 1038 RRR  
576 AR dirham (about 1.05g) R  
Name fills the obverse as *abu marwa- / n al-mansu- / r billah* (sic), within the square. Square-in-circle on both sides.

**al-Walid, 1040-1045 / 1630-1636**

- 577 AV dinar RR  
From this reign onwards, all coins were minted at Marrakesh, though most of the silver lack the mint name.  
577A AV ½ dinar RRR  
578 AR dirham S  
With obverse text *al-khalifa / al-walid / ??*.

**Muhammad al-Shaykh al-Saghir,  
1045-1064 / 1636-1654**

- 579 AV dinar RR  
From about 1050 onwards, dinars of this reign are dated in Spanish style numerals, as are fulus from about 1048 onwards. Surprisingly, no known silver coinage of Muhammad al-Saghir, perhaps replaced by the fals kabir.  
579E AE fals kabir, "big fals" (11-13g), anonymous, Marrakesh mint, dated 1050-1057 RR

**Abu'l-'Abbas Ahmad IV, 1064-1069 / 1654-1659**

- A580 AR dirham (0.68g) RR  
With obverse text *al-sultan / abu'l-'abba- / s ahmad* (sic).

**'Abd al-Karim, 1069+ / 1659+**

The relationship of 'Abd al-Karim to the Sa'dian dynasty remains obscure.

- D580 AR dirham (0.68g) RRR  
With obverse text *al-ghalib bi- / llah 'abd / al-karim*.

**Anonymous**

- 580 AE fals, various sizes and denominations, various weights between 1.8 and 6.5g R  
Usually found in very worn condition. Normally dated, but most specimens are too worn or too poorly struck to reveal the date. For that reason, the anonymous coppers have not been assigned to a specific reign, with the exception of the heavy anonymous fals assigned to Muhammad al-Shaykh (#579E), which is normally quite carefully struck.

**INTERREGNUM**

Various anonymous gold and silver coins are attributable to the interval between the death of *al-Shaykh al-Saghir* in 1064/1654 and the rise of *al-Rashid* ('Alawi) in 1075/1664. The gold coins are indeed very rare, as rumors in the 1990's of an alleged hoard of unknown "immensity" proved to be false. None have been properly published to date. The coins are sometimes assigned to the "Dila'ites" because of the power of the clerical movement centered at the *rubat* ("fortress") of Dila during this interval.

Some types bear the mint name Marrakesh. It is likely that all coins of this series were struck at that city.

**Anonymous, circa 1064-1075 / 1654-1664**

- N581 AV dinar, in the "name" of *al muhammad* ("family of Muhammad"), Marrakesh mint only RRR  
O581 AV ½ dinar, similar RRR  
Dinar approximately 4g, half dinar approximately 2g. Both are always undated.  
581 AR dirham, known dated 1068-1073 R  
With obverse inscription *Allah / al-ghalib / bi-quwwatihi*, "God is victorious by His power." Usually dated.  
581A AE fals, anonymous, with just mint & date, various weights RR  
A582 AR dirham, anonymous & undated (circa 0.98g) R  
Obverse legend in four lines, *al-hamdu lillah hasbuna Allah*, reverse in three lines, *rabbuna wa ni'm al-wakil*.

**'ALAWI SHARIFS (FILEYLI)**

Eustache, Daniel, *Corpus des monnaies 'alawites* (Études sur la numismatique et l'histoire monétaire du Maroc, vol. 6), Rabat, 1984 (three volumes). A masterful work that will remain the standard for many years.

<sup>207</sup> Brèthes read the second part of this ruler's name as al-Mahalli, which may be technically correct, but on the coins it is quite clearly al-Mahdi.

Coins dated in the later 18<sup>th</sup> and throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century have now been listed in detail in the *Standard Catalog of World Coins*, together with theoretical pricing that allegedly indicates rarity by mint & date.

**First period (1075-1171 / 1664-1759):** *At first rivals to the Sa'dians, the 'Alawi or Fileyli Sharifs rose to power with the accession of al-Rashid in 1075/1664 and are still the monarchic rulers of Morocco. Their early coinage consists of gold dinars of about 3.5g (called bunduqi, i.e., "venetian", because they shared the ducat standard) and a silver muzuna, 1.15g under al-Rashid, subsequently 0.94g.*

Gold coins of the first period were struck mainly at Fès and Meknès, silver coins mainly at Fès, Marrakesh, Meknès, Rabat al-Fath and Sijilmasa. Both the gold and silver are usually rather haphazardly manufactured, with considerable weakness of strike. Only the silver muzunas of al-Rashid bear the ruler's name; all other coins of this period are strictly anonymous, but are identified by their characteristic inscription, *Allah al-haqq nasir al-haqq al-mubin*.

There are a few very rare coins tentatively assigned to various rulers between 1139/1727 and 1171/1757, but there is no convincing evidence that any of these coins should indeed be assigned to them, save for one likely dated 1147 or 1149.<sup>208</sup>

In general, throughout the 'Alawi series, the mint name Fès is preceded by the word *hadrat*. For Rabat al-Fath, *al-fath* is occasionally omitted.

#### al-Rashid, 1075-1082 / 1664-1672

- 582 AR muzuna (1.15g), in his name, arrangement as type #584<sup>209</sup> R
- 582A AE fals, known dated 1081 and 1082 only RR

#### Isma'il al-Samin ("The Fat"), 1082-1139 / 1672-1727

- 583 AV dinar bunduqi, date in words S  
Eustache has assigned an AV bunduqi allegedly dated 1141 to Ahmad b. Isma'il (1139-1141 / 1727-1729), but the only post-1139 dates that can be confirmed are later in the 1140s, thus during the time of 'Abd Allah b. Isma'il (#585K).  
A hoard of at least several hundred pieces entered the market about 2006, with additional groups still emerging (2011).
- 584 AR muzuna (0.94g), date in numerals C  
Square-in-circle design, with date and mint in margin, usually repeated on both sides. Dates often indicated only by the two last digits, especially before 1100. Scarce with clear mint & date.
- 585 AE fals (various weights), date normally in words R

#### 'Abd Allah b. Isma'il, 1141-1171 / 1729-1757

- 585K AV dinar bunduqi, known dated 1147 or 1149 RRR  
Eustache's illustration (#137) shows the date either *sab'a* or *tis'a* followed by what is indisputably *arba'*, presumably short for *arba'in*, as the engraver had run out of space to complete the date. The undated coppers assigned by Eustache to this ruler cannot be confidently accepted as issues of 'Abd Allah. The silver coin allegedly dated 1153 (Eustache #138A) is more likely 1113 with an accidental die cut above the third "1".

**Second period (1171-1212 / 1757-1797):** *Regular coinage resumed with the accession of Sidi Muhammad III in 1171/1757. The denominations of the later coinage have been determined by Eustache, and his definitions are used here. All coins of Muhammad III are anonymous, except #A589. Due to rival successors to Muhammad III, the second and third periods overlapped 1206-1212 / 1793-1797.*

Gold coins were struck almost exclusively at Fès, with some very rare examples known from a few other mints. For the silver coinage, by far the most common mints of the 2<sup>nd</sup> period are Fès and Marrakesh, though from time to time al-'Ara'isha, Meknès, Rabat al-Fath (Rabat), al-Suwayra and Tetuan were relatively common, and Tanja moderately rare. Rarer silver mints include Asfi, Rudana, Sala and Fadala. Coppers were produced mainly at Fès and Marrakesh, but are also reasonably common from Rabat al-Fath and Tetuan, as well as the

<sup>208</sup> Eustache #136-150. The gold coins are probably all normal types of Isma'il or contemporary imitations, the silver coin is a misinterpreted example of Isma'il, the coppers are undated types which Eustache correctly admits are assigned to 'Abd Allah only for convenience.

<sup>209</sup> Misattributed by Hazard to the Muwahhidun (Almohades). All silver coins of the 'Alawi Sharifs are round.

questionable mint called Za.<sup>210</sup> There are also large numbers of copper coins and occasional silver coins without mint name, both in the second and third periods.

Gold and silver are moderately well struck, though with few exceptions truly attractive examples are seldom encountered. The copper is very crudely made, cast as "trees" of a dozen or more examples. Original intact or partial trees are occasionally found in the market, primarily issues of the third period, and all are very rare.

Beginning with Sidi Muhammad III, all coins bear the date in standard European numbers, though of course there must be a few exceptions, mainly in the very early 1200s.

#### Sidi Muhammad III, 1171-1204 / 1757-1790

- 586 AV bunduqi (3.5g) RR
- 587 AV light bunduqi (originally about 3.12g in 1188, falling to nearly 2.5g by the mid-1190s) R
- 588 AV khumasi (1.95g, often as low as 1.7g), relationship to other standards unknown R  
The weight standards of the gold coinage of Sidi Muhammad III remain only tentatively comprehensible. Domestically struck gold coins were perhaps intended principally for use as gifts or jewelry, with circulating coins imported (Ottoman?).

#### Old standard:

- A589 AR muzuna, old standard (0.88g), with the ruler's name, struck at several mints 1172-1179 RR  
The presence of the ruler's name marks the weight standard, which was used simultaneously with the lighter standard reserved for the anonymous coins #589-590. All other silver coins of Muhammad III are anonymous.

#### First standard, based on a dirham of 2.93g:

- 589.1 AR dirham, 1<sup>st</sup> standard (2.93g), with mint & date repeated on each side C  
This standard was used 1172-1200; subtype #589.1 was used from 1172 until 1184 with a few isolated later issues, replaced in 1184 by #589.2.
- 589.2 AR dirham, similar, but with mint on obverse and date on reverse, S  
Struck mainly 1184-1188, at some mints into the 1190s, and restored 1196-1199, these later dates rare. Most dirhams struck 1188-1196 are of type #595.
- 590 AR muzuna (¼ dirham) (0.73g), similar S
- 591 AR 10 dirhams (mithqal or mitkal), 1<sup>st</sup> standard (29.3g), with *ahad ahad* ("one one", i.e., "God is One") followed by the date on obverse, only the mint name on reverse, round flans R  
Struck at Marrakesh in 1190 & Rabat al-Fath in 1191.
- 592 AR 10 dirhams, similar types, squarish flans R  
Struck only at Rabat al-Fath, 1188-1189.
- 593 AR 5 dirhams (14.65g), similar RRR
- 594 AR 2½ dirhams (7.33g), similar RRR
- 595 AR dirham (2.93g), similar (*ahad ahad* type, round flan) C
- 596 AR muzuna (0.73g), similar (round flan) S  
Types 591-596 normally bear *ahad ahad* on obverse, the mint and date on reverse. Types 595 & 596 with mint names are dated between 1188 and 1196; those with just the date on the reverse and lacking any mention of the mint were struck between 1186 and 1197, with those of 1186-1188 especially common.
- 597 AR 10 dirhams 1<sup>st</sup> standard, with Qur'an 9:34 RR  
This verse admonishes those who hoard up gold and silver without spending them in a godly manner, first used on the multiple dirhams of the Samanids and their rivals in the late 4<sup>th</sup>/10<sup>th</sup> century.  
Struck only at Tetuan in 1195, either on a broad flan of about 39mm or a narrow and thicker flan of about 32-34mm, of equal rarity. Both this type and #591-592 probably failed because they weighed about 8% more than the already circulating Spanish-American 8 real silver coins.
- 598 AR dirham, similar R

<sup>210</sup> Personally, I consider "Za" merely a stylized form of *duriba*, rather than a mint place name along the *wadi* at Taourirt.

Second standard, based on a dirham of 2.73g:

- 599 AR dirham (2.73g), 2<sup>nd</sup> standard, used 1200-1204 S  
 Mint on obverse, date on reverse. The date appears either in traditional Arabic numerals or in Spanish numerals.
- 600 AR muzuna (0.68g), 2<sup>nd</sup> standard, similar R

Copper, struck throughout the reign, always anonymous:

- 601 AE fals (theoretical weight 3.53g), many variants, usually dated R
- 602 AE ½ fals (theoretically 1.76g), similar R  
 The weights of the coppers of this reign are so diffuse that it is not always possible to determine the precise denomination.

**Muhammad al-Yazid, 1204-1206 / 1790-1792**

- 603 AV ½ bunduqi (1.76g) RR  
 All gold & silver coins of this reign bear the name of the ruler.
- 604 AV ¼ bunduqi (0.88g) RRR
- 605 AR dirham (2.73g) R
- 606 AR muzuna (0.68g) RR

Many coins of the following reigns are anonymous, namely Hisham and al-Husayn, and all coinage of Sulayman (whose reign overlaps the last five years of the second period, 1207-1212). Anonymous coins struck 1206-1212 of these three rulers can be distinguished by mint and date:

- Hisham** — Asfi 1206-1212, al-Suwayra 1207, muzunas of Marrakesh 1208, muzunas without mint name 1209.  
 All other examples bear his name: al-Suwayra 1206-1208, Marrakesh 1207-1208, without mint name, 1207-1209).
- al-Husayn** — Marrakesh, without his name 1209-1211, with his name 1211-1212.
- Sulayman** — Tetuan 1206-1212, Rabat al-Fath 1206-1213, al-'Ara'isha 1207-1209, Fès 1206-1212, Marrakesh 1212, Meknès 1207-1211 (none with his name).

**Moulay Hisham, at Marrakesh, 1205-1209 / 1790-1794, then at Asfi (now Safi), 1209-1212 / 1794-1797**

- 607 AV ½ bunduqi (1.76g), citing name of ruler<sup>211</sup> RRR
- 608 AR dirham (2.73g), with name of ruler, normally without mint but always dated R
- 609 AR muzuna (0.68g), similar RRR
- 610 AR dirham (2.73g), with mint and date only (sometimes just date on both sides), ruler's name omitted R
- 611 AR muzuna (0.68g), similar RR
- 612 AE ½ fals? (approximately 1.2g), struck only at Marrakesh in 1208, anonymous RRR

**Moulay al-Husayn, pretender at Marrakesh, 1209-1212 / 1794-1797**

- 613 AR dirham (2.44g), first standard, used 1209-1211, anonymous R
- 614 AR muzuna (0.61g), similar, also anonymous RRR
- 615 AR dirham (1.95g), second standard, struck only in 1211, anonymous RR
- 616 AR dirham (1.95g), second standard, struck 1211-1212, with name of ruler RR
- 617 AE fals (3.9-4.8g), struck only at Marrakesh in 1211, anonymous R

Third period (1207-1299 / 1793-1882): Beginning with the reign of Moulay Sulayman, all coins of the 'Alawi sharifs are anonymous until after the introduction of machine-struck coinage in 1299/1882 (fourth period). They are assigned to individual rulers by date, design, and weight standard.

Fès is the only common mint for gold. Fès, Marrakesh, Rabat al-Fath and Tetuan are common for both silver and copper. Many coppers

lack the mint name, but nearly all are dated. The gold and silver coins almost always show moderate to significant weakness of strike. The cast copper is also quite crudely manufactured, especially before the 1250s. Later copper is usually reasonably well made, but often found worn.

Contemporary forgeries of 'Alawi silver coins are occasionally found, especially of the reform series of Sidi Muhammad IV dated 1283-1290 (types #651-653). They are usually silver-plated base metal.

Copper fulus were extensively counterfeited during the third period, rather surprising, as they were rarely forged during earlier times. It is widely presumed that during this period, the fulus were generally, if not entirely, produced at private mints (casting operations) under contract with the government. This might help explain why so many of those are so crudely cast that the date is so often unreadable. But what is genuine and what fake? Most issued before about 1260 are appalling primitive, but are some of them fake? From the 1260s until the reform in 1280, there seem to be relatively few fakes. However, for the 1280-1291 reform series, forgeries abound, typically lightweight copper or brass fakes are easily recognized and are incredibly common. Given the petty value of the coppers, it is conceivable that nobody cared whether they were real or fake, except perhaps the government.

Genuine silver coins of this period typically weigh from 5% to 15% below the weights listed here. Contemporary counterfeit silver coins are usually silver-plated base metal and considerably lighter.

**Moulay Sulayman, 1206-1238 / 1792-1822**

- 618 AV bunduqi or dinar (3.52g) R  
 Sulayman revived the traditional ducat weight for the bunduqi, the Arabicization of the term "venetian".  
 Struck only at Fès, various dates 1209-1238.
- 619 AV ½ bunduqi (1.76g) RR  
 Struck at Tetuan, Rabat al-Fath, al-'Ara'ish & Fès, 1206-1209, then again at Fès in 1232 and 1236 (RRR).
- 619A AV ¼ bunduqi (0.88g) RR  
 Struck only at Fès, 1206-1208.
- 620 AR dirham (2.74g), 1<sup>st</sup> standard, used 1206-1207 R
- 621 AR muzuna (0.68g), same design as the dirham RR
- 622 AR dirham (2.44g), 2<sup>nd</sup> standard, used 1207-1213 C
- 623 AR muzuna (0.61g), same design as the dirham R  
 This was the last fractional dirham to be struck until the reform coinage introduced in 1283 (types #652 & 653).
- 624 AR dirham (2.25g), 3<sup>rd</sup> standard, used 1213-1216 S
- 625 AR dirham (2.15g), 4<sup>th</sup> standard, used 1216-1218 R
- 626 AR dirham (2.93g), 5<sup>th</sup> standard, used 1218 only R  
 This standard represents a revival of the canonical dirham. Although used very briefly, dirhams of Fès struck to this standard are not especially rare.  
 Surprisingly, no silver coins have been reported dated 1219-1220.
- 627 AR dirham (1.95g), 6<sup>th</sup> standard, used 1221-1238 S  
 The copper coinage of this reign is very complex. It is based on a theoretical fals of about 3.53g, but actual weights vary considerably, usually substantially lighter than the standard. An attempt was also made to regulate the diameters. The weights and diameters noted here are theoretical. Coppers may have both mint & date, sometimes only mint or date, sometimes neither. Many have the hexagram (known in Islamic tradition as the Seal of Sulayman, i.e., of Solomon). No attempt is made here to determine the minor type varieties, for which Eustache can be consulted.
- 628 AE 4 fals (14.1g, 31mm), always without mint name R
- 629 AE 3 fals (10.6g, 27-28mm), often with mint name S
- 630 AE 2 fals (7g, 24-25mm), many variants C
- 631 AE fals (3.5-4.2g, 22mm going down to as little as 16mm!), a profusion of variants C
- 632 AE ½ fals (1.7g-2.3g, 15-16mm) S
- 632A AE ¼ fals (1.0-1.2g, 12mm) R

**Moulay 'Abd al-Rahman, 1238-1276 / 1822-1859**

- 633 AV bunduqi (3.52g) C  
 Fès mint, most years 1240-1275, plus Meknès 1247 (RRR).

<sup>211</sup> Eustache assigned to Hisham an anonymous and mintless ½ dinar dated 1208, with *al-amr kulluhu lillah* on reverse.

634	AV ½ bunduqi (1.76g)	R	660	AE 4 fals (11.5g), struck at Fès in 1291 and at Marrakesh 1291, 1292, and 1295	R
	Fès mint only, several dates known 1240-1252.				
635	AR dirham (2.74g), 1 <sup>st</sup> standard, used 1238-1239	R		Only Marrakesh 1295 is reasonably available, although the intended date might have been 1290 during the previous reign. Coins of this “type” allegedly dated 1299 or 1300 are poorly cast examples of 1289 and 1290 (type #656 above). Many examples that appear to be dated 1295 are likely carelessly cast specimens dated 1290 (also #656).	
	Craig and others attempted to divide the silver coins of this reign into full and half dirhams, but they are all full dirhams, whose weight reflects the current theoretical standard. There are no halves or other fractions whatsoever.				
636	AR dirham (1.95g), 2 <sup>nd</sup> standard, used 1240-1246	S			
637	AR dirham (1.66g), 3 <sup>rd</sup> standard, used 1247-1261	C			
638	AR dirham (1.46g), 4 <sup>th</sup> standard, used 1261-1268	C			
639	AR dirham (theoretically 2.15g), 5 <sup>th</sup> standard, used 1268-1276	C			
	It is not known why the standard was increased in 1268, rather than decreased, as had normally been the case. Could it be that the new standard might have represented a “double dirham” based on a reduced dirham of 1.08g? The collapse of the international silver price relative to gold did not occur until more than twenty years later, largely because of new mining technologies at the Comstock mines in Nevada after about 1295/1878.				
	Most undamaged specimens of this common type actually weigh between about 1.98g and 2.05g.				
640	AE 2 fals (7.0g), 1 <sup>st</sup> standard, used 1238-1250	S			
	The coppers of this reign are as complex as those of the previous reign, with innumerable minor variants, catalogued by Eustache. Each denomination follows a reasonably fixed diameter, although the weight can vary considerably, even amongst the genuine pieces. By this reign, all copper coins were cast in tree-style molds.				
641	AE fals (3.5g), 1 <sup>st</sup> standard	C			
642	AE 2 fals (9.4g), 2 <sup>nd</sup> standard, used 1250-1269	C			
643	AE fals (4.7g), 2 <sup>nd</sup> standard	C			
644	AE ½ fals (2.35g), 2 <sup>nd</sup> standard	S			
645	AE ¼ fals, (1.15g), 2 <sup>nd</sup> standard	RR			
	This rare denomination is sometimes known as <i>zelagh</i> , a term which more properly refers to any especially small fractional piece rather than a specific denomination.				
646	AE 2 fals (restoration of the 1 <sup>st</sup> standard, 7.0g), 3 <sup>rd</sup> standard, used 1270-1276	A			
647	AE fals (3.5g), 3 <sup>rd</sup> standard	A			
648	AE ½ fals (1.75g), 3 <sup>rd</sup> standard	RR			
	<b>Sidi Muhammad IV, 1276-1290 / 1859-1873</b>				
649	AV bunduqi (3.52g)	RRR			
	Mint of Fès only, known dated 1277, 1284, 1286. Additional dates probably exist.				
650	AR dirham (1.95g), 1 <sup>st</sup> standard, used 1276-1279	S			
	No silver was struck 1280-1282.				
651	AR dirham (2.93g), 2 <sup>nd</sup> standard (revival of the “legal” dirham), used 1283-1290	C			
652	AR ½ dirham (1.47g), 2 <sup>nd</sup> standard	C			
653	AR ¼ dirham (muzuna, 0.73g), 2 <sup>nd</sup> standard	R			
654	AE 2 fals (7.0g), 1 <sup>st</sup> standard, used 1276-1279	C			
	Issues of the Hawz mint were cast until 1281, with a typical weight of about 4.5-5.5g.				
655	AE fals (3.5g), 1 <sup>st</sup> standard	C			
656	AE 4 fals (11.5g, 28-29mm), 2 <sup>nd</sup> standard, used 1280-1290	A			
	Catalogs prior to the work of Eustache normally refer to this coin as a triple fals. There are many contemporary imitations, often as light as 4 grams for this denomination, often with illegible inscriptions and dates. Similar light weight forgeries also exist for the 2 fals and 1 fals denominations.				
657	AE 2 fals (5.8g, 22-23mm), 2 <sup>nd</sup> standard	C			
658	AE fals (2.9g, 17-18mm), 2 <sup>nd</sup> standard	S			
	<b>Moulay al-Hasan I, 1290-1311 / 1873-1894</b>				
659	AR dirham (2.93g), struck only at Fès in 1291	RRR			

## EGYPT AND SYRIA

### TULUNID

Grabar, Oleg, *The Coinage of the Tulunids* (ANS Numismatic Notes and Monographs #139), New York 1957.

Updated for gold in Bernardi's *Corpus*, cited in the introduction. No updated listing has been published for silver coins found since Grabar's work.

*The first Egyptian dynasty to seek independence from the ‘Abbasid caliph, the Tulunids ruled in Egypt and most of Syria 255-292 / 868-905, though they did not proclaim their independence until about 265/879.*

Tulunid gold was struck primarily at Misr (= Fustat near Cairo), though some issues of Dimashq (287 only) and al-Rafiqa are not rare. Unlike the gold dinars, silver dirhams are rare and were struck mainly at Misr, Dimashq and al-Rafiqa. Other gold and silver mints include Antakiya, Balis, Halab, Harran, Hims and Filastin, all substantially rare. Except for type #663.1, coppers invariably lack a mint name.

Tulunid gold is always carefully struck, though the calligraphy is often rude, especially at al-Rafiqa. The silver is routinely weak, typical of Syrian and nearby silver dirhams of the late ‘Abbasid period. Struck copper fulus were usually dependably struck, but contemporary cast copper coins from Cilicia were carelessly produced. All gold and silver coins cite the name of the ‘Abbasid caliph, as well as the caliphal heirs when pertinent. All gold and silver coins cite the ruler's name with his patronymic, except for an extremely rare dinar of Misr 276, which cites Khumarawayh without *bin ahmad*.

#### Ahmad b. Tulun, 254-270 / 868-884

661	AV dinar	C			
	Coins bear the ruler's name from 265 onwards. Earlier dinars and dirhams of Misr and other Tulunid cities lack his name and are therefore classified as purely ‘Abbasid issues.				
	Ahmad's gold & silver coins dated 265-270 bear the names of the caliph al-Mu‘tamid and his western heir al-Mufawwidh.				
662	AR dirham	RR			
663.1	AE fals, anonymous, Misr mint only	R			
	This type, dated 257-259, is anonymous, but bears a symbol believed to be the Tulunid dynastic emblem.				
663.2	AE fals, with name of ruler	RRR			
	Normally (if not always) cast, without mint or date, this type is assumed to have been produced at mints in Cilicia, based on style, fabric and calligraphy.				
	<b>Khumarawayh b. Ahmad, 270-282 / 884-896<sup>212</sup></b>				
664	AV dinar	C			
	664.1 — With caliph al-Mu‘tamid & first heir al-Mufawwidh (270-278), always without the 2 <sup>nd</sup> heir Ahmad b. al-Muwaffiq, cited on many purely ‘Abbasid dinars of these years (C).				

<sup>212</sup> Tulunid dinars of al-Rafiqa are stylistically much coarser than the other Tulunid mints. Both Tulunid and purely ‘Abbasid issues are reported for most years 270-278, both with the same mediocre calligraphy. The Tulunid issues do not cite the second heir Ahmad b. al-Muwaffiq, but the ‘Abbasid coins of the same dates always do! Neither type is rare. Politically, the simultaneous production of the two times remains mysterious.



664.2 — With caliph al-Mu'tamid & heir al-Mu'tadid (278-279) (S).					<b>Ahmad b. 'Umar, fl. 326 / 938</b>	
664.3 — With caliph al-Mu'tadid (279-282) (C).						
665 AR dirham (subtypes as indicated for #664)	R					
665A AE fals	RR	Z673	AV dinar		<b>'Ali b. Ahmad, fl. circa 340 / 950</b>	RRR
A Cilician issue citing the local governor Ahmad b. Ya'qub as vassal of Khumarawayh.		673	AE fals			R
<b>Jaysh b. Khumarawayh, 282-283 / 896</b>					<b>'Abd al-'Aziz b. Shu'ayb, fl. 343-350 / 954-961</b>	
666 AV dinar, citing the caliph al-Mu'tadid	RR	A674	AV dinar, with mint name <i>Iqritish</i>			RRR
<b>Harun b. Khumarawayh, 283-292 / 896-905</b>		B674	AR dirham, mint name unclear, known dated 350			RRR
667 AV dinar	C		Chronological sources state that 'Abd al-'Aziz died in 350/961.			
667.1 — With caliph al-Mu'tadid (283-289) (C).					<b>KHARIJITE OF NASIBIN</b>	
667.2 — With caliph al-Muktafi (289-292). Specimens dated 291 always lack the vizier Wali al-Dawla, who is cited on virtually all 'Abbasid and Samanid dirhams of 291 (C).					<i>A minor rebel at Nasibin in the Jazira.</i>	
668 AR dirham (subtypes as for #667)	RR				<b>'Ubayda b. al-Muhajir, circa 255-256 / 869-870</b>	
<b>Ibrahim b. Khumarawayh, in Filastin only, 292 / 905</b>		H674	AR dirham, struck only at Nasibin in 256			RRR
668F AV dinar <sup>213</sup>	RRR				<b>IKHSHIDID</b>	
<b>Muhammad b. Musa, governor in Cilicia, circa 280 / 893</b>					Balog, Paul, "Tables de référence des monnaies ikhchidites", <i>Revue belge de numismatique</i> , v. 103 (1957), pp. 107-134. A further work was planned but unfortunately never brought to fruition before his death.	
669 AE fals, cast fabric, crudely made	R				Bacharach, Jere L., <i>Islamic History through Coins: An Analysis and Catalogue of Tenth Century Ikhshidid Coinage</i> , Cairo 2006.	
<b>Ibn Abi 'Isa, as governor in Cilicia, probably in the 280s / 890s</b>					<i>A dynasty of Central Asian Turkic origin, who ruled in Egypt and Syria from 323/935 until 358/969. The term Ikhshid was a pre-Islamic royal title in the Sogdian language. Only the gold coinage is common.</i>	
669A AE fals, cast fabric stylistically similar to #669	RR				Ikhshidid dinars were struck at Misr (Fustat) & Filastin (al-Ramla) and occasionally at Tabariya, save for a few extremely rare issues of Makka. Dirhams were struck mainly at Filastin, occasionally at Misr, Tabariya, Hims and Dimashq. A few additional dirham mints are extremely rare.	
This individual remains unidentified and may not have been connected to the Tulunids except as a subordinate governor.					Dinars of Misr are usually very well struck, but those of Filastin are mushy, often with some weakness. Silver dirhams are for the most part miserably struck and typically at least 25% illegible; well struck examples nonetheless do occasionally surface and are highly desired. The rare copper fulus of Tughj are decently manufactured.	
					All gold and silver coins cite the 'Abbasid caliph (except for some donatives).	
<b>AMIRS OF CRETE</b>					<b>Tughj b. Juff, late 3<sup>rd</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> century,</b>	
George C. Miles, <i>The Coinage of the Arab Amirs of Crete</i> (ANS Numismatic Notes and Monographs, #160), New York 1970.						
<i>A succession of Arab amirs who ruled in Crete (Iqritish in Arabic) from 213/828 until 350/961 or shortly thereafter, all descended from a certain Shu'ayb, who issued no coins himself (types #670-671 &amp; G673 are from later amirs of the same personal name). Only a few of the copper coins are occasionally available. All gold and silver are extremely rare.</i>						
<b>'Umar b. 'Isa, fl. 237 / 851</b>		K674	AE fals			RRR
T670 AE fals, citing the caliph al-Mutawakkil	RRR				Struck by Tughj in as the 'Abbasid governor in northern coastal Syria, perhaps at Tarabulus (Tripoli in modern Lebanon). Precise dates unknown.	
All later copper coins omit the caliph's name.					<b>Muhammad b. Tughj, 323-334 / 935-946</b>	
<b>Shu'ayb b. 'Umar, fl. 270s-280s / 880s-890s</b>					Circulation coins of Muhammad were first struck in his name in 331. Except for a few rare donatives (#A676), coins struck under his authority before 331 cite only the 'Abbasid caliph and are therefore classified as 'Abbasid. Muhammad is normally cited only as al-Ikhshid on his coins.	
670 AV dinar, without mint name, several known dates 271-281	RRR	674	AV dinar, dated 331-334			R
Citing <i>shu'ayb</i> below reverse, <i>ja'far</i> below obverse.		674A	AV dinar, anonymous, with just the initial "T" beneath the reverse, Misr 331 only			RRR
671 AE fals	S		The letter "T" refers to his father Tughj.			
<b>'Umar b. Shu'ayb, fl. 295 / 908</b>		674E	AV ¼ dinar, without mint name & without the caliph, dated 329 only			RRR
671U AV dinar, Iqritish 295, citing caliph al-Muktafi	RRR	675	AR dirham			RR
<b>Muhammad b. Shu'ayb, end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> / beginning of 10<sup>th</sup> century</b>		A676	AR ½ dirham, donative type <sup>214</sup>			RRR
672 AE fals	R				<b>Abu'l-Qasim b. al-Ikhshid, 334-349 / 946-961</b>	
<b>Yusuf b. 'Umar, dates unknown (after 300 / 913?)</b>		676	AV dinar			C
E673 AE fals	RRR				Abu'l-Qasim's proper name was Unujur, found only on a few rare donatives not listed here. On all of his regular coins he is cited simply as Abu'l-Qasim b. al-Ikhshid. <sup>215</sup>	
<b>Shu'ayb b. Ahmad, early 300s / 900s</b>						
G673 AE fals	RR					
<b>'Ali b. Yusuf, towards 320s or 330s / 940s or 950s?</b>						
I673 AE fals	RRR					

<sup>213</sup> Sole known example reported by Mishary Al-Angary, advanced collector in Saudi Arabia.

<sup>214</sup> Bank Leu, Auction 22, 20 Oct 1982, lot 32.

- 677 AR dirham R  
**‘Ali b. al-Ikshid, 349-355 / 961-966**  
 Some dinars and dirhams of this and the previous reigns bear the initial “K” beneath the reverse, the initial of Kafur, who served as chamberlain under both Abu’l-Qasim and ‘Ali. Anonymous coins with the initial “K” similarly located are assigned to Kafur (see below).
- 678 AV dinar S  
 679 AR dirham<sup>216</sup> R  
**Kafur, 355-357 / 966-968**  
 Abu’l-Misk Kafur was a black African slave purchased from Ethiopia by Abu’l-Qasim. He rose through the ranks, eventually becoming regent to the young ‘Ali. He became sole ruler upon ‘Ali’s death in 355/966. His normal dinars and all his dirhams lack his name but have his initial *kaf* beneath the reverse.
- 680.1 AV dinar, anonymous type with initial *kaf* only, dated 355 only R  
 680.2 AV dinar, with his full name RRR  
 Struck only at Mecca in 357 and one of the classic rarities of Islamic gold coinage. Stylistically and epigraphically identical to contemporary Yemeni coins, whence it seems that the die engravers were themselves Yemeni.
- 681 AR dirham, type as #680.1 RRR  
**Ahmad b. ‘Ali, 357-358 / 968-969**  
 682 AV dinar, struck only at Filastin R  
 Some issues bear the name Tughj below the reverse (RR?).  
 683 AR dirham, struck at Filastin & Tabariya RR  
 Most coins of this type cite the governor of Tabariya, al-Husayn b. ‘Ubayd Allah.
- QARAMITA (Qarmatid)**  
 A thorough study of this coinage by Aram Vardanyan is anticipated to appear in *Revue Numismatique* in the 2010 edition (not yet seen).  
*The Qaramita, or Carmathians, were a radical Isma‘ili sect originally centered in eastern Arabia that seized parts of Syria and Palestine following the collapse of the Ikshidid kingdom in 358/969. All of their coinage is rare, especially the gold. Most coins of the Qaramita cite al-sadat al-ru’asa, “the chief sayyids”, or al-sayyid al-ra’is, “the chief sayyid” (singular), and usually name a local governor or other official. All cite the ‘Abbasid caliph, notwithstanding the reality that the Qaramita abhorred the ‘Abbasids.*  
 Although the Qaramita were predominantly based in eastern Arabia, in what is now Saudi Arabia, Bahrain and the Emirates, their coinage is entirely restricted to their brief occupation of portions of Greater Syria, 358-367/969-977, minted primarily at Filastin and Dimashq, more rarely at Tabariya. The gold dinars are generally well struck, but the dirhams, as is true for both the preceding Ikshidid and subsequent Fatimid Syrian dirhams, are almost always abominably struck, usually more than 50% flat, though fully struck examples are occasionally found. Both gold and silver bear the words *sali Allah ‘alayhi wa ‘ala alihi* after *muhammad rasul Allah*.
- Anonymous, in the name of the Chief Sayyids, without local official (circa 358-360 / 969-971)**  
 A684 AV dinar RRR  
 Some rare dinars of Filastin bear the word *salih* or *sulh* below the reverse, possibly the name of a local governor.  
 B684 AR dirham, similar<sup>217</sup> RR
- 684 PB unknown denomination (typically 15-25g), citing only *as-sadat al-ru’asa* RRR  
 These heavy lead coins are known only from excavations in Bahrain. The use of lead coinage is confirmed by the historian Nasir-i Khusru writing in the 5<sup>th</sup>/11<sup>th</sup> century. Examples have not been seen in the market, but excavation specimens are preserved at the Forhistorisk Museum, Aarhus, Denmark.
- al-Hasan b. Ahmad, fl. 361-364 / 972-975**  
 Anonymous, citing the Chief Sayyids (*al-sadat al-ru’asa*).  
 684 AV dinar RR  
 685 AR dirham RRR  
**Alptekin Abu Mansur al-Mu‘izzi, fl. 364-367 / 975-978**  
 Also citing the Chief Sayyids. Alptekin’s *nisba* al-Mu‘izzi refers to the Buwayhid ruler Mu‘izz al-Dawla, whom he had previously served.  
 686.1 AV dinar, citing him as just Alptekin (Alftaki in Arabic), together with al-Hasan b. Ahmad, dated 364-365 only RRR  
 686.2 AV dinar, citing him as just Abu Mansur al-Mu‘izzi with title *al-sadah*, but without naming any overlord (Dimashq in 365 & 367) RRR  
 686.3 AV dinar, as Abu Mansur al-Mu‘izzi, together with al-Sayyid Ja‘far b. al-Fadl (Filastin 366) RRR  
 687 AR dirham (varieties not noted) RR
- FATIMID CALIPHATE**  
 Miles, George C., *Fatimid Coins* (ANS Numismatic Notes and Monographs #121), New York 1951, now totally obsolete.  
 Balog, Paul, “The Fatimid Glass Jeton,” *Annali del Istituto Italiano di Numismatica*, vol. 18-19 (1971-72), pp. 121-212.  
 Spahr, Rodolfo, *Le monete siciliane dai bizantini a Carlo I d’Angio*, Zürich 1976, for the Sicilian issues.  
 De Luca, Maria Amalia, *Le monete con leggenda araba della Biblioteca Comunale di Palermo*, Palermo 1998, for some Sicilian issues.  
 Nicol, Norman D, *A Corpus of Fatimid Coins*, Trieste 2006. This will remain the basis for all future research in this series (except glass jetons). For publication in about 2012, Nicol is currently accumulating descriptions of additional types and photos of types listed without an illustration. He would welcome any information and can be contacted at [ndnicol@epix.net](mailto:ndnicol@epix.net).  
 Although descended from North Iranian sectarians, this Isma‘ili Shi‘ite dynasty first arose in the Maghreb (North Africa), seized Ifriqiya from the Aghlabids in 297/909 and conquered Egypt in 358/969, where they founded their new capital al-Qahira (Cairo) adjacent to the ancient city of Fustat. They achieved their apogee under al-Mustansir by the 440s/1050s, briefly occupying Fes to the west and Baghdad to the east, but by the death of al-Amir in 524/1130, their territory was restricted to Egypt. The dynasty was ultimately extinguished by the Ayyubid conqueror Saladin (Salah al-Din Yusuf b. Ayyub) in 567/1171.  
 While Fatimid gold coinage generally maintained its fineness until the end of the dynasty, the silver was rapidly debased. By the end of al-Hakim’s reign in 411/1021, the dirhams had become more coppery than silvery and no longer remotely followed any sort of weight standard. There is no true copper coinage; glass-paste jetons of several denominations (not distinguished here) took their place.  
 Prior to the conquest of Egypt in 358/969, Fatimid gold and silver coins were struck primarily at al-Qayrawan, al-Mansuriya, and al-Mahdiya, all located within what is now modern Tunisia. After 358, Misr (al-Qahira) became the most common mint until the end of the dynasty, though at times, the mints of al-Iskandariya (Alexandria), Sur (Tyre), Tarabulus (Tripoli<sup>218</sup>), and Filastin were also major producers. After the accession of al-Amir in 495/1101, the mints of
- <sup>215</sup> A large Egyptian hoard of Ikshidid dinars terminating in 344 or 345 was discovered circa 1955. Dinars of this reign with later dates are much rarer, especially in higher grades.  
<sup>216</sup> Dirhams of Filastin 353 have recently become much less rare, presumably from an unannounced hoard.  
<sup>217</sup> A few rare examples of Tabariya cite al-Husayn b. ‘Ubayd Allah, who had earlier been governor of Tabariya for the last Ikshidid ruler.  
<sup>218</sup> Earlier coins citing the mint name Tarabulus were struck at Tripoli in Libya, but by the time of al-Mustansir the name seems to have referred solely to Tripoli in Lebanon. When the mint name is engraved as Atrabulus with initial *alif*, and that spelling is generally interpreted as the Libyan Tripoli.

al-Iskandariya & Misr are the only common mints. Post-470s dinars of Sur, the last Fatimid mint in Syria (loss to the Crusaders in 518), is rare, as is the later Egyptian mints of al-Mu'izziya al-Qahira. A complete list of known mints can be found in Nicol's corpus.

For their gold coinage, unlike their contemporary 'Abbasids and subsequent dynasties, the Fatimids attempted to maintain the canonical weight of about 4.26g for the full dinar and 1.06g for the quarter dinar. By the reign of al-Zahir (411-427), the theoretical weight was increasingly ignored. By the end of al-Mustansir's reign in 487/1094, dinars would weigh between about 3.5g and 5g, and must have been weighed rather than counted. An accurate weight standard was not reestablished in Syria and Egypt for more than 300 years.

Rare examples of additional fractional gold denominations, such as the 1/2, 1/3, 1/6, 1/8 and 1/16 dinar and a few irregular fractions, have been reported, and are only listed here when their denomination has been securely demonstrated.

Early Fatimid silver coinage, up to and including the reign of al-Hakim, was based on a dirham close to the traditional weight (roughly 2.85-3.0g) and consisted of various fractions, of which the half dirham was the principal denomination, scrupulously adhering to a weight of about 1.45g. The earliest issues are primarily from the mints of al-Qayrawan (until 307), al-Mansuriya and al-Mahdiya, but after 358, silver dirhams were also produced at Misr, followed by al-Iskandariya, and eventually several Syrian mints that are not especially rare. Under al-Mu'izz and al-'Aziz, 1/2 and 1/4 dirhams were also struck at reasonably accurate weights, usually from special dies for each denomination, and always labeled dirham in the mint/date formula (some scholars regard the silver coin of about 1.45g as a full dirham, rather than a half dirham).

There are also some rare full dirhams struck at Syrian mints under al-Mu'izz and al-'Aziz after the initial Fatimid conquest of that region in 358 until about 370, principally at Dimashq, Filastin and Tabariya. Their style, weight, and broadness were inherited from the previous Ikshidid silver coinage at these mints, without a secure weight standard – individual specimens vary from less than 2 grams to more than 6 grams, and they are almost always horribly struck.

During the reign of al-Hakim the silver fineness and accuracy of weight collapsed, so that distinctive denominations are no longer perceivable. "Silver" coins were struck in various degrees of billon, probably at many mints, mainly in Syria & Palestine, though except for the moderately common mint of Sur, most of these billon coins lack both date and mint name. The billon "dirham", known as *dirham aswad* or "black dirham", varies tremendously in weight, randomly from less than half a gram to several grams. During the last 4 reigns, some full dirhams were struck at Misr, with a silver fineness likely in the 60-70% range and a weight standard of about 2.9g.

Nicol has identified several issues at Makka: 356, 363, 364, 365 of al-Mu'izz, 366 (& possibly 380) of al-'Aziz, 394 of al-Hakim, 420 of al-Zahir, and 442 of al-Mustansir. All are gold dinars, although the gold dinar of 356 is enigmatically inscribed dirham. There is also a quarter dinar of Makka dated 442. All are exceedingly rare.

Copper coinage is virtually unknown for the Fatimids, because it was replaced by glass-paste jetons. These jetons almost never give the name of the mint (and then always Misr) and are infrequently dated. The glass-paste jetons were usually manufactured with great care, and when undamaged, are normally fully legible. Jetons recovered from the Nile are often abraded and partially devitrified. Their desirability is related not just to type and condition, but also to color and elegance of their epigraphy. While greenish translucent glass is most common, other colors and other degrees of opaqueness are generally rarer and more desirable.<sup>219</sup>

**temp. 'Abd Allah al-Shi'i, fl. 296-297 / 908-909**

All coins assigned to this ruler are anonymous.

L688 AV dinar, issue of al-Qayrawan 296 RRR

<sup>219</sup> The idea that the glass-paste jetons were coins is not universally accepted, though in my opinion, it was persuasively argued by Balog. Similar glass-paste objects from the Umayyad, 'Abbasid, and Tulunid periods were weights, many for weighing coins, as their inscriptions clearly indicate, but others for weighing all manner of other material, mostly drugs, including cannabis (Arabic *qannab*). Fatimid jetons may also have served as weights, but their principal function was most likely that of a fiduciary small coinage, as they are found in large quantities, far more than would likely have survived were they intended solely as weights. There were several denominations, especially during the 5<sup>th</sup>/11<sup>th</sup> and early 6<sup>th</sup>/12<sup>th</sup> centuries, but these have not yet been clearly distinguished.

Up to and including the reign of al-Mustansir, most glass jetons were made of transparent glass, now generally greenish as the result of ageing. Later jetons show a greater variety of color and are often opaque. The opaque jetons are found in many more colors than the translucent.

Aghlabid style, reverse inscribed *al-hamdu lillah rabb al-'alamin*, "thanks to God, Lord of the worlds". Also known without mint name.

M688 AV 1/4 dinar, similar, but without mint name, dated only 296 RRR

N688 AV dinar, issue of al-Qayrawan 297 (or without mint name, also dated 297) RRR

In addition to the traditional kalima, the phrase *balaghat hujjat Allah*, "the proof of God has arrived" is inscribed in the obverse field, and *tafarraga a'da Allah*, "the enemies of God have dispersed" in the reverse field.

S688 AV 1/4 dinar, as #N688 but without mint name and stylistically somewhat different.<sup>220</sup> RRR

O688 AR 1/2 dirham, anonymous with no religious inscriptions except the traditional kalima on the reverse and Qur'an 9:33 on the obverse, only of al-Qayrawan 296 RRR

P688 AR 1/2 dirham, only of al-Qayrawan 297 RRR

**al-Mahdi 'Ubayd Allah, 297-322 / 909-934**

Although his personal name is 'Ubayd Allah, it always appears on the coins as 'Abd Allah, for unknown reasons.

The name of al-Mahdi was retained on dinars of type 688A after his death until 333, presumably at Sijilmasa, then under control of the Midrarids. Midrarid dinars were struck 334-347 (types #453 & 454), with Fatimid coinage resuming in 347.

688 AV dinar, fine style, usually with mint name R

Well-struck coins of this type were struck mainly at al-Qayrawan 297-307, then at the newly established capital named al-Mahdiya after this caliph, from 308 onwards. Other dinars, normally without mint name, are moderately to terribly crude, and are now listed separately as #688A.

688A AV dinar, coarse calligraphy, without mint name R

Struck primarily at Sijilmasa, the Sahara "port" where gold shipments arrived by camel from Mali, south of the Sahara. Some of the malevolently crudest examples were conceivably struck in Mali itself, possibly at the city of Timbuktu (not to be confused with the nearly abandoned Timbuctoo, California).

689 AV 1/4 dinar, nice style, usually without mint & date S

T690 AR full dirham (2.65-2.75g), without mint name RRR  
Struck only at al-Mahdiya, 316-318.

690 AR 1/2 dirham (1.45g), al-Qayrawan & al-Mahdiya R

For Yemeni issues in the name of this caliph, see #A1067-1067.

**al-Qa'im Muhammad, 322-334 / 934-946**

His full title is *abu'l-qasim al-qa'im bi-amr Allah*.

Posthumous dinars were struck at al-Qayrawan in 335 & 336, dinars and 1/2 dirhams at al-Mahdiya in 335. Posthumous dates are also known for later rulers, especially al-Hakim and al-Zahir, struck at mints in Sicily and North Africa.

691 AV dinar, struck mainly at al-Mahdiya R

692 AV 1/4 dinar, al-Mahdiya or without mint RR

693 AR 1/2 dirham (1.45g), al-Mahdiya only RR

**Abu Yazid Makhlad b. Kaydad, rebel at al-Qayrawan, 333-334 / 945-946**

Anonymous, inscribed with the Kharijite proclamation *la hukm illa Allah* "there is no command other than God's", also *rabbuna Allah al-haqq al-mubin* in the obverse field, *al-'izza lillah khatim al-nabiyyin* on the reverse.

A694 AV dinar RR

B694 AR 1/2 dirham, similar RRR

**al-Mansur Isma'il, 334-341 / 946-953**

His additional titles are *'abd Allah abu'l-tahir*. Some of his dinars are amongst the most elegant, yet simply designed, medieval Islamic coins.

<sup>220</sup> Balog tentatively assigned this quarter dinar to the Sicilian mint of Balarm (Palermo).

694	AV dinar	R	704A	AV 1/8 dinar, always without mint & date	RR
	Both dinars and 1/4 dinars were struck at al-Mahdiyya and, from 338 onwards, al-Mansuriya, named after himself. Quarter dinars were also struck at Siqilliya starting in 337.		W705	AR broad dirham	R
695	AV 1/4 dinar	R		Two concentric circle pattern, as the gold, but struck on broad flans, nearly always extremely weak. Struck at Dimashq, Sur, Tabariya and Filastin until soon after 370. Attractive, well-struck specimens are extremely rare.	
696	AR 1/2 dirham (1.45g)	RRR	X705	AR full dirham, citing the heir apparent al-Mansur (later al-Hakim as caliph), his name & title divided between the obverse & reverse centers	RRR
	Known from Fès and al-Mansuriya, with his <i>kunya</i> Abu'l-Tahir on the issues of Fès.			Struck 382-386 at Dimashq and Tarabulus. Usually well struck. Average weight about 2.2-2.5g, but individual specials vary from about 1.75g to well over 3g.	
	<b>al-Hasan b. 'Ali al-Kalbi, Fatimid governor in Sicily, 336-341 / 948-953</b>		705	AR 1/2 dirham (1.45g)	C
	Entitled <i>al-hasan al-rashid / bin 'ali</i> in the reverse field.			Struck mainly at al-Mansuriya & al-Mahdiyya, with modest quantities from Misr, Tarabulus and Filastin. All other mints are rare.	
696K	AV 1/2 dinar	RRR	706	AR 1/4 dirham (0.72g)	S
	Without the name of the Fatimid caliph, believed to have been struck at Mazara in Italy after the Fatimid conquest of much of Calabria in 340, according to Nicol. The sole known specimen is unfortunately without legible mint and date.		707	AR 1/8 dirham (0.36g)	R
	<b>al-Mu'izz Ma'add, 341-365 / 953-975</b>		A708	AR 1/5 dirham (0.6g), struck by Fatimid partisans at Multan (always without mint name & undated)	RR
	His full title is <i>abu tamim al-mu'izz li-din Allah</i> .		B708	AR kharuba (0.2g), struck in Sicily	RR
697.1	AV dinar, three concentric circles of inscription	C	708	Glass-paste jeton	S
	All regular gold dinars of this ruler, as well as silver dirhams & half dirhams, have three concentric circles of inscription on obverse & reverse. Some of the smaller fractions and most glass jetons exhibit other designs. Many dinars of Misr dated 359-362 also cite the month.		708A	AE fals, cast fabric	RRR
	A few rare examples have only two concentric circles of inscription, struck at outer mints. There is also a series of dinars struck only al-Mansuriya 342-343, together with quarter dirhams of al-Mansuriya 342 and Siqilliya 342-343 with three concentric inscriptions and a short horizontal text in the center, <i>al-qudra lillah</i> on obverse, <i>al-'izza lillah</i> on reverse (all of these RRR).			This and the following type are stylistically similar to the early 4 <sup>th</sup> /10 <sup>th</sup> century copper fulus of Cilicia, but Ilisch has tentatively assigned them to Palestine. Neither of these fulus are mentioned by Nicol.	
697.2	AV dinar, normal horizontal field inscriptions, struck without mint name at Sijilmasa	R	708B	AE fals, cast fabric, citing the vizier as <i>al-wazir al-ajall</i> , "the great vizier" (without his actual name)	RRR
698	AV 1/4 dinar, two concentric circles of inscription	S		<b>al-Hakim Abu 'Ali al-Mansur, 386-411 / 996-1021</b>	
698A	AV 1/8 dinar, no mint or date	R		His full title is <i>abu 'ali al-hakim bi-amr Allah</i> . On most gold and many silver coins struck from 401 onwards, he takes the additional title <i>'abd Allah wa walihi</i> , "the servant of God and His friend."	
W699	AR broad dirham	RR		Beginning with this reign, most Fatimid caliphs employed more than one design type during their reign at all mints under their direct control. Only the major variations are noted here, but all have been catalogued systematically by Nicol.	
	Three concentric circle pattern, as the gold, but struck on broad flans, nearly always extremely weak. Struck mainly at Filastin, also Dimashq & Tabariya (some issues of Tabariya have four concentric circles) between 359 and 365, when these cities were not under Qaramita control. Attractive, well-struck specimens appear to be unknown.		709.1	AV dinar, 1 <sup>st</sup> series, without heir, two circular inscriptions with 4-line text in center, dated 386-387	RR
X699	AR narrow dirham, stylistically identical to #699, struck at Misr, Barqa, al-Mansuriya & al-Mahdiyya	RRR		Struck only at Misr & al-Mahdiyya.	
699	AR 1/2 dirham (1.45g), normally with three concentric circles of inscription	S	709.2	AV dinar, 2 <sup>nd</sup> series, without heir, two circular inscriptions with 2-line text in center, struck 387-401	C
700	AR 1/4 dirham (0.72g), usually without mint & date	S		Struck at more than a dozen mints, of which Misr is by far the most common. From the early 390s until the end of this subtype in 401, calligraphic style deteriorated into hideousness.	
	Most examples of the quarter dirham and all of the eighth dirham lack both mint name and date, due to their tiny size.		709.3	AV dinar, 3 <sup>rd</sup> series, without heir, one circular inscription with 4-line text in center, struck 401-404	S
701	AR 1/8 dirham (0.36g), without mint & date	R		Struck mainly at Misr, this subtype restored elegant calligraphy, now hand-engraved rather than stamped with punches.	
A702	AR 1/5 dirham (about 0.6g), struck by Fatimid partisans at Multan (but without mint name & undated)	RR	709A	AV dinar, 4 <sup>th</sup> series, with heir 'Abd al-Rahman (cousin of al-Hakim), struck 404-411	C
	The denomination and mintplace are confirmed by the contemporary historian al-Muqaddasi, who visited Multan in 375/985.			Layout & arrangement identical to #709.3. Misr is the most common mint, as would remain the case until the end of the Fatimid dynasty.	
E702	AR kharuba (about 0.2g), struck in Sicily	RRR		Posthumous issues were struck at the western mints al-Mansuriya until 413, at Atrabulus (Tripoli in Libya) & al-Mahdiyya until 416.	
702	Glass-paste jeton	R	Y710	AV 1/2 dinar, struck at Misr in the 400s	RRR
	<b>al-'Aziz Nizar, 365-386 / 975-996</b>		710	AV 1/4 dinar	C
	His full title is <i>abu mansur al-'aziz billah</i> , but his <i>kunya</i> Abu Mansur is almost never engraved on his coins.			There are a bewildering number of types for the quarter dinar, struck at numerous mints, but predominantly without mint name, and frequently without date. Examples without mint or mint off flan are common, clear mint & date somewhat rare.	
703	AV dinar	C	710X	AV 1/4 dinar, stellate type	RR
	All dinars and most silver coins & fractions have two concentric circles of text with a relatively broad empty band between, and a pellet in the center. For the dinar, Misr is by far the commonest mint, with al-Mansuriya and al-Mahdiyya also quite common, and Filastin only slightly rare. All other mints are rare.			Struck only at Siqilliya, with dated examples 404-409. See #722 for description.	
704	AV 1/4 dinar	S	710Y	AV 1/8 dinar, without mint and date	RR
	Most examples are without mint name or with mint off flan. The mint of Siqilliya is rare, other legible mints extremely rare.				

711	AR ½ dirham (1.25-1.65g), struck mainly at Misr and al-Mahdiya	S	The central legends vary from 3 to 5 lines on both obverse and reverse, and are separated from the margin by two plain circles, on both types #719.1 and 719.2.
	Fixed weight standards for silver and billon coins collapsed during this reign. Random weights became the standard under his successors, with the exception of a few extremely rare full dirhams of al-Hafiz and later.		Also struck at Sabra (Sfax in Tunisia) in 439-440 (R) under Zirid authority, but solely in the name of al-Mustansir.
711F	AR or BI fractional dirham, usually without mint or date	S	719.2 AV dinar, 2 <sup>nd</sup> standard type, as #719.1 but with the added titulature <i>'abd Allah wa walihi</i> , struck 439-440 and resumed 474-487
	Although most "silver" half dirhams of this reign continued to adhere to the traditional half dirham weight, the weight of smaller fractions became increasingly haphazard. Moreover, the silver fineness was increasingly debased, at first in North Africa, later throughout the Fatimid territories. By the end of this reign, the billon coins can no longer be divided into separate denominations.		Also struck periodically between the 450s and 474 at Dimashq, Sur, Tarabulus (in Lebanon) and 'Akka, of which all but Tarabulus 463, 465 and 471 are very rare, also at Misr 460-461 (R). Misr is the most common mint in the first brief period, al-Iskandariya, followed by Misr, in the second period.
712	AR kharuba (0.2g), struck in Sicily	RR	719A AV dinar, 3 <sup>rd</sup> standard type, three concentric circular legends ("bull's-eye" type), struck 440-473
713	Glass-paste jeton, various types & denominations	C	Stylistically identical to #697.1 of al-Mu'izz, always with central pellets on both sides.
	Most dated variants were produced during this reign, with the date rather weakly engraved on the reverse.		A few rare dates after 473 are known from mints other than Misr. Overall, Misr is the most common mint, but some dates of Sur, Tarabulus, Filastin and al-Iskandariya are only scarce.
	<b>al-Walid b. Hashim, rebel at Barqa in Libya, 394-396 / 1004-1006</b>		719B AV dinar, issued during the rebellion of al-Basasari in the name of al-Mustansir
713N	AV dinar, struck only at Antabulus in 396	RRR	Design type as #719.2, dated 450 & 451, struck at Madinat al-Salam and al-Kufa. A unique dinar of Madinat al-Salam 451 is known with type of #719A (3 concentric circular legends). Calligraphically, examples of this type resemble Great Seljuq dinars of western mints.
	The rebel is named al-Nasir li-din Allah, his "caliphal" title, on the coins, without his personal names. Antabulus is an alternative name for the city of Barqa. This type is omitted by Nicol, as it is strictly speaking not a Fatimid coin, but he provides a reference under the normal dinar of al-Hakim of Barqa 394.		719M AV dinar, two horizontal lines of legend with two concentric circular legends
	<b>al-Zahir Abu'l-Hasan 'Ali, 411-427 / 1021-1036</b>		Struck only at al-Mahdiya, 455-469.
	The full title of al-Zahir is <i>al-zahir li-a'zaz din Allah</i> .		A few miscellaneous types are reported, as well as dates outside the normal periods. Some of these may be incorrectly published pieces.
714.1	AV dinar, 1 <sup>st</sup> series, two-line text in the central section surrounded by two concentric circular texts, struck 411-420 (until 429 at some mints, as noted)	C	720 AV dinar (or bezant), Crusader imitation, without Latin letters, 13 <sup>th</sup> century
	Struck at Misr and several Syrian & Palestinian mints, of which only Misr is common. This was the sole type used throughout the reign of al-Zahir at the Maghrebi mints of al-Mansuriya and al-Mahdiya (S). It continued posthumously at these two mints until 429 (the posthumous issues are only modestly rare).		The principal prototype of the Crusader imitation is the type #719.2 dinar of Tarabulus dated 465 (Tripoli in Lebanon). The imitations are easily distinguished by calligraphy and fineness. Struck by the Counts of Tripoli, presumably at that city. The chronological order of #720, 720A and 720B is unknown.
714.2	AV dinar, 2 <sup>nd</sup> series, three concentric circular texts with small symbol in the center, struck 420-425	S	720A AV dinar (or bezant), Crusader imitation, as #720 but with Latin B above obverse and T above reverse, without cross, 13 <sup>th</sup> century
	The symbols are the word <i>'adl</i> for Misr, the letter <i>qaf</i> for Dimashq, <i>za</i> or <i>fa</i> for Filastin, <i>sad</i> for Hims, <i>sin</i> for Tarabulus, and <i>ta</i> for Tabariya. For both this type and #714.3, all mints except Misr are at least very rare.		Seltman has suggested that B = Bohemond and T = Tripoli.
714.3	AV dinar, 3 <sup>rd</sup> series, standard text (usually four lines) within single marginal inscriptions, struck 425-427	R	720B AV dinar (or bezant), Crusader imitation, as #720A with Latin B and T as above, and cross added in center, usually the reverse, 13 <sup>th</sup> century
715	AV ¼ dinar, numerous subtypes	C	721 AV ¼ dinar, normal Fatimid types, denomination <i>al-dinar</i> (when legible)
	Posthumous ¼ quarter dinars are known dated 428 and 429, struck at Siqilliya, al-Mansuriya (also 430), and al-Mahdiya, all very rare. Issues of Siqilliya 419-426 are the most common dated ¼ dinars of the entire Fatimid series. Quarters of Siqilliya dated 420, and only of that year, normally bear the month. <sup>221</sup> All other mints are rare, without mint or with mint off flan are common.		Only Siqilliya is common, with seemingly endless different subtypes, often within a single year. These were last struck in the year 464, save for an issue struck at Qil'at Kirkant (Fortress of Agrigento in Sicily) dated 468 (RRR). Quarter dinars of Sur, 'Akka, Misr and al-Mansuriya are only moderately rare, all other mints at least very rare. Examples without mint name or with mint off flan are very common, and exist in innumerable varieties.
716	AR or BI fractional dirhams	R	721R AV ¼ dinar, with denomination <i>al-ruba'i</i> , known only from al-Mansuriya during the 430s <sup>222</sup>
	Most examples lack mint and date. Their weights range almost randomly from less than 0.7g to more than 2g, with a few exceeding 3g, confirming that there were no longer specific denominations, except at the mint of Misr, where the traditional half dirham seems to have been preserved (RRR). All fractional dirhams with clear mint names are very rare.		722 AV ¼ dinar, stellate type
717	AR kharuba (0.2g), struck in Sicily	RR	Struck principally in Sicily (non-Sicilian mints are extremely rare). The legends are arranged as a complex hexagram, and are very difficult to decipher. The mint & date are usually off flan. Debased examples are common, both in silver and in copper, often gilt, probably contemporary forgeries, although some are perhaps emergency issues officially struck during conflicts with the Normans.
718	Glass-paste jeton, various types & denominations	S	A723 AV ⅞ dinar, no mint or date
	<b>al-Mustansir Abu Tamim Ma'add, 427-487 / 1036-1094</b>		B723 AV 1/16 dinar, no mint or date
719.1	AV dinar, 1 <sup>st</sup> standard type, single marginal legends, struck 427-438	C	

<sup>221</sup> Ironically, 420 is also the year the Ghaznavids added the month to dinars at Herat and Ghazna, and to dirhams at Balkh, both continuing into 421.

<sup>222</sup> Since some contemporary ¼ dinars of al-Mansuriya bear the denomination as *al-dinar*, quarters can only be assigned to #721R if the word *al-ruba'i* is legible or the obverse can be die-linked to a known example.

723	AR or BI dirham & fractions, usually heavily alloyed	C	
	Silver and billon types of this reign vary from region to region, with a great diversity of local types. Although some series seem at least vaguely to preserve some sort of weight standard, most were struck at random weights. By the end of the reign, the silver content was typically 25% or less, and the coins have a blackish color, for which they appropriately came to be known as the black dirham, <i>dirham aswad</i> .		The bezants can be readily distinguished by their calligraphy, which gradually degenerates from slightly coarse to utterly meaningless between the first issues at some point after the conquest of Sur (Tyre) in 1124 until the expulsion of the Crusaders from Acre in 1291.
	Sur and 'Akka are the only mint names occasionally seen (R); all others are at least very rare. The great majority of these "dirhams" lack both mint and date. For Yemeni issues, see #1078A.		
724	Glass-paste jeton, various types, weights & denominations	C	
	<b>al-Musta'li Abu'l-Qasim Ahmad, 487-495 / 1094-1101</b>		
	Beginning with this reign, all Fatimid gold dinars and nearly all fractions (and all dinars of the Ayyubid ruler Saladin) bear the legend ' <i>al ghaya</i> in the reverse center, "extremely pure", undoubtedly an intentional reference to the fineness of the gold, perhaps to assure the population that the gold content was not following the increasing debasement in the east. <sup>223</sup>		
725.1	AV dinar, 1 <sup>st</sup> series, 5 or 6 horizontal lines of text within a single marginal legend, dated 488-490	R	
725.2	AV dinar, 2 <sup>nd</sup> series, short 2-line inscriptions in center, surrounded by two marginal legends, dated 490-495	R	
726	AV ¼ dinar, various types	RR	
726A	AV ⅛ dinar, similar to type #725.2 but with only one marginal legend	RRR	
727	BI dirham aswad & fractions	RR	
	From this reign to the end of the dynasty, the billon coins are rather ghastly produced "black dirhams". Most are grossly struck on irregular flans of variable thickness and shape, showing only partial inscriptions. After AH525 there are also a few carefully struck round dirhams of what appears to be tolerably good silver <sup>224</sup> , all extremely rare, as noted in the listings.		
728	Glass-paste jeton	RR	
	<b>al-Mustafa Nizar, rebel at Alexandria, 488 / 1095</b>		
L729	AV dinar, al-Iskandariya 488 only <sup>225</sup>	RRR	
	<b>al-Amir Abu 'Ali al-Mansur, 495-524 / 1101-1130</b>		
	His full title is <i>al-amir bi-ahkam Allah</i> .		
729	AV dinar	C	
	Despite his lengthy reign, there is only one type, a short 2-line central inscription within two marginal legends. Mints are Misr (C), al-Iskandariya (C), Sur (R), al-Mu'izziya al-Qahira (R), 'Asqalan (RR), Qus (RRR), and Ayla (RRR).		
730	AV dinar ( <i>aka</i> bezant), <b>Crusader imitation</b>	C	
	Based mainly on dinars of Misr 506 and Misr 515, though many other "dates" have been reported, as well as rare examples engraved with the mint name al-Iskandariya or Sur. An especially rare variant is derived from a dinar of 'Asqalan mint. These imitations were struck by the kings of Jerusalem, presumably at the fortress town of Acre.		
			<b>Interregnum, 524-526 / 1130-1131</b>
			Coins in name of Abu'l-Qasim al-Muntazar bi-amr Allah, "the expected".
731	AV ¼ dinar	R	
732	BI dirham aswad & fractions	R	
733	Glass-paste jeton, various types & denominations	S	
			<b>al-Hafiz Abu'l-Maymun 'Abd al-Majid, 526-544 / 1131-1149</b>
			His full title is <i>al-hafiz li-din Allah</i> .
			During this and subsequent reigns, all coins were struck in Egypt (Misr, al-Iskandariya, and rarely at al-Mu'izziya al-Qahira), although the mint is rarely visible on billon coins and never included in the inscriptions on glass jetons. Syria and Palestine had been lost to the Seljuqs, Crusaders and local Syrian dynasties.
734.1	AV dinar, in the name of al-Imam Muhammad	RR	
734.2	AV dinar, in the name of the vizier, al-Afdal Abu 'Ali Ahmad	RRR	
			Coins of this type also cite the hidden Imam al-Mahdi, as evidence of al-Afdal's Twelver Shi'ite predilection. Types #734.1 and 734.2 are effortlessly distinguished: #734.1 has <i>al-imam Muhammad</i> within obverse center, ' <i>al ghaya</i> within reverse center, each within <b>two</b> marginal legends. #734.2 has ' <i>al</i> within obverse center, <i>ghaya</i> on reverse, each surrounded by <b>three</b> marginal legends.
A735	AR dirham, generally as #734.1 but reverse field text is <i>Allah al-samad</i> , full strike on round flan	RRR	
			Because ' <i>al ghaya</i> refers to the purity of the gold, all full dirhams from this reign onwards instead bear the inscription <i>Allah al-samad</i> , "God the Eternal".
B735	BI dirham aswad & fractions, on round or irregularly shaped flans	RRR	
			<b>al-Zafir Abu'l-Mansur Isma'il, 544-549 / 1149-1154</b>
			His full title is <i>al-zafir bi-amr Allah</i> .
735.1	AV dinar, 1 <sup>st</sup> series, with ' <i>abd Allah wa walihi</i> in obverse field, struck 526-527	RR	
			All dinars, ¼ dinars and full dirhams of al-Hafiz bear a horizontal inscription within the field, as indicated here, surrounded by two marginal legends.
735.2	AV dinar, 2 <sup>nd</sup> series, with <i>al-imam 'abd al-majid</i> in <b>two</b> lines in the obverse field, struck 527-531	R	
735.3	AV dinar, 3 <sup>rd</sup> series, with <i>al-imam 'abd al-majid</i> in <b>three</b> lines in the obverse field, struck 532-544	R	
A736	AV ¼ dinar, Misr only	RR	
B736	AR full dirham, Misr only, full strike on round flan, with <i>Allah al-hamid</i> in reverse center	RRR	
736	BI dirham aswad & fractions, on round or irregularly shaped flans, many subtypes	R	
737	Glass-paste jeton	S	
			<b>al-Zafir Abu'l-Mansur Isma'il, 544-549 / 1149-1154</b>
			His full title is <i>al-zafir bi-amr Allah</i> .
738	AV dinar	R	
			One type only, 5-line obverse and 6-line reverse, each within a single marginal legend.
738A	AV ¼ dinar, Misr only, type as last	RRR	
738B	AV ⅛ dinar, no mint or date	RRR	
			Single-line central legend surrounded by single marginal text, <i>al-zafir</i> on obverse.
B739	AR full dirham, Misr only, full strike on round flan, as #738 but 4-line reverse	RRR	
739	BI dirham aswad & fractions, on round or irregularly shaped flans	RR	
740	Glass-paste jeton	RR	

<sup>223</sup> The term '*al* ("fine") was added to the dinars of al-Mustansir beginning with issues of al-Iskandariya dated 467. All Fatimid dinars, up to the very last issues, retain a high gold purity, normally 96% or higher, which was maintained by the Ayyubids and the Mamluks. The earliest Crusader bezants imitate the dinar of al-Iskandariya 465 but were struck after about 520/1125. For a few years, they followed a fineness of 92-95%, but were soon alloyed to roughly 78-80% for many decades, eventually to about 65%. Contemporary Byzantine gold coins were also of lesser fineness.

For a somewhat discombobulated analysis, see A.A. Gordus & D.M. Metcalf, "Gold Coinages of the Crusader States", in Alex G. Malloy, Irene Fraley Preston & A.J. Seltman, *Coins of the Crusader States 1098-1291*, New York 1994, pp. 90-114.

<sup>224</sup> Without the results of fineness analyses, one can only guess the fineness, but I would suspect in the range of 60-70% silver, opposed to less than 25% for the standard black dirhams.

<sup>225</sup> Sotheby's, 18 April 1994, lot 391.

**al-Fa'iz Abu'l-Qasim 'Isa, 549-555 / 1154-1160**

His full title is *al-fa'iz bi-nasr Allah*.

- 741 AV dinar R  
One type only, two-line short text in center (*al-imam 'isa* on obverse, *'al ghaya* on reverse) surrounded by two marginal inscriptions.
- 741A AV ¼ dinar, Misr only, type as last<sup>226</sup> RRR
- A742 AR full dirham, Misr only, full strike on round flan RRR  
*Allah al-a'la* in reverse center.
- 742 BI dirham aswad & fractions, on round or irregularly shaped flans RR
- 743 Glass-paste jeton R

**al-'Adid Abu Muhammad 'Abd Allah, 555-567 / 1160-1171**

His full title is *al-'adid li-din Allah*.

- 744.1 AV dinar, 1<sup>st</sup> series, struck 555-563 S  
One type only, two-line short text in center (*al-imam 'abd Allah* on obverse, *'al ghaya* on reverse) surrounded by two marginal inscriptions.
- 744.2 AV dinar, 2<sup>nd</sup> series, struck 564-566 RR  
As #744.1 but obverse center has the same text, but arranged in three lines. No dinars of al-'Adid are known dated 567, the year Saladin, the Ayyubid ruler al-Nasir Yusuf, conquered Egypt.
- S745 AR full dirham, Misr only, full strike on round flan RRR  
Inscribed *yu'tadid billah* in reverse center, obverse center as #744.1 or 744.2.
- 745 BI dirham aswad & fractions, on round or irregularly shaped flans, at least 3 varieties R
- 746 Glass-paste jeton R
- African imitations, probably 4<sup>th</sup> / 10<sup>th</sup> century**
- 746M AV dinar, derived from the early 4<sup>th</sup> century type #688A from Sijilmasa region R
- 746S AR dirham, derived from various Fatimid prototypes, usually utterly stylized & illegible RRR  
Attribution to Africa, either just north or just south of the Sahara, is tentative. Some may be from southern European locations.

**NORMANS OF SICILY**

Arabic and bilingual Latin/Arabic coins struck by the Normans of Sicily and several of their competitors are not Islamic and are therefore not catalogued here. See Lucia Travaini, *La monetazione nell'Italia normanna*, Rome, 1995, for the most recent study of this series.

**REVOLT OF MUHAMMAD B. 'ABBAD**

Balog, P., "La monetazione della Sicilia araba e le sue imitazioni nell'Italia meridionale," in F. Gabrieli & U. Scerrato, *Gli Arabi in Italia*, Milano 1979, pp. 611-628.

**Muhammad b. 'Abbad, 616-619 / 1219-1222**

In rebellion against Frederick Barbarossa.

- A747 AR or BI dirham (denaro), no mint or date R
- B747 AR or BI dirham (denaro), similar, but with mint name Siqilliya in obverse center<sup>227</sup> RRR

**HAMDANID**

Linder-Welin, U.S., "Sayf al-Dawla's reign in Syria and Diyarbekr in the light of the numismatic evidence," in D.L. Rasmussen & L.O. Lagerqvist, eds., *Commentationis de nummis saeculorum IX-XI in Suecia repertis*, part 1, Stockholm, 1962, pp. 21-102. Now partially obsolete due to numerous subsequent discoveries.

Later Hamdanid coins, as well as those of their 'Uqaylid and Marwanid contemporaries, have never been properly studied.

*A 4<sup>th</sup>/10<sup>th</sup> century dynasty in Syria and the Jazira, with two branches, their respective capitals at Aleppo (Halab) and*

*Mosul (al-Mawsil). Sayf al-Dawla of Halab came to be regarded as one of the greatest Islamic rulers, due perhaps to his support of the remarkable poet al-Mutanabbi.*

None of the mints in the Syrian region are common, whereas al-Mawsil and secondarily Nasibin in the eastern territories of this dynasty are relatively available. Hamdanid gold is always well struck, but the silver is variable, better struck at eastern than at western mints, a difference inherited from the previous 'Abbasid caliphs and Ikhshidid rulers. There is no known copper coinage.

**Nasir al-Dawla (Abu Muhammad al-Hasan) & Sayf al-Dawla (Abu'l-Hasan 'Ali), conjointly, 330-356 / 942-967**

Both were sons of 'Abd Allah b. Hamdan, who served as caliphal governor in al-Mawsil, 293-317.

In addition to the common mint al-Mawsil, other mints citing both brothers, dated 332-356, include Antakiya, Dimashq, Halab, Hims, al-Jazira, al-Masisa, Mayyafariqin, Nasibin, al-Rafiq, al-Raqqa, and Tarsus, all of them very rare. One remarkable dirham dated 356 cites the mint as *khazanat al-shamiya min Halab*, "the Syrian treasury of Aleppo" (RRR).

- 747 AV dinar RR  
For dinars dated 330-331, see note to #748.
- 748 AR dirham S

The most common types for this joint reign in gold and silver are dated 330-331 and were struck at numerous mints, of which only Madinat al-Salam is common. They are catalogued under the 'Abbasid caliph al-Muttaqi (#260-261), to whom they are traditionally classified. Although commonly collected as Hamdanid, they cite the names of the Hamdanid brothers not as independent rulers, but as chief amirs to the 'Abbasid caliph al-Muttaqi, who is also cited. Nonetheless, their inscriptions are identical to Hamdanid dynastic issues struck later at al-Mawsil and elsewhere.

All issues in gold and silver dated 332 and later are recognized as true Hamdanid issues.

**Nasir al-Dawla, alone, in the Jazira, 356-358 / 967-969**

- 749 AR dirham, mainly from al-Mawsil & Nasibin R  
These dirhams normally cite the Hamdanid heir Abu Taghlib. A few very rare dirhams were struck in the name of Nasir al-Dawla alone in 330 in his capacity as chief amir to the 'Abbasids, at several mints, including Madinat al-Salam and al-Mawsil (type #259).

**Sayf al-Dawla, alone, circa 330 / 942**

- 749F AR dirham RRR  
Known dated 330 from Madinat al-Salam (muling?) and Dimashq 340 (*sic*).

**'Uddat al-Dawla Abu Taghlib (al-Ghadanfar), in the Jazira, 358-369 / 969-979**

Mints of al-Mawsil & Nasibin.

- T750 AV dinar<sup>228</sup> RRR
- 750.1 AR dirham, in his own name R
- 750.2 AR dirham, similar, but also citing Abu'l-Barakat Lutf Allah (presumably as heir) RR

**Sa'd al-Dawla (Abu'l-Ma'ali Sharif), in Syria, 356-381 / 967-991**

- 751 AR dirham, known from Mayyafariqin RR

**Sa'id al-Dawla (Abu'l-Fada'il Sa'id), in Syria, 381-392 / 991-1002**

- 752 BI dirham (much debased & weakly struck) RR  
Struck principally at Halab, also Saruj. Most, if not all, cite the Fatimid al-Hakim as overlord.

<sup>226</sup> Seen in trade, London, June 1999.

<sup>227</sup> Published in *Schweizer Münzblätter*, v. 206 (June 2002), p.23.

<sup>228</sup> For al-Mawsil 360, see Sotheby's 25 May 2000, lot 415.

**‘Aziz al-Dawla Fatik, pro-Fatimid ruler in Syria,  
407-415 / 1017-1024**

A753 BI dirham, mint of Halab (rarely legible) RRR  
Not a member of the Hamdanid dynasty, but the successor to their Syrian possessions.

**‘UQAYLID**

Kay, H.C., “Notes on the history of the Banu Uqayl,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, N.S., v. 18 (1886), pp. 491-526.

Jafar, Yahya, “The Uqaylids of Ukbara”, *ONS Newsletter*, No. 195 (2008).

Although ‘Uqaylid coins are cited in numerous references, no overview of the coinage has yet been published.

*A pro-Shi‘ite Bedouin dynasty that ruled in the Jazira and parts of Syria from about 990 to 1096. Their coinage consists only of relatively pure silver dirhams (except the billon #761). A much earlier member of the clan declared his independence at Qarqisiya in Iraq, where he struck coins in 275/889, both gold and silver (#L753 & M753).*

*There are several regional branches of this dynasty, many of whose rulers issued coins. The selection presented here is undoubtedly incomplete, due to the lack of publications. The various rulers used different forms of their names and titles on their various coinages, leading to much confusion over correct attribution. All rulers from 380 to the 430s acknowledged Buwayhid suzerainty (except for type #759.2). The only known ‘Uqaylid issue after about 435 is the billon dirham of Sharaf al-Dawla Muslim.*

Nasibin and al-Mawsil are the most common mints for this dynasty before about 412, together with the very rare mints of Balad, Barqa‘id, al-Jazira, Ma‘lathaya and Tikrit. Later issues are known primarily from ‘Ukbara, with smaller numbers from the Iraqi mints Awana, Tikrit and al-Karkh, all of which are extremely rare.

‘Uqaylid dirhams are often inadequately manufactured from dies larger than the flans, so that the mint & date are not visible. The Aleppo issues of the late ruler Sharaf al-Dawla Muslim are typically Syrian, weakly struck and with mere traces of the marginal legend.

The listings here are tentative, due to lack of publication.

**Muhammad b. Safwan, fl. 275-276 / 889-890**

L753 AV dinar, Qarqisiya mint only RRR  
Ibn Safwan’s gold and silver coins cite the caliph al-Mu‘tamid, together with his two heirs al-Mufawwidh and Ahmad b. al-Muwaffaq.

M753 AR dirham, similar, Qarqisiya mint RRR

**Muhammad b. al-Musayyib, circa 380-385 / 990-996**

753 AR dirham RR

**Janah al-Dawla Abu‘l-Hasan ‘Ali b. al-Musayyab,  
in Nasibin, 385-390 / 996-1000**

754.1 AR dirham, citing the ruler without his *laqab* as ‘Ali b. al-Musayyib, AR dirham, dated 385 only RR

754.2 AR dirham, with his *laqab* Janah al-Dawla, various types R  
Struck 386-390 at mints other than al-Mawsil, mainly Nasibin.

**Husam al-Dawla Abu‘l-Hassan al-Muqallad  
b. al-Musayyab, in al-Mawsil, 385-391 / 996-1001**

756 AR dirham, as vassal of his brother Janah al-Dawla (385-388 / 996-999) R

Naïvely listed as a joint issue of Husam al-Dawla and Janah al-Dawla in the first edition of the *Checklist*.

(Please note that type #756 actually precedes #755.)

755 AR dirham, as independent ruler (388-391 / 999-1001) R

**Ahmad b. Hammad, fl. late 380s / 990s**

As governor under the Buwayhid Baha‘ al-Dawla.

N757 AR dirham, known from mint of Tikrit only RRR  
The relationship of this governor to the ‘Uqaylid family, if any, remains undetermined (Baldwin’s, 8 May 2002, lot 303).

**Sinan al-Dawla Abu ‘Amir al-Hasan b. al-Musayyab,  
in Nasibin, 390-393 / 1000-1003**

757 AR dirham RR

**Nur al-Dawla Abu Mus‘ab, in Nasibin, 393-396 / 1003-1006**

With additional *laqab* Dhu‘l-Majdayn, “Possessor of two splendors”.

758 AR dirham RR  
Citing Mu‘tamid al-Dawla as overlord.

**Abu‘l-Musayyib Rafi‘ b. al-Husayn, d. 427 / 1036**

A759 AR dirham RRR

Struck normally at Tikrit in 395; the dates of his actual rule are unknown.

**Mu‘tamid al-Dawla Abu‘l-Muni‘ Qirwash b. al-Muqallad,  
in al-Mawsil, circa 391-442 / 1001-1050**

Cited only with his *kunya* Abu‘l-Muni‘ and his patronymic 391-394, thereafter only with his *laqab* Mu‘tamid al-Dawla, occasionally with his additional *laqab* Dhu‘l-‘Aziz.

No coins dated 412-421 have been reported.

L759 AR dirham, named Abu‘l-Muni‘ b. Husam al-Dawla, without his *laqab* RRR

As vassal of Sinan al-Dawla & the Buwayhid Baha‘ al-Dawla, struck at al-Mawsil in 391 (Baldwin’s, 3 May 2005, lot 1106).

M759 AR dirham, name as on #L759 RRR

As vassal of Nur al-Dawla Abu Mus‘ab & the Buwayhid Baha‘ al-Dawla. Struck only at al-Mawsil in 393-394.

759.1 AR dirham, with his *laqab* Mu‘tamid al-Dawla, as sole ruler & vassal under the Buwayhids, Baha‘ al-Dawla until 403, thereafter Sultan al-Dawla R

On some dirhams of al-Mawsil circa 408-411, he employs the additional *laqab* Nasir al-Din.

759.2 AR dirham, as sole ruler & vassal of the Fatimid caliph al-Hakim, struck at al-Mawsil in 401 only RRR

759.3 AR dirham, late series, struck occasionally at ‘Ukbara, Tikrit and Awana 422-431 RRR

**Mu‘tamid al-Dawla & Abu‘l-Fadl Badran,  
as joint rulers, circa 410-411 / 1020-1021**

759A AR dirham, the two brothers as joint rulers, as vassals under the Buwayhid Sultan al-Dawla (see also #759B) S

Also citing the ‘Abbasid caliph. Struck principally at Nasibin 406-408 and 410-411 (see #759B for dirhams of Nasibin dated 409). On this type, the brothers are cited as *mu‘tamid al-dawla wa abu‘l-fadl ibna husam al-dawla*.<sup>229</sup>

**Abu‘l-Fadl Badran, as vassal of Mu‘tamid al-Dawla,  
fl. 405-409 / 1015-1019**

759B AR dirham, citing his brother Mu‘tamid al-Dawla as suzerain, as vassal of the Buwayhid Sultan al-Dawla R

Known from Nasibin 405 & 409, but because it was struck from very broad dies, the mint and date are rarely visible. The brothers are cited as *mu‘tamid al-dawla dhu‘l-‘aziz, abu‘l muni‘ abu‘l-fadl bin husam al-dawla*.

For the two brothers as joint rulers, see #759A. Types #759A and 759B were apparently unknown before the hoard in 2009.

**Ibrahim b. al-Rukhaji, at Barqa‘id, fl. 390s / 1000s**

C760 AR dirham, Barqa‘id mint only RRR

<sup>229</sup> A hoard of at least 400 Mirdasid and ‘Uqaylid dirhams appeared in the market in 2009, including at least 100 examples of type #759A (mostly with date and/or mint off flan) and several dozen of #759B, together with more than 50 Marwanid dirhams, almost all of type #765 from the mint of Mayyafariqin. The hoard has not been published, and was distributed piecemeal to various sellers.



- Shihab al-Dawla Abu Darra', fl. 399 / 1009**
- D760 AR dirham, al-Jazira 399 only, citing the Buwayhid ruler Baha' al-Dawla, no other 'Uqaylid<sup>230</sup> RRR
- Qutb al-Dawla, fl.400 / 1010**
- E760 AR dirham, Balad mint only, dated 400<sup>231</sup> RRR
- Muzahir al-Dawla b. al-Musayyib, fl. 399-424+ / 1009-1033+**  
With the *laqab* Dhu'l-Munaqib.
- F760 AR dirham, principally Tikrit mint RRR  
Known dated 399 & 400. Overlord undetermined.
- G760 AR dirham, known from Nasibin 404, Tikrit 405 & 409 RRR  
Citing the Buwayhid ruler Sultan al-Dawla.
- H760 AR dirham, known from Tikrit 417 & 424 RRR  
Without any overlord, Muzahir al-Dawla's name in the inner obverse margin, mint & date in outer obverse margin.<sup>232</sup>
- Najdat al-Dawla b. Qihar, fl. 405 / 1015**  
With the *laqab* Dhu'l-Jalilayn, if correctly read. He is mentioned by Ibn al-Athir during the year 418 as Najdat al-Dawla Abu Mansur b. Qirad al-Ladid.
- N760 AR dirham, known only from Balad 405 RRR
- Kamal al-Dawla Gharib, in 'Ukbara, 401-425 / 1011-1034**  
Additional titles Sayf al-Din and 'Imad al-Muslimin.
- 760 AR dirham, generally very carefully struck & with elegant calligraphy RR  
All his coins also cite the Buwayhid overlord Jalal al-Dawla as Abu Tahir, often with the additional title Rukn al-Din, but never as Jalal al-Dawla. Some bear the word *haraq* حرق ("fire") above the obverse field, a reference to the purity of the silver. An interesting variety of 'Ukbara 421 bears the names of the 'Abbasid caliph al-Qadir together with al-Qa'im cited as heir apparent (RRR).<sup>233</sup>
- 'Izz al-Dawla, fl. 426 / 1035**  
Additional titles 'Imad al-Din & Sinan al-Umara. Citing the Buwayhid Jalal al-Dawla as overlord (as Abu Tahir).
- 760D AR dirham, known only from Awana 426 RRR
- Sharaf al-Dawla Muslim, 453-478 / 1061-1085**
- 761 BI fractional dirham, struck at Aleppo RR  
Struck circa 472-478 / 1079-1085, typically quite crude.

## MARWANID

There is no comprehensive publication of Marwanid coinage (see bibliography for the 'Uqaylids).

*The Marwanids were of Kurdish extraction and ruled in parts of the Jazira from 373/983 until the Seljuq conquest in 478/1085. Their capital was at Mayyafariqin in east-central Turkey, the modern city of Silvan on the highway between Diyarbakir (formerly Amid) and Bitlis. Their coinage consisted entirely of dirhams, increasingly debased after about 410. Nearly all cite the Buwayhid ruler of Iraq as overlord (except #A762).*

Mayyafariqin is by far the most plentiful Marwanid mint (except for type A762, struck only at al-Mawsil). For several types, Amid and al-Jazira are not especially scarce. The quality of strike is similar to the coins of the 'Uqaylids, *q.v.*, and the dies were generally broader

<sup>230</sup> Ivar Leimus, *Sylloge of Islamic Coins: Estonian Public Collections*, Tallinn, 2007, #898. His relationship to the 'Uqaylids is uncertain.

<sup>231</sup> Shamma collection, now in Qatar.

<sup>232</sup> Gorny & Mosch auction 172, lot 7047 for 417, *ONS Newsletter* No. 195 (2008) for 424.

<sup>233</sup> In the late 1990s I was shown a small hoard of about 100 'Uqaylid dirhams, nearly all of Kamal al-Dawla Gharib of the 'Ukbara mint. To my knowledge, these have never again appeared on the market, unless they are same specimens published by Yahya Jafar in the *ONS Newsletter*.

than the coins themselves. Little is known about the post-411 debased dirhams, which seem not to have reached the market in significant numbers.

## al-Husayn b. Dustak, at al-Mawsil, circa 373-374 / 983-984

- A762 AR dirham, al-Mawsil mint only RR  
Citing the Buwayhid overlord Sharaf al-Dawla as *shirdhil bin 'adud al-dawla*.
- al-Hasan Abu 'Ali b. Marwan, 380-387 / 990-997**
- 762 AR dirham R
- Mumahhid al-Dawla Sa'id, 387-401 / 997-1011**
- 763 AR dirham, as *Abu Mansur Sa'id b. Marwan* (387-391) R
- 764 AR dirham, as *Mumahhid al-Dawla Abu Mansur* (391-401) S
- Abu Shuja' Parwiz b. Muhammad, 401 / 1011**
- G765 AR dirham, Mayyafariqin 401 only RRR
- Nasr al-Dawla Abu Nasr, 401-453 / 1011-1061**
- 765 AR dirham (billon after early 410s) S  
Known from about 15 mints, of which only Mayyafariqin is common. Other mints include Amid, Anbar, Arzan, Bitlis, al-Hasaniya, al-Jazira, Is'ird and Mardin. Virtually no coins of Nasr al-Dawla are known dated after 420. See footnote #233.

## MIRDASID

Ilich, Lutz, "Ein Fund von Dirhams des Mirdasiden Nasr und das Münzwesen Aleppos im 2. Viertel des 11. Jahrhunderts AD.," *Münstersche Numismatische Zeitung*, vol 11, part 4 (August 1981), pp. 41-50.

*A 5<sup>th</sup>/11<sup>th</sup> century dynasty in Aleppo, descended from the Arab tribe of Kilab. Aside from a few rare dinars and fulus, their coins are small dirhams (more properly fractional dirhams), increasingly debased after about 440.*

When visible, the mint is almost always Halab (Aleppo), sometimes given in the form Thaghr Halab ("Aleppo frontier").<sup>234</sup> Silver and billon coins are generally crudely struck on flans smaller than the dies, with no attempt to maintain uniformity of weight. From the time of Thamal onwards, the alloy of the dirhams becomes severely debased billon, similar to the contemporary Fatimid *dirham aswad*.

With the exception of the first two rulers, all Mirdasid coinage is complex and poorly understood. Most attributions are tentative, awaiting further research.

It is likely that many of the debased Mirdasid dirhams are markedly less rare than indicated here, as such ugly and uninspiring billon coins are so often passed over, often tossed into inexpensive "junk lots" of Syrian Islamic coppers.

## Asad al-Dawla Salih, 414-420 / 1023-1029

- N766 AV dinar, citing the Fatimid overlord al-Zahir RRR
- 766 AR or BI dirham, similar RR

## Shibl al-Dawla Nasr I b. Salih, 420-429 / 1029-1038

- N767 AV dinar, citing the Fatimid overlord al-Mustansir RRR  
Two circular inscriptions on either side, with short single line inscriptions in the center, *shibl al-dawla* on obverse, *dhu'l-ghazwain*, "possessor of two conquests".

- 767 AR or BI dirham R  
The Mirdasid territory was temporarily occupied by the Fatimids 429-433 and again 449-452.

## Mu'izz al-Dawla Thamal b. Salih (Abu 'Ulwan), 433-449 / 1042-1058 and 453-454 / 1061-1062

- 768 BI dirham RR

<sup>234</sup> There is a dirham of Asad al-Dawla Salih from Hims and one tentatively assigned to Abu 'Ulwan Thamal from al-Rahba, both in Tübingen.

**‘Umdat al-Umara ‘Atiya b. Salih (Abu Dhu’aba),  
454-457 / 1062-1065**

A769 BI dirham RRR  
B769 AE fals RRR

**Rashid al-Dawla Mahmud b. Nasr, 2<sup>nd</sup> reign,  
458-467 / 1065-1074**

769 BI dirham RR  
Coins of this type normally, if not always, also cite the Great Seljuq sultan, ‘Adud al-Dawla Alp Arslan (455-465).

**Nasr II, 467-468 / 1074-1076**

A770 BI dirham RR?  
Attribution of coins to this ruler remains speculative.

**Sabiq, 468-472 / 1076-1079**

770 BI dirham RR  
Sabiq was vassal of the Great Seljuk Malikshah, who is cited on most of his coins. Sabiq was succeeded at Halab in 472 by the ‘Uqaylid ruler Sharaf al-Dawla Muslim (type #761). Most of Muslim’s coins cite the Great Seljuq Malikshah I as overlord.

**NUMAYRID**

Heidemann, Stefan, *Die Renaissance der Städte in Nordsyrien und Nordmesopotamien*, Leiden 2002. Includes a thorough and stimulating analysis of the Numayrid coinage.

*An Arab tribal dynasty centered in Harran, with a regional branch located at al-Raqqā. Its coinage consists entirely of more or less debased billon dirhams or fractions, similar to those of the Mirdasids, and all are very rare.*

The only reported mints for this dynasty are Harran and al-Raqqā, though very few known coins of this dynasty show the mint and virtually all are undated or have the date off flan. Numayrid coins are poorly struck, usually with considerable weakness, and invariably from dies much broader than the flan, so that only a portion of the type is visible on individual specimens. The silver is always significantly debased, as was typical throughout the Middle East at the time.

**Mu’ayyid al-Dawla Waththab (b. Sabiq),  
380-410 / 990-1019**

M771 BI dirham RRR  
Known dated 409 from Harran. All examples cite the Fatimid caliph al-Hakim as overlord.

**Sani’at al-Dawla Shabib (b. Waththab),  
410-431 / 1019-1040**

771 BI dirham<sup>235</sup> RRR  
All his coins cite the Fatimid caliph as overlord, al-Zahir until 427, thereafter al-Mustansir.

**Muta’in (b. Waththab, Abu Nasr),  
from 431 / 1040 until perhaps as late as 448 / 1056**

772 BI dirham RR  
Citing the Fatimid caliph al-Mustansir. Heidemann has shown that his sole known type was struck at Harran and is dated 436, though the mint & date are rarely visible. Muta’in adopted the title Sani’at al-Dawla, presumably following the death of his brother Shabib.

**Najib al-Dawla Mani’ b. Shabib (Abu al-Zimam),  
431-455 / 1040-1063**

773 BI dirham RRR  
Citing the Fatimid caliph al-Mustansir. Heidemann has published some examples of this type struck at Harran dated 447 and at al-Raqqā dated 450.

**SELJUQ OF SYRIA**

Ilisch, Lutz, “Unedierte Silbermünzen der Salguqen und ihrer Nachfolger aus Nordsyrien,” *Münstersche Numismatische Zeitung*, vol. 12, part 1 (March 1982), pp. 10-12.

<sup>235</sup> Peus, Katalog 345 (1 Nov 1995), lot 1051, first publication.

At present, the best publication for the copper coins is the Paris catalog of Gilles Hennequin, nonetheless very incomplete.

*A branch of the Great Seljuq line in Iran that ruled in Syria from 1078-1117. Their coinage consists principally of small highly debased silver coins from Aleppo and Damascus and some broad thin coppers from Antakiya.*

Copper fulus of this dynasty were probably struck exclusively at Antakiya, though the mint name is very rarely inscribed. The billon dirhams of Tutush were struck at Halab & Dimashq, thereafter mainly, if not entirely, at Halab (Aleppo), formerly under Mirdasid rule, though the mint name is virtually never visible.

**Tutush (‘Adud al-Dawla wa Taj al-Milla),  
471-488 / 1078-1095**

His full titlature was *al-sultan al-a‘zam rukn al-islam ‘adud al-din abu sa‘id tutush bin muhammad*, which is found only on his dinars.

774 AE fals, anonymous but citing his overlord Malikshah I of Iran, Antakiya type RR  
Types #774 and 775 lack the name or titles of Tutush.

775 BI dirham, similar, Halab or Dimashq RR

775A AV dinar, in his own name, struck only at al-Rayy, Zanjan and Madinat al-Salam in 487<sup>236</sup> RRR

**Ridwan, 488-507 / 1095-1113**

776 AE fals (Antakiya mint) R  
Very crudely struck, and normally overstruck on earlier types of his or previous reigns.

777 BI dirham, Aleppo type RRR

**Duqaq, in Damascus, 488-497 / 1095-1104**

As vassal of the Great Seljuq Barkiyaruq.

B778 AV dinar RRR  
Style similar to the Fatimid dinar of al-Musta’li (first series), with the simple name *duqaq* beneath the name *barkiyaruq* in the reverse field.<sup>237</sup>

A778 BI dirham RRR

**Sultan Shah, in Aleppo only, 508-511 / 1114-1117**

778 BI dirham RR

**Anonymous, circa 480s-500s / 1090s-1110s**

779 AE fals, Antakiya type, many designs, often with pictorial device (elephant, lion, etc.) S  
At least 8 varieties, nearly always overstruck, but the sequence of types has not yet been elucidated. Poorly made specimens are the norm, fully legible examples unknown. None bear the mint name.

**BURID**

Except for a few scattered references, there is no literature on the coins of this obscure dynasty.

*Also called the Atabegs of Damascus, a line of Seljuq atabegs ruling in Damascus and southern Syria from 1104 to 1154.*

Most Burid coins lack the mint name, except for the gold, which was minted exclusively at Damascus. A few rare coppers struck at Ba’albakk also bear the mint name (#783).

**Tughtekin (Zhahir al-Dawla), 497-522 / 1104-1128**

780 BI dirham (usually almost pure copper) RRR

Citing the ‘Abbasid caliph al-Mustansir. Most also cite the Great Seljuq ruler Muhammad b. Malikshah. With the word *atabek* in a central circle on either obverse or reverse.

780B AE dirham (*sic*), struck at Baniyas in 521 RRR

Excellent strike, inscribed in obverse field *zhahir al-dawla / tughtekin atabek / taj al-muluk bu- / -ri*. Shi’ite kalima reverse.

<sup>236</sup> American Numismatic Society collection (al-Rayy) & Baldwin’s, 8 May 2002, lot 423 (Madinat al-Salam), Baldwin’s, 10 Jan 2007, lot 543 (Zanjan). These coins bear no relationship to his role in Syria but refer to his disastrous attempt to seize the central Great Seljuq throne.

<sup>237</sup> Zamana #165.

### Taj al-Muluk Buri, 522-526 / 1128-1132

- 781 AE qirtas RR  
The *qirtas* was a broad copper fals struck on sheet copper cut into squares with shears, usually with the corners clipped or rounded.

### Shihab al-Din Mahmud, 529-533 / 1135-1140

- 782 AV dinar, with Seljuq overlords RRR  
Citing the Seljuqs Sanjar & Mas'ud, and the 'Abbasid caliph al-Muqtafi, struck at Dimashq 530-532.
- 783 AE dirham or fals, without mention of overlord RR  
Some rare examples of this type bear only the title *Fakhr al-Muluk*, which is presumed to refer to Mahmud (struck at Ba'albakk and dated 532).

### Abaq, 534-549 / 1140-1154

- A784 AV dinar (somewhat debased gold), with name of local ruler Abaq RRR  
Most gold struck at Dimashq during this reign lacks any reference to the local Burid ruler, naming only the Seljuq rulers Mas'ud and Sanjar, and therefore classified as Seljuq. Both full dinars & quarter dinars were struck (#M784 & N784, formerly listed as #1692 & 1693 under the Great Seljuqs). Type #A784 includes Abaq's name in the inner obverse margin and the 'Abbasid caliph al-Muqtafi in the reverse center, together with his title *al-imam* (!) in the obverse center.  
No ¼ dinar in the name of Abaq has been confirmed.

- M784 AV dinar, Damascus issue by Abaq, but without his name, citing the Seljuq ruler's Mas'ud & Sanjar and the 'Abbasid caliph (formerly #1692) RRR  
Bull's-eye design similar to contemporary Fatimid dinars. The full dinar always bears the mint name, the quarter dinar never does.

- N784 AV ¼ dinar, Damascus issue, similar, but citing only Sanjar (formerly #1693) RR
- 784 BI dirham, many variants, probably always with his name RR

### AYYUBID

Balog, Paul, *The Coinage of the Ayyubids* (RNS Special Publication #12), London 1980. This excellent work remains the standard reference, together with Nicol's supplement:

Nicol, N.D., "Paul Balog's *The Coinage of the Ayyubids*: additions and corrections," *Numismatic Chronicle*, v. 146 (1986), pp. 119-154.

For the Crusader imitations, see the brief section on the Crusaders following the Ayyubid listings.

*One of the great dynasties of Islam, the Ayyubids were founded by the Kurdish general Saladin (Salah al-Din) in 564/1169 but largely succumbed to the Mongol invasion and the rise of the Mamluks in 658/1260, though a branch persisted in the Jazira until the Ottoman conquest in the early 10<sup>th</sup>/16<sup>th</sup> century. Their coinage was quite eclectic, comprising all three metals, as well as billon issues, globular silver, and glass-paste jetons, in a multiplicity of types and variations. The globular silver and glass-paste coinages, as well as most of the billon issues, were restricted to Egypt. Chemical analysis of the billon coins (dirham aswad, i.e., "black dirham") has revealed an average fineness of about 28%.*

*The original silver dirham introduced by Saladin at Damascus in 571 had a fineness of about 94%. After 615 this was reduced to about 80-85%, then after 637 to about 75%.*

*Ayyubid silver coins were extensively imitated by the Crusaders in the late 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries, even after the practice was forbidden by papal decree in 1251. The more frequently encountered types are noted in the type listings.*

*For the Ayyubid branch in the Yemen, see the chapter on the Arabian Peninsula (#A1087-1099A).*

The Ayyubids did not maintain a significant number of mints, but centralized production at a few locations, namely at Cairo (al-Qahira) and Alexandria (al-Iskandariya) in Egypt, at Damascus, Aleppo, Hamah and occasionally Manbij and Hims in Syria, at Mayyafariqin and al-Ruha in the Jazira (Mesopotamia), and several mints in Yemen

(*q.v.*). Gold was struck only at the Egyptian mints of Cairo and Alexandria, with a few remarkable exceptions.

Silver and gold coins struck from the beginning to the 610s were commonly well struck, but later issues show increasing carelessness of strike, especially the silver. Copper coins of all periods were rarely well struck at mints in Egypt and Syria, though a few types are occasionally available in better qualities. The Mesopotamian copper dirhams are often very well made, but not always well-preserved. The Egyptian dirham aswad was never well struck and is normally found unpleasantly worn and ugly.

The fractional silver coins were most frequently struck from special dies intended for fractional denominations (usually with shorter legends), but often from full dirham dies as well. The latter show only a portion of the total inscriptions.

Ayyubid silver dirhams adhere to the traditional weight standard of about 2.97g, with halves at about 1.48g and quarters at 0.74g. Gold dinars do not follow any strict standard but vary from about 3 grams to well over 5 grams, with later issues after about 610 occasionally even heavier, up to 8 grams or more.

Copper dirhams were struck only at the Mesopotamian mints, preserving the contemporary Artuqid and Zangid tradition. The earliest issues weigh in the 10-14g range, which was gradually reduced to 8-12g in the 610s and below 5-6g by the 630s. Many Artuqid, Zangid, and Lu'lu'id coins of all metals cite an Ayyubid overlord together with the local ruler. These are listed under the appropriate local dynasty.

(The present type listing here represents the description format that I eventually hope to utilize for as many dynasties as possible.)

### MAIN LINE IN CAIRO

#### al-Nasir Salah al-Din Yusuf I (b. Ayyub, "Saladin"), 564-589 / 1169-1193

"Saladin" is a Latinized version of "Salah al-Din".

For Yemeni issues of Saladin, see #G1088, 1088 & 1089.

- 785.1 AV dinar, citing the caliph al-Mustadi (566-575) R  
Struck 570-575, with three marginal inscriptions on obverse and reverse. Dinars struck 567-569 lack the name of Salah al-Din, citing only his nominal Zangid suzerain Nur al-Din Mahmud and the 'Abbasid caliph. They are listed under the Zangids (#1849), even though Saladin was effectively in charge in Egypt.

- 785.2 AV dinar, with the caliph al-Nasir (575-622) S  
Two marginal inscriptions on obverse & reverse, two horizontal lines in obverse & reverse center. Both #785.1 and 785.2 were struck only at al-Qahira (Cairo) and al-Iskandariya (Alexandria). Mint & date on obverse.

- 785.3 AV dinar (pale gold), similar, but mint of Dimashq, dated 583 and with the title *sultan al-islam wa'l-muslimin* RRR  
Balog #79, easily distinguished by its longer central legends and the placement of the mint & date in the outer obverse margin. Since the year 583 corresponds with his conquest of Jerusalem, the type has generally been regarded as a commemorative of Saladin's conquest. Coarse style examples of this type, usually pale gold of reduced fineness, are now considered Crusader or European imitations (also RRR). No modern forgeries have been reported.

- A786 AV ¼ dinar (special small dies) RRR
- 786 AV dinar (bezant), Crusader imitation of type #785.1 or 785.2 RR

Identified by style and calligraphy, which is very distinctive, and by frequent spelling errors. Not listed by Berman *et al.*

- 787.1 AR dirham, square-in-circle type, with caliph al-Mustadi, struck 571-575 only at Dimashq R
- 787.2 AR dirham, similar, caliph al-Nasir, struck 575-589 S  
Struck at Hims (RR) & Hamah (R) in addition to Dimashq (S), and at al-Qahira (RR) in 585-586 only. Some crude examples are possibly Crusader imitations.

- 787.3 AR dirham, as #787.2 but with title *sultan al-islam wa'l-muslimin* added, Dimashq 585 only RR  
"Sultan of Islam and the Muslims" in the upper marginal sector.

- T788 AR dirham, inner circle type, struck at Hamah 572-575 RRR

- 788 AR dirham, six-pointed star type (struck 579-589) S  
Struck primarily at Halab, with additional issues of Mardin 581 and Mayyafariqin 589 (both RRR).

789.1	AR ½ dirham, square-in-circle type with caliph al-Mustadi, struck only at Dimashq	R	793.2	Glass-paste jeton, citing the caliph al-Nasir	C
	The ½ dirhams of this & most subsequent Ayyubid rulers have much shorter inscriptions in the center & margin.			Glass-paste jetons of this reign cite only the 'Abbasid caliphs al-Mustadi (1170-1180) or al-Nasir (1180-1225), the latter struck under Saladin and subsequent Ayyubid rulers until 1225, without mention of the Ayyubid. Used only in Egypt.	
789.2	AR ½ dirham, square-in-circle type with caliph al-Nasir, struck principally at Dimashq	S	<b>al-'Aziz 'Uthman, 589-595 / 1193-1198 (Imad al-Din, b. Yusuf)</b>		
	Also known from Hamah (R) and al-Qahira (RR).		794	AV dinar	C
789.3	AR ½ dirham, square-in-circle, caliph al-Nasir, struck from dies intended for the full dirham (longer inscriptions), normally Dimashq mint	RR		Normally struck at al-Qahira, al-Iskandariya or Misr (the last RR). A remarkable issue of this type was struck at Makka in 594 (RRR), from dies that appear to have been prepared in Cairo. <sup>238</sup> There is also a unique dinar of Filastin 592 (Balog #201).	
789A	AR ½ dirham, six-pointed star type, struck only at Halab	RR	A795	AV fractional dinar (0.4-0.8g)	RRR
	Sometimes dated (AH580 most frequent), usually undated.		795	AR dirham, square-in-circle type only (minted only at the Syrian mints, normally Dimashq & Hamah)	R
A790	AR ¼ dirham, with caliph al-Mustadi, struck at Hamah & Dimashq	RR		Extremely rare types known from Hims 592 and Manbij 595.	
B790	AR ¼ dirham, with caliph al-Nasir, mint not known but perhaps Hamah	RRR	796	AR ½ dirham	R
F790	AR ⅛ dirham, also citing the Zangid al-Salih Isma'il as overlord, obverse & reverse centers in a triangle (Zeno-47646)	RRR		Struck at Syrian mints only, normally without date (RR with legible date).	
	Without mint & date, struck circa 570-571.		797	BI dirham aswad (Egyptian)	RR
G790	AR ⅛ dirham, citing the caliph al-Mustadi, probably undated (SNAT-4c, #14)	RRR	797A	BI round quarter dirham (about 0.7g), no mint or date (Egyptian)	RRR
	Assigned by Ilich to Hamah mint, also obverse & reverse centers in triangle, struck circa 571-575.			Inner double circle type, rather broad and thin (Balog #199-200).	
790	BI dirham aswad (Balog #63-65)	R	798	AE fals, principally Dimashq mint, dated 594-595	C
	The dirham aswad ("black dirham") was an irregularly shaped, occasionally globular, coin of low-alloy silver, struck only in Egypt, a continuation of the late Fatimid dirham aswad. Most specimens show only a small part of the dies, and are typically found in miserably worn condition. Weights vary immensely, with a middle weight of about one gram.			Strictly speaking, this is an issue of Abu Bakr I, who took over Dimashq in 592, but always in the name of 'Uthman. The fals of Halab is RR, and bears a somewhat distinctive design (Balog #224).	
790C	AE rectangular fals, similar to the dirham aswad but central inscriptions in smaller circles (Balog #68)	RRR	<b>al-Mansur Muhammad, 595-596 / 1198-1199 (Nasir al-Din, b. 'Uthman)</b>		
791.1	AE dirham, facing bust, wearing Sasanian style crown, struck at Nasibin, dated 578 only	R	799	AV dinar	R
	Normal weight 17-21 grams, remarkably heavy.			This ruler should not be confused with al-Mansur Muhammad I & II of Hamah.	
791.2	AE dirham, inscriptions only, obverse in hexagon (RR) or plain circle, struck at Mayyafariqin (now Silvan in eastern Turkey), dated 581 & 582	S	800	BI dirham aswad (Egyptian)	RRR
	Normal weight 8-12 grams.		<b>al-'Adil Abu Bakr I, 592-615 / 1196-1218 (Sayf al-Din, b. Ayyub)</b>		
791.3	AE dirham, constellation of the Lion, without mint, dated 582, 583 and 584	S		Abu Bakr was governor in Harran 589-591, in Mayyafariqin and Sinjar 591-596, in Syria from 592, and in Egypt from 596.	
	Presumably struck only at Mayyafariqin. Weight 11-14 grams. Coins mentioned by Balog allegedly dated 586, 587 and 589 are misinterpretations.		801.1	AV dinar, type A, struck at al-Qahira 596-612 and again in 615, also at al-Iskandariya 596-611	C
	Types 791.1-791.3 all bear the title <i>muhyi dawlat amir al-mu'minin</i> , "reviver of the caliph's government," not found on later types 791.4-791.5 nor on any other coins of this reign.			Four-line inscription in obverse & reverse fields, single margins.	
791.4	AE dirham, seated sultan facing, holding orb, without mint, dated 586 only	S	801.2	AV dinar, type B (2-line inscription, double margins both sides), normally struck 613-615	S
	Presumably struck only at Mayyafariqin. Weight 10-13 grams.			Also known from al-Qahira 597 and 610, al-Iskandariya 597.	
791.5	AE dirham, similar to #791.4 but legends differently arranged & with much lighter weight (roughly 6-7 grams), struck at Mayyafariqin in 587 and at Harran in 586-587	RR	802.1	AR dirham, square-in-circle type, citing Abu Bakr only (Dimashq 596, Hamah 596-597)	RRR
	Type 791.4 has name & title of ruler on the inscriptional side, #791.5 has name & title of caliph on the inscriptional side.		802.2	AR dirham, square-in-circle type, with added name of heir ( <i>wali 'ahduhu</i> ) al-Malik al-Kamil (al-Qahira 597-605)	RR
T792	AE fals, citing the Zangid al-Salih Isma'il as overlord, struck at Dimashq 570-571	R	802A	AR dirham, double octolobe type, also citing al-Malik al-Kamil as heir (Hims 598-599)	RRR
792	AE fals, as sole ruler, various types, struck in Syria only from 572 or 573 until 589	C	803	AR dirham, double intertwined trefoil type (Dimashq, 598-609)	C
	Distinctive types from Dimashq (circa 575 and 583-589), Halab (584-589) and Hamah (573-575 and 583-589).			Two variants, the first (598-608) without a central annulet, the second (608-609) with a central annulet on both sides (R). Only about 15-20% of known specimens show the minuscule date in words that appear, together with the mint name, in the obverse margin.	
792A	AE fals, single line central inscriptions, <i>al-malik al-nasir</i> on obverse, <i>al-imam al-nasir</i> on reverse, Halab 588-589 only	R	804	AR dirham, fancy hexafoil type (Dimashq, 609-611), usually with date off flan octogram	R
793.1	Glass-paste jeton, citing the caliph al-Mustadi	RR	<sup>238</sup> A small hoard of about 20-25 pieces was acquired by a coin dealer in Paris, probably in the 1940s or 1950s, and offered for sale at \$80, only one per buyer. Probably worth a lot more than \$80,000 today!		

805	AR dirham, six-pointed star type (Dimashq 611-615, also al-Ruha in the Jazira in 615 <sup>239</sup> and Harran 596-598)	C	Early dates of this type (615-619) are almost always found exceptionally well struck, but the quality deteriorates from late 619 onwards. Years 615-619 without caliphal heir apparent, 619-622 with the heir's name, 'Uddat al-Din Muhammad. Also known from Mayyafariqin 617 and Qal'at Ja'bar 615, both extremely rare.
	This is the only six-pointed star type ever struck at Damascus, relatively common, even with legible date. Al-Ruha is rare, Harran is RR. Balog mentions this type at Dimashq in 600 and 610, not inconceivable given the use of the type at Harran in 596-598.		
A806	AR ½ dirham, square-in-circle type (as #802.1, probably struck only at Hamah in 596)	RR	812.2 AR dirham, as last but caliph al-Zahir, 622-623 R
B806	AR ½ dirham, double octalobe type as #802A (Hims, not known with legible date)	RRR	812.3 AR dirham, as last but caliph al-Mustansir, usually poorly struck, dated 623-634 and posthumously in 637 (RR) C
	Presumably struck only circa 598-599.		Also struck at Harran in 623-624 (RR).
806	AR ½ dirham, double trefoil type (as #803, published as Balog #311, presumably struck at Dimashq, not known with legible date)	RR	812G AR dirham, as #812.3 but mint and date in reverse instead of obverse margin, Ghazza mint, known dated 624-625 and 633-635 R
806A	AR ½ dirham, fancy hexafoil type (Dimashq, not known with legible date) (Balog #310)	RR	This and the half dirham #814G are the last Islamic coins struck in Palestine. There are some later Crusader coins, many of them of Islamic types, struck in the 7 <sup>th</sup> /13 <sup>th</sup> century, as well as the non-Islamic British mandate issues 1927-1947 and Israeli coinage thereafter.
	Presumably struck only circa 610-611.		
807	AR ½ dirham, six-pointed star type (as #805, but with shorter legends)	S	813 AR dirham, six-pointed star type, struck at al-Ruha in 615-617 R
	Struck regularly from 600-615, nearly all dates now known. A few examples were struck using full dirham dies on either the obverse or reverse (R).		814.1 AR ½ dirham, similar to #812.1 (caliph al-Nasir) C
808	BI dirham aswad (Egyptian)	R	814.2 AR ½ dirham, similar to #812.2 (caliph al-Zahir) R
	Several variants, following the gold types (#801).		814.3 AR ½ dirham, similar to #812.3 (caliph al-Mustansir) C
A809	BI denier, no mint or date (circa 0.82g)	RR	Types #814.1-814.3 all have two-line obverse & reverse central inscriptions, instead of the 3-line legends on full dirhams. Specimens with clear mint & date are rare.
	Struck according to the alloy and weight of one of the European or Crusader deniers, the actual prototype not determined (Leu 456, #116, = Balog #336). This type is now believed to have been struck at Dimashq circa 611, quickly protested and withdrawn from circulation. <sup>240</sup>		814A AR ½ dirham, struck from full dirham dies on one or both sides, caliph al-Mustansir C
809	AE dirham, facing bust, wearing headdress	C	Usually poorly struck, possibly Crusader imitations.
	Struck at Mayyafariqin in the Jazira, normally dated 591-592, with rare dates also reported between 595 and 608.		814G AR ½ dirham, Ghazza mint, as #812G but 2-line central legends, known dated 625, and possibly also 635 RR
809A	AE dirham, two intertwined geese, struck at Sinjar (date unknown)	RR	814L AR ½ dirham, six-pointed star type, struck only at al-Ruha in 615 RRR
810.1	AE fals, central circle with outer margin, struck at Dimashq 598-599 and 608-610	C	815.1 BI dirham aswad (Egyptian), irregular flans (Balog #401-402), with caliph al-Nasir, always undated RR
	Mint & date repeated in both obverse & reverse margins. All four subtypes of #810 have identical designs on obverse & reverse.		815.2 BI dirham aswad (Egyptian), globular flans, citing caliph al-Nasir (Balog #403, known dated 622) R
810.2	AE fals, hexalobe with outer margin, struck at Harran 588-591	S	The globular shape replaced the irregular shape as part of al-Kamil's coinage reform undertaken in 622/1225.
810.3	AE fals, plain circle with 3-line inscription, struck at Harran 596 & 598-600, Qal'at Ja'bar 601-602 and al-Ruha 602-605 (possibly also 606)	S	815.3 BI dirham aswad, as last but with caliph al-Zahir (Balog #404, not known with legible date) RRR
810.4	AE fals, concave-sided hexagon, struck at al-Ruha in 611, 612 and 614 (last two dates very rare)	S	815.4 BI dirham aswad, as last but with caliph al-Mustansir (Balog #405-408, normally dated 625 when visible) R
	Types Balog #327-328 reported as Hamah mint are misreadings of ordinary types of al-Ruha ('ashara misread as hamah).		M816 AE fals, circle type, without mint or date but struck in al-Qahira, caliph al-Zahir R
<b>al-Kamil Abu'l-Ma'ali Muhammad I (Nasir al-Din, b. Abi Bakr), 615-635 / 1218-1238</b>			N816 AE fals, as last but caliph al-Mustansir, also without mint or date R
For Yemeni coins of al-Kamil, see #A1098, 1099 and 1099A.			O816 AE fals, pointed quatrefoil, caliph al-Mustansir, without mint or date but struck in al-Qahira (Balog #420-421) S
811.1	AV dinar, caliph al-Nasir, Kufic calligraphy, dated 616-622	S	816.1 AE fals, square-in-circle, Dimashq mint, known dated 630-633 S
811.2	AV dinar, caliph al-Zahir, Kufic calligraphy, dated 623 only	RR	Two-line inscriptions within square, without stars or circles between the two lines. Without name of caliph, as al-Kamil's name and titles fill both sides.
811.3	AV dinar, caliph al-Mustansir, <i>Naskhi</i> calligraphy, dated 624-635	C	Balog cites three types with the caliph's name. His #466 cannot be confirmed, whereas #467-468 are clearly contemporary copper forgeries of the silver dirham and half dirham, respectively.
812.1	AR dirham, square-in-circle type, caliph al-Nasir, Dimashq mint, dated 615-622	C	816.2 AE fals, square-in-circle, with name of caliph al-Mustansir, Harran mint, dated 623-634, always with 2 or 3 circles or pellets between top and bottom lines of both obverse & reverse fields S
			816.3 AE fals, similar, but stars instead of circles within central inscriptions R
			Struck at Nasibin 631-634 and al-Hisn 632 and probably 633.

<sup>239</sup> The 605 type mentioned by Balog is clearly 615; his 611 type, #332, is almost certainly a misreading.

<sup>240</sup> Cf. Heidemann, *Die Renaissance...*, pp. 408-410.

816.4	AE fals, similar, but no symbols in obverse field and a single pellet or circle in reverse field, between top & bottom parts of caliph's name, struck at Qal'at Ja'bar in 629, 631 and possibly 634	R	824	AR dirham, dodekalobe type, struck at Dimashq 644-646 and possibly also 647	S
816E	AE fals, without mint or date, miscellaneous types Usually citing the caliph al-Mustansir, most probably of undetermined Syrian mints.	R	T825	AR ½ dirham, square-in-circle type, struck at al-Qahira, type as T823 with 3-line legends within the square Almost always found with date off flan. Balog #539 is perhaps dated 645.	RR
817	Glass-paste jeton Glass-paste jetons of this reign were struck in the name of the ruler, al-Kamil Muhammad. Several minor variants. <b>al-'Adil Abu Bakr II, 635-637 / 1238-1240</b> <b>(Sayf al-Din, b. Muhammad)</b>	R	825.1	AR ½ dirham, square-in-circle type, two-line legends within the square, caliph al-Mustansir Square-in-circle Dimashq half dirhams of al-Salih Ayyub are not distinguishable from those of al-Salih Isma'il of Dimashq (type #850.1) except by date, which unfortunately is rarely legible.	S
818	AV dinar	S	825.2	AR ½ dirham, similar, caliph al-Musta'sim	S
819	AR dirham, square-in circle only, struck only at Dimashq	S	826	AR ½ dirham, dodekalobe type (644-647) 2-line inscription within dodekalobe, as opposed to three or four lines on the full dirhams.	R
820	AR ½ dirham, square-in-circle arrangement, shorter central legends Struck only at Dimashq, as I now believe that the alleged type of Hisn (from my collection, Nicol 515a) is rather a crude imitation of Dimashq, perhaps struck by the Crusaders.	S	827	BI dirham aswad (Egyptian, globular style)	RR
821	BI dirham aswad (Egyptian, globular style) <b>al-Salih Ayyub (Najm al-Din, b. Muhammad), in Dimashq, 636-637 / 1238-1239, then in Egypt, 637-647 / 1239-1249</b>	RR	828	AE fals, crude square-in-circle, struck at Hamah, dated 641 Balog's al-Qahira (#541-542) and Dimashq (#564) types are contemporary forgeries of silver coins. His large copper (#565) is probably correctly attributed (RRR).	S
822.1	AV dinar, caliph al-Mustansir, dated 637-640 Coins of 637-638 retain the variable weight from three to more than six grams. From 639-647 the weight is relatively standard, almost always between 4.10 and 4.40 grams, but later dinars of the Mamluks vary widely.	R	828A	AE fals, six-pointed star type, caliph al-Mustansir, struck at Amid 636-640	R
822.2	AV dinar, as last but caliph al-Musta'sim, dated 641-647	R	828B	AE fals, as last but caliph al-Musta'sim, unknown with legible date	RR
822A	AV ½ dinar, caliph al-Mustansir, year 639 only	RRR	<b>al-Mu'azzam Turanshah IV (Ghiyath al-Din, b. Ayyub), 647-648 / 1249-1250</b>		
822B	AV ½ dinar, caliph al-Musta'sim, known dated 645-647 Both 822A and 822B bear two-line inscriptions within the central circle, rather than the 3-line inscriptions found on full dinars. All gold coins were struck at al-Qahira, except for a single example of type 822.2 struck at al-Iskandariya (Balog #533, date missing).	RRR	829	AR dirham, title <i>al-malik al-mu'azzam</i> , Dimashq & Hamah, both dated 647 (3-line legends)	RR
T823	AR dirham, square-in-circle type, struck at al-Qahira 645-646 Mint & date legend in the reverse margin, unlike all other mints. The al-Qahira issues can be easily distinguished from the Syrian mints by the middle line in the obverse field, which reads <i>najm al-din ayyub</i> instead of <i>najm al-dunya wa'l-din</i> .	RR	829A	AR dirham, with extended title <i>al-sultan al-malik al-mu'azzam</i> , Dimashq 648 (4-line legends)	RR
U823	AR dirham, square-in-circle type, posthumous issue, al-Qahira 652 only <sup>241</sup> Mint in lower quarter of obverse margin, date in reverse margin.	RRR	830	AR ½ dirham, similar to #829	RRR
823.1	AR dirham, square-in-circle type, title <i>al-malik</i> , caliph al-Mustansir, struck at Dimashq, 636-637 A similar type is known from the mint of Harran 634 (Balog #567, RRR).	R	830A	BI dirham aswad (Egyptian, globular style) Upon the death of Turanshah IV, his Egyptian territories passed to the rising Mamluks, his Syrian provinces to the Aleppo branch of the Ayyubids, then ruled by al-Nasir Yusuf II. See #843 & 844.	RRR
823.2	AR dirham, square-in-circle type, title <i>al-sultan al-malik</i> , caliph al-Musta'sim Struck only at Dimashq in 647, easily distinguished by 4-line central inscriptions (3-line on #823.1 and all other square-in-circle dirhams of this ruler).	RR	<b>al-Ashraf Musa II (Abu'l-Fath Muzaffar al-Din), 648-652 / 1250-1254</b> Musa II was nominal suzerain to the Mamluk ruler Aybak. All his coins are extremely rare, despite his relatively lengthy nominal reign.		
823.3	AR dirham, square-in-circle type, as #823.1 but caliph al-Musta'sim, struck only at Hamah in 645 and 646 Obverse central line <i>najm al-dunya wa'l-din</i> .	R	831	AV dinar	RRR
823C	AR dirham, Crusader imitation of type A-823.1, dated 638, 640, 641 and 643 Issues dated 638 & 640 cite the caliph al-Mustansir, 641 & 643 the caliph al-Musta'sim (Balog #546c, 546d, 546e), all believed to have been struck at Acre ('Akka).	R	832	AR dirham, al-Qahira mint only	RRR
			833	BI dirham aswad (globular dirham, also known as <i>nuqra</i> ), Egyptian issue All coins in the name of Musa II were struck under the authority of the Mamluk ruler Aybak, who used the nominal Ayyubid Musa II as a formal justification of his own <i>de facto</i> rule. Musa was the son of al-Mas'ud Yusuf, a former Ayyubid ruler in the Yemen.	RRR
			<b>Anonymous, circa 589-652 / 1193-1254</b> From the duration of the dynasty after Saladin.		
			A834	Glass jeton, imitative legends Some are obviously imitations of #793 in the name of the caliph al-Nasir. The transitional date between type #793 and this type has not yet been determined, nor is it known whether this type is an official issue or a private imitation of #793. My impression is that the glass jetons of this period were privately manufactured, with little concern about their appearance or legibility. Only their weight and general appearance were important.	C

<sup>241</sup> Technically this is a Mamluk issue under Aybak, but is listed here as an Ayyubid issue, as it cites only an Ayyubid individual, albeit posthumously.

**BRANCH AT ALEPPO (HALAB)**

**al-Zahir Ghazi, 582-613 / 1186-1216  
(Ghiyath al-Din, b. Yusuf)**

Coinage in his name from 589/1193 onwards. Earlier issues cite only Salah al-Din (Saladin) and are assigned to that ruler. See note to type #834.1.

All coins of al-Zahir Ghazi cite the caliph al-Nasir and all were struck at Halab, with a few exceptions, as noted.

T834 AR dirham, citing al-Zahir only, without his personal name Ghazi, ornate diamond-in-quatrefoil type, Halab 589 only RRR

U834 AR dirham, square-in circle, as vassal of al-Afdal 'Ali, Hamah mint, dated 595-596 RRR

On this type, the overlord al-Afdal is mentioned on the obverse, above the name of al-Zahir Ghazi, also on type #834.5. All other vassal issues of al-Zahir Ghazi cite the overlord beneath the caliph on the reverse.

Al-Afdal properly reigned only 589-592 but was resuscitated by Ghazi in 595-596 in opposition to his rival Abu Bakr I.

V834 AR ½ dirham, square-in-circle type, al-Zahir Ghazi as vassal of al-Afdal 'Ali, struck at Hamah RRR

Struck with full dirham dies, known only with date off flan.

834.1 AR dirham, six-pointed star type, first independent series, no overlord, dated 589-593 R

Coinage struck under the authority of al-Zahir Ghazi dated 582-588 is in the sole name of Saladin and thus classified amongst the latter's issues.

834.2 AR dirham, six-pointed star type, as vassal of al-'Aziz 'Uthman, dated 593 & 594 R

834.3 AR dirham, six-pointed star type, second independent series, dated 595 RR

834.4 AR dirham, six-pointed star type, as vassal of al-'Adil Abu Bakr (early series), dated 595-596 RR

834.5 AR dirham, six-pointed star type, as vassal of al-Afdal 'Ali, struck Halab 596 & al-Manbij 597 RRR

834.6 AR dirham, six-pointed star type, third independent series, dated 596-597 R

834.7 AR dirham, six-pointed star type, main issue as vassal of al-'Adil Abu Bakr, dated 598-613 C

Abu Bakr cited on reverse below the caliph. Type 834.7 and most of the earlier types are frequently found without legible date. For later dates after 613, see #836.

835.1 AR ½ dirham, independent, without overlord, dated 591 and 593-594 R

835.2 AR ½ dirham, as vassal of al-'Aziz 'Uthman, known dated 593 and 594 RR

835.3 AR ½ dirham, as vassal of al-'Adil Abu Bakr, many dates known between 599 and 613 C  
Very scarce with legible date.

836 AR dirham, **Crusaders**, six-pointed star type, posthumous dates, struck 613-638, as type 834.7 but poorer style and calligraphy C

This and the following type #837, identical in all but style and alloy to the lifetime dirhams of al-Zahir Ghazi, are now regarded as imitative issues of the Crusader kingdom at Tripoli. They retain the legends of the later issues of #834 and 835, including the name of the caliph al-Nasir & the overlord al-'Adil Abu Bakr, even after their deaths. Somewhat scarce with legible date.

837 AR ½ dirham, **Crusaders**, posthumous dates, similar S  
When the date is not legible, this type can be distinguished from type #835 by the ornaments above and below the reverse field, pellets, annulets or diamonds of the Crusader type #836, as opposed to floral symbols on type #835. Rare with legible date.

838.1 AE fals, single line main inscriptions, *al-malik al-zahir* on obverse, *bin al-malik al-nasir* on reverse, Halab 589 only R

838.2 AE fals, as last but *al-imam al-nasir* instead of paternal statement on reverse, struck at Halab 588-590 (*sic*) and Hamah 589 S

This is the only copper of al-Zahir Ghazi known from a mint besides Halab. See also #792A for a similar type in the names of al-Nasir (Saladin) and the caliph al-Nasir.

838.3 AE fals, ornamented square, struck at Halab 596-600, but rare with legible date S

838.4 AE fals, octogram, struck 603-612, scarce with legible date C

Six-pointed star copper coins (Balog #681) are contemporary forgeries of silver dirhams.

**al-'Aziz Muhammad, 613-634 / 1216-1236  
(Ghiyath al-Din, b. Ghazi)**

All coins of this ruler were struck at Halab, including the copper fulus lacking the mint name. All silver coins are of the six-pointed star type.

839.1 AR dirham, six-pointed star, caliph al-Nasir and overlord al-'Adil Abu Bakr, struck 614-615 R

839.2 AR dirham, as #839.1, but overlord al-Kamil Muhammad on reverse, dated 616-619 R

839.3 AR dirham, similar, citing the overlord al-Kamil Muhammad, the heir 'Uddat al-Din Abu Nasr Muhammad, and caliph al-Nasir, dated 619-620 RRR

Both obverse & reverse have five lines in area rather than four, also within the six-pointed star.

839.4 AR dirham, overlord al-Kamil Muhammad and caliph al-Mustansir, dated 623-634<sup>242</sup> R

840.1 AR ½ dirham, caliph al-Nasir, no overlord, dated 614-615 (rare with legible date) S

840.2 AR ½ dirham, caliph al-Mustansir, no overlord, known dated 625 and 630 (RR with legible date) S

840A AR ¼ dirham (about 0.7g), no mint or date, with caliph al-Mustansir RRR  
Struck from dies much smaller than the ½ dirham dies.

841.1 AE fals, octalobe type, caliph al-Nasir, known dated 613-622 C

841.2 AE fals, octalobe type, caliph al-Zahir, dated 622-623 R

841.3 AE fals, octalobe type, caliph al-Mustansir, dated 623-624 S

Balog #719 is 624, not 629; the latter date does not exist.

841.4 AE fals, intertwined pair of trilobes, caliph al-Mustansir, always without mint & date C

**al-Nasir Yusuf II, 634-658 / 1236-1259,  
including Dimashq after 648 / 1249  
(Salah al-Din, b. Muhammad)**

Six-pointed star dirhams and fractions were struck only at Halab.

842.1 AR dirham, six-pointed star type, Halab mint, citing al-Kamil Muhammad as overlord and the caliph al-Mustansir, known dated 634 only R

842.2 AR dirham, six-pointed star, citing as overlord the Seljuq of Rum ruler, Kaykhusraw II, and the caliph al-Mustansir, known dated 636-639 C

842.3 AR dirham, six-pointed star, overlord al-Salih Ayyub of Cairo, caliph al-Musta'sim, known dated most years 639-647 S?

The coin dated 639 is a muling of an old 639-dated obverse with a reverse of al-Musta'sim. The overlap of dates between this type and #842.4 is also likely the result of a continued usage of obsolete dies.

842.4 AR dirham, six-pointed star, without overlord, caliph al-Musta'sim, known of all dates 642-656 C

842.5 AR dirham, six-pointed star, no overlord and without mention of caliph, year 658 RR

<sup>242</sup> Dirhams and half dirhams of al-'Aziz Muhammad citing the caliph al-Zahir have not been reported, but copper is known (#841.2).

- 843.1 AR dirham, square-in-circle type, no overlord and caliph al-Musta'sim, struck at Dimashq and Hamah in most years from 648 to 657 C
- 843.2 AR dirham, square-in-circle type, similar, but struck at Halab in 654 only S  
Differs from the Dimashq and Hamah type #843.1 in that the bottom obverse line is always *yusuf bin muhammad*.
- 843.3 AR dirham, square-in-circle type, no overlord and no caliph, struck at Dimashq only in 658 R
- 844.1 AR ½ dirham, six-pointed star type, caliph al-Mustansir, normally undated (RR with date) C
- 844.2 AR ½ dirham, six-pointed star type, caliph al-Musta'sim, normally undated (RR with date) C
- 844.3 AR ½ dirham, square-in-circle type, Dimashq, caliph al-Musta'sim, frequently dated C
- 844.4 AR ½ dirham, square-in-circle type, Dimashq, no caliph, dated only 658 but date rarely visible R  
All 844 types are two-line obverse and reverse legends. Some dirhams and half dirhams of this ruler are now believed to be Crusader imitations, theoretically distinguishable by style, alloy and fabric, occasionally by text layout. However, the criteria for separating purely Ayyubid from Crusader imitations remain to be ascertained.
- 844K AR ½ dirham, various types struck from full dirham dies C  
Very rare with fully legible date. Many of these were probably struck by the Crusaders. Further research necessary.
- 844A AR 1/6 dirham, various types and flans, almost always undated or date off flan R  
Tiny coins, typically 0.4-0.6g, struck from full or half dirham dies. All are probably Crusader imitations.
- 845 AE fals, various types, all believed struck at Halab, usually without mint name, always undated C  
These types, at least ten different ones, have not been adequately studied. Because they are never dated, their order of issuance has not been determined.

#### BRANCH AT DAMASCUS (DIMASHQ)

Only those coins struck in the names of local rulers are listed here. Other Damascus and Syrian issues are in the name of the mainline Ayyubid ruler until 648/1250, thereafter the branch at Aleppo.

#### **al-Afdal 'Ali, 589-592 / 1193-1196 (Nur al-Din, b. Yusuf)**

- 846 AR dirham, octofoil type only R  
Struck at Dimashq and Hims, 589-592.
- 847 AR ½ dirham, similar, but two-line legends inside the octofoil RR  
No copper coins are reported in the name of al-Afdal 'Ali.  
After 'Ali's expulsion in 592/1196, Damascene coins were struck until 635 (and again 636-637) in the name of the Ayyubid ruler in Cairo.

#### **al-Salih Isma'il ('Imad al-Din, b. Abi Bakr) 635 / 1237 and 637-643 / 1239-1245**

All Islamic coins of this reign were struck at Dimashq. The Crusader imitations also bear the mint name Dimashq but were undoubtedly struck elsewhere, probably Acre in Palestine.

- 848.1 AR dirham, square-in-circle type (as are all dirhams of this reign), no overlord, caliph al-Mustansir, dated 635 and 637-640 C
- 848.2 AR dirham, overlord Kaykhusraw II and caliph al-Mustansir, dated 640 only R
- 848.3 AR dirham, overlord as last (Kaykhusraw II), caliph al-Musta'sim, dated 640 only R
- 848.4 AR dirham, uncertain overlord, with the caliph al-Musta'sim, dated 641 only RRR  
The overlord is merely named *al-sultan al-a'zam*, which is probably a vague reference to the Seljuq Kaykhusraw II.

- 848.5 AR dirham, overlord Najm al-Din Ayyub, caliph al-Musta'sim, dated 641 only R  
Najm al-Din Ayyub's titlature fills the obverse square as on his own normal dirhams. The name *al-malik al-salih isma'il* appears below the caliph within the reverse square. This type is often assigned to Ayyub as vassal of Isma'il, which is incorrect.
- 848.6 AR dirham, no overlord, caliph al-Musta'sim, dated 641-643 C
- 849.1 AR dirham, **Crusader** imitation with Hijri date, usually 641 but known at least as late as 648 C  
Only the year 641 is common. Years 642 and 643 are occasionally found, all later dates very rare. See note to #849.2.
- 849.2 AR dirham, **Crusader** imitation with Christian year 1253, written out in Arabic words R  
Coins of Isma'il were copiously imitated by the Crusaders. The Crusader copies are distinguished by calligraphy, style, date, or inscription. For example, most bear the short legend *bism Allah al-rahman al-rahim* in lieu of the full kalima in the reverse margin. They have not yet been systematically studied. There are many varieties, most of which are very common. In general, they bear either the Hijri dates 641-648 (#849.1) or the Christian year 1253 (#849.2), but always retain the name of the deceased caliph al-Mustansir. True issues of Isma'il dated 641 and later bear the name of the then current caliph al-Musta'sim. It is possible that the alloy of the Crusader imitations contains somewhat more copper than the standard Ayyubid pieces. Further reference needed.
- 850.1 AR ½ dirham, caliph al-Mustansir, as #848.1, dated 637-640 R  
See note to #825.1. Type 850.1 can only be assigned to Isma'il if the date is legible, or by die-link.
- 850.2 AR ½ dirham, caliph al-Musta'sim C  
This type with this caliph was not struck by Ayyub, so can be assigned to Isma'il even when date is illegible. Known dated 641 and 642 (very rare with readable date).
- 850A AR ½ dirham, **Crusader** imitation with Hijri date, type as #849.1 R
- 850B AR ½ dirham, **Crusader** imitation with Christian year 1253, usually only partly visible RR  
No copper coins are known in the name of Isma'il.

#### BRANCH AT HAMAH

Korn, Lorenz, *Sylloge Numorum Arabicorum Tübingen*, Vol. IVc: Hamah, Tübingen 1998.

#### **al-Mansur Muhammad I (b. 'Umar, Nasir al-Din), 587-617 / 1191-1220**

- 851 AE dirham (*sic*), seated cross-legged figure, mint of Harran, known dated 587 and 589<sup>243</sup> RR  
The title and name of al-Mansur Muhammad appear in the obverse marginal legend, often off flan or illegible. The reverse cites al-Nasir Yusuf I (Saladin) in the central square (date & mint around), and for that reason, this type is often misattributed to Saladin alone.
- 852.1 AE fals, without overlord, caliph al-Nasir, known only from Hamah dated 589 RR
- 852.2 AE fals, with overlord al-Zahir Ghazi, caliph al-Nasir, struck at Hamah and Manbij, undated S
- 852.3 AE fals, with overlord al-'Aziz 'Uthman, caliph al-Nasir, struck at Hamah and Manbij, undated S  
No coinage was produced at Hamah during the reign of al-Nasir Qilij Arslan, the Ayyubid ruler at Hamah 617-626, neither in his name or in any other name.
- al-Muzaffar II Mahmud, 626-642 / 1228-1244  
(Taqi al-Din, b. Muhammad I)**
- A853 AR dirham, known only from Hamah 636 RRR  
Citing al-Salih Ayyub as overlord and the caliph al-Mustansir.

<sup>243</sup> It is possible that "589" is actually a careless engraving or misreading of "587" (Balog-832, correctly attributed).



853	AE fals, citing al-Nasir Yusuf II as overlord, without caliph, no mint or date. Style and text arrangement as #855.	R		<b>al-Kamil Nasir al-Dawla Muhammad II</b> <b>(b. Ghazi, Nasir al-Din), 642-658 / 1244-1259</b>
	<b>al-Mansur Muhammad II, 642-683 / 1244-1284</b> <b>(Sayf al-Din<sup>244</sup>, b. Mahmud)</b>		N861	AR dirham, double trefoil, without overlord or caliph, struck at Mayyafariqin, without name of caliph, known dated 657 <sup>246</sup> RRR
854.1	AR dirham, as vassal of the Mamluk ruler, al-Muzaffar Qutuz, struck at Hamah, dated 658	RRR	861.1	AE fals, vassal of the Rum Seljuq Kayka'us II, struck at Mayyafariqin, several types, date unknown (probably dated) RR
854.2	AR dirham, similar, but as vassal of the Mamluk ruler al-Zahir Baybars, struck at Hamah, known only with date missing (can only be 658 or 659)	RRR	861.2	AE fals, vassal of al-Salih Ayyub, Mayyafariqin 647 RR?
855.1	AE fals, as vassal of al-Salih Ayyub	S	861.3	AE fals, no overlord, with title <i>al-sultan al-malik</i> , without caliph, Mayyafariqin mint, known dated 656 (rarely legible) R
855.3	AE fals, as vassal of al-Mu'azzam Turanshah	RRR		<b>BRANCH AT HISN KAYFA (HASANKEYF)</b> The chronology of the 9 <sup>th</sup> /15 <sup>th</sup> century Ayyubids of Hisn Kayfa is poorly understood. Coins assigned by Balog to a hypothetical al-Kamil Khalil II (Balog-923/926) are full tankas of Khalil b. Ahmad (type #866.1).
855.2	AE fals, as vassal of al-Nasir Yusuf II The three subtypes of #855 are all without mint or date, <i>al-malik / al-mansur</i> on obverse, <i>al-malik / al-salih</i> on reverse for #855.1 (struck circa 642-647), <i>al-malik / al-mu'azzam</i> for #855.3 (circa 647-648), <i>al-malik / al-nasir</i> for #855.2 (circa 648-658), with no additional inscriptions.	S		<b>al-Muwahhid 'Abd Allah (Taqi al-Din), 647-659 / 1249-1260</b>
	<b>BRANCH AT MAYYAFARIQIN &amp; SINJAR</b>		862.1	AR dirham, hexagram type, 'Abd Allah's name within the hexagram, citing Hulagu, struck at Hisn and Si'ird R
	<b>al-Awhad Ayyub (Najm al-Din), 596-607 / 1199-1210</b>		862.2	AR dirham, central circle type, 'Abd Allah's name in obverse margin, struck at Mayyafariqin RRR Except for the addition of the name 'Abd Allah either in the margin or below the reverse field (below the kalima), this type is identical to Hulagu's ordinary type #2122.2.
A856	AR dirham, citing al-'Adil Abu Bakr as overlord, struck at Ahlat Double-intertwined type as #803. Known dated 608.	RRR	863	AE fals RR
856.1	AE dirham, facing bust, plain circle reverse, struck at Mayyafariqin 599-602	C		<b>al-Kamil Abu Bakr, 659-682 / 1260-1283</b>
856.2	AE dirham, as last but hexagram reverse, struck at Mayyafariqin in 605	C	A864	AE fals, without mint & date, citing the Ilkhan Hulagu as overlord on the obverse, Abu Bakr beneath the kalima on reverse RRR
	<b>al-Ashraf Musa (Muzaffar al-Din), 607-617 / 1210-1220 (later at Damascus<sup>245</sup>)</b>			<b>al-'Adil Sulayman b. Ghazi, 780-828 / 1378-1424</b> Coinage after 813 only. Tankas issued under the authority of this ruler in the time of Timur are normal Timurid issues.
857.1	AR dirham, six-pointed star type, citing al-'Adil Abu Bakr as overlord (on obverse), struck only at Ahlat in 615	RRR	864.1	AR tanka (about 4.30g), Hisn mint, known dated 813, 826 and 828 R
857.2	AR dirham, as last but overlord al-Kamil Muhammad (on reverse), struck at Ahlat in 617	RR	864.2	AR reduced tanka, struck only at Khizan, about 3.3-3.4 grams, undated RR This is the only Ayyubid type known from Khizan. All later coins of this dynastic branch were struck at Hisn when known (= Hisn Kayfa, modern name Hasankeyf).
857A	AR dirham, square-in-circle type, citing al-Kamil as overlord, struck at Harran in 617 & 618	RR	864A	AR akçe (double dirham to old Mardin standard, about 1.0-1.1g), design as #2257 of the Ilkhan Sulayman RRR Known dated 816-817 only, mint of Hisn.
858.1	AR ½ dirham, six-pointed star type, as #857.1	RRR		<b>al-Ashraf Ahmad b. Sulayman, 828-836 / 1424-1432</b>
858.2	AR ½ dirham, square-in-circle, as type #857A, known only from Harran 618	RRR	865	AR tanka (4.30g), mint or Hisn, undated RR
859.1	AE dirham, seated figure holding orb obverse, ornamented triangle reverse, dated 608 & 612 Without mint name, but struck at Mayyafariqin.	C	865A	AE fals, hexagram reverse, very crudely struck RRR
859.2	AE dirham, similar obverse but reverse in plain circle, struck at Sinjar in 615 and 617 with overlord al-Kamil Muhammad of Egypt	S		<b>al-Kamil Khalil b. Ahmad, 836-852 / 1432-1449</b>
	<b>al-Muzaffar Ghazi (b. al-'Adil Abu Bakr, Shihab al-Din), 617-642 / 1220-1242</b>		866.1	AR tanka (4.30g), believed to be always undated, several design variations R
860	AE fals, inscriptional types only, numerous subtypes One type is from Khilat with date 618 (RR), the rest from Mayyafariqin dated between 618 and 641, though rarely found with legible dates. At present, the chronology of at least seven types cannot be determined.	S	866.2	AR reduced tanka (about 2.0-2.1g), obverse square within a square RR
			866.3	AR reduced tanka (about 1.50g), obverse in lobated square RR The relationship between these three types and their chronology is unknown.

<sup>244</sup> On types #854.1 and 854.2, Muhammad II took the *laqab* Nasir al-Din, perhaps to distinguish himself from Qutuz, who was also known as Sayf al-Din. From some time in 659 onwards all coins of Hamah cite only the Mamluk ruler.

<sup>245</sup> al-Ashraf Musa ruled in Damascus 626-635 / 1229-1237, but all coins struck during that period in Damascus bear only the name of al-Kamil Muhammad I, together with the caliph.

<sup>246</sup> Published by Lutz Ilisch, "Mayyafariqin 657 H." *Münstersche Numismatische Zeitung*, XIII (1983), part 3, pp. 33-34. The obverse field names the four Rashidun in the upper half of the obverse field, the Ayyubid ruler below. Citing the Rashidun would confirm that al-Kamil Muhammad was indeed a sunni, after the demise of the 'Abbasid caliphate in 656.

### al-'Adil Khalaf b. Muhammad, fl. 866 / 1461

- 867 AR tanka, several types, about 2.0-2.1g RR
- al-Zahir Khalil, fl. 910s / 1500s+**
- 867N AR tanka (about 4.55g), mint of al-Hisn (obverse in plain circle, reverse in square) R
- 867P AR tanka, (about 4.25g), mint of al-Hisn (obverse with ruler's name in central square, reverse in octofoil) S
- 867Q AR ½ tanka (about 2.13g), type as #867P RR

The three types of al-Zahir Khalil are from a recent hoard that reached the market late in 2002, with a total of about 150 pieces. Examples with legible mint name are extremely rare. Type 867N was probably struck circa 910-915, 867P & 867Q immediately thereafter. The ruler Khalil is mentioned in the *Sharafnama* chronicle (pp. 531-32, 561), but without his dynastic connection. His relationship to the Ayyubids seems reasonable but remains hypothetical.<sup>247</sup>

## CRUSADERS

Malloy, Alex G., Preston, Irene F., & Seltman, Arthur J., *Coins of the Crusader States*, South Salem NY 1994. Gold coins in Arabic are listed on pp. 115-126 (by A.A. Gordus & D.M. Metcalf), silver pp. 133-140 (by Michael Bates & Irene F. Preston).

Metcalf, D.M., *Coinage of the Crusades and the Latin East in the Ashmolean Museum*, RNS Special Publication No. 15, London 1983.

*The Crusader states in Tripoli and Acre produced imitations of Fatimid gold and Ayyubid silver coins. These are listed here together with their prototypes, as follows:*

### Gold coins:

Fatimid style bezants, types #720, 720A & 720B (al-Mustansir) and 730 (al-Amir). There are also some rare Ayyubid style bezants, types #785.3 and 786 (al-Nasir Yusuf I, i.e., Saladin).

### Silver coins:

Ayyubid style, types #823C (al-Salih Ayyub), 836 & 837 (al-Zahir Ghazi), 849.1, 849.2, 850A & 850B (al-Salih Isma'il).

Additional silver issues in the name of the Ayyubids exist, including al-Nasir Yusuf I, al-Kamil Muhammad, and al-Nasir Yusuf II, tentatively struck by the Crusaders, noted in the Ayyubid listings above.

(Purely Christian types were struck in gold & silver, dated AD 1251-1258, struck at 'Akka, i.e., Acre, with the mint & date written out in Arabic. These are not listed here.)

## MAMLUK

Balog, Paul, *The Coinage of the Mamluk Sultans of Egypt and Syria* (ANS Numismatic Studies #12), New York, 1964.

Balog, Paul, "Supplement", *ANS Museum Notes*, 16 (1970), pp. 113-171.

Heidemann, Stefan, *Der Aleppiner Kalifat*, Leiden 1994, a masterful study of coinage in the central Islamic lands from roughly 654-665 / 1256-1267 and a superb model for future investigations.

Since the publication of Balog's work, there have appeared many specialized articles, in which hundreds of previously unpublished coins have been described. A few known types have been reattributed. Balog's catalog and supplement are strong for gold & copper, weak for silver, and unfortunately now quite obsolete due to the vast amount of subsequently discovered material, in all three metals, but especially silver.

*The Mamluks, or "Slave Kings", ruled Egypt and Syria for 250 years.<sup>248</sup> The dynasty is traditionally divided into two parts, the Bahri, who ruled 648-792 / 1250-1390, and the Burji or Circassian, who ruled 783-922 / 1382-1517 (overlap due to the 2<sup>nd</sup> appointment of Hajji II, 791-793). Whereas the Bahri rulers allowed hereditary succession, the Burji rulers were chosen by*

*the military leadership, who selected candidates from amongst its own ranks and eschewed hereditary succession.*

*The term Bahri, "of the sea", refers to the island fortress within the Nile River, whereas Burji, "of the tower" refers to the inland citadel used as their principal fortress.*

*Coinage was voluminously produced in all three metals. Coinage in each metal underwent radical changes over the 250 years of Mamluk rule, but only the barest outlines of that development are limned here.*

*Until the reforms of Barsbay, most gold coins were struck to random weights and traded by weight. These are technically known as ingot dinars. Their weights vary from less than 3g to 15g, with exceptional specimens hunks of gold surpassing 18g. After about 824/1421 most issues were struck to the same standard as the Venetian ducat and are known as ashrafis, stemming from the laqab of Barsbay, al-Malik al-Ashraf (about 3.42g, thus somewhat lighter than the traditional European ducats). The weight and purity of the ashrafi were generally carefully maintained, though during the reign of Qansuh II, the alloy was often debased. Thus all Mamluk gold coins are of the highest purity, except for those of the last two rulers, Qansuh al-Ghuri and Tumanbay II.<sup>249</sup>*

*Silver coins were struck from alloyed metal (most often about 2/3 fine) until the introduction of a pure silver coinage during the interlude of al-Musta'in in 815 / 1411-1412, whose dirhams were struck to a standard of about 2.8 grams (thus somewhat lighter than the canonical dirham of 2.97g). The weight standard was subsequently gradually lowered, as noted in the listings, falling to slightly over one gram by the end of the dynasty. In general the post-815 silver coins retain a high degree of purity, though some later issues of Qansuh al-Ghuri exhibit some modest debasement of the silver content. In nearly all periods, silver seems to have circulated far more widely in Syria than in Egypt.*

*Copper coinage was an important component of Mamluk coinage until about 808/1405, particularly during the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Copper was little used from 808 until well after the accession of Qa'itbay in 873/1468, whereafter it again became common, though almost exclusively in Egypt. Balog has examined the remarkable use of heraldry on Mamluk coppers, though quite a few more heraldic types have subsequently been discovered.*

*The Mamluks operated just eight mints during their 275 years of rule.*

*The six principal mints are al-Qahira (Cairo) and al-Iskandariya (Alexandria, closed after death of Shaykh in 824) in Egypt, together with Dimashq, Hamah, Halab and Tarabulus in greater Syria. These six mints struck coins in all three metals, though not for every period (gold coins of Tarabulus & Hamah, as well as silver coins of al-Iskandariya, are very rare). The other two temporary mints are Ladhikiya in Syria (730s-770s, RR) and at Malatya in Anatolia (780s-790s, RRR). In addition, some rare coins were struck by various Anatolian rulers in the name of one or another Mamluk ruler, often with mint name and/or date. Though properly regarded as coins of the various Anatolian beyliks, they are categorized under the Mamluks for the sake of convention and convenience.<sup>250</sup>*

*Ingot style gold dinars are generally tolerably struck, often showing either mint or date, but usually with some weakness, especially on heavier examples. For some reigns, specimens struck with full mint and date are relatively scarce, frequently when the mint is at the top of the obverse, the date at the bottom. After the introduction of the ashrafi by Barsbay, relatively few gold coins reveal the mint the date, as the planchets became narrower than the dies and increasingly thick. However, many can be assigned to a specific mint by epigraphy, layout, and die-link. Most of the ashrafis are undated.*

<sup>247</sup> Coins of this al-Zahir Khalil have occasionally been misidentified as issues of the Aq Qoyunlu ruler Khalil (e.g., Zeno-44925 & 44926).

<sup>248</sup> The Arabic word *mamluk* means "slave," and refers to the theory that the Mamluks should be purchased as young boys, technically as slaves, and trained for various duties in service to the ruling establishment. Some would eventually be elected to the office of sultan. Most of the Mamluks were imported from Russia and the Central Asian steppes. In practice, however, most of the Mamluk sultans, especially during the Bahri period, were the sons or brothers of previous sultans.

<sup>249</sup> The purity of some gold ashrafis of Qa'itbay (873-901) and his short-term successors before Qansuh al-Ghuri has recently been questioned. No analysis has been done to determine the average fineness of these later Mamluk rulers.

<sup>250</sup> Since the late 1990s many Turkish collectors and scholars have been researching the beylik coinage, including those in the name of the Ilkhans or the Mamluks, and are gradually publishing their research. I intend some day to redirect these coins to their appropriate beyliks, only the important Turkish research has been fully published.

The silver coinage of the early and middle periods, produced until the introduction of the fine silver mu'ayyidi dirhams by Shaykh, is usually weakly and carelessly struck, and commonly found in worn condition. Fully legible specimens are rare, especially for the 14<sup>th</sup> century. In general, silver coins with full mint & date command a substantial premium. Nonetheless, because each mint utilized a distinctive style for its silver coins, it should be possible to assign nearly all specimens to the appropriate mint once a thorough corpus is published.

Prior to the reforms of al-Musta'in in 815, both full dirhams and fractions were regularly struck, both with significant variation in the weights of individual specimens. See the description of these two denominations following the listing for #884.

For gold and silver coins of the Mamluks, I have defined the side with the ruler's name and titles as the obverse, the religious side as the reverse. The mint and date can appear on either side, sometimes divided between the two. Coins of Shajar al-Durr and Aybak, as well as some issues of Qutuz and Baybars I, cite the 'Abbasid caliph, always on the reverse.

The copper fulus were generally better produced than the silver, at least before 815/1412. Many are found overstruck on earlier types. A careful study of these overstrikes should eventually permit a reliable sequencing of the many undated issues.

The Mamluk rulers are listed here by their personal names, together with their additional titles, usually three different ones, one in the form *al-malik al-X*, another normally in the form *Y al-dunya wa'l-din*, and the third, the kunya, in the form of *abu Z*. As these titles frequently appear on the coinage, they are noted in parentheses after each name. Since many Mamluk coins were struck from dies rather larger than the flan, not all names & titles are visible on every specimen. Beginning with the reign of Barsbay (825-841), the formula *Y al-dunya wa'l-din* title was no longer cited on the coinage. Coins of some rulers cite the name or titles of their father, commonly in the Bahri period, only by Muhammad IV in the Burji period.

The first few Mamluk rulers adopted only the title *al-malik* until Baybars I extended his claim to *al-sultan al-malik* in 659, thereafter used by all his successors.

#### **BAHRI MAMLUK**

##### **Shajar al-Durr, Queen, 648 / 1250**

Her name is never mentioned on the coins, but her issues can be easily determined by the feminine titulature, of which *validat al-malik al-mansur* appears on both gold & silver coinage.

The gold coins also bear the title *malkat al-muslimin*, "Queen of the Muslims".

Coins of Shajar al-Durr are exceedingly rare and should be considered uncollectible. None have appeared at auction or on fixed price lists in recent decades (except for a few misattributed!), none are illustrated in Zeno.

- |     |                            |     |
|-----|----------------------------|-----|
| 868 | AV dinar                   | RRR |
| 869 | AR nuqra (globular dirham) | RRR |

##### **Aybak, 648-655 / 1250-1257 (al-Mu'izz 'Izz al-Din)**

For coins of Aybak struck before 652 in the name of the Ayyubid scion al-Ashraf Musa 649-651 (types #831-833) and of the deceased Ayyubid ruler al-Salih Ayyub in 652 (type #U823). His later gold & silver coins, struck 652-655, also cite the deceased Ayyubid al-Salih Ayyub as his theoretical overlord above his own simple name *aybak*.

All silver coins of Aybak, 'Ali I and Qutuz were struck only at al-Qahira, gold of each struck at al-Qahira and al-Iskandariya. Both gold & silver of these three reigns bear the kalima in the obverse margin (ruler side), the mint & date in the reverse margin (Imam side).

- |     |                                  |    |
|-----|----------------------------------|----|
| 870 | AV dinar, in his name            | RR |
| 871 | AR dirham, square-in-circle type | R  |
| 872 | AR ½ dirham, similar             | RR |

##### **'Ali I, 655-657 / 1257-1259 (al-Mansur Nur al-Din, b. Aybak)**

Coins of 'Ali and his successors no longer cite an Ayyubid or any other overlord.

- |       |  |   |
|-------|--|---|
| 873   | AV dinar   | R |
| 874.1 | AR dirham, square-in-circle type, citing the 'Abbasid caliph al-Musta'sim, dated 655-656 | S |
| 874.2 | AR dirham, as last but without the caliph, dated 657 only                                | R |

- |       |   |    |
|-------|---|----|
| 875.1 | AR ½ dirham, similar to the full dirham, citing the caliph al-Musta'sim | RR |
|-------|---|----|

- |       |   |    |
|-------|---|----|
| 875.2 | AR ½ dirham, as last but without the caliph | RR |
|-------|---|----|

##### **Qutuz, 657-658 / 1259-1260 (al-Muzaffar Sayf al-Din)**

See #854.1 for an Ayyubid dirham of the Hamah branch recognizing Qutuz as overlord.

- |     |   |    |
|-----|---|----|
| 876 | AV dinar                                | RR |
| 877 | AR dirham, square-in-circle type        | S  |
| 878 | AR ½ dirham, similar to the full dirham | RR |
| 879 | AE fals                                 | R  |

Struck at al-Qahira and Halab. On the Halab issue, Qutuz is styled *fatih bilad al-islam*, "conqueror of the lands of Islam".

##### **Baybars I, 658-676 / 1260-1277 (al-Zahir Rukn al-Din)**

Most dinars and dirhams of Baybars I depict a lion beneath the obverse legend. The lion was the heraldic symbol of Baybars I, and appears on other objects manufactured for the court during his reign.

See #854.2 for an Ayyubid dirham of the Hamah branch citing Baybars as overlord.

- |     |          |   |
|-----|----------|---|
| 880 | AV dinar | S |
|-----|----------|---|
- Struck at al-Qahira, al-Iskandariya (R) and Dimashq (RRR).

- |      |   |     |
|------|---|-----|
| Q881 | AR dirham, square-in-circle Ayyubid style, without lion, al-Qahira 658 only (Balog 39A) | RRR |
|------|---|-----|
- See also M886 for a similar coin also citing 'Alam al-Din Sinjar.

- |     |  |     |
|-----|--|-----|
| 881 | AR dirham, square-in-circle Ayyubid style, with lion | RRR |
|-----|--|-----|
- Struck only at Damascus in 659 (Heidemann #9), with lion facing left in the lower left corner the of obverse square.

- |     |   |    |
|-----|---|----|
| 882 | AR dirham, lion & royal inscription within octofoil | RR |
|-----|---|----|
- Struck only at Aleppo in 659, citing the locally appointed 'Abbasid caliph al-Hakim II, issued by the local governor, Aqqush al-Burli. Always weakly struck.

- |      |   |     |
|------|---|-----|
| 882H | AR dirham, lion within circle at reverse center, royal text on obverse, part of Qur'an 9:33 in reverse margin (Balog-39/40) | RRR |
|------|---|-----|
- Always without mint & date. The lion faces either right or left. The reverse design resembles the later trams of the Armenian king, Hetoum I, without cross.

- |     |   |   |
|-----|---|---|
| 883 | AR dirham, plain circle, lion below obverse | C |
|-----|---|---|
- Well-struck examples of this type & type #884 are remarkably scarce. See note after #884.  
Dirhams of Dimashq 665-669 also bear the month.

- |     |                               |   |
|-----|-------------------------------|---|
| 884 | AR fractional dirham, similar | C |
|-----|-------------------------------|---|

From this issue onward, until the end of Faraj's reign in 815/1412, the theoretical weight of the dirham was just under 3 grams, but actual specimens vary from about 2 to more than 4 grams. The fractions are even more variable, from less than 0.5g to more than 2 grams. While they tend towards the theoretical half dirham weight of about 1.5g, the weight and size variation is so great that it is more sensible to regard them generically as fractional dirhams. The full dirham is usually round and about 20-22mm broad. The fractions are either round, squarish, oblong or irregularly shaped<sup>251</sup>, but noticeably narrower and thicker than the full dirham, thus readily distinguished in most cases.

Over the past several decades, many hoards of Mamluk silver coins of this period have entered the market, some containing thousands of specimens. All these hoards contain a mishmash of full dirhams and fractions, and generally contain examples of most Mamluk rulers commencing with Baybars I, even hoards as late as the reign of Faraj, nearly 150 years later.

The silver alloy was generally 2/3 pure during this period (until the nominal Musta'in in 815 Hijri). Coins were presumably weighed, rather than counted. The irregular weights of the fractions enabled precise payments in silver coins.

<sup>251</sup> Full dirhams were usually struck on round planchets, either punched out from a large thin plate or from a hammered globule. The squarish and rectangular fractional planchets were chopped out of a long thick wire, then struck either immediately or after the blank was roughly hammered down. This wire method is strongly suggested by the occasional fractional dirham shaped somewhat like a teardrop, whose point represents the end of the wire (e.g., Zeno-66627 of Hajji II).

	Dirhams and fractions from the time of Baybars to the mid 8 <sup>th</sup> /14 <sup>th</sup> century are occasionally found struck in very low-silver alloy with a blackish color, but apparently from official dies. These may have been illegal issues of the official mints or counterfeits made privately from stolen dies. They are not rare for Baybars I, Qala'un, and above all, for Muhammad I.			
884Q	AR fractional dirham, square-in-circle, similar to type #881, lion in lower left corner of square	RRR		
885	AE fals, mostly with lion, many subtypes	C		
	<b>Sinjar, rebel at Damascus, 658-659 / 1260-1261</b> (Al-Mujahid 'Alam al-Din),			
M886	AR dirham, citing Baybars as overlord Square-in-circle both sides, Dimashq 658 and 659.	RRR		
	<b>Baraka Qan, 676-678 / 1277-1279</b> (al-Sa'id Nasir al-Din, b. Baybars)			
	All gold and silver coins of Baraka Qan retain the lion below the obverse field, as with Baybars, thereafter abandoned.			
886	AV dinar	RR		
887	AR dirham	S		
888	AR fractional dirham	R		
	<b>Salamish, 678 / 1279 (al-'Adil Badr al-Din, b. Baybars)</b>			
889	AR dirham, both al-Qahira & Dimashq	R		
890	AR fractional dirham	RRR		
	<b>Sunqur, Muharram to Rabi' I 679 / 1280,</b> <b>rebel in Syria (al-Kamil Shams al-Din)</b>			
891	AR dirham, Dimashq only	RRR		
892	AE fals, known from Dimashq & Hamah, normally dated (679 only)	RRR		
	<b>Qala'un, 678-689 / 1279-1290</b> (al-Mansur Sayf al-Din al-Salihi)			
893	AV dinar	S		
894	AR dirham	C		
895	AR fractional dirham	S		
896	AE fals	S		
	<b>Khalil, 689-693 / 1290-1293</b> (al-Ashraf Salah al-Din, b. Qala'un)			
897	AV dinar Many of Khalil's gold & silver coins bear the additional titles <i>nasir al-milla al-muhammadiya</i> & <i>muhyi al-dawla al-'abbasiya</i> ("succour for the Muhammadan community" and "reviver of the 'Abbasid dynasty").	S		
898	AR dirham	S		
899	AR fractional dirham	R		
900	AE fals	R		
	<b>Muhammad I, 1<sup>st</sup> reign, 693-694 / 1293-1294</b> (al-Nasir Nasir al-Din, b. Qala'un)			
	These titles were used in all three of his reigns. Coins of Muhammad's first reign should theoretically be recognized by style (all metals), currently only with difficulty, as too few specimens of the various types of this ruler have been published with illustrations. <sup>252</sup>			
901	AV dinar	RRR		
902	AR dirham No fractional dirhams have yet been assigned to this reign. A peculiar dirham of Muhammad, struck at Dimashq in 696, does not represent another short reign but is presumably a muling of an old obverse die of Muhammad with a dated reverse die of either Kitbugha or Lajin (RR).	R		
903	AE fals Believed struck at Damascus, the only copper coin in his name bearing the chalice on the obverse.			RR
	<b>Kitbugha, 694-696 / 1294-1296</b> (al-'Adil Zayn al-Din, al-Mansuri)			
	On some of his gold and silver coins, Kitbugha also bears the title <i>nasir al-milla al-muhammadiya</i> ("succour for the Muhammadan community"). His silver and gold coins struck at al-Qahira bear his <i>nisba</i> al-Mansuri.			
904	AV dinar			R
905	AR dirham			S
906	AR fractional dirham			R
907	AE fals, sometimes with chalice			R
	<b>Lajin, 696-698 / 1296-1299</b> (al-Mansur Husam al-Din, al-Mansuri)			
	Some gold & silver coins of Lajin bear his <i>kunya</i> Abu'l-Fath or an additional title <i>nasir al-milla al-muhammadiya</i> , the former probably only at al-Qahira, the latter only at Dimashq.			
908	AV dinar			S
909	AR dirham			S
910	AR fractional dirham			R
911	AE fals			R
	<b>Muhammad I, 2<sup>nd</sup> reign, 698-708 / 1299-1309</b> Same titles as first reign. Eventual publication of sufficient gold and silver coins of the 2 <sup>nd</sup> and 3 <sup>rd</sup> reigns should facilitate their distinction by reign, currently enigmatic unless at least a partial date is showing, or by die-link. Unfortunately, coins of the second reign are usually badly struck and rarely show the date.			
912	AV dinar			S
913	AR dirham			S
914	AR fractional dirham			R
915	AE fals Reign distinctions for his copper coins noted under type #922.			R
	<b>Baybars II, 708-709 / 1309-1310</b> (al-Muzaffar Rukn al-Din, al-Mansuri)			
916	AR dirham			R
917	AR fractional dirham			RRR
918	AE fals			S
	<b>Muhammad I, 3<sup>rd</sup> reign, 709-741 / 1310-1341</b> Same titles as first reign.			
919	AV dinar			C
920	AR dirham Struck at mints in Syria & Egypt, principally Halab, Dimashq and al-Qahira. See #923 for types struck at Anatolian mints. Normal dirhams with full mint and date are relatively scarce. Truly well-struck examples are essentially unknown. Examples similar to #920 and #921 but struck in severely debased silver, approximately 25% silver or less, ostensibly from official dies, are now listed separately as #920A and #921A. This group was known contemporarily as <i>dirham aswad</i> , "black dirham".			C
920A	BI "black dirham", as last but heavily debased silver			S
921	AR fractional dirham			R
921A	BI "black fractional dirham", as last but heavily debased silver			R
A922	AR dirham, as #920 but overstruck on takvorins of Cilician Armenia Host coins are issues of Levon III (1301-1307), Oshin (1308-1320) and Levon IV (1320-1342).			S
922	AE fals There are at least 60 copper types for his 2 <sup>nd</sup> and 3 <sup>rd</sup> reigns, including numerous unpublished types. Unless dated, many of			C

<sup>252</sup> For the mint of Hamah, see SNAT IVc, as listed for the Ayyubids. For al-Qahira, see Balog-154B for the gold dinar, 154C for the silver dirham, both clearly dated 693, both illustrated.

this types cannot be assigned to one of the two reigns. Pictorial and some geometric types are regarded as heraldic types and occur in considerable variety during this and later reigns.

Anatolian types in his name:

- 923.1 AR dirham, struck only at Antalya by the beys of Hamit, normally undated RR
- 923.2 AR dirham, struck at 'Ala'iya (Alanya) by the local beys, often dated (710s & 720s) R  
Sometimes countermarked at the city of Akşehir with just the name of the city.
- 923.3 AR dirham, Silifke and Pazarcik mints, style derived from the normal double dirham of the İlkhan ruler Jihan Timur (#2247) RRR
- 923.4 AR 2 dirhams, unknown mint (perhaps Kayseri), dated 740 RRR  
This remarkable type was struck by the Eretnid ruler Eretna before he introduced his own coinage in 742.<sup>253</sup>
- 923.5 AR dirham or fraction, various Anatolian types RR

**Abu Bakr, 741-742 / 1341  
(al-Mansur Sayf al-Din, b. Muhammad)**

- 924 AV dinar RRR
- 925 AR dirham RR
- 926.1 AE fals, anonymous S  
The fulus of Damascus & Aleppo are anonymous and assigned to this reign by their date (741 or 742). Some anonymous fulus dated 742 could have been struck for Kujuk or Ahmad I as well, but are conventionally ascribed to Abu Bakr.

- 926.2 AE fals, with the ruler's title al-Mansur, Tarabulus mint only RRR  
**Kujuk, 742 / 1341-1342 (al-Ashraf 'Ala al-Din)**

- 927 AV dinar RRR
- 928 AR dirham RR  
Anonymous copper coins dated 742 are conventionally assigned to Abu Bakr, but could as well have been struck by Kujuk or Ahmad I. No known coppers bear Kujuk's name or titles.

**Ahmad I, 742-743 / 1342  
(al-Nasir Shihab al-Din, b. Muhammad)**

- 929 AV dinar RRR
- 930 AR dirham RR
- 931 AE fals S  
The fulus of this reign, like those of Abu Bakr, are anonymous and assigned by date, only 743 for this ruler.

**Anonymous, circa 741-743 / 1341-1342**

- 931H AE fals, Hamah mint, undated C  
Inscribed *duriba* on obverse, *bi-hamah* on reverse (SNAT 398ff.).

**Isma'il, 743-746 / 1342-1345  
(al-Salih 'Imad al-Din, b. Muhammad)**

- 932 AV dinar S
- 933 AR dirham S
- 934 AR fractional dirham R
- 935 AE fals C  
The issue of Hamah 744 is fully anonymous, lion right on reverse. From this reign onwards, virtually all fulus bear either the name or the title of the ruler, often both.

**Sha'ban I, 746-747 / 1345-1346  
(al-Kamil Sayf al-Din, b. Muhammad)**

- 936 AV dinar R
- 937 AR dirham R
- 938 AR fractional dirham RR

- 939 AE fals S

**Hajji I, 747-748 / 1346-1347  
(al-Muzaffar Sayf al-Din, b. Muhammad)**

- 940 AV dinar R
- 941 AR dirham R  
Dirhams and dinars of Dimashq of this reign normally bear the month as well as the year of issue. A few very rare dirhams of Hamah dated 746 present the ruler's name as *amir hajji*.
- 942 AR fractional dirham RR
- 943 AE fals S

**Hasan, 748-752 / 1347-1351 and 755-762 / 1354-1361  
(al-Nasir Nasir al-Din Abu'l-Mahasin, b. Muhammad)**

Coins of the two reigns of types #944-947 can only be distinguished when legibly dated or appropriately die-linked. Given the present state of research, undated coins can seldom be assigned to one of the two reigns.

- 944 AV dinar C
- 945 AR dirham S
- 946 AR fractional dirham R
- 947 AE fals, Syrian types C
- 947E AE fals, Egyptian type, introduced in 759, struck only at al-Qahira R  
Broad flan, obverse has ruler's name & titles, all in a dodekalobe, reverse has mint & date, within an octogram. Always dated in words, but often illegible on poorly struck or badly worn examples. This special type continued until 807 under Faraj, usually dated, but later examples are carelessly struck.

Anatolian types in his name:

- 948.1 AR akçe (or double dirham), struck at Amid by the local Artuqid ruler (struck 759-760) R  
Weight standard about 1.2g. Designs similar to contemporary Artuqid issues (#1839), with inscriptions in coarse calligraphy, with the ruler called merely *al-sultan al-malik al-nasir* and pseudodated AH749 (as were many regular Artuqid akçes). Weakly struck, and normally found heavily worn. The mint name is only rarely indicated (below obverse field). This attribution is confirmed by type #948.2.

- 948.2 AR akçe (or double dirham), struck at Mardin, known dated 760 RR  
Same design & weight as #948.1, but fine calligraphy, ruler's name *al-sultan al-malik al-nasir nasir al-dunya wa'l-din hasan bin muhammad*.

**Salih, 752-755 / 1351-1354  
(al-Salih Salah al-Din, b. Muhammad)**

- 949 AV dinar RR
- 950 AR dirham RR
- 951 AE fals C

**Muhammad II, 762-764 / 1361-1363  
(al-Mansur Salah al-Din, b. Hajji I)**

- 952 AV dinar R
- 953 AR dirham R
- 954 AE fals, Syrian types C
- 954E AE fals, Egyptian type, style of #947E S

**Sha'ban II, 764-778 / 1363-1376  
(al-Ashraf Nasir al-Din, b. Hasan)**

- 955 AV dinar C
- 956 AR dirham C
- 957 AR fractional dirham S
- 958 AE fals, Syrian types A
- 958E AE fals, Egyptian type, style of #947E C

Struck at all years at al-Qahira, occasionally at al-Iskandariya. Issues of al-Iskandariya of this and all later reigns are always poorly struck, rarely with clear date, typically at least 40% flat.

<sup>253</sup> Behzad Butak, *XI. XII. ve XIII. Yüzyillarda Resimli Türk Paraları*, Istanbul, 1947, p. 125, #146.

Anatolian types in his name:

959 AR akçe, struck at Konya by the Karamanids<sup>254</sup> RR  
**‘Ali II, 778-783 / 1376-1381**  
**(al-Mansur ‘Ala al-Din, b. Sha‘ban II)**

960 AV dinar S  
961 AR dirham S  
Some rare dirhams & fractions have for unknown reasons the title *Nasir al-Din* instead of *‘Ala al-Din*. Further research needed.

962 AR fractional dirham R  
963 AE fals, Syrian types C  
963E AE fals, Egyptian type, style of #947E C  
All years at al-Qahira, usually undated at al-Iskandariya.

**Hajji II, 1<sup>st</sup> reign, 783-784 / 1381-1382**  
**(al-Salih Salah al-Din, b. Sha‘ban II)**

964 AV dinar R  
965 AR dirham R  
966 AR fractional dirham RR

A967 AE wuqiya, struck at al-Qahira in 783 only (approximately 33-35g) RRR  
The relationship of the wuqiya (“ounce”) to this and the following ½ wuqiya copper coin remains obscure. According to the historian Ibn Taghri Bardi, the copper wuqiya and ½ wuqiya were introduced in 783 at a fixed value of ¼ dirham and ½ dirham, respectively, but were quickly rejected and presumably removed from circulation, hence their rarity.

B967 AE ½ wuqiya, al-Qahira 783 only (about 17g) RRR  
967 AE fals, Syrian types S  
967E AE fals, Egyptian type, style of #947E R  
Both dates from al-Qahira & al-Iskandariya, also undated examples of al-Iskandariya.

**Hajji II, 2<sup>nd</sup> reign, 791-792 / 1389-1390**  
**(al-Mansur Salah al-Din)**

Note that Hajji II changed his title from al-Salih to al-Mansur for his second reign. On some gold & silver coins of Halab he is entitled Nasir al-Din instead of Salah al-Din, once again for abstruse reasons.

968 AV dinar RRR  
969 AR dirham R  
970 AR fractional dirham RR  
971 AE fals, Syrian types S  
971E AE fals, Egyptian type, style of #947E, reported only for al-Iskandariya, always undated R

**Anonymous, 8<sup>th</sup>/14<sup>th</sup> century, undated**

971X AE fals S  
The most common type is of Hamah mint, central bar bendy / chalice or table in central fesse (Balog #905). It is likely that further research shall enable most of these anonymous coppers to be assigned to specific reigns.

**BURJI MAMLUK**

**Barquq, 784-791 / 1382-1389 and 792-801 / 1390-1399**  
**(al-Zahir Sayf al-Din Abu Sa‘id)**

In general, unless there is a visible date or a die-link to a clearly dated specimen, coins of Barquq’s two reigns cannot yet be distinguished (all metals).

972 AV dinar, many variants C  
973.1 AR dirham, horizontal inscriptions A  
Struck primarily at Halab, usually dated (in words only) but the date is predominantly off flan or illegible (R when legible).

973.2 AR dirham, obverse has *barquq ‘izz nasruhu* within a circular cartouche, the balance of the royal legend in the surrounding margin R  
Struck only at al-Qahira in 789 & 790, dated in words.

974.1 AR fractional dirham, type as #973.1 S  
974.2 AR fractional dirham, type as #973.2 RRR  
Unreported with legible mint name but of the style unique to al-Qahira.

975 AE fals, Syrian mints C  
975E AE fals, Egyptian type, style of #947E S  
Probably struck all years at al-Qahira, but nearly always undated at al-Iskandariya.

Anatolian types in his name:

976 AR akçe, struck at Mardin or Amid by the local Artuqid ruler, ‘Isa (about 1.2g) RR

**Mintash, rebel at Aleppo, 791-793 / 1390-1391**  
**(al-‘Adil Salah al-Din<sup>255</sup>)**

The obverse inscription contains *al-malik al-sultan al-‘adil sultan al-islam wa’l-muslimin*, but without Mintash’s actual name or *laqab*. The *laqab* appears only on the gold. The precise issuer of these coins is uncertain, perhaps Mintash, his rival Yalbugha al-Nasiri, or even the supporters of Hajji II, whose title had been Salah al-Din during his first reign.

A977 AV dinar, Halab only, dated 791 RRR

B977 AR dirham, anonymous, Halab mint only, some specimens known dated 791 RR  
For an illustration, see Zeno-5508.

**Faraj, 801-808 / 1399-1405 & 809-815 / 1406-1412**  
**(al-Nasir Nasir al-Din Abu’l-Sa‘adat, b. Barquq)**

977 AV dinar, ingot style (struck 801-810) C  
Ingot style dinars were struck to rather random weights, from less than six to more than 18 grams. They were traded strictly by weight. Coins heavier than about 15 grams are rare and command a substantial premium.

A978 AV mithqal (about 4.3g) R  
Types A978, B978 and C978 were struck to a fixed standard, in three denominations. They are readily distinguished by the name Faraj in a central circle on the obverse. Struck at al-Qahira in 804-805 only, a failed attempt to replace the ingot style with fixed denominational weights.

B978 AV 2 mithqal (about 8.6g) RR

C978 AV 3 mithqal (about 12.9g) RRR

978 AV bunduqi (or ducat), struck only at al-Qahira, 810-815 S  
Struck to the Venetian standard of about 3.4 grams. All have the obverse legend divided horizontally into three panels.

979.1 AR dirham, obverse legend in horizontal lines C  
Struck only at Dimashq, Halab & Hamah, circa 801-808; none confirmed for al-Qahira.

979.2 AR dirham, reform type S  
Obverse has *faraj* in central circle, with clockwise legend around. Struck at Dimashq only, 810-812, under a theoretical weight standard of about 2.7 grams.

980.1 AR fractional dirham, obverse as #979.1 (horizontal lines on obverse) S  
Fractional dirhams can usually be distinguished by shape, which is either squarish, oblong or irregular, but almost never round. The heaviest “fractions” can sometimes weigh more than the lightest round full dirhams!

980.2 AR fractional dirham, obverse as #979.2 (*faraj* in central circle on obverse) R

981 AE fals, Syrian mints C

981E AE fals, Egyptian type, style of #947E, struck only at al-Iskandariya, sometimes dated, until 807 S

<sup>254</sup> Ölçer, *Karamanids*, #37.

<sup>255</sup> This *laqab* is found only on the gold coinage. Unfortunately, the word *Salah* is not altogether clear on the sole known specimen, but likely.

All known copper fulus of this reign, both Syrian & Egyptian, appear to have been struck before 808, after which copper largely disappeared throughout the Mamluk empire until large-scale production was revived by Qa'itbay in 886, mainly in Egypt.

**'Abd al-'Aziz, 808-809 / 1405-1406 (al-Mansur 'Izz al-Din)**

A982	AV dinar, ingot style	RRR
982.1	AR dirham or fraction, title <i>al-malik al-mansur</i>	RR
982.2	AR dirham or fraction, title <i>al-malik al-'adil</i>	RR

**Jakam, 809 / 1406 (al-'Adil)**

983	AR dirham or fraction	RR
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Struck only at Halab, known dated Ramadan 809 & Sha'ban 809.

**al-Musta'in billah, 815 / 1412 (Abu'l-Fadl al-'Abbas)**

Al-Musta'in was not a Mamluk, but the shadow 'Abbasid caliph in Cairo, with the title *al-imam al-a'zam* on some of his gold dinars. Although al-Musta'in was nominal sultan for a few months before Shaykh seized power in his own name, real power was always in the hands of Shaykh.

984.1	AV dinar, ingot style (unknown to Balog)	RRR
984.2	AV bunduqi (about 3.4g)	RR
985	AR dirham, fine silver, several types	R

These dirhams represent the restoration of fine silver coinage after more than 150 years in the Mamluk lands.

986	AE fals	RR
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**Shaykh, 815-824 / 1412-1421 (al-Mu'ayyad Sayf al-Din Abu'l-Nasr)**

From this reign onwards, all Mamluk silver coins were struck from relatively pure silver to a fixed standard (*al pezzo*).

987	AV dinar, ingot style	R
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Typologically similar to ingot style gold of his predecessors, normally with 5 horizontal lines of inscription on both sides. Shaykh employed the title *sultan al-islam wa'l-muslimin* only on the ingot style dinars.

988	AV bunduqi (or dinar), ducat style, to a standard of about 3.4g	R
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Obverse inscription in three segments, divided by horizontal lines.

989	AV dinar, mithqal type, to a standard of about 4.4g	RR
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Coins of this type bear the denomination *mithqal* in a central circle on obverse.

990	AV ½ dinar ( <i>nisf</i> ), mithqal standard	RRR
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Coins of this type bear the denomination *nisf* ("half"), located as on #989.

991	AR dirham (2.7g)	R
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This coin and its successors were known as a *mu'ayyidi* dirham after the ruler's title. The term became *maydin* under Ottoman rule in Egypt and used until the 19<sup>th</sup> century, found as *medin* or *medino* in European sources.

992	AR ½ dirham (1.35g)	S
993	AR ¼ dirham (0.68g)	R

**Ahmad II, 824 / 1421**

**(al-Muzaffar Shihab al-Din Abu'l-Sa'adat, b. Shaykh)**

T994	AV ingot style dinar, known only from al-Qahira dated 824.	RRR
994	AR ½ dirham (1.35g)	RR
995	AR ¼ dirham (0.68g)	RR

**Tatar, 824 / 1421 (al-Zahir Sayf al-Din Abu'l-Fath)**

996	AR ½ dirham (1.35g)	RRR
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**Muhammad III, 824-825 / 1421-1422**

**(al-Salih Nasir al-Din)**

997	AR ½ dirham (1.35g)	RR
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Anatolian types in his name:

997E	AR akçe, local issue struck in the Mamluk's name by the emir of Alanya ('Ala'iya) (0.80g)	RRR
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**Barsbay, 825-841 / 1422-1438**

**(al-Ashraf Sayf al-Din Abu'l-Nasr)**

V998	AV ingot style dinar, known from al-Qahira 829 (4.925g) and 830 (4.635g) <sup>256</sup>	RRR
998	AV ashrafi, introduced in 829	C

The ashrafi was a new reform coinage to the weight and fineness of the Venetian ducat (about 3.42 grams), named after Barsbay's personal laqab, *al-malik al-ashraf*. All subsequent Mamluk gold retained this standard, subsequently adopted by the Aq-Qoyunlu, Ottomans and Safavids, amongst others.

999	AR ¾ dirham (about 2.1g)	S
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Inscribed *nisf wa rub'*, "half and quarter." To the standard of 2.7 grams for the dirham. Dated 829 or undated.

1000	AR ⅓ dirham (about 1.05g)	S
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Inscribed *rub' wa thumm*, "quarter and eighth." Dated 825 or 827 or undated.

1001	AR dirham, reduced standard (2.1g)	C
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This and the following type #1002 were struck from 829 onwards.

1001C	AR ¾ dirham, same standard (1.55g), dated 829-831, known only from Hamah mint	RR?
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The precise nature of this denomination remains unclear. Specimens at Tübingen weigh about 1.75g, others about 1.4g. In fact, the silver monetary policy for this reign is uncertain.

1002	AR ½ dirham, same standard (1.05g)	S
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Many dirhams and halves of the reduced standard portray a chalice on the obverse, introduced in 832, probably to confirm the current weight standard. The chalice was Barsbay's personal emblem.

1002F	AE fals, known from al-Qahira 838 (Balog-730)	RRR
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Anatolian types in his name:

1003.1	AR dirham or akçe, struck by the Karamanid ruler in the name of Barsbay (typically 0.7-1.0g)	RR
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Mints are al-'Ala'i (recognized as an epithet for Konya), Konya, and Larende.

1003.2	AR dirham or akçe, struck by the beys of Alanya (approximately 0.85g)	RR
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Mint of 'Ala'iya (= Alanya), not to be confused with the Karamanid mint of al-'Ala'i (presumably an epithet for Konya). With hexagram in center of obverse.

1003C	AR tanka, mint of Mardin, similar in style to tankas of the Aq Qoyunlu ruler Hamza (#2506-07) <sup>257</sup>	RRR
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Other Anatolian types exist (all are at least RR).

**Yusuf, 841-842 / 1438**

**(al-'Aziz Abu'l-Mahasin, b. Barsbay<sup>258</sup>)**

1004	AV ashrafi	RR
1005	AR dirham	RRR

**Jaqmaq, 842-857 / 1438-1453 (al-Zahir Abu Sa'id)**

Many coins of Jaqmaq are dated in numerals, rare with clear date.

1006	AV ashrafi	C
1007	AR dirham (reduced standard, about 1.80g)	C

Actual weight varies between about 1.50 to 1.90, but there probably just one standard.

1008	AR ½ dirham (about 0.90g)	R
1009	AE fals, many varieties	S

**'Uthman, 857 / 1453 (al-Mansur Abu'l-Sa'adat)**

1010	AV ashrafi	RR
1011	AR dirham (about 1.80g)	RR

<sup>256</sup> Both specimens published by Balog in his 1964 catalog, as SS.5 and SS.6 in the "second supplement" and illustrated on plate XLIV.

<sup>257</sup> In a private collection in Beirut, Lebanon.

<sup>258</sup> A copper fals assigned to this ruler (Peus, Auktion 345, 1-3 Nov 1995, lot 1053) is of questionable attribution.

**Aynal, 857-865 / 1453-1461 (al-Ashraf Abu'l-Nasr)**

Gold & silver often dated, always in numerals. Copper fulus are sometimes dated, probably always in words.

1012	AV ashrafi	C
1013	AR dirham (standard reduced to about 1.5g)	C
1014	AR ½ dirham (about 0.75g)	R
1015	AE fals	S

Anatolian types in his name:

A1016	AR akçe, struck at Çemiszek by the Malkish Kurds in 852 (reference needed)	RRR
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**Ahmad III, 865 / 1461 (al-Mu'ayyad Abu'l-Fath)**

1016	AV ashrafi	R
1017	AR dirham (about 1.5g)	R
1018	AR ½ dirham	RRR

**Khushqadam, 865-872 / 1461-1467 (al-Zahir Abu Sa'id)**

1019	AV ashrafi	C
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Types 1006 (Jaqmaq) & 1019 are not readily distinguishable when only the title shows on the coin. Dies were much larger than the flan, as was typical of most Burji Mamluk gold ashrafis (introduced in 829/1426), silver dirhams and fractions. Further research should resolve this ambivalence, both for these two rulers and others of the Burji Mamluk dynasty.

1020	AR dirham (about 1.5g)	C
1021	AR ½ dirham	R
1022	AE fals	S

Anatolian types in his name:

A1023	AR ⅓ tanka (or akçe), struck at Erzincan and Amid by the Aq Qoyunlu government	RR
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**Bilbay, 872 / 1467 (al-Zahir Abu Sa'id)**

1023	AV ashrafi	RRR
1023A	AR dirham <sup>259</sup>	RRR

**Timurbugha, 872-873 / 1467-1468 (al-Zahir Abu Sa'id)**

1024	AV ashrafi	RR
1025	AR dirham <sup>260</sup>	RRR
1026	AE fals (chalice in inner circle / star in hexagram) <sup>261</sup>	R

**Qa'itbay, 873-901 / 1468-1496 (al-Ashraf Abu'l-Nasr)**

1027	AV ashrafi, many variants	C
1028	AR dirham (about 1.5g)	A
1028A	AR "nisf" (about 1.5g)	R

Although inscribed *nisf* (= "half"), this type, known from both al-Qahira and Halab, weighs the same as the normal dirhams of both his predecessors (#1020) and his followers (#1032), presumably because it was a fine silver coin that weighs approximately half the canonical Islamic dirham of 2.97g. It is conceivable that the 1.5g silver coin was regarded as a half dirham in Aleppo but as a full "dirham" within other regions (further research necessary).

1029	AR ½ dirham (about 0.75g)	R
1030	AE fals	S

During this reign, circa AH886, a heavy fals was introduced at Cairo, typically 8 grams or more, though individual weights vary from less than 3 to more than 10 grams. They are relatively common. The lighter fulus of Syria are much rarer.

**Muhammad IV, 901-904 / 1496-1498****(al-Nasir Abu'l-Sa'adat, b. Qa'itbay)**

1031	AV ashrafi	S
1032	AR dirham (about 1.5g)	S
1033	AR ½ dirham (about 0.75g)	RR
1034	AE fals	R

Struck at al-Qahira and Dimashq, with great variation in weight.

**Qansuh I, 904-905 / 1498-1500 (al-Zahir Abu Sa'id)**

1035	AV ashrafi	R
1036	AR dirham	R
1037	AR ½ dirham	RR
1038	AE fals	RR

Distinguished from ashrafis of Qansuh II by style and by the title al-Zahir instead of al-Ashraf.

**Janbalat, 905-90 / 1500-1501 (al-Ashraf Abu'l-Nasr)**

1039	AV ashrafi	RRR
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**Tumanbay I, 906 / 1501 (al-'Adil Abu'l-Nasr)**

1040	AV ashrafi	RR
A1041	AR dirham	RRR

**Qansuh II al-Ghuri, 906-922 / 1501-1516 (al-Ashraf Abu'l-Nasr)**

1041	AV ashrafi	C
1042	AR dirham (standard further reduced, to about 1.2g, often impure silver)	C

Many of Qansuh's ashrafis and dirhams are clearly debased, notably those struck towards the end of his turbulent reign.

Dirhams of Qansuh II were exported to the Yemen, where they are found in large quantities. Some varieties are found mainly in the Yemen, but were struck at Cairo or Damascus (at least they bear the name of one of these two mints). There is no known Mamluk coinage actually struck in the Yemen.

Some examples suggest that the dirhams standard was reduced to about 0.95g late in his reign. Further research needed.

1043	AR ½ dirham (about 0.6g)	RR
1044	AE fals (usually the heavy Cairo style)	S

Weights from less than 4g to more than 15g.

**Tumanbay II, 922 / 1516-1517 (al-Ashraf Abu'l-Nasr)**

1045	AV ashrafi, struck only at al-Qahira	RR
1045A	AR dirham (about 0.95g)	RRR

**Various issuers, throughout the Mamluk period**

1046	Glass-paste jeton or weight	S
1046A	AE fals, anonymous, unassigned to specific ruler	S

Dozens of personal names or titles, nearly all unidentified from other sources, are found on these jetons. Some bear partial dates, and some may have been produced after the Ottoman conquest in 922/1517. All are Egyptian and virtually all are uniface. Most types are rare. The function of these objects remains obscure: were they "coins" or weights?<sup>262</sup>

Cf. Balog #905-906, but other types are also known.

**Anonymous, anepigraphic & uniface**

1047	Glass-paste jeton or weight, hexagram design	S
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**ARABIAN PENINSULA****YEMEN**

The most up-to-date list of Yemeni rulers can be found in Sayyid Ayman, Fu'ad, *Sources de l'histoire du Yémen* (in Arabic), Cairo 1974.

<sup>259</sup> Peus, Auktion 345 (1 Nov 1995), lot 1054.

<sup>260</sup> The name Timurbugha appears in a central circle, rather carelessly engraved. It can easily be confused with the name Qa'itbay unless enough of the titlature is legible.

<sup>261</sup> This type is Balog-805. His #806 (3-line text / chalice in circle) is actually a relatively common issue of Khushqadam, often mispublished.

<sup>262</sup> A large and important group of these little researched jetons exists in the collection of the American Numismatic Society, still unpublished.



For the pre-Ayyubid period, Bikhazi, Ramzi J., "Coins of al-Yaman 132-569 AH," *al-Abhath*, vol. 23 (1970), pp. 3-127, now rather out-of-date due to major subsequent discoveries.

See also *Sylloge of Islamic Coins in the Ashmolean*, v.10.

Zeno has nearly 2600 Yemeni coins (plus about 900 pre-Islamic and nearly 1500 machine-struck modern pieces), in *Currency, Medals and Orders in al-Yaman*, by Vladimír Suchý, by far the most important reference.

For a list of general references, <http://www.aiys.org/webdate/bates.html>.

Auction catalogs from about 1985 onwards remain the principal source for published examples of Yemeni coins.

*Until about 1980, pre-1900 Yemeni coinage was seldom encountered in the market. Since then, large quantities have emerged, including large numbers of new types, few of which have been published, except in sale catalogs, often superficially described, though large numbers have been posted at Zeno during the last several years, thanks above all to Vladimír Suchý. At first, the new supply stimulated great demand, so that Yemeni coins sold for far more than other Islamic coins of comparable rarity. Further increases in supply have depressed the market and eliminated much of this disparity. However, large quantities ceased entering the market by the early 2000s, and prices have recovered to a limited extent, at least for types that have not become available in massive quantities, such as many of the Rasulid dirhams.*

### ‘ABBASID (YEMENI COINAGE)

*The ‘Abbasids struck special coins in the Yemen, using local weight standards for gold and silver, invariably lighter than contemporary standard ‘Abbasid coinage. They are also delineated by distinctive calligraphy and style. The early dirhams (#1048, 1049, 1050) conform to a standard of about 1.1-1.2g, last issued during the caliphate of al-Ma‘mun. Later fractional dirhams, commencing some 50 years later under al-Mu‘tamid or perhaps earlier, are much lighter, about 0.49g, presumably one sixth of a dirham (sudaysi), derived from the contemporary canonical dirham of about 2.97g. Gold dinars maintained the general ‘Abbasid standard of about 4.25g until reduced to a local standard of 2.90g in 248/862, then to 1.95g in 304/917. Unlike what happened in other ‘Abbasid regions, Yemeni dinars after 248 adhered to the local weight standard with remarkable accuracy.*

*All coins of types 1048 through 1057A were struck at the San‘a mint. Thereafter a few additional mints came into operation, principally at Zabid, ‘Adan and Dhamar, as well as the northern mints of ‘Aththar and Baysh (both now in the ‘Asir province of Saudi Arabia).*

#### al-Rashid, 170-193 / 786-809

1048.1 AR local dirham, citing the ‘Abbasid ruler as *khalifa*, known dated 171-172 RRR

Usually also citing the local governor.

1048.2 AR local dirham, without name of caliph, usually with name of governor, known dated 174-192 RR

#### al-Amin, 193-198 / 809-813

1049 AR local dirham, usually with name of governor RR

#### al-Ma‘mun, 198-218 / 813-833

A1050.1 AV dinar, without name of mint, citing Muhammad below obverse RR

These "mintless" dinars are distinguished from other ‘Abbasid issues solely by the governor’s name beneath the reverse. This Muhammad refers to Muhammad b. al-Ifriqi, cited only as Muhammad in 202-204, as al-Ifriqi 204-205 (#A1050.3).

A1050.2 AV dinar, similar, but citing Muhammad above reverse and ‘Abd Allah below reverse, 204 only RRR

A1050.3 AV dinar, similar, but citing al-Ifriqi below obverse, 204-205 RRR

A1050.4 AV dinar, similar, but citing Ahmad below obverse, reported only for year 213 RRR

B1050 AV dinar, with name of mint, struck 214-217, mint and date on obverse, without name of governor (style and weight as type #222A) RR

T1050 AR full dirham (about 2.9g), without governor, known only from San‘a 217 RRR

1050 AR local dirham (about 1.1-1.2g), with name of governor RRR

1050R AR ¼ dirham (*sic*, about 0.67g), fully anonymous, known dated 210 RRR

The reverse field legend is *lillah / muhammad / rasul / Allah / rub*, where the last word means "quarter". It is too heavy to be half the local dirham, quite possibly ¼ of the canonical dirham, assuming that it’s actual weight should be about 0.73-0.74g. (Zeno-18200 & 36999).

#### Ibrahim (b. Musa al-Jazzar), anti-‘Abbasid rebel, fl. 200-201 / 816-817

A1051 AR local dirham RRR

Rebellious ruler cited as *Ibrahim bin rasul Allah*, omitting any reference to the actual ‘Abbasid caliph. Both years are known.

#### al-Mu‘tasim, 218-227 / 833-842

1051 AV dinar (4.25g) RR

Although types #1051, 1052 and 1053 retain the traditional dinar weight standard of 4.25g, many extant examples were clipped down to the later standard of #1054 (2.90g).<sup>263</sup>

1051D AR ¼ dirham (probably 0.7g), dated 221 RRR

#### al-Wathiq, 227-232 / 842-847

1052 AV dinar (4.25g) RR

Some examples of this type bear the name of the local governor Itakh (al-Turki, 230-231), the Ja‘far (232).

#### al-Mutawakkil, 232-247 / 847-861

1053 AV dinar (4.25g) R

Dinars of 234-235 bear the name of the local governor Ja‘far. No dinars were struck 239-248.

#### al-Musta‘in, 248-251 / 862-866

1054 AV dinar, reduced standard (about 2.90g) R

This reduced standard was carefully maintained, with undamaged examples almost always weighing between 2.86 and 2.91g, unlike the increasingly variant ‘Abbasid dinars of other regions.

#### al-Mu‘tazz, 251-255 / 862-866

N1055 AV dinar (2.90g), without his heir, dated 252 only RR

#### al-Muhtadi, 255-256 / 869-870

T1055 AV dinar (2.90g) RRR

#### al-Mu‘tamid, 256-279 / 870-892

1055 AV dinar (2.90g) S

The subtypes are as follows, courtesy Giulio Bernardi:

Without any additional name, 256-263

Citing al-Muwaffaq, 263-270

Citing al-Muwaffaq *and* the vizier Dhu‘l-Wizaratayn, 270-272

Citing al-Muwaffaq, 273-274

Citing al-Mufawwidh, 274 (if correctly read)

Citing al-Muwaffaq *and* Ahmad b. al-Muwaffaq, 274-278

Citing al-Mu‘tadid, 279

There are crudely cast base-metal forgeries dated 271, probably made in the 1950s or 1960s, perhaps for cheap jewelry or knickknacks.

1055B AR full dirham, known dated 259 RRR

1055A AR 1/6 dirham (about 0.45g) RR

#### al-Mu‘tadid, 279-289 / 892-902

1056 AV dinar (2.90g) S

1056B AR full dirham, known dated 280 only RRR

<sup>263</sup> Many are clipped down to between 3.50g and 3.58g. It is conceivable that a nominal standard at that weight existed during the dinar hiatus of 239-248, i.e., between the dinars of 4.25g and 2.90g.

1056A	AR 1/6 dirham, known dated 283	RRR	<i>the Rassids, as all their coins cite the 'Abbasid caliph al-Muqtadir and were struck only at San'a.</i>
	<b>al-Muktafi, 289-295 / 902-908</b>		
1057	AV dinar (2.90g)	R	<b>Al-Muzaffar b. Hajj, fl. 296-297 / 909-910</b>
1057A	AR full dirham, fine style, known dated 291-293	RRR	M1065 AV dinar (2.90g), dated 296-297 RRR
	<b>al-Muqtadir, 295-320 / 908-932</b>		<b>Muhammad b. al-Muzaffar, fl. 298/911</b>
Y1058	AV dinar (2.90g), reported from 'Aththar 319 <sup>264</sup> , San'a 299 & 302, Baysh 297	RRR	R1065 AV dinar (2.90g), dated 298 only RRR
1058.1	AV "amiri" dinar (further reduced standard, about 1.95g, introduced about 304), double marginal inscription on obverse (struck 304-310)	R	<b>RASSID (1<sup>ST</sup> PERIOD)</b>
	The designation <i>amiri</i> stems from the word <i>al-amir</i> in the obverse margin on some later issues struck to this standard. Amiri dinars of this and subsequent reigns are considered to be issues of the Ya'furid amirs (listed as Ya'furid on Zeno), who never placed their own names on the coinage but were the actual rulers at San'a during this time. The term <i>amir</i> likely refers to the Ya'furid ruler. Coins of this and subsequent 'Abbasid rulers struck at mints other than San'a are extremely rare.		<i>The Rassids were leaders of a moderate Shi'ite sect with origins near the Caspian littoral of Iran. They settled in Yemen, which they correctly believed to be a fertile ground for proselytizing their philosophy. The Imamate they founded in 284/898 survived more than a millennium, until 1382/1962, when the modern republic was proclaimed, surely one of the longest surviving ruling houses in all of history. Their coinage was somewhat sporadic, though some of the gaps may eventually be filled by new discoveries.</i>
1058.2	AV "amiri" dinar (1,95g), single margin on obverse (struck 313-320)	S	Coinage of the first period was struck principally at Sa'da in northern Yemen, though some rare issues of San'a and a few other mints are known. Most coins in the name of the Fatimid caliph al-Mahdi were struck at Tuhkla' and 'Aththar, both now the Saudi province of 'Asir.
A1059	AV "amiri" dinar	RR	<b>al-Hadi (b. al-Qasim), 284-298 / 898-911</b>
	<b>al-Radi, 322-329 / 934-940</b>		His actual name was His actual name was Yahya b. al-Husayn, which never appears on his coinage.
1059	AV "amiri" dinar	R	1065 AV dinar S
	<b>al-Muttaqi, 329-333 / 940-944</b>		Coins of this type struck at Sa'da and dated 298 were probably struck as an immobilized type for at least a decade, with only minimal variation of style & calligraphy. All other dates (pre-298) of this ruler are very rare. His full title was <i>al-hadi illa al-haqq amir al-mu'minin</i> .
Z1060	AV full dinar (about 2.90g), mint of Baysh	RRR	
	Known dated 331-334 ( <i>sic</i> ). Baysh has been identified as the modern city of Qal'at Bishah in 'Asir province of Saudi Arabia.		
1060	AV "amiri" dinar (about 1.95g)	RR	1066 AR sudaysi C
A1061	AR full dirham, Zabid mint only	RRR	The <i>sudaysi</i> ("piece of a sixth") weighed approximately one sixth of the canonical dirham, or just under half a gram. The canonical dirham was known in the Yemen as the <i>qafla</i> .
B1061	AR 1/6 dirham (sudaysi), Zabid mint only	RR	<b>In the name of the Fatimid caliph al-Mahdi, circa 298-301+ / 911-913+</b>
	<b>al-Mustakfi, recognized in the Yemen 333-circa 339 / 944-circa 950</b>		It is now understood that al-Mahdi was not a Rassid, but the contemporary Fatimid caliph in Ifriqiya. Fatimid proselytizers were active in the Yemen and seem to have gained the upper hand for a few years after the death of al-Hadi in 298 in opposition to the Rassid line.
Z1061	AV dinar (about 2.90g), mint of Baysh, dated 334	RRR	There are no known coins bearing the name of the Rassid al-Murtada (298-301), as his pro-Fatimid rivals must have gained the upper hand in the regions where coins were minted.
1061	AV "amiri" dinar (about 1.5g), San'a 333-340, also Dhamar 337-339 (RRR)	R	
	<b>al-Muti', 334-363 / 946-974</b>		
1062	AV dinar (2.90g), broad flan	RRR	A1067 AV dinar RRR
	Struck at numerous mints by various local rulers, primarily Baysh and 'Aththar, but bearing only the name of the 'Abbasid caliph. Classified as Ziyadid and Tarafid ( <i>sic</i> ) by Suchý on Zeno, depending on the mint.		Fractional dinars have also been reported (reference needed). See also #1069N.
1063	AV "amiri" dinar (about 1.5g), mainly mint of San'a	R	B1067 AR full dirham (about 3g), mint of Tuhkla' RRR
	Amiri dinars of al-Mustakfi and al-Muti' overlap in date from 334 until about 340, perhaps as the result of the continued use of old obverse dies bearing earlier dates. Alternatively, the Yemeni authorities may at first have taken a neutral position to the accession of al-Muti'.		The Tübingen specimen is dated 303. The mint has also been read as 'Aththar, which seems unlikely.
A1064	AR full dirham (±3g), mint of Zabid <sup>265</sup>	RRR	1067.1 AR sudaysi, with title <i>al-mahdi amir al-mu'minin</i> , usually mint of 'Aththar RR
B1064	AR sudaysi (approximately 0.4g), mint of Zabid <sup>266</sup>	RR	Similar sudaysis were also struck at Sa'da and perhaps Ibb.
	<b>Anonymous, 157-158 / 774-775</b>		1067.2 AR sudaysi, similar, but with title <i>al-mahdi khalifat Allah</i> , without mint or date RRR
1064	AE fals, mint of al-Yaman (presumably struck at San'a), dated 157-158 only, citing al-Mahdi as heir-apparent	RRR	<b>Muhammad b. al-Qasim, circa 300 / 912</b>
			1067Q AR sudaysi, mint of San'a only <sup>267</sup> RRR
			The reverse inscription is <i>muhammad bin al-qasim amir al-mu'minin</i> .

## AMIRS OF SAN'A

*A local dynasty of undetermined origin, active in San'a, presumably in support of the 'Abbasid dynasty and opposed to*

<sup>264</sup> Leu Numismatik, Auktion 89:465. The others cited by Bernardi.

<sup>265</sup> Unique specimen in Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

<sup>266</sup> First published by Sotheby's, 28 May 1987, lot 829.

<sup>267</sup> The identity of Muhammad b. al-Qasim is uncertain. It is possible that he is the same as Muhammad b. al-Hadi b. al-Qa'im al-Murtada (298-301), citing his grandfather as his father. Much more likely is that he is the son of al-Qasim, i.e., the brother of al-Hadi, who may have ruled in San'a against his brother or for a few years after his brother's death in 298, thus as rival to both al-Murtada and the pro-Fatimid party. There is a later Muhammad b. al-Qasim in the 340s or later (no evidence that he might have actually ruled somewhere), but the style and calligraphy of the coins is characteristic of the sudaysis of al-Hadi, not those of his successor al-Nasir.

**al-Nasir (b. al-Hadi), 301-325 / 913-937**

His actual name was Ahmad b. Yahya.

A1068 AV dinar RRR  
Known only from Sa'da 321. Another example, without mint & date, has Qur'an Surat 112 in the reverse center (Zeno-84842).

1068 AR sudaysi C  
Sa'da is the usual mint, but a few very rare specimens are known from San'a, 'Aththar, and from Nu'man, a town said to have been near Mecca. Recently, four specimens from the mint of Makka (Mecca) have been posted on Zeno, and the reading of the mint seems convincing, especially on Zeno-84305.

1069 AR sudaysi, similar, but barbarous imitation C  
Believed struck from al-Nasir's death in 937 until at least the end of the century, a phenomenon that could explain why there are no known sudaysis naming the Rassid amirs between al-Nasir (d. 325) and al-Mansur (389-393). Despite the theoretical weight of about 0.48g, actual specimens vary in weight from more than 0.40g to less than 0.15g.

**In the name of the deceased Fatimid caliph al-Mahdi, circa 325-326 / 937-938**

1069E AV dinar, mint of 'Aththar RRR  
Nicol has recorded this dinar dated 325 & 326.

**Yusuf b. al-Mansur, 366-403 / 967-1013**

1069J AV dinar, San'a 370<sup>268</sup> RRR

**al-Mansur al-Qasim al-Ayyani, 389-393 / 999-1003**

1069M AV dinar RRR  
Struck at Dhamar 391 & San'a 389, and citing the local Zaydi governor, al-Qasim b. al-Husayn al-Zaydi (followed by *ibn rasul Allah*, "son of the messenger of God", on the coins).<sup>269</sup>

1069N AR sudaysi, mints of San'a and Dhamar<sup>270</sup> RRR

**Muhammad b. al-Qasim b. al-Husayn al-Zaydi, 393-403 / 1003-1013**

Appointed first at Dhamar, later seized San'a, then killed in 403.

1069O AV dinar, struck only at San'a in 400 RRR  
Published in *ONS Newsletter*, #206, p. 10, with full description.

**al-Mahdi al-Husayn (b. al-Qasim al-Ayyani), 393-404 / 1003-1014**

1069Q AV dinar, struck at San'a in 403<sup>271</sup> RRR

1069R AR sudaysi, mint of Zabid RR  
New types and additional mints of 4<sup>th</sup>/10<sup>th</sup> century sudaysis continue to be discovered. Further research is essential!

**YA'FURID**

Abbasid coins of San'a mint dated 304-340 were actually struck under the local Ya'furid dynasty, but are listed here as 'Abbasid issued of Yemen (type #1058 ff). For Zeno, Suchý has classified them as pseudo-'Abbasid, listed as Ya'furid.

**AMIRS OF YEMEN**

Unknown ruler, possibly connected to the Rassid or perhaps a Rassid amir opposed to the main Rassid Imamate. However, the mention of the 'Abbasid caliph discourages a Rassid relationship.

The mint name remains unread, due to its coarse engraving. Suchý has suggest the mint of Zabid, but it is never clear.

<sup>268</sup> Published by Ibrahim al-Jabir, Qatar museum, item #3054.

<sup>269</sup> First published by Münzen und Medaillen, Auktion 69, October 1987, lot 37 (was #A1070 in the 2nd edition). See also Zeno. Although al-Mansur al-Qasim al-Ayyani was the formal ruler at the time (not of the Zaydi Rassi family), the coins cite only the name of the local governor at San'a, al-Qasim b. al-Husayn al-Zaydi.

<sup>270</sup> Peus, Catalog 341 (3 Nov 1994), lots #1769-1771 (was #B1070 in the 2nd edition). Sudaysis of San'a are sometimes dated 392 or 393, last digit only.

<sup>271</sup> Private collection of M. Jazzar, now illustrated as Zeno-10076.

**Shu'ayb, circa 390s / 1000s**

1069W AR sudaysi, coarse style similar to posthumous examples of the Rassid ruler al-Nasir RR?  
Citing the 'Abbasid caliph al-Qadir. Zeno has categorized this type as Ziyadid.

**AMIRS OF 'ATHTHAR**

*Governors of 'Aththar in the Mikhlaf Sulayman (now in the Saudi province of 'Asir), perhaps related to the Tarafid dynasty cited below.*

'Aththar is the only known mint. All types are stylistically the same, with the ruler's name following *amara bihi al-amir* in the 3-line obverse field text, the kalima in two lines followed in the third line by the 'Abbasid caliph's name on the reverse.

**Abu 'Ali Muhammad b. al-Qasim, fl. 346-359 / 957-970**

C1070 AV dinar R

**Abu'l-Hasan 'Ali b. Muhammad, fl. 368-370 / 979-981**

D1070 AV dinar<sup>272</sup> RRR

**Abu Ja'far al-Sami b. Muhammad, fl. 373 / 984**

E1070 AV dinar<sup>273</sup> RRR

**Abu Muhammad al-Mu'ammam b. Muhammad, fl. 379 / 989**

K1070 AV dinar<sup>274</sup> RRR

**'Ubayd Allah b. Muhammad, fl. 388 / 988**

L1070 AV dinar RRR

**TARAFID**

*A minor dynasty of unknown origins centered in the 'Asir (southwestern Saudi Arabia), in an area known as the Mikhlaf Sulayman, after a certain Sulayman b. al-Taraf. The two rulers for whom coins are attested are known only from their coins, which consist exclusively of gold dinars.*

'Aththar is only one mint for this dynasty, in the modern province of 'Asir. This reading of the mint name is now universally accepted. Tarafid dinars stylistically identical to the Amirs of 'Aththar dinars.

**al-Faraj al-Tarafi, fl. 381-392 / 991-1002**

F1070 AV dinar RRR

**Bushri b. 'Abd Allah al-Tarafi, fl. 393-394 / 1003-1004**

G1070 AV dinar RRR

**ZIYADID**

Lowick, N.M., "Coinage of the Najahids of Yemen," *Actes du 8ème Congrès international de numismatique*, Paris & Basel, 1976, pp. 543-551. The coins published in that article are now known to be Ziyadid rather than Najjahid.

*A dynasty founded by Muhammad b. Ziyad, sent by the caliph al-Ma'mun in 203/819 to subjugate Yemen. Their coinage consists of gold dinars and a few very rare minuscule silver fractions.*

Nearly all coins of this dynasty were struck at Zabid. Like all 4<sup>th</sup>/10<sup>th</sup> century Yemeni gold coins, they are well struck, but the calligraphy is often highly stylized and difficult to decipher, especially after 371.

**Ishaq b. Ibrahim, 343-362 / 955-973**

1070 AV dinar R

Only dinars of Zabid 346 are relatively available. All other dates and mints are much rarer.

A1071 AR sudaysi (0.3-0.4g) RRR

<sup>272</sup> A specimen of this ruler allegedly dated 338 (presumably an error for 368) was offered in Emirates Coin Auction 2, lot 413.

<sup>273</sup> Stack's, 2 December 1997, lot 76, name misconstrued as al-Samu'l.

<sup>274</sup> Both #K1070 and L1070 are in a private collection, Dubai.

	<b>'Ali b. Ibrahim, 362-370 / 973-981</b>		D1075 AV ½ dinar (?)	RRR
B1071	AV dinar	RRR	<b>al-Fatik III, 531-553 / 1137-1158</b>	
	<b>al-Muzaffar b. 'Ali, circa 371-435 / 983-1044</b>		E1075 AV dinar	RRR
1071	AV dinar	S	<b>SULAYHID</b>	
	This and the following ruler were previously thought to be of the Najjahid dynasty. Dates on #1071 & 1072 are usually highly stylized and barely interpretable. With few exceptions the mint is always Zabid, often barely discernible. <sup>275</sup>		<i>An indigenous Yemeni dynasty with affiliations to the Fatimid caliphate, whose name is featured on most Sulayhid coins. Aside from plentiful gold coinage, a few debased silver coins of Lilliputian dimensions are known (approximately 0.2g or lighter).</i>	
	<b>'Ali b. al-Muzaffar, fl. 430s-440s? / 1040s-1050s?</b>		Mints are noted for individual types. Most coins were rather carefully manufactured, but the calligraphy is often highly stylized. The dates on many examples of #1077 and #1078 are often so stylized as to be indecipherable. All types are rarely seen worn, except for the imitative type #1075.3.	
1072	AV dinar, stylistically similar to #1071, with the 'Abbasid caliph al-Qa'im	S	<b>'Ali b. Muhammad, 439-473 / 1047-1081</b>	
	Examples dated 438 and 442 bear the name Rushd below reverse.		A purely Fatimid gold dinar is known from Zabid dated 445 & 447, from San'a dated 451. <sup>276</sup>	
<b>KHAWLANID</b>				
	<i>A minor dynasty based in and around San'a, of which only one ruler is known to have issued coins.</i>		<b>1075.1</b> AV dinar, citing the Fatimid caliph al-Mustansir in obverse field, dated 445-447, fine style, Zabid mint	RR
	<b>Yahya b. Abi Hashid, fl. 438 / 1046-1047</b>		<b>1075.2</b> AV dinar (about 2.45g), citing the Fatimid caliph al-Mustansir in the obverse margin, struck at Zabid with frozen year 451	S
K1073	AV dinar, San'a 438 (about 2.1g)	RR	<b>1075.3</b> AV debased dinar, crude imitation of #1075.2	C
	The date is coarsely engraved in words, usually quite illegible. Struck on moderately to significantly debased gold, probably for several years with 438 as a frozen date.		These imitations may have been struck across the Red Sea in what is now Ethiopia or Eritrea, though most known specimens are said to have Yemeni rather than African provenance. The gold is usually heavily debased.	
<b>NAJJAHD</b>				
	<i>A minor dynasty of Ethiopian slave origins, successors to the Ziyadids at Zabid.</i>		<b>1075.4</b> AV dinar, with his title Sharaf al-Ma'ali, struck only at 'Aththar in 459 <sup>277</sup>	RRR
	Gold coins were struck principally at Zabid, occasionally at the obscure town of Dathina under the later rulers. The calligraphy is often quite degenerate, though usually still (barely) legible. Most coins are passably well struck. After about AH500, the gold alloy seems to have been increasingly debased. Because of increasingly abominable calligraphy, the later issues are somewhat tentatively assigned to specific rulers.		<b>1075D</b> AR fractional dirham, in his name 'ali bin muhammad & the Fatimid al-Mustansir	RRR
	No silver or copper coins have been attributed to this dynasty. The gold dinar standard probably began at about 2.3g, but may have declined after about 500.		Zeno-84727, 84729-84732 are five examples, without clear denomination, mint or date. All are damaged, and the weight is never given, but I would suspect a fraction of a gram, similar to type #1078A.	
	The rulers al-Muzaffar b. 'Ali & his son & successor 'Ali b. al-Muzaffar were not Najjahid, as once assumed, but Ziyadid, listed here under the Ziyadid dynasty (#1071-1072).		For similar silver coins lacking the name of 'Ali b. Muhammad but citing al-Mustansir and likely struck during this reign, see #1078A.	
	<b>al-Mu'ayyad Najjah, circa 412-452 / 1021-1060</b>		<b>al-Mukarram Ahmad b. 'Ali, 473-484 / 1081-1091</b>	
1073	AV dinar	RR	<b>1076</b> AV dinar ('Adan mint only), dated from 475 to 484, about 2.4g	R
	Struck at Zabid, sometimes clearly dated (late 420s-440s), normally recognizing the Ziyadid 'Ali b. Muzaffar, presumably as overlord. On an example dated 437, he bears the additional titles <i>al-mu'ayyad najjah nasr al-din</i> .		All coins in the name of this ruler, including later types struck in his name by his successor 'Arwa, bear the name of the Fatimid caliph al-Mustansir, even after the latter's death in 487 (those dated 485 and later are classified as type #1077).	
	<b>al-Fadl b. Fatik, circa 440s / 1040s</b>		<b>1076A</b> AV ½ dinar, Dhu Jibla mint, identical to type #1078.1 but dated 484 or earlier	RR
1073F	AV dinar, struck at Zabid	RRR	Only the year 481 is occasionally seen. Post-484 dates are reckoned as type #1078.1.	
	Citing the Ziyadid 'Ali b. al-Muzaffar and 'Abbasid caliph al-Qa'im. Known with date xx9, presumably either 439 or 449. I have found no references to al-Fadl b. Fatik — he might have been a non-Najjahid rebel against al-Mu'ayyad Najjah.		<b>temp. 'Arwa bint Ahmad, Queen, 484-532 / 1091-1137</b>	
	<b>Jayyash b. al-Mu'ayyad, fl. 465-482 / 1073-1089</b>		All coins of 'Arwa were struck in the name of her deceased husband, al-Mukarram Ahmad. However, it appears that she might have assumed power earlier, when al-Mukarram was still alive, though there is no numismatic evidence for this presumption. Coins assigned to al-Mukarram and 'Arwa are identical in type (#1076-1078), but can only be distinguished by date or die-link. Specimens with unclear or barbarous date are relatively late, certainly after al-Mukarram's death and thus assignable to 'Arwa.	
1074	AV dinar	R	<b>1077</b> AV dinar, 'Adan mint, normally dated, about 2.4g	C
	With frozen year 465, the only Najjahid coin that is occasionally available. An example dated 482 has recently been discovered.		Citing the deceased Fatimid caliph al-Mustansir, struck 485-504. For dates 507 and later, see the Zuray'id #1079.	
	<b>al-Mansur b. Jayyash, 487-503 / 1094-1109</b>		<b>1078.1</b> AV ½ dinar, Dhu Jibla mint, known dated 487-498, citing Fatimid al-Mustansir, about 1.2g	C
A1075	AV ½ dinar (?), mints of Dathina and Zabid	RRR	Coarse calligraphy, frequently with undecipherable "date". Only the year 487 is truly common.	
	<b>al-Mansur b. Fatik, 503-517 / 1109-1123</b>			
B1075	AV dinar	RR		
	<b>al-Fatik II b. al-Mansur, 521-531 / 1127-1137</b>			
C1075	AV dinar	RRR		

<sup>275</sup> A large hoard of several hundred dinars (circa 400-600 pieces) of al-Muzaffar and his son 'Ali entered the market in the late 1980s, but are now so thoroughly dispersed that they are once again infrequently available.

<sup>276</sup> San'a 451 in private collection, Trieste.

<sup>277</sup> Sotheby's, 30 September 1988, lot 173.

1078.2 AV ½ dinar, Dhu Jibla mint, citing the Fatimid al-Amir, normally dated 500 or 505 RR  
 Fine calligraphy, always with legible date.  
 For a ½ dinar of Dhu Jibla dated 519, see Zuray'id #1079A.

**Anonymous, 5<sup>th</sup>/11<sup>th</sup> century**

1078A BI sudaysi (typically about 0.10-0.25g), always undated RR  
 These crude diminutive coins bear only the name of the Fatimid caliph al-Mustansir. They are usually found quite corroded. Nice specimens are extremely rare.

**ZURAY'ID**

Lowick, N.M., "Some unpublished dinars of the Sulayhids and Zuray'ids", *Numismatic Chronicle*, 7<sup>th</sup> series, v.4 (1964), pp.261-270.

All coins of the Zuray'ids were struck in the name of al-Mukarram Ahmad, the deceased Sulayhid, together with the name of the Fatimid overlord al-Amir, whose name was also retained on the coinage after his death in 524/1130. Some have an additional name, either that of the Zuray'id ruler or that of some lower ranking official. They are distinguished from Sulayhid predecessors by date, symbol, and the additional names when appropriate. At the present, only gold coinage is attested.

Except for the half dinar of Dhu Jibla, all coins were minted at 'Adan, all to the standard of 2.35g. They are normally fully struck and fully legible, though the calligraphy is typically stylized in the Yemeni tradition, and thus frustratingly difficult to decipher accurately.

**Anonymous, circa 506-528 / 1112-1133**

1079 AV dinar (2.35g), in the name of the Sulayhid ruler al-Mukarram Ahmad, no additional names (symbols or initials only) S

Known for most years 507-528, distinguished from earlier Sulayhid issues by the naming of the Fatimid caliph al-Amir, as well as calligraphic style. The actual transfer of power at 'Adan from the Sulayhids to the Zuray'ids is unclear.

1079A AV ½ dinar (about 1.2g), known from Dhu Jibla dated 519 RRR

Citing the Fatimid caliph al-Amir. This type has been tentatively assigned to the Zuray'ids because the traditional reference to al-Mukarram Ahmad has been omitted, and the political phrase *al-mulk lillah kulluhu*, "the kingship belongs to God, entirely", is inserted after the date in the obverse margin.<sup>278</sup>

**Muhammad b. Saba', 533-550 / 1138-1155**

1080 AV dinar, in his name, also citing the deceased Fatimid caliph al-Amir<sup>279</sup> R

**'Imran b. Muhammad, 550-561 / 1155-1165**

1080I AV dinar, in his name, without Fatimid overlord Struck posthumously until 568.<sup>280</sup> RRR

**Abu'l-Sa'ud Muhammad, fl. 569 / 1173-1174**

1080M AV dinar, in his name, without Fatimid overlord RRR  
 Inscribed *'ali wali Allah* below reverse field. The full obverse inscription is *muhammad / al-malik al-mutawwij / abu'l-sa'ud / ibna al-mukarram*. Muhammad and Abu'l-Sa'ud were both sons of 'Imran, said to have conjointly ruled 561-569, but coins until 568 are in the name of their deceased father.

<sup>278</sup> Alternatively, this type might have been issued by an independent rebel belonging neither to the Sulayhid or Zuray'id dynasty. A unique variant of this type lacks the mint name and bears the inscription *al-malik al-sayyid* after the date, but nonetheless retaining the Dhu Jibla style and calligraphy.

<sup>279</sup> During Muhammad's reign, his name is indicated differently above (and sometimes below) the obverse field. For example, only *al-awhad* above in 532 (if indeed Muhammad's issue), only *muhammad bin saba'* above in 536, only *al-makin* above in 539, *muhammad* above & *al-mutawwij* below on dinars dated 541-554, the latter either a posthumous issue or an issue of his son 'Imran but still in his father's name. The Fatimid caliph al-Amir died in 524, but his name appeared on the Zuray'id coins until 554.

<sup>280</sup> Emirates Coin Auction 1, lot 362, dated 568.

**MAHDID OF ZABID**

*Mahdid coins are anonymous and of a single type, assigned to ruler by their date. Their silver dirhams, of which the earliest known date is 556, were the first pure silver dirhams struck in the central Islamic world after a gap of more than 100 years.*

All coins were struck at Zabid, all rather indifferently struck on carelessly manufactured planchets. Most are at least 10% weak, and the date is usually somewhat coarsely engraved. All are anonymous and bear the protocol *al-imam shams shari'at al-islam*.

**temp. 'Ali b. Mahdi, 554-558 / 1159-1163**

1081 AR dirham, dated 556 and 558 only RR

**temp. 'Abd al-Nabi b. 'Ali, 558-569 / 1163-1174**

1082 AR dirham, dated 559 through 567 R

**RASSID (2<sup>ND</sup> PERIOD) (BANU HAMZA)**

Lowick, N.M., "The mansuri and the mahdawi dirham", *Numismatic Chronicle*, 143 (1983), pp. 121-138. While still typologically accurate, some mints and numerous dates have since surfaced, whence an upgrade is badly needed.

Numerous mints were active under these rulers, notably Zufar, San'a, Sa'da, Huth, Dhirwah, Kahlan, Muda', 'Ayyan, Bukur and al-Jahili before 656, mainly San'a and Dhamar thereafter. Virtually all coins of this dynasty are beautifully struck with carefully engraved but stylistically complex designs, and are normally quite well preserved.

**al-Mansur 'Abd Allah, 583-614 / 1185-1217**

Z1083 AV dinar, with the mint name al-Qahira RRR

The only known example is dated either 584 or 594, probably the latter, once misattributed by me as a common Fatimid dinar of al-Qahira (yike!). It has not been determined where the coin was actually minted, presumably a locale in Yemen; silver dirhams of this reign are also known from al-Qahira.

1083 AR dirham (*mansuri* dirham, about 1.75g), complex hexagram on both obverse & reverse, many mints S

Coins of al-Mansur were struck posthumously until shortly after 700. All issues have an elaborate hexagrammoid arrangement of the inscriptions. Some posthumous issues have the name of a later Rassid Imam in the margin and are listed below under that Imam's name, even though the posthumous name of al-Mansur is retained in the central area (cf. #1084 & A1086).<sup>281</sup>

1083A AR 1/6 dirham (sudaysi??) RRR  
 Without mint or date.<sup>282</sup>

**al-Mutawakkil Ahmad, 623-656 / 1226-1258**

1084 AR dirham, same design as #1083 (1.75g) RRR

Dirhams of al-Mutawakkil retain the name of al-Mansur in the central area, but add that of al-Mutawakkil in the margin.

**al-Mahdi Ahmad, rival, 646-656 / 1249-1258**

1085 AR dirham, in his sole name, quatrefoil within square on both sides (about 1.92g) R

Known as the *mahdawi* dirham. The name of the deceased al-Mansur is omitted.

**al-Muntasir Da'ud, 656-689 / 1258-1290**

A1086 AR dirham (1.75g) RRR  
 As #1084, but the name of al-Muntasir in margin.

**al-Mutawakkil Salah al-Din 'Ali, 674-697 / 1276-1298**

D1086 AR dirham (1.75g) RRR

Coins of this ruler are of distinctive type, without the name of any earlier Imam. Stylistically similar to contemporary Rasulid dirhams.

<sup>281</sup> A modest hoard of this type, together with some examples of #1084 and 1085 have been filtering into the market since circa 2007. The hoard size is unknown, probably no more than several hundred pieces. Many specimens are from the previously very rare mint of Kahlan dated in the 640s.

<sup>282</sup> Reported by Reinhard Hüther.

**al-Nasir li-din Allah Muhammad b. 'Ali,  
fl. 730-750 / 1329-1349**

F1086 AR dirham, Dhamar 731 only RRR  
Known in the texts also as Ahmad b. 'Ali.<sup>283</sup>

**al-Wathiq billah al-Mutahhar, 730-750 / 1330-1349**

G1086 AR dirham (about 1.05g), dated 750 only, San'a mint RR  
An enigmatic issue, known only from a smallish hoard of a few dozen specimens found in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Al-Mutahhar was the grandson of al-Mutawakkil (#D1086). This present reattribution was suggested by Vladimir Suchý, to whom I am thankful.

**al-Nasir Muhammad, 773-793 / 1371-1390**

1086 AR dirham (about 1.48g), struck at Dhamar & San'a RR  
1086A AR ½ dirham (about 0.74g), struck at San'a RRR

**AYYUBID (BRANCH IN THE YEMEN)**

References cited under the main Ayyubid rubric.

The sole mints for the early period are Zabid for silver and 'Adan for gold (fine or debased, as noted). After about 590, gold coinage ceased and silver was also struck at Ta'izz and 'Adan, occasionally at San'a and al-Dumluwa. Under al-Mas'ud Yusuf, the additional mint of Bukur came into operation (extremely rare). Copper coins are known from Ta'izz, Zabid and the unusual mint of Mabyan, but the majority lack any mint name and are commonly undated. Most coins of all three metals are well struck, with surprisingly little weakness. The principal exceptions are the silver coins of the first two rulers, Turanshah and Saladin, stylistically and calligraphically similar to the previous issues of the Mahdids of Zabid. All later silver was masterfully produced.

Ayyubid silver coins struck in Yemen follow Yemeni denomination weights and are not related to contemporary Syrian or Egyptian issues.

**al-Mu'azzam Turanshah (b. Ayyub),  
569-575 / 1174-1180**

His titles include *al-malik al-mu'azzam malik al-yaman shams al-din*.

A1087 AV dinar (about 2.45g), debased gold, mint of 'Adan RRR  
1087 AR dirham (about 1.6g), normally dated 569 RR  
A1088 AR ½ dirham (0.8g), undated RRR  
B1088 AE fals<sup>284</sup> RRR

**al-Nasir Yusuf (Saladin), as overlord above Tughtekin,  
575-589 / 1180-1193**

G1088 AV dinar, debased gold, mint of 'Adan RRR  
Saladin never had direct authority in the Yemen, but as suzerain over Tughtekin, his name was placed on the coinage in lieu of Tughtekin himself.

1088 AR dirham (1.4-1.5g), known dated 576-581 R  
These dirhams and the half dirhams cite only Saladin (Salah al-Din), without reference to Tughtekin, who is not cited on the coinage until after Saladin's death in 589, as was also the case for al-Zahir Ghazi at Aleppo in Syria (cf. type #788).

1089 AR ½ dirham (0.70-0.75g), always undated RR

**al-'Aziz Sayf al-Islam Tughtekin (b. Ayyub),  
579-593 / 1183-1197**

As independent ruler after the death of Saladin in 589/1193.

A1090 AV dinar (fine gold) RRR  
All coins of this ruler, in all metals, are characterized by having the central field in two triangles, one within the other, with an Arabic inscription in the central triangle, between the triangles, and in the three segments of the outer margin.

B1090 AR dirham, always dated (about 1.6g) RRR

1090 AR ½ dirham, always undated (0.8g) RR  
This is the only Yemeni Ayyubid ruler for whom the half dirham is more common than the full dirham.

1091 AE fals RRR

**al-Mu'izz Nasir al-Din Isma'il (b. Tughtekin),  
593-598 / 1197-1202**

Isma'il cited without reference to the main Ayyubid ruler of Egypt & Syria.

1092 AR dirham (approximately 2.10-2.15g), as malik (593-597), citing the 'Abbasid caliph S

For this series, the dirham weight was increased from about 1.6g (half a qafla?) to about 2.10-2.15g, which may have been more-or-less equivalent to 2/3 of the then current qafla. This standard was retained until the end of Ayyubid coinage in Yemen in 634. However, issues struck before the accession of al-Mas'ud Yusuf in 612 include many underweight examples (even in superb condition), often as light as 1.7g.

Both this type and #1093 have an octagon within circle on both obverse and reverse.

From this reign onwards, silver coins are exquisitely struck, with at worst only minimal weakness. Copper coins were also well made, but surviving specimens are usually worn or corroded.

1093 AR dirham, as Imam, with title al-Hadi (597-598) RR  
Isma'il was assassinated for the audacity of declaring himself Imam. On coins of this type, he styles himself a member of the long-vanished Umayyad dynasty (in Arabic, *al-amawi*).

A1094 AR ½ dirham, type as #1092 (approximately 1.05g) RRR

B1094 AE fals, Ta'izz mint only, type undetermined RRR

**al-Nasir Abu'l-Muzaffar Ayyub (b. Tughtekin),  
598-611 / 1202-1214**

All issues of this ruler cite his name, together with the name of his Egyptian Ayyubid overlord, al-'Adil Abu Bakr in the reverse margin (side with kalima in center).

1094.1 AR dirham, type A, dated 599-600 (square with annulets attached outside each quarter) R  
Struck principally at al-Dumluwa.<sup>285</sup>

1094.2 AR dirham, type B (central octofoil within a circle, both sides), dated 600-607 S

1094.3 AR dirham, type C (interlaced octofoil without an outer circle, both sides), dated 607-611 C

The dirham standard remained about 2.10g, but specimens often weigh considerably less, occasionally below 1.7g.

A1095 AR ½ dirham, Zabid 598, type not noted RRR

1095 AE fals, mainly mint of Mabyan (mint unknown for silver!) RR

**al-Mu'azzam Sulaymanshah, 611-612 / 1214**

A1096 AR dirham, known only from Ta'izz 611 RRR

**al-Mas'ud Yusuf (b. al-Kamil Muhammad of Egypt),  
612-626 / 1214-1228**

Al-Mas'ud Yusuf is never cited as actual ruler, but as heir-apparent (*wali 'ahd*) to al-Kamil Muhammad, who is in turn cited as heir-apparent to al-'Adil Abu Bakr on dirhams dated 612-621, i.e., six years after the death of Abu Bakr in 615. Abu Bakr no longer appears on Yusuf's coins dated later in 621 until 627.

1096.1 AR dirham, citing the Egyptian overlord al-'Adil Abu Bakr & al-Kamil Muhammad as heir apparent (in Cairo) S

1096.2 AR dirham, citing overlord al-Kamil Muhammad (known dated 621-627) S

His coinage continued after Yusuf's death into the year 627 (type #1096.2). From 612 onward, lightweight dirhams are seldom encountered, unlike dirhams of previous reigns. Only in the early 630s (type #1099) were underweight examples once again produced.

Dirhams 621-623 have the caliph al-Nasir, some dated 623 & 624 have al-Zahir (RR), those dated 624-627 cite al-Mustansir.

1096A AR ½ dirham (just over one gram), struck only at Mecca RRR

Denomination uncertain.<sup>286</sup>

<sup>283</sup> ICA London #8 (2004), lot 253, ruler misread as "Hamud".

<sup>284</sup> Peus, Katalog 341 (3 Nov 1994), lot 1796.

<sup>285</sup> This type was formerly RRR, but an unknown number surfaced in 2009, mostly al-Dumluwa 600, of which I've seen at least 30 examples. The hoard quantity remains undetermined.

1097	AE fals, several types	RRR	<b>al-Mansur 'Umar I, 626-647 / 1229-1249</b>	
	<b>In the name of al-Kamil Muhammad I (of Egypt), first period of recognition, 626-627 / 1228-1229</b>			
A1098	AR dirham, struck only at 'Adan in 627, design as #1098.1	RR	V1100 AV dinar, Zabid 635 only, type as #1100.2 <sup>287</sup>	RRR
	<b>al-'Adil Abu Bakr, 627-631 / 1229-1233 (Sayf al-Din, b. Yusuf)</b>		1100.1 AR dirham, type A (notched inner circle, struck 634-635)	R
	This Abu Bakr is the son of al-Mas'ud Yusuf, not to be confused with the son of al-Kamil Muhammad, also called Abu Bakr.		1100.2 AR dirham, type B (square-in-circle, struck 635 only)	RRR
1098.1	AR dirham, horizontal inscriptions, no central cartouche (type A, 627-629)	RR	1100.3 AR dirham, type C (diamond with excurvate sides, struck 636-638, Mabyan mint only)	RRR
1098.2	AR dirham, central inner circle cartouche, looped thrice into the margin (type B, dated 631, sometimes without mint)	RR	1100.5 AR dirham, type E (hexafoil superimposed on a hexagram, struck 640) (Zeno-95214) <sup>288</sup>	RRR
	No coins dated 630 are currently known.		1100.4 AR dirham, type D (double intersecting trefoils, struck 641-648, possibly also 640)	S
	<b>In the name of al-Kamil Muhammad I (of Egypt), 2<sup>nd</sup> period of recognition, 631-634 / 1233-1236</b>		This type bears the name <i>al-mansur 'umar</i> below the caliph's name in the obverse field, the rest of his titlature, <i>al-malik bin 'ali al-yamani</i> in the obverse margin, following the date. Type #1100.4 coins dated 648 are posthumous (RR). There are no Rasulid dirhams known dated 639.	
1099	AR dirham, layout as type #1098.2 (type B of Abu Bakr)	R	1101 AE fals, several subtypes, always poorly preserved	R
1099A	AE fals	RR	<b>al-Muzaffar Yusuf (b. 'Umar), 647-694 / 1249-1295</b>	
	All "Ayyubid" coinage 627-634 was in fact struck under the authority of the first Rasulid ruler, al-Mansur 'Umar, before he allegedly obtained formal permission from the 'Abbasid caliph al-Mustansir in Baghdad to place his own name on the coinage.		A1102 AV dinar	RRR
			1102 AR dirham, one type only (central circle, both sides)	C
			Dirhams from 648 until the late 650s were usually well struck and with clear elegant script. Thereafter, both the epigraphic and manufacturing quality rapidly degenerated, with the strange exception of a brief period in 664-665 of remarkably elegant calligraphy and production.	
			Some issues of 648-649 have the father's name 'Umar at the end of the bottom line in the obverse field. Some of 649 and all later dates have 'Umar above the top line of the obverse field.	
			1103 AE fals	S
			Many types, usually without mint name, always undated. No meaningful catalog of these fulus has ever been assembled.	
			<b>al-Ashraf 'Umar II (b. Yusuf), 694-696 / 1295-1297</b>	
			1104.1 AR dirham, as co-ruler with his father (694-695)	RR
			1104.2 AR dirham, as sole ruler (695-696)	RR
			1104F AE fals, 'Adan mint only, citing both 'Umar and his father (Zeno-84743)	RRR
			<b>al-Wathiq Sayf al-Din Ibrahim (b. Yusuf), d. 711 / 1311</b>	
			Local ruler at Zufar al-Habudi, now in western Oman.	
			See Zeno-12337 for a similar example, with his <i>laqab</i> Nur al-Din and supposedly dated 696.	
			1104G AR dirham, struck at Zufar in 711 only	RRR
			<b>al-Mu'ayyad Hizibr al-Din Da'ud (b. Yusuf), 696-721 / 1297-1322</b>	
			A1105 AV dinar	RRR
			B1105 AV ½ dinar <sup>289</sup>	RRR
			1105 AR dirham, one type only (notched circle)	C
			1105A AE fals, 'Adan mint only <sup>290</sup>	RRR
			<b>al-Mansur (Zayn?) al-Din Ayyub (b. Yusuf), rival, circa 721-722 / 1322</b>	
			1106 AR dirham, inner triple-circle both sides, with the middle circle pointillate	RR
			<b>al-Zahir Asad al-Din 'Abd Allah (b. Ayyub), rival, circa 723-734 / 1323-1334</b>	
			1107 AR dirham, inner triple-octofoil both sides, middle octofoil pointillate	RR

<sup>287</sup> Private collection, Dubai.

<sup>288</sup> I preferred to retain the number of #1100.4 for type D, even though type D is later than the very recently discovered type E (#1100.5).

<sup>289</sup> Known only from an example mounted into jewelry (see my list #212)

<sup>290</sup> Peus, Katalog 345, 1 Nov 1995, #1071

<sup>286</sup> Sotheby's, 24 March 1988, lot 540; see also Spink-Taisei, Auction 31, 20 June 1989, lot 102 for a similar but lighter coin.

**al-Mujahid Sayf al-Islam 'Ali (b. Da'ud),  
721-764 / 1322-1363**

Al-Mujahid was the first Rasulid ruler to issue multiple types for the dirham.

- M1108 AV dinar, known only from 'Adan dated 735, small sword in obverse center<sup>291</sup> RRR
- N1108 AV ½ dinar, always without mint or date RRR
- 1108.1 AR dirham, type **A**, central circle with 3 or 4 stars in margin (722-726) S
- 1108.2 AR dirham, type **B**, central circle, no stars in margin, star-in-circle in center (obverse & reverse) (struck 727-735) S
- 1108.3 AR dirham, type **C**, hexafoil, pictorial device in obverse center (736-763) C

Al-Mujahid was the first to introduce pictorial devices on the Rasulid silver coinage, a practice continued by all subsequent members of the dynasty. Type 1108.3 dirhams bear pictorial devices specific to mint, a **lion** at al-Mahjam, a **hawk** at Zabid, **two fish** at 'Adan, and a **seated man** at Tha'bat. The first three mints are common, Tha'bat is very scarce.

An immense hoard was retrieved from the Red Sea circa 1990, not far from the modern Saudi city of Jeddah, containing an estimated 25,000 Rasulid dirhams terminating in about the year 748, along with thousands of Syrian and Egyptian Mamluk dirhams and fractional dirhams. These Rasulid dirhams were mostly brittle and easily broken, not surprising for these unprecedently thin silver coins.<sup>292</sup>

- 1108A AE fals, several types, poorly struck RR
- al-Afdal Dhirgham al-Din al-'Abbas (b. 'Ali),  
764-778 / 1363-1376**

- 1109.1 AR dirham, type **A**, central circle, inscriptions only (764-772) C
- 1109.2 AR dirham, type **B**, pictorial device above or below obverse field (772-778) C

Pictorial types are mint-specific, as on type #1108.3, except that coins of 'Adan have only one fish (someone ate the other?).

**al-Ashraf Mumahhid al-Din Isma'il I (b. al-'Abbas),  
778-803 / 1376-1400**

Unless otherwise noted, all types of this reign have the same shape on both obverse & reverse. All pictorial devices are mint-specific, whereas geometric patterns are normally common to all mints.

- 1110.1 AR dirham, type **A**, inscriptions only, central fancy hexafoil (779-782) C
- 1110.2 AR dirham, type **B**, inscriptions only, intersecting double trefoil, as #1100.4 of 'Umar I (783-784) S
- 1110.3 AR dirham, type **C**, pictorial obverse, single or double plain circle (784-787) S

**Two fish** at 'Adan, **lion attacking bull** at al-Mahjam, **mounted hunter holding falcon** at Ta'izz, **hawk attacking different bird** at Zabid. The single circle type is 20-22mm in diameter, the double circle about 25mm. Usually somewhat weakly struck, with full bold images rare.

This is the first Rasulid type to spell dates in numerals rather than words, though some varieties of this type still use words rather than numerals. All later types have dates in either numerals or words, usually one form for each type.

- 1110.4 AR dirham, type **D**, plain circle, semi-pictorial, marginal variations (787-790) R
- The type is distinguished by the obverse margin: a **ring of large pellets** at 'Adan, **mint & date** inscription at al-Mahjam (date usually in ciphers), **stars** at Ta'izz (sometimes alternating with either pellets or annulets), a circle of tiny **swimming fish** at Zabid.

- 1110.5 AR dirham, type **E**, pictorial, identical to type 1108.3 of al-Mujahid 'Ali (791 only) RR

The mint of Ta'izz is not known for this type.

- 1110.6 AR dirham, type **F**, pictorial, complex central area, pictorial devices in the outer margin, usually together with words or ciphers (792-794) S

The pictorial devices are repeated 4 times in the margin (8 times at 'Adan): **fish** at 'Adan, **hawk, lion or hare** at al-Mahjam, **seated man** at both Ta'izz and Zabid. Coins of this and all successive types are very broad and thin, usually poorly struck.

- 1110.7 AR dirham, type **G**, pictorial, small central circle (795-796) RRR

Not enough specimens are known to determine the full range of this rather complex type, but the presence of a small pictorial device within the relatively narrow central circle is the primary distinguishing factor.

- 1110.8 AR dirham, type **H**, inscriptions only, plain circle as central enclosure (797-798) RR

Arrangement as the common type #1102 of al-Muzaffar Yusuf.

- 1110.9 AR dirham, type **I-1**, pictorial, plain double circle, with an additional tangential small circle inscribed at the top of the double circle on the obverse only (799-801, also 802 at Zabid) S

The pictorial device appears in the tangential circle: **lion** at 'Adan, **seated man** at al-Mahjam (by far the most common mint), eight-petal **rosette** at Zabid (not confirmed for Ta'izz).

Types #1110.9 and 1110.10 are dated in numerals.

- 1110.10 AR dirham, type **I-2**, quasi-pictorial, same design as type I-1 but a new set of symbols (802-803) RR

**Chalice** at 'Adan, **foliate ornament** at al-Mahjam, **three swords** at Zabid (not known from Ta'izz).

**al-Nasir Salah al-Din Ahmad (b. al-'Abbas),  
803-827 / 1400-1424**

- 1111 AR dirham S

At least 15 types were struck during this reign, most quite rare. Most are pictorial or geometric and not necessarily mint-specific. Unfortunately, most are undated, so that the sequence of types cannot be fully determined until a sufficient number of hoards from this reign are adequately published (unlikely!). Despite the frequent type changes, overstrikes that might help determine the type chronology are unknown.

**al-Mansur Dhiya' al-Din 'Abd Allah (b. Ahmad),  
827-830 / 1424-1427**

- 1112 AR dirham, several types, normally dated RR

**al-Ashraf Isma'il II (b. Ahmad), 830-831 / 1427-1428**

- A1113 AR dirham, at least 3 types unknown RRR

Zeno illustrates three separate types, all of extraordinary complexity and elegance.

**al-Zahir Hizibr al-Din Yahya (b. Isma'il II),  
831-842 / 1428-1439**

- B1113 AR dirham, number of types unknown RRR

**HUSAYNID SHARIFS**

**Nur al-Din Muhammad b. Mika'il, 763-765 / 1362-1364**

In rebellion against the Rasulids at al-Mahjam.

- 1113 AR dirham RR

Two subtypes reported, one struck in 763, the other in 764, about equal rarity.

**UNKNOWN DYNASTY**

*The ruler listed here is apparently unrecorded, and matches neither the known Rasulid rulers who might have succeeded Yahya upon his death in 842 / 1439, nor the Rassid Imams, who might have taken over San'a in 842.*

<sup>291</sup> Morton & Eden, 23 Nov 2004, lot 469.

<sup>292</sup> Some portions of the hoard were eventually recovered by the Saudi government, but large quantities remain in the market, especially in the United States, Canada and Great Britain.



**al-Nasir li-din Allah Muhammad, fl. 842 / 1439**

1113N AR dirham, San'a 842, style similar to last issues of the Rasulids RRR

**TAHIRID**

Lachman, Samuel, "A Coin of the Tahirids of the Yemen," *Spink's Numismatic Circular*, v. 94 (1986), p. 223.

Porter, Venetia (reference needed).

*A minor dynasty, originally chief amirs to the later Rasulids. Only the last ruler is known to have struck coins, though some uncertain types have been conjecturally assigned to other rulers. Only silver was struck, in the form of very coarse dirhams with nigh illegible calligraphy, truly disgusting.*

The only known mint is 'Adan, though the capital of the Tahirids was at Rada', at least at the time of 'Amir b. Da'ud.

The Tahirids of the Yemen bore no relationship to the similarly named Iranian dynasty of the 3<sup>rd</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> century.

From approximately the 830s until the end of Mamluk rule in Egypt in 922, Yemen was supplied with massive quantities of Mamluk silver dirhams from Syria, which presumably formed the basic currency throughout the Yemen. After 922, for roughly a century, most of the circulating silver coins in the Yemen consisted of old Mamluk silver together with Ottoman silver, the latter mainly maydins from the mints of Halab and Misr, together with limited numbers of Ottoman 'uthmanis struck at Yemeni mints.

**'Amir III b. Da'ud, 923-945 / 1517-1538**

Murdered by the Ottomans in 945. It is doubtful that 'Amir III retained any significant power after about 935/1529.

1114 AR dirham or fraction, occasionally dated R  
All coins of this reign are extremely crude and of uncertain denomination, showing a wide distribution of weights, mainly between 1g and 2g.

**RASSID (3<sup>RD</sup> PERIOD)**

**Sharaf al-Din, 912-965 / 1506-1558**

1115 AR dirham (about 1.4-1.5g), usually undated C  
Inscribed 'abd Allah al-mutawakkil 'ala Allah sharaf al-din, often without the final word *al-din*. Clearly dated examples are rare.

1116 AR ½ dirham (0.6-0.7.5g), always with mint & date RR  
Known from the mints of San'a, dated 945 (R), and Zafir (RRR); the latter was Sharaf al-Din's residence from 961 to 965.

1117 AE fals, inscription & date on obverse only, design on reverse (scarce with legible date) C  
Name given only as *al-mutawakkil*, sometimes with 'ala Allah in outer margin. Known dated in the 930s and 940s.

**Mutahhar, as rebel against Sharaf al-Din, circa 958 / 1551**

1117C AR ½ dirham (0.6g), struck only at Thula & dated 958 RRR

**Mutahhar, as Imam, circa 965-980 / 1558-1572**

1117F AR dirham (probably about 1.2g) RRR  
Without mint name, probably dated 965, but all known specimens lack a clearly coherent date.  
A copper fals assigned to this ruler is reported (Zeno-32427).

**OTTOMAN (YEMENI MINTS)**

Popp, V., G.-R. Puin and H. Wilski, "Ottoman Coins of the Yemen", *A Festschrift Presented to Ibrahim Artuk on the Occasion of the 20<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Turkish Numismatic Society*, Istanbul, 1988, pp. 231-266 (for the silver coinage).

Nauta, D., several excellent articles on copper coinage (arranged by mint) in *ONS Newsletter*: N° 137 (Summer 1993), pp. 6-10 (Zabid); N° 138 (Autumn 1993), pp. 2-5 (al-Mukha); N° 139 (Winter 1994), pp. 5-9 (Kawkaban & Sa'da); N° 140 (Spring 1994), pp. 5-10 (Malhaz); N° 146 (Autumn 1995), Supplement, pp. 17-28 (San'a, first part), N° 153 (Summer 1997), pp. 6-12 (San'a, second part), with more to come.

Kabaklarlı, Necdet, *Mangır: Yemen'de darbedilen Osmanlı Bakır / Ottoman Copper Coins Minted in Yemen 1517-1640*, Istanbul 2007.

*The Ottomans seized Zabid in 937/1531, taking San'a in 952 and 'Adan shortly afterwards. They retained their hold on most of the Yemen until 1045/1635, when their authority was transferred to the Qasimids.*

For the silver, Zabid is the most common mint, though San'a and 'Adan are no longer very rare, especially for Süleyman. Other mints include Kawkaban, Ta'izz, and 'Adan for silver coins, together with Sa'da, al-Mukha and Malhaz, which are known only for copper. The contemporary terminology for the Yemeni silver and copper denominations remains undetermined.

The gold & silver always bear the name of the sultan, whereas the copper is usually anonymous. Anonymous coppers are assigned to ruler by date, and undated coppers are consolidated here as type #1128. Silver coins bear the actual date until about 962, after which they bear only the accessional year, in conformity with metropolitan Ottoman coinage.

By the end of the Ottoman period increasing quantities of European thalers were imported into Yemen. Until the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, these thalers, together with later European & Ottoman crowns and British India rupees, formed the principal silver coinage circulating in the Yemen, alongside locally produced small silver or copper coins for petty change. The Maria Theresa thaler was used from about 1770 until at least the 1940s.

**Süleyman I, 926-974 / 1520-1566**

A1118 AV sultani RR

Struck only at Zabid, this sultani is identical to the usual sultanis of this ruler (#1317), except for the mint name. All Zabid sultanis bear the actual year of issue, rather than the accessional year 926, namely 932 (error for 942?) and various years 945-962. (Can also be regarded as type #1317, if you prefer!)

A sultani said to be Hudayda 936 is uncertain (Zeno-9117)

1118 AR 'uthmani C

Typical weight of the 'uthmani is about 0.6g. Issues of San'a and 'Adan appear to follow a slightly heavier standard than those of Zabid, but further research is needed to confirm this.

Coins of this type initially bore the actual date of issue, from the conquest in 937 until between circa 956 and 961, varying from mint to mint. Later issues are dated with the accession year, 926.

1119 AE fals or mangır S

The Yemeni name of this copper denomination is unknown. San'a is by far the most frequently seen mint.

**Selim II, 974-982 / 1566-1574**

1120 AR 'uthmani RR

1121 AE fals or mangır R

Struck at Mukha (Mocha, famous for its coffee<sup>293</sup>) and Kawkaban.

**Murad III, 982-1003 / 1574-1595**

T1122 AV sultani, mint of San'a (Zeno-30384) RRR

1122 AR 'uthmani RR

A1123 AE fals or mangır RR

Struck at Sa'da in 983.

**Mehmet III, 1003-1012 / 1595-1603**

T1123 AV sultani, mint of San'a (Zeno-20768) RRR

1123 AR 'uthmani RR

**Ahmed I, 1012-1026 / 1603-1617**

1124 AR 'uthmani RR

**Osman II, 1027-1031 / 1618-1622**

1125 AR 'uthmani RRR

**Mustafa I, 2<sup>nd</sup> reign, 1031-1032 / 1622-1623**

1126 AR 'uthmani RRR

**Murad IV, in the Yemen 1032-1045 / 1623-1635**

1127 AR 'uthmani RR

1127A AE fals or mangır, dated 1032 at San'a RR

<sup>293</sup> However, when I visited the city of Mukha in 1986, the only available coffee was Nestlé instant!

### Anonymous, circa 937-1045 / 1530-1635

- 1128 AE fals or mangır, many mints, undated S  
Examples in attractive condition are uncommon. Many types lack the mint name, but were probably struck principally at San'a. Some are totally without inscription, having just geometric patterns. Dated coppers are assigned to the ruler in whose reign the year falls.  
Yemeni Ottoman coins struck after 974 remain rare but will perhaps become more common as new hoards are brought to market. In the Yemen, gold and silver coins were routinely melted for bullion until the early 1980s, copper coins discarded for scrap. Few were saved for collectors.

### OTTOMAN (ARABIAN MINTS)

A few local issues were produced in what is now Saudi Arabia circa 1730-1770, primarily at the mint of 'Ar'ar<sup>294</sup>, as well as a few other mints, most of which remain unread.

Only copper coinage exists for this series, consisting of crudely manufactured fulus on irregular flans. Many of the attributions remain tentative, as they are based on a very limited number of currently known specimens. Also, the actual denominational name is unknown, hence the generic term *fals* is used here.

#### Ahmad II, 1115-1143 / 1703-1730

- 1128R AE fals, without mint, always undated (1.60-1.75g, occasionally significantly heavier or lighter) RRR  
Inscribed *al-'izzat lillah* on obverse, coarsely engraved lion on the reverse.<sup>295</sup>  
1128S AE fals, without mint, sometimes dated (approximately 1.65-1.90g) RRR  
Inscribed *al-mulk lillah* on obverse, coarsely engraved lion on the reverse, one specimen known dated either 1121 or 1131.

#### Mahmud I, 1143-1168 / 1730-1754

- A1129 AE fals, inscriptions above lion on reverse (1.15-1.45g) RRR  
The sultan is cited on obverse by the title *al-'izzat li-mahmud*, "glory to Mahmud", *sana* plus date together with a very coarsely engraved lion on reverse. Normally struck on thick rectangular flans (average 6 x 14mm), without mint name, known dated 1165.<sup>296</sup>  
B1129 AE fals, lion reverse (1.00-1.20g) RRR  
Obverse inscribed *anbiyat li-mahmud*, "the caliphate is to Mahmud", confirming that Mahmud was both sultan and caliph. Date on obverse (known 1147), lion on reverse below *al-mulk lillah*.

#### Osman III, 1168-1161 / 1754-1757

- C1129 AE fals, mint of 'Ar'ar (1.05-1.35g) RRR  
With the name *'uthman* together with his title *al-sultan* cited on obverse, mint, date, and either *'abduhu* or *'abd Allah* on reverse, known dated 1168 and 1169, also undated.

#### Mustafa III, 1171-1187 / 1757-1774

- D1129 AE fals, his name as *Sultan Mustafa*, mint unread RRR  
Mint below ruler's name, reverse with *lillah al-mulk*.  
E1129 AE fals, without ruler's name, mint of 'Ar'ar (0.85-1.10g) RRR  
Obverse inscribed *'izza nasruhu*, mint & date on reverse, each within circle of large pellets. Usually dated 1179, but also known dated 1171 and 1188 (posthumous).  
G1129 AE fals, without ruler's name, but with *lillah al-mulk* on obverse, mint (Najran) on reverse RRR  
Najran is believed to have been a city located within what is now the Saudi province of 'Asir, not far from modern Yemen.

<sup>294</sup> 'Ar'ar is now a city of about 150,000 residents in Saudi Arabia, near the modern border with Iraq.

<sup>295</sup> The assignment of #1128R and 1128S to Ahmad II is tentative, based on a single example of the latter type dated 1121 or 1131. The lion is often so crudely engraved that when I examined the first specimen I thought it was a crocodile!

<sup>296</sup> Due to where they were allegedly found, both #A1129 and B1129 were undoubtedly struck at 'Ar'ar.

### QASIMID IMAMS

The late Samuel Lachman published a series of articles on Qasimid coinage in *Spink's Numismatic Circular*, v. 96 (1988), pp. 39-43, 143-146, 211-212; v.97 (1989), pp. 147-150, 183-185; v. 98 (1990), pp. 1-7, 84, 351; v. 100 (1992), pp. 113-114, 147-148, 185-186, 223-224, 263-264, 300-302. Much more has been subsequently discovered, mostly still unpublished.

*The Qasimid coinage consists principally of silver coins of various denominations, few of which are properly understood. The denominational names given here should be regarded as tentative. Determination of the denomination is complicated by the fact that the weight range for each denomination is unprecedentedly broad. For example, the small denomination of the mid-11<sup>th</sup>/17<sup>th</sup> century was the buqsha, with individual specimens in the range of 0.3-0.5 grams. In 1070/1660, a heavier coin called khums kabir was introduced at a weight of 0.8-1.0 grams. In the early 18<sup>th</sup> century, a coin possibly called a dirham and weighing 2.5-3.0 grams was struck. Under al-Mahdi al-'Abbas, 1748-1775, there were four concurrent denominations, of which the coin of about 0.8 grams was probably the buqsha. After about 1190/1775, the silver coins were increasingly debased, nearly pure copper by the end of the series.*

*The larger copper coin was probably a fals, the smaller one a dawari, as inscribed on some coins of Muhammad III (1687-1718). However, normal copper coinage ceased to be produced after about 1120/1710. Gold coins are all extremely rare, as are all larger silver coins weighing more than about 3 grams. The function of the gold and heavier silver coins is unknown, but they are clearly far too rare to have been a successful circulating medium. Most of the large silver coins are holed or ex-mount, which suggests that they were probably struck primarily as award pieces or for jewelry.*

*For most silver denominations, individual specimens exhibit a wide variation in weight, with the heaviest examples of one denomination occasionally heavier than the lightest examples of the next larger one. They are, however, distinguished by their designs, although for many series the pattern has yet to be categorized. In any case it seems likely that in all transactions silver coins were weighed, rather than counted, and that the formal denominations mentioned in contemporary documents were units of account rather than actual coins, especially because these documents normally quote a fixed ratio between the local silver coins and foreign coins such as the Mexican real, the Austrian thaler or the Indian rupee.*

*The Qasimids traced their descent to the earlier Rassid Imams.*

*Well-struck coins are rarely seen, except for the reigns of al-Mahdi al-'Abbas (1748-1775) and al-Mansur 'Ali (1775-1809). It was during the reign of al-Mansur 'Ali that silver coinage first became debased. After 1224/1809, silver debasement rapidly worsened. The larger billon denomination (0.6-0.9g) was soon abandoned with only the minuscule coppery *harf* (0.25-0.4g) still in production, of little true value and so poorly struck that most surviving specimens are unreadable, even when still in excellent condition. These appalling petty coins are said to have circulated at the rate of 4,000 *harf* to the Maria Theresa thaler, an imported Austrian silver coin that became the de facto basis of Yemeni currency, together with an assortment of Ottoman 5, 10 and 20 piaster coins and British Indian rupees and half rupees.<sup>297</sup>*

<sup>297</sup> During my 1986 visit to Yemen, circulating currency consisted of 25 fils, 50 fils and one rial (= 100 fils) coins, together with 5 rial and 10 rial banknotes, the latter then worth about US\$1. The most common larger banknote was the United States \$100. Maria Theresa thalers were widely available, but I did not observe them still in use as active currency. The "antique" shops often had piles of obsolete silver and copper modern coins (1904-1963), together with modest amounts of Maria Theresa thalers (and occasionally other European thalers), Ottoman coins, and British Indian coins. Gold coinage was readily available in the jewelry shops, consisting predominantly of newly struck "British" sovereigns, half sovereigns, and quarter (!) sovereigns, normally with dates outside the reign of the portrayed king or queen, apparently a legal requirement to distinguish them from genuine sovereigns!

From 1036-1109, silver coins were struck at al-Damigh, Dhamar, Dhimarmar, al-Khadra', Ibb, Kawkaban, Qasr 'Amran<sup>298</sup>, Rada', al-Rawda, Sa'da, San'a, and Shihara, though most mints operated only sporadically. Thereafter, virtually all coins were minted at San'a, though many lack any mint name whatsoever (alternative mints for the later types are indicated under the descriptions, when known).

**al-Mu'ayyad Muhammad I, 1009-1054 / 1602-1644**

- 1129 AR buqsha (0.2-0.35g), struck from 1036 onwards C  
 1129K AE fals, known only from Ibb dated 1039 RRR

**al-Mutawakkil Isma'il, 1054-1087 / 1644-1676**

- 1130 AR buqsha (0.2-0.35g) struck mainly 1054-1066 C  
 The obverse of this type bears the name *al-mutawakkil 'ala Allah* together with his personal name *isma'il*, the latter name usually within a central oval.

- 1130A AR buqsha, similar, but with name on obverse merely *al-mutawakkil 'ala Allah* without *isma'il* RR  
 Struck circa 1078-1087, normally without date, but its flowing calligraphy distinguishes it from the earlier buqsha (#1130).

- 1131 AR khums kabir ("big fifth"), obverse as #1130 (about 1.0-1.1g, struck from 1066 until about 1075 or slightly later) S  
 San'a is the only common mint.

- 1131A AR khums kabir, similar, but with name on obverse merely *al-mutawakkil 'ala Allah* RR  
 Struck circa 1078-1087, normally without date, as #1130A.

- 1132 AE fals, usually without name of mint RR  
 Known mints include al-Damigh, Dhamaramar and Shihara.

**al-Mahdi Ahmad I, 1087-1092 / 1676-1681**

Same weight standard as al-Mutawakkil Isma'il.

- A1133 AV (buqsha??), without name of mint, several variants RRR  
 This is the only gold coin of the Qasimids (pre-machine-struck) that is occasionally offered for sale.

- 1133 AR khamsiya R  
 1133A AR buqsha (0.20-0.30g), without mint RR  
 Obverse *al-mahdi li-din Allah*, reverse *ahmad bin muhammad*.

- 1133B AR buqsha, with mint RR  
 Obverse merely *al-mahdi*, reverse mint, usually with date.

**al-Mu'ayyad Muhammad II, 1092-1097 / 1681-1686**

- 1134 AR khamsiya RR

**Muhammad III, 1098-1130 / 1687-1718**

as al-Nasir (1098-1105 / 1687-1693):

- S1135 AR heavy dirham, known from Kawkaban 1104 (Zeno-57569, 4.32g) RRR

- U1135 AR ½ dirham? (normally about 1.5g), mints of Dhamar & Kawkaban RRR

- 1135 AR khamsiya (about 0.45-.065g) R  
 Normally struck at al-Khadra', or without mint name, usually dated.

- 1136 AE fals, struck mainly at Rada' S  
 The fals weighs around 1.2g, the dawari 0.6g, with considerable variation.

- 1137 AE dawari (= ½ fals), struck mainly at Rada' R  
 Copper coins of this denomination are inscribed *dawari*. Also known from the mints of al-Ghiras & Rahban.

as al-Hadi (1105-1109 / 1693-1697):

- 1138 AR khamsiya RR  
 This type was sometimes struck at al-Khadra', but commonly lacks the mint name altogether, usually dated.

- 1139 AE fals, usually without mint name R

- 1140 AE dawari (½ fals), similar R

as al-Mahdi (1109-1130 / 1697-1718):

- 1141 AR dirham (2.0-3.0g) S  
 Silver coins of this reign were struck almost exclusively at San'a, but the mint name is usually omitted. One extremely rare issue was struck at al-Muwahib circa 1122. There are several smaller denominations, but they have not yet been definitively separated, and I have listed them together as a "fraction" (#1142). Heavier versions weigh in the 3.5-4.5g range, denominational name unknown (RR).

- 1142 AR fraction, various types and weights R

**al-Mutawakkil al-Qasim, 1128-1139 / 1716-1727**

- 1143 AR khamsiya?, various weight from about 0.6g to at least 2g, denomination names undetermined RR  
 San'a was the only mint for this reign, save for a very rare issue of Dhamar dated 1129, presumably while in opposition to al-Mahdi Muhammad.

**al-Mansur al-Husayn, 1139-1161 / 1727-1748**

- Y1144 AR kabir (about 1.5g), with mint name San'a RRR

- 1144 AR khamsiya (?) R  
 Coin denominations of this reign remain to be determined, with weights mostly between about 0.5g and 1.0g, sometimes lighter. Most were probably struck at San'a, though that mint is rarely mentioned. There are some very rare silver coins struck at Ta'izz (two in Tübingen, 1141 at 1.31g, 1145 at 0.35g).

**al-Mahdi al-'Abbas, 1161-1189 / 1748-1775**

- A1145 AV zeri mahbub RRR  
 Toughra obverse. Standard and layout of inscriptions resembles the Ottoman zeri mahbub of the same period.

- T1145 AR 2 kabir (*kabirayn*) (about 3.0g) RR

- 1145 AR kabir (approximately 1.5g) C

- 1146 AR buqsha (0.8-1.2g) C

- 1146K AR khamsiya (0.4-0.8g) C

- 1147 AR harf (?) (0.2-0.4 g) C

According to Carsten Niebuhr, who visited Yemen in 1176/1763, the current denominations were the *harf*, the *khamsiya* (= 2 harf), the *buqsha* (= 2-½ harf), and the *kabir* (= 5 harf) (cited by Suchý on Zeno-10934). Accord to Niebuhr's calculations, the *kabir* should be coin of about 1.5g, which is about ½ *qafla*, thus confirming that the *khamsiya* was indeed 1/5 *qafla*, and could also be termed *khums*, which means "one fifth".

All coins of this reign were presumably struck at San'a, though the mint name is frequently omitted from the die, especially on the tinier coins.

One issue, dated 1186 and probably the buqsha, was struck at Qasr San'a, "the palace of San'a".

**al-Mansur 'Ali I, 1189-1224 / 1775-1809**

- 1148 AR or BI kabir (?) (0.8-1.1g) S

- 1149 AR or BI buqsha (?) (0.4-0.6g) S

With few exceptions, silver remained pure from the commencement of this dynasty to the beginning of al-Mansur's reign, but was already noticeably declining by AH1200, after which all "silver" coins are increasingly debased.

**al-Mutawakkil Ahmad II, 1224-1231 / 1809-1816**

- 1150 AR buqsha (0.8-1.0g) RR

- 1151 AR harf (?) (0.3-0.5g) R?

**al-Mahdi 'Abd Allah I, 1231-1251 / 1816-1835**

- 1152 AR/BI buqsha (approximately 0.6-0.9g) C

Usually dated, circa 1232-1236.

- 1153 AR/BI harf (name uncertain, approximately 0.3-0.4g) C

Earlier issues are often dated (circa 1232-1236) and are silvery in appearance (S). Late issues are very coppery, never dated, and almost never well struck (C).

Types #1154-1158 are very tentative, with further research needed. The harf of this period is very coppery, generally weighs between 0.25 and 0.4g, miserably struck and usually found heavily worn or corroded. Only #1157 is securely attributed.

<sup>298</sup> Also known without *qasr*, and sometimes misread as 'ayyan.

## MECCA & CENTRAL ARABIA

- 1154 BI harf, normally dated **al-Mansur 'Ali II, 1251-1252 / 1835-1837** RRR
- 1155 BI harf, normally dated (cf. Zeno-11129) **al-Nasir 'Abd Allah II, 1252-1256 / 1837-1840** RR
- 1156 BI harf, always undated **al-Hadi Muhammad IV, 1256-1259 / 1840-1844** S
- 1157 BI harf, always undated (cf. Zeno-11157) **al-Mutawakkil Muhammad V, 1261-1265 / 1845-1849** R
- 1158 BI harf **al-Mansur Ahmad III, 1265-1269 / 1849-1853** RR?
- Coins assigned to al-Mansur Ahmad may actually be imitations or contemporary counterfeits of issues of al-Mansur 'Ali II. The ruler is cited only as al-Mansur. Cf. Zeno-11096 for a variety most likely of al-Mansur Ahmad III.
- 1158G AR kabir? (about 0.9g), Sa'da 1267 only<sup>299</sup> **al-Hadi Ghalib, rival at Sa'da, 1267-1268 / 1851-1852** RRR
- 1159 BI kabir (approximately 0.5-1.0g), dated 1311-1321 **al-Mansur Hamid al-Din, 1307-1322 / 1888-1904** R
- Many subordinate types, some of which are rare (see SCWC). This denomination was called "buqsha" in my earlier editions.
- 1159 AE harf (approximately 1.5g), known dated 1312-1313 **al-Mansur Hamid al-Din, 1307-1322 / 1888-1904** RR
- 1159 AE buqsha (approximately 3.0g), known dated 1312-1313 **al-Mansur Hamid al-Din, 1307-1322 / 1888-1904** RR
- 1159 AE buqsha? (about 2g), without mint name, dated 1322 (Zeno-11093) **al-Hadi li-din Allah, fl. 1322 / 1904** RRR
- 1159 BI kabir (formerly called "buqsha"), dated 1322-1323 **al-Mutawakkil Yahya, 1322-1367 / 1904-1948** RR
- All later coinage of this ruler is machine-struck, albeit with primitive equipment and from handcut dies, and is not included here (listed in detail in SCWC).

## **SULAYMANI SHARIFS**

Suchý, Vladimír, listing on Zeno.ru, under "Post-Ottoman Rulers in the Tiháma and 'Asír" in his Yemen section of the Special Reports.

*Rulers in the Mikhlaf Sulayman, a region in what is now the 'Asir district of Saudi Arabia. They briefly extended their power along the coastal regions as far south as Zabid.*

Always very weakly struck, and usually badly preserved. Some examples of Zabid 1223 (#1159.2) may have a somewhat different obverse inscription.

**temp. Hammud b. Muhammad (known as Ibn Mismar), circa 1217-1232 / 1802-1817**

- 1159.1 BI buqsha?, with *al-mulku lillah* on obverse, mint & date on reverse, mint of al-Zahra, dated 1224 RRR
- 1159.2 BI buqsha?, *al-hamdu lillah* on obverse, mint & date on reverse, Zabid 1223 or 1230 RR
- 1159.3 BI buqsha?, *Allah hasbi* and date on obverse, mint name on reverse RR
- Known from Abu 'Arish 1227 & 1233, Mukhtarah (near Hudeidah in Yemen) 1126.

## **AMIRS OF MECCA**

- Ja'far b. Muhammad, fl. 360 / 971<sup>300</sup>**
- 1159J AV dinar, struck at Makka in 360 RRR

## **FULAYTID (HAWASHIM) SHARIFS OF MECCA**

*A succession of sharifs at Mecca prior to the Qatadid takeover circa 600/1200, of whom coins have thus far been discovered only for Mukaththir b. 'Isa.*

- Mukaththir b. 'Isa b. Fulayta, 584-593 / 1188-1197**
- 1159M AR dirham (approximately 1.15g) RRR
- Inscribed merely *al-amir mukaththir* on obverse, *al-imam ahmad* on reverse, without mint, date, denomination, etc. (Zeno-30128).

## **QATADID SHARIFS OF MECCA**

*An 'Alid family who served as sharifs at Mecca from about 600/1200 until 1335/1916. One ruler, Jammaz, attempted to exercise his independence during a time of struggle between the Ayyubids and the Rasulids for political control of Arabia.*

- Jammaz b. al-Hasan, 651 / 1253-1254**
- Jammaz ruled for only about four months.
- A1160 AR dirham<sup>301</sup> RRR
- Struck at Mecca and dated 651, to a weight standard of about 1.4-1.5g, thus possibly better regarded as a half dirham.

## **WAHHABI SHARIFS AT MECCA**

*The Wahhabi Sharifs struck anonymous copper coins from 1219 to 1240, with the possible addition of a few coins dated earlier in the 1210s. They are rather heavy and resemble contemporary copper paisa's of western India, whence it is conceivable that Muslim manufacturers from India came to Arabia to prepare these coins.*

- Anonymous, circa 1219-1240 / 1805-1825**
- S1160 AR mahmudi, inscriptions only, known from 1219-1222, average weight around 10-14 grams R
- T1160 AR mahmudi, with bird or fish on one or both sides, several varieties struck between 1223 and 1230, weight as #S1160 R
- U1160 AR ½ mahmudi, inscriptions only, probably dated only in the 1210s and again in 1240 RR

## OMAN

## **GOVERNORS OF OMAN ('UMAN)**

Central Bank of Oman, *History of Currency in the Sultanate of Oman*, Muscat 1990 (written by Robert E. Darley-Doran), for this and subsequent Omani dynasties.

*With the disintegration of 'Abbasid authority over Oman, local governors began to add their names to the coinage.*

All coins bear the mint name 'Uman, irrespective of their actual mint site, which was probably at Suhar. 'Uman (Oman) and 'Amman (in Jordan) are written alike in Arabic, but coins of these two mints can always be distinguished by type and style. All coins also cite the current 'Abbasid caliph.

- Ahmad b. al-Husayn, fl. 289 / 902**
- E1160 AR dirham (Zeno-97916) RRR
- It is possible that Ahmad b. Hilal and Ahmad b. al-Husayn refer to the same individual.

<sup>299</sup> Published by Wolfgang Schuster in *ONS Newsletter* #169 (2001), probably still unique.

<sup>300</sup> This appeared at auction, perhaps in the 1980s. I have forgotten which auction and lot number.

<sup>301</sup> Bank Leu, Auction 22, 20 Oct 1982, lot 83.

**Ahmad b. Hilal, fl. 290-312 / 903-925**

F1160 AR dirham RR  
 ‘Abd al-Halim b. Ibrahim, fl. 311-313 / 923-926

H1160 AR dirham RRR

**WAJIHID**

*An Arab dynasty in Oman, originally empowered as ‘Abbasid governors in the region.*

All coins bear the mint name ‘Uman and cite the then current ‘Abbasid caliph, and are stylistically similar to contemporary ‘Abbasid and Buwayhid coins.. Most are quite attractively struck, though not always well preserved.

**Yusuf b. Wajih, 314-332 / 925-943**

N1160 AV dinar, with heir Muhammad b. Yusuf RRR

1160 AR dirham, without heir (314-326) RR

1160D AR presentation dirham, similar, but on broad flan with broad outer margins RRR

The outer margins bear inscriptions, *ya’tazz yusuf bi-‘izz Allah* on the obverse, *yatawakkil yusuf ‘ala Allah* on the reverse.

1161 AR dirham, similar, but with heir Muhammad b. Yusuf (326-332)<sup>302</sup> RR

**Muhammad b. Yusuf, circa 332-341 / 943-952**

A1162 AV dinar RRR

1162 AR dirham RR

1162A AR dirham, medallion style with broad outer margins on obverse & reverse RRR

Known dated 332, ostensibly issued to commemorate his enthronement.<sup>303</sup>

**‘Umar b. Yusuf, fl. 341-350 / 952-961**

A1163 AV dinar RRR

1163 AR dirham RRR

**‘Umar b. Muhammad (al-Sada), fl. 358 / 978**

1163E AR dirham, citing the ‘Abbasid caliph and the Buwayhid rulers ‘Adud al-Dawla & Rukn al-Dawla<sup>304</sup> RRR

**AMIRS OF OMAN**

*After the collapse of the Wajihids, various local amirs gained authority over separate Omani regions. Only one of these amirs is known to have issued coins. His coins cite the Buwayhids ‘Adud al-Dawla and Rukn al-Dawla as his overlords, as well as the then current ‘Abbasid caliph, al-Muti’.*

**Hallaj b. Hatim, fl. 358-361 / 978-982**

A1164 AR dirham, mint of ‘Uman RRR

**MUKRAMID**

*Originally governors to the Buwayhids, the family of Mukram was briefly independent in Oman. Most Mukramid coins bear the name of their Buwayhid overlord.*

All Mukramid coins bear the mint name ‘Uman. The billon dirhams are carelessly made on broad flans, usually poorly struck and seriously worn. The dinars are relatively well struck and rarely exhibit much wear, though their calligraphy is often abominable.<sup>305</sup>

<sup>302</sup> Dirhams of Yusuf b. Wajih dated 326 cite his heir merely as *muhammad*, with the name seemingly added in the lower right corner of the obverse field on a die originally intended to omit the heir (Baldwin’s auction 43, lot 3124). All later issues present his full name, *muhammad bin yusuf*.

<sup>303</sup> Islamic Coins Auction 10, lot 217.

<sup>304</sup> ‘Uman 358, in a private collection, Dubai.

<sup>305</sup> A small hoard of perhaps 75-100 Mukramid dinars with terminal date circa 430 appeared in 2006, but seems to have been dispersed by 2010.

Coins of Hasan lack his personal name or titles, but all later Mukramid coins cite the actual name of the Mukramid ruler.

**temp. Abu Muhammad Hasan b. Mukram, fl. 408-411 / 1017-1020**

M1164 AV dinar RRR

With only the word *mukram* above obverse field. The ruler’s personal name is omitted; only his Buwayhid overlord, Sultan al-Dawla, is cited with his actual name and titles.

N1164 BI dirham RRR

With *shah* above either obverse or reverse field.

**Nasir al-Din, fl. 411-427 / 1020-1036**

With additional titles *yamin al-dawla abu’l-qasim*.

1164 AV dinar RR

1165 BI dirham RRR

**Abu’l-Hasan b. Nasir al-Din, fl. 427-430 / 1036-1039**

With additional titles *shams al-din nasir al-dawla wa sana’ al-milla wa fakhir al-umma*.

A1166 AV dinar RRR

B1166 BI dirham RRR

Pre-modern Omani coins command a large premium due to strong demand in Oman and the Gulf region. They are far more expensive than coins of similar rarity from less avidly collected mints.

After the Mukramid Abu’l-Hasan there was no further coinage in Oman until 1311/ 1893, except for a few customary Buwayhid coins during the early 430s. Imported coins were later used, mainly from India, at first from Gujarat until the 17<sup>th</sup> century, then from the Mughal empire, finally from British India.

**NORTHERN & EASTERN ARABIA****BANU MISMAR**

Bates, Michael L., “The coinage of Mismar b. Salm, ruler of al-Qatif in the 3<sup>rd</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> century”, in *Bahrain through the ages of its History*, London 1975, pp. 98-103.

*A local gubernatorial state in Eastern Arabia, with its capital at al-Qatif, now in Saudi Arabia.*

Issued in copper, sometimes silver-plated, of which only the silver-plated version is sometimes known dated (always AH273). Neither a mint name nor a denomination is mentioned, but it is likely that all were struck at al-Qatif. Both types have *lillah mismar bin salm* in the obverse field, *muhammad rasul Allah* in the reverse field.

Weight roughly 1.4-1.8g for the silver-plated version, 0.4-1.5g for the copper.

**Mismar b. Salm, fl. 273 / 886-887**

F1166 AR “dirham”, date in obverse margin, *la hawla wa la quwwah illa billah* in reverse margin RRR

All “silver” coins are probably copper or bronze with a heavy silver plating.

G1166 AE “dirham”, circles of dots instead of text in obverse & reverse margins RRR

Some examples reveal one side struck from dies presumably intended for #W1160. This type may have been struck before or after 273.

**LOCAL COPPER FULUS**

*A few cities in Arabia began producing autonomous minuscule copper coins after Ottoman control essentially vanished in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, culminating with the thick anonymous issues produced by the Wahhabids in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century (#S1160-U1160), most of which can be assigned to specific locations.*

Most copper fulus are small and thick, either more or less round, square or rectangular. Most are anonymous, but those citing an Ottoman sultan or otherwise tentatively assigned to the Ottomans are listed under the Ottoman coinage of Arabia (#A1129 ff.). The principal mint is ‘Ar’ar, now located in Saudi Arabia along the northern oil pipeline, not far from the Iraqi border. A second mint is tentatively interpreted as Najran, always engraved without the ‘r’ as

Najan, but still uncertain. Several other apparent mint names remain unidentified.

Nearly all examples are undated, unlike the previous Ottoman issues. The weight varies widely, usually between 0.5g and 2.0g.

**Anonymous, circa 1165-1215 / 1750-1800**

- M1166.1 AE fals, mint of 'Ar'ar, *duriba fi* on obverse, *hazz 'ar'ar* on the reverse, occasionally with a date written on one side or the other RR
- M1166.2 AE fals of 'Ar'ar, *duriba (fi) 'ar'ar* on obverse, coarsely engraved lion on the reverse RRR
- M1166.3 AE fals of 'Ar'ar, uncertain word above 'ar'ar on obverse (*ba'dun?*), crude lion on reverse RRR
- N1166 AE fals of "Najan", mint name on obverse, lion on reverse RRR

Fulus without mint or with undeciphered mint may be generically termed type #M1166. Several varieties are known.

**SABAHID (ĀL SABAH)**

The ruling dynasty of Kuwait since 1756, still in power (2011), issued a pre-modern copper baiza in 1304/1887, listed as KM-1 & KM-A2. Modern coins were introduced in 1961.

**'Abd Allah II b. Sabah II, 1283-1309 / 1866-1892**

- S1166 AE baiza, al-Kuwait 1304 RRR
- The normal baiza (from the Indian term *paisa*) has a cryptic Arabic monogram on the obverse, probably the ruler's name (KM-1), the much rarer type has his name written normally, perhaps followed by the patronymic (KM-A2).<sup>306</sup>

**EAST AFRICA**

**MOGADISHU**

Freeman-Grenville, G.S.P., "Coins from Mogadishu," *Numismatic Chronicle*, 7<sup>th</sup> series, vol. 3 (1963), pp. 179-200.

See also *Sylloge of Islamic Coins in the Ashmolean*, v.10, for the most complete assemblage of East African coins of all the various cities, together with a bibliography.

*Minting at Mogadishu in modern Somalia proceeded from shortly after 1300 to perhaps the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, though few of the coins can be dated with any precision. Tentative dates provided here may be off by as much as a century.*

The following list is not complete.

All coins lack mint and date, though Mogadishu itself is the presumed mint. All are poorly struck on thin flans with an average weight of roughly 2 grams.

Mogadishu copper coins were easily obtainable until the 1980s, but have subsequently become difficult to acquire. They are denoted here with higher rarity than in the 2<sup>nd</sup> edition.

**Abu Bakr b. Muhammad, fl. 722 / 1322-1323**

- 1166 BI dirham RRR

**al-Rahman b. al-Musa'id, probably 8<sup>th</sup>/14<sup>th</sup> century**

- 1167 AE fals RRR

**Yusuf b. Sa'id, 8<sup>th</sup>/14<sup>th</sup> century**

- 1168 AE fals RR

**Sultan Muhammad al-Mujahid, 8<sup>th</sup>/14<sup>th</sup> century**

- 1169 AE fals RR

Freeman-Granville dates this piece after 1388, but his reasoning is based on information now regarded as obsolete.

<sup>306</sup> Several years ago (early 2000s), I acquired a group of 18 pieces, 17 of KM-1 and the first known example of KM-A2 (illustrated in SCWC, possibly still unique). To my immense surprise, they had been owned by a family here in Santa Rosa, California, for more than 20 years, unbeknownst to the numismatic world!

**Sultan 'Umar, 9<sup>th</sup>/15<sup>th</sup> century (?)**

- 1170 AE fals RR

**Rasul b. 'Ali, 8<sup>th</sup>/14<sup>th</sup> century**

- 1171 AE fals RRR

**Yusuf b. Abi Bakr, 8<sup>th</sup>/14<sup>th</sup> century**

- 1172 AE fals RRR

**al-Malik Sa'd, unknown dates, style of 8<sup>th</sup>/14<sup>th</sup> century**

- 1173 AE fals RRR

Formerly read as Malik b. al-Sa'id, but corrected recently.

**Zubayr b. 'Umar, perhaps 9<sup>th</sup>/15<sup>th</sup> century**

- 1174 AE fals R

**'Ali b. Yusuf, perhaps 9<sup>th</sup>/15<sup>th</sup> century**

- 1175 AE fals S

**Anonymous, inscribed *al-sultaniya al-mujahidiya*, probably 9<sup>th</sup>/15<sup>th</sup> century or later**

- 1176 AE fals R

**Muhammad al-'Adil al-Zafir, probably late 9<sup>th</sup>/15<sup>th</sup> century or later**

- 1176G AE fals RR

Possibly two denominations, a "fals" with title *al-'adil* and a "half fals" without that title.

**"al-Bahuni"<sup>307</sup>, perhaps 10<sup>th</sup>/16<sup>th</sup> century**

- 1177 AE fals RR

**"al-Baha' Lillah", date unknown**

Quite different from #1177, with unread reverse inscription, perhaps containing the issuer's name.

- 1177A AE fals RRR

**"al-Dibr", perhaps 10<sup>th</sup>/16<sup>th</sup> century**

- 1178 AE fals RRR

It is not known whether al-Bahuni and al-Dibr are names or parts of some other inscriptions, perhaps honorific.

**Anonymous, anepigraphic, 10<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> / 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries (??)**

- 1179 AE fals, various designs, often engraved in the form of a monogram or toughra RR

Most variants have a toughra-like inscription on one side that has tentatively been deciphered as a reference to God, *wa huwa yakfi*, "and He sufficeth". The other side normally bears either the formula *al-mulk lillah* or a toughra-like legend very tentatively deciphered as *aghvani kulli*, "He hath enriched me entirely". Usually very poorly struck.

**KILWA**

Walker, John, "History and Coinage of the Sultans of Kilwa," *Numismatic Chronicle*, 5<sup>th</sup> series, vol. 16 (1936), pp. 43 ff. (with supplement in 1939, volume 19).

Freeman-Grenville, G.S.P., "Coinage in East Africa before Portuguese Times," *Numismatic Chronicle*, 6<sup>th</sup> series, vol. 17 (1957), pp. 151-179.

There are other articles, by Walker, Freeman-Grenville, Chittick, Brown, and others, but no convenient summary of the coinage exists. The articles by Freeman-Grenville are especially frustrating to use, as the distinction between the issues of Kilwa and Zanzibar had not yet been ascertained.

*A small sultanate on the tiny island of Kilwa Kisiwani and the adjacent coastal regions, now part of Tanzania. The coinage consists of copper fulus, though a few gold dinars were recently shown at the Ashmolean Museum. Most of the copper coins*

<sup>307</sup> Read by Freeman-Grenville as "al-Bahuq", but the final letter is clearly not a *qaf*. I now believe that this "name" is actually a crudely written form of *wa huwa yakfi* (as on #1179) or something similar.

bear their inscription in the form of a rhymed couplet, a rhetorical device known as *saj'* in Arabic.

Reign dates are from Mitchiner, *The World of Islam*, and should be considered highly conjectural.

All copper coins cite neither mint nor date. Most examples are poorly struck, with considerable weak areas. The few known gold coins bear mint and date, and are rather carefully struck.

A large accumulation, allegedly more than 7,000 pieces, was marketed in London during the 1950s and 1960s (at the modest price of 6<sup>d</sup> each!), but now they are increasingly difficult to obtain. All rarity indications have been raised since the 2<sup>nd</sup> edition.

**'Ali b. al-Hasan, 7<sup>th</sup>/13<sup>th</sup> century**

1180 AE fals R

**Da'ud b. al-Hasan, 7<sup>th</sup>/13<sup>th</sup> century**

1181 AE fals RR

**al-Hasan b. Talut, circa 700/1300**

1182 AE fals RR

**al-Hasan b. Sulayman, circa 715/1315**

1183 AE fals R

**Sulayman b. al-Hasan, fl. 732/1331<sup>308</sup>**

A1184 AV dinar, with mint & date RRR

Two types, stylistically based on Mamluk and Rasulid prototypes, respectively. The mint is always *kilwa*, not always visible.

1184 AE fals S

**Da'ud b. Sulayman, mid-8<sup>th</sup>/14<sup>th</sup> century**

1185 AE fals R

**Muhammad b. Sulayman, unknown dates**

1186 AE fals RRR

**Sulayman b. al-Husayn, unknown dates**

1189 (*sic*) AE fals RR

**"Nasir al-Dunya wa'l-Din", 9<sup>th</sup>/15<sup>th</sup> century, copper imitation of a Rasulid silver dirham,**

1187 AE fals R

Once believed to be an imitation of a Mamluk fals of Dimashq 735, recent research has demonstrated that this type was derived from one of the silver dirhams of the Rasulid ruler al-Nasir Ahmad (#1111).

**ZANZIBAR**

The local sultans of Zanzibar struck a number of coins similar to the Kilwa issues during the 8<sup>th</sup>/14<sup>th</sup> century. More precise dating of the rulers and their coinage is unavailable. Even the sequence of rulers has not been determined.

All coins lack mint and date, and nearly all are poorly struck.

**al-Husayn b. Ahmad**

1188 AE fals R

(#1189 has been moved to Kilwa, after #1186.)

**Ishaq b. Hasan**

1190 AE fals R

**al-Hasan b. 'Ali**

1191 AE fals RR?

Coins of al-Hasan b. 'Ali may have been struck both in Kilwa and Zanzibar. If so, fulus of the two different mints cannot presently be distinguished.

**MADAGASCAR**

A small number of imitations of Fatimid and Ziyadid dinars were found in the harbor of Diego Suarez, and are presumed to be local imitations, though it remains to be established whether they were indeed minted in Madagascar or at a nearby location such as Kilwa.<sup>309</sup> They are believed to date from the 5<sup>th</sup>/11<sup>th</sup> century.

**Anonymous, circa 5<sup>th</sup>/11<sup>th</sup> century**

A1192 AV dinar imitating Fatimid or Ziyadid prototypes, pseudo-dates (if any) RRR

**HARAR**

Zekaria, Ahmad, "Harari Coins: A Preliminary Survey", *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, v.24 (Nov. 1991), pp. 23-46.

*An Islamic state in eastern Ethiopia which struck coins from 1197-1304 / 1782-1887.*

The coinage of Harar consists of some early billon and copper coins (fals?), later brass coins (perhaps known as mahallek) and a few later silver coins (probably also called mahallek).

Except for the issues of Ahmad II, all coins bear the mint name Harar or al-Harar. Most are dated, though coins of Ahmad II frequently have the date off flan. They are usually decently struck, but often found corroded or worn.

Many coins are anonymous, as indicated in the listings.

**'Abd al-Shakur, 1197-1209 / 1782-1794**

F1192 BI "unit" (about 0.5g) RR

G1192 AE fals (normally about 2g), anonymous, dated 1203-1205 R

**Ahmad II, 1209-1236 / 1794-1821**

H1192 Brass mahallek (0.1-0.3g), anonymous and without mint S

Usually struck without a date. Some are known dated between 1222 and the early 1230s, much rarer than undated examples. There is considerable design variation.

**Abu Bakr II, 1250-1268 / 1834-1852**

I1192 Brass mahallek (about 0.5-0.7g), anonymous, dated 1257-1258 R

**Muhammad b. 'Ali, 1272-1292 / 1856-1875**

J1192 AR mahallek (0.1-0.15g) RR

K1192 AE or Brass mahallek (0.5-0.7g), usually dated, 1284 & 1288 least rare S

**'Abd Allah b. Muhammad, 1302-1304 / 1885-1887**

L1192 Brass "unit" (0.8-1.5g) S

Instead of his name, these coins bear the title *al-'abd al-da'if*, "the weak servant" (*i.e.*, of God). They were said to have been minted from Remington cartridge cases left behind by the Egyptians when they withdrew from Harar. Normally dated 1303, occasionally 1304 or undated.

**PEMBA (MTAMBWE MKUU)**

Horton, M.C., Helen Brown & W.A. Oddy, "The Mtambwe Mkuu Hoard", *Azania*, v. 21 (1986), pp. 115-123.

*A large hoard of some 2000 minuscule silver coins was found on the Tanzanian island of Pemba. The hoard is preserved at a museum in Tanzania, which anonymously donated one of each ruler to the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, illustrated and described in SICA 10.*

The ten rulers are listed here in random order, as in SICA 10, as their actual dates are unknown. They likely ruled at some point during the 6<sup>th</sup>/12<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup>/13<sup>th</sup> centuries, contemporary with the Ayyubids of Egypt & Syria.

<sup>308</sup> Sulayman's rule in 732 was confirmed by the author Ibn Battuta, who visited him on the island in that year. This is the only confirmed date for this sultanate.

<sup>309</sup> These types are known only from Diego Suarez and have not been securely reported from elsewhere in Africa or the Middle East. These remarkable coins, found attached to the remains of a belt, have not yet been published.

All are tiny silver coins weighing in the 0.10-0.22g range, always without mint or date. Each bears the ruler's name on the obverse, a brief religious phrase on the reverse. None have ever been available on the market, so rarity is not indicated here.

- P1192 'Ali b. al-Hasan, AR fractional —  
 Conceivably the same ruler as 'Ali b. al-Hasan of Kilwa (#1180).
- Q1192 Bahram b. 'Ali, AR fractional —  
 Bahram is an Iranian, not an Arab name, suggesting that there might have been an Iranian trade connection with Pemba.
- R1192 Shu'ayb b. Ishaq, AR fractional —
- S1192 Muhammad b. Ishaq, AR fractional —
- T1192 Ibrahim b. Ishaq, AR fractional —
- U1192 Khalid b. Ahmad, AR fractional —
- V1192 Ahmad b. Khalid, AR fractional —
- W1192 Muhammad b. 'Abd Allah, AR fractional —
- X1192 Muhammad b. (Yahya? or 'Ali?), AR fractional —
- Y1192 Muhammad b. Sulayman, AR fractional —

Maria Theresa 1780 thalers and other 19<sup>th</sup> century coins are known countermarked *pemba* in Arabic within a clove, either once or twice. These are now regarded as fantasy countermarked coins produced circa 1960, but nonetheless popular amongst collectors.

Other medieval and early modern East African Islamic coinages are known to exist, including some unusual silver coins said to date from the 4<sup>th</sup>/10<sup>th</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup>/13<sup>th</sup> centuries, usually inscribed only with the kalima, divided between both sides as on the common Umayyad copper (type #153), and a larger 17<sup>th</sup> or 18<sup>th</sup> century silver coin found together with Mexican silver coins at Mombasa.<sup>310</sup> There are also some 18<sup>th</sup> or 19<sup>th</sup> century tin coins of Mombasa & Lamu, whose authenticity has been queried (cf. Zeno-25140).

## RUM

### SELJUQ OF RUM (RUM SELJUQ)

- Ghalib Edhem, Ismail, *Takvim-i maskukat-i selçukiyye*, Constantinople, 1309/1892 (reprint: Ankara, 1971) (text in Ottoman Turkish).
- Tevhid, Ahmed, *Musée Impérial Ottoman. Section des Monnaies Musulmanes. Quatrième Partie*, Constantinople, 1321/1903 (text in Ottoman Turkish).
- Eti, Mehmet, <http://mehmeteti.150m.com/index.htm>, where some 484 coins are currently listed and illustrated, together with useful information on how to decipher the abbreviated dates.
- Eron, Kamil, [www.eroncoins.com](http://www.eroncoins.com), listing more than 1100 coins, all of them illustrated, the site is excellent but slow.
- Over 650 pieces, including many rarities, are illustrated on [www.zeno.ru](http://www.zeno.ru).
- Izmirlir, Yılmaz, *Anadolu Selçuklu Paraları / The Coins of Anatolian Seljuqs*, Istanbul 2009. Now the standard catalog of Rum Seljuk coinage, with more than 1550 coins beautifully illustrated, but the reader must create his own table of contents.
- Further work is currently in progress by Johann-Christoph Hinrichs, Bremen, and by the heirs of the deceased Michael Broome, Reading. A pirated version of Hinrichs' work was circulated in Turkey but subsequently withdrawn. My thanks to Hinrichs for having frequently sent me comments and corrections. Broome's catalog is now promised to appear at last, sometime in 2010 (maybe!).

*The Seljuqs overran much of Anatolia after the defeat of the Byzantine emperor Romanus IV by Sulayman b. Qutulmush in 471/1077, founding a dynasty that lasted until about 707/1307, though under Mongol suzerainty from 639/1241 onwards. Their gold coinage is very rare, but silver and copper are abundant. The Seljuq dirham, first struck in 580, revived the canonical dirham standard of about 2.97 grams until the end of the first reign of Mas'ud II in 697/1298. Rum Seljuq gold, first struck in 573, is unusual in that its type was generally identical*

<sup>310</sup> A selection can be found in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Others are principally in Kenyan and Tanzanian museums. See also Helen Brown, "Coins of East Africa: An Introductory Survey.", *Yarmouk Numismatics*, v.5 (1993), pp.83-87.

*or very close to that of the dirham, to the extent that sometimes dinar dies were used to strike silver dirhams.*

*The reign dates provided here, especially of the later Seljuqs, are based on traditional sources, adjusted by the dated silver coinage. The later reigns overlap, as the various princes allied with one or another Mongol faction in Iran.*

Most copper coins lack the mint name, though some show a mint types (especially of Kayqubad I and Kaykhusraw II), usually Sivas, Bilveren or Ankara. Earlier silver coins were struck primarily at Sivas, Konya and Kayseri, other mints being considerably rarer. From the time of Qilij Arslan IV, the number of mints increased rapidly, with coins of Erzincan, Gümüşbazar ("silver market"), Kayseri, Konya, Lu'lu'a (Lulu), Ma'danshahr and Sivas most common. Sinop and Samsun are relatively available for Mas'ud II. More than 40 mints operated under the Seljuqs, most of them only in the last twenty years, at the Rum Seljuq western rump was collapsing into semi-autonomous regions that were soon to emerge as the Beyliks.

Until 2010 only the gold dinar of Konya 635 (type #1215) was considered modestly rare, but since the recent hoard, the three brothers type of Konya 648 has now become surprisingly available, together with modest numbers of Konya 642 of Kaykhusraw II and Konya 644 of Kayka'us II. Others remain rare, but some seem to be less rare than formerly. The size of the recent hoard has questioned the traditional assumption that all Rum Seljuqs gold coinage, except the Konya 635 issue, were strictly for presentation purposes.<sup>311</sup> It is likely that dinars were struck quite regularly from about 609 until just before 700, as previously unrecorded dates continue to arise from time to time. Gold was minted mainly at Konya, occasionally at Sivas or Kayseri, plus a few other extremely rare mints.

Silver dirhams were generally carefully struck until the early years of the reign of Kaykhusraw III, but later pieces were increasingly haphazardly struck. They were all struck to the standard of just under 3 grams (theoretically the classic 2.97g dirham) until 697, when the contemporary Ilkhan standard of 2.16g was embraced. Half dirhams were struck during most reigns until the 680s, normally from special dies intended for the smaller denomination until the 640s, thereafter from the same dies used for the full dirhams. They are all very rare, having been struck in negligible quantities.<sup>312</sup>

Early coppers, through Kayqubad I, tended to be reasonably well struck, though extant specimens are often quite worn or corroded. Later coppers are increasingly crude. For unknown reasons, relatively few copper coins were produced after the 640s/1240s, usually crudely struck and poorly preserved.

After about 640, dates on silver and gold Rum Seljuq coins are often written wholly or partly in the diwani script, a sort of shorthand that used monogrammatic forms of the written Arabic numeric words in lieu of the full orthography (diwan = chancellery). Unfortunately, there are many variations of individual diwani ciphers, and no satisfactory analysis of Rum Seljuq diwani dates has yet been published. Fortunately, a useful guide to deciphering these dates may be viewed on Mehmet Eti's website noted above, and somewhat confusingly in Izmirlir's catalog.

#### Mas'ud I, 510-551 / 1116-1156

- 1192 AE fals, enthroned figure obverse, holding globus cruciger & labarum, always without mint or date R  
 Derived from near contemporary Byzantine folles, probably of John III Comnenus.

#### Qilij Arslan II, 551-588 / 1156-1192

- T1193 AV dinar, struck only at Konya 573 RRR
- 1193 AR dirham, Konya mint, all years 580-589 R  
 Struck at Konya, all years 580-589 (R) and Sivas 581 & 583 (RRR).
- A1194 AR 1/6 dirham, always undated RRR  
 The denomination of this type is uncertain, as specimens range from about 0.45 to over 0.65g. It seems reasonable that these

<sup>311</sup> A few examples from a hoard of Rum Seljuq gold dinars first sprinkled up in the market in mid 2010 (e.g., three examples in CNG Auction 85). Allegedly, there were about 300 pieces in the hoard, of which a significant majority are of Konya 648 in the name of the three brothers, together with modest numbers of Konya 642 & 644 of earlier reigns, and undetermined coins of other dates, perhaps as late as Qilij Arslan IV (655-664). But how many dinars were really in the hoard? Which types? How are they being marketed? Did the Turkish authorities really seize nearly half the hoard, and if so, where are they? These questions cannot yet be answered (June 2011).

<sup>312</sup> Some alleged half dirhams of the later reigns may be clipped-down full dirhams. Genuine halves tend to be noticeably thinner than full dirhams.



	fractional dirhams were produced as a donative, for which a precise weight would have been rather irrelevant. <sup>313</sup>			
1194.1	AE fals, horseman obverse	C		
1194.2	AE fals, enthroned figure obverse	R		
<u>Local rulers:</u>				
	Several of the sons of Qilij Arslan II received the right to produce coinage in their own name within their apanages. Most of these coins were probably struck during the 580s/1180s, to judge by the few dated examples, with a few later, especially at Erzurum, where coins were dated until at least 616/1219.			
<b>Malikshah II b. Qilij Arslan II (Abu'l-Fath), at Sivas &amp; Aksaray, late 6<sup>th</sup>/12<sup>th</sup> century</b>				
T1195	AR dirham, struck at Kayseri dated 593 & 594	RRR		
1195	AE large fals, horseman right, with small human figure (angel?) standing behind rider	RRR		
<b>Qaysarshah b. Qilij Arslan II, at Malatya, late 6<sup>th</sup>/12<sup>th</sup> century</b>				
1196	AE large fals, horseman slaying a dragon with his lance	RR		
<b>Mas'ud b. Qilij Arslan II, at Ankara, late 6<sup>th</sup>/12<sup>th</sup> century</b>				
A1197	AR "dinar" (thus inscribed on the coin), known dated 587 & 589	RRR		
	No gold dinar is known. It is conceivable that the silver coins were called dinars because contemporary large copper coins of eastern Anatolia and northwestern Iran were known as dirhams.			
1197	AE large fals, square-in-circle type obverse & reverse, known dated 587-592	RR		
<b>Tughril b. Qilij Arslan II (Mughith al-Din), at Erzurum, circa 580s-618 / 1180s-1221</b>				
1198	AR "dinar", mint of Erzurum	S		
	Known dated 608-616 (possibly also 618). All are denominated <i>dinar</i> , even though made of silver. See note to #A1197.			
1199.1	AE fals, horseman right on obverse, always without mint or date	R		
	Probably struck only at Erzurum.			
1199.2	AE fals, aniconic type, Erzincan mint, undated	RR		
<b>Jahanshah b. Tughril (Rukn al-Din), at Erzurum, 620s / 1220s</b>				
1200	AE fals, enthroned ruler type, undated	RR		
<u>Regular dynastic successors resumed:</u>				
<b>Kaykhusraw I, 1<sup>st</sup> reign, 588-595 / 1192-1198 (b. Qilij Arslan, Ghiyath al-Din)</b>				
1201	AR dirham, struck at Konya 589-595, always without the <i>kunya</i> Abu'l-Fath	R		
1202	AE fals, horseman obverse	C		
	Coins of the first reign lack the <i>kunya</i> Abu'l-Fath. However, Hinrichs and İzmirliler recently postulated that some coppers without the <i>kunya</i> may in fact belong to the second reign, now confirmed by a coin without the <i>kunya</i> clearly dated 601 in a private American collection. <sup>314</sup>			
	A few examples bear the mint name below the horseman, of which Malatya is the least rare (R).			
	Both this and type #1207 are known in several different styles, mostly with coarsely engraved horsemen and equally coarse calligraphy. However, there are some carefully struck fulus with fine late Kufic script and a well-engraved horseman (R), comparable with the horseman on the silver dirhams of Sulayman (type #1204).			
1203	AE fals, imperial bust obverse			RR
	Half bust facing, holding spear.			
1203A	AE fals, enthroned imperial obverse			RR
	Full portrait facing, seated on Byzantine-style throne.			
<b>Sulayman II (b. Qilij Arslan), 592-600 / 1196-1204</b>				
T1204	AV dinar, horseman right (as #1204), Konya 597 <sup>315</sup>	RRR		
1204	AR dirham, horseman right, struck at Kayseri & Konya, known dated 595-600	RR		
	Sulayman's handsome dinars & dirhams portray a mounted warrior, the earliest occurrence of this motif on circulating Islamic coinage.			
1205.1	AE fals, horseman obverse, with title <i>al-malik al-qahir</i> , large flans	S		
	Invariably without mint & undated, this version is presumed to have been struck during Sulayman's tenure as governor of Tokat, presumably in the 570s-580s.			
1205.2	AE fals, horseman obverse, with title <i>al-sultan al-qahir</i> , sometimes dated (595-600), always without mint	C		
	The purported mint name Rasht is a misreading of the often poorly engraved <i>fi sana</i> , "in the year". The year 595 is common, other dates rare. Some are illegibly dated.			
<b>Kaykhusraw I, 2<sup>nd</sup> reign, 600-607 / 1204-1210</b>				
1206	AR dirham, struck at Kayseri, Konya & Malatya, always with the <i>kunya</i> Abu'l-Fath <sup>316</sup>	R		
1206A	AR ½ dirham, similar	RR		
	The Rum Seljuqs copied the Ayyubid practice of striking half dirhams together with full dirhams, from special smaller dies until the 640s. They are usually well struck, unlike the contemporary Ayyubid halves.			
1207	AE fals, horseman obverse	C		
	With the <i>kunya</i> Abu'l-Fath (but see note to #1202). As with type #1202 there are many varieties.			
<b>Kayka'us I (b. Kaykhusraw I, 'Izz al-Din), 607-616 / 1210-1219</b>				
A1208	AV dinar, square-in-circle design	RRR		
	Known from Konya 609 & 613, Sivas 614 & 615.			
1208	AR dirham, square-in-circle type	S		
	Struck mainly at Konya & Sivas, also Kayseri 608 & Tokat 610.			
A1209	AR ½ dirham, similar	RRR		
1209	AE fals, inscriptions only, normally without mint or date	C		
	A rare variety struck at Sivas, dated 610 or 614. (#1210 is now assigned to Kayka'us II, and listed as #1225A.)			
<b>Kayqubad I, as malik of Tokat, 607-610 / 1210-1213</b>				
	As malik, entitled <i>al-malik al-mansur</i> , with the additional titles ' <i>ala al-din abu'l-muzaffar</i> on the dirhams.			
1213C	AR dirham, Saint George slaying the dragon on obverse, known dated 608 & 609	RRR		
1213A	AE fals, similar design, without mint or date	RR		
<b>Kayqubad I, as sultan, 616-634 / 1219-1236 (b. Kaykhusraw I, 'Ala al-Din Abu'l-Fath)</b>				
A1211.1	AV dinar	RRR		
	Obverse & reverse have central double circle, citing the ruler & caliph, respectively. Struck at Konya & Sivas, of which Sivas is the least rare.			
A1211.2	AV dinar, other designs, normally same as the dirham	RRR		
	Mints of Kayseri, Konya, and possibly Sivas.			

<sup>313</sup> Six pieces weighing 0.2-0.6g are now illustrated on Zeno, where they are called ¼ dirham based on the heaviest examples.

<sup>314</sup> For convenience, I shall continue to assign all copper coins without the *kunya* Abu'l-Fath to the first reign of Kaykhusraw I. All silver coins of Kaykhusraw lack the *kunya* for the 1<sup>st</sup> reign, but include the *kunya* for the 2<sup>nd</sup> reign.

<sup>315</sup> YKB #25/8355, illustrated by İzmirliler. On the dinar & dirhams the ruler is known as Sulayman, but as Sulaymanshah on the copper coins.

<sup>316</sup> See Zeno-55247 for an example of Malatya 605 with very clear mint and date, one of the rarest Rum Seljuq mints. Dirhams of Kayseri are known dated 608 (*sic*).

1211	AR dirham				
	Struck almost exclusively at Sivas, Kayseri (until 619), and Konya (also Erzurum and Dar al-Jalal, both RRR). Coins dated 616-622 bear the caliph al-Nasir (#1211.1), 622-624 ( <i>sic</i> ) al-Zahir (#1211.2, S), and 624-634 al-Mustansir (#1211.3). A modestly rare variety of #1211.3 bears the date 624 in ciphers, the earliest confirmed example of a numeral date on any Islamic silver coin.				
	For a similar type struck in Dunaysir 624-626 & 632-636 but also citing the Artuqid ruler Artuq Arslan in addition to Kayqubad, see #1831.2. There are no purely Seljuq coins struck at Dunaysir.				
1212	AR ½ dirham, similar				
1213.1	AE fals, inscriptional types, citing the 'Abbasid caliph al-Nasir (616-622)				
1213.2	AE fals, similar, but caliph al-Zahir (622-623)				
1213.3	AE fals, similar, but caliph al-Mustansir (623-640) Coins of types 1213.1 and 1213.3 with mint name are scarce, with Sivas and one tentatively read as Silveren most frequent.				
1213.4	AE fals, without caliph's name, undated (Types #1213A & 1213C are now listed between #1209 & 1211.)				
1214	AR bilingual tram, in Arabic & Armenian Actually an issue of the Cilician Armenian king Hetoum I (1226-1271) as vassal of Kayqubad. Normally undated.				
1214A	AR bilingual ½ tram, as #1214 <sup>317</sup>				
	<b>Kaykhusraw II (Ghiyath al-Din), 634-644 / 1236-1245</b>				
1215	AV dinar, several types, Konya or Sivas Until 2010, the dinar of Konya 635 was the only periodically available Rum Seljuq gold coin, with all others extremely rare, but now dinars dated 642, 644 and especially 648 have also become available (see footnote #311).				
1215R	AV dinar, sunface between two rampant lions back to back, their tails intertwined, struck only at Konya in 638				
1216.1	AR dirham, inscriptions only, with the caliph al-Mustansir, struck 634-638, without central cartouches				
1216.2	AR dirham inscriptions only, square-in-circle types, usually with <i>zill Allah fi'l-'alam</i> ("shadow of God on the world"), struck 642-644 Both variants struck only at Sivas and Konya and cite the caliph al-Musta'sim.				
1217.1	AR ½ dirham, similar to #1216.1				
1217.2	AR ½ dirham, similar to #1216.2				
1218	AR dirham, lion & sun motif Struck only at Sivas and Konya in 638-641. There are many minor variations for this type. The lion & sun side is traditionally regarded as the obverse. <sup>318</sup>				
1218R	AR dirham, two rampant lions (as #1215R), Sivas 640 only				
1219	AR ½ dirham, lion & sun motif				
1220	AE fals, inscriptions only, occasionally with mint name (normally Ankara, Sivas or Konya)				
1221	AR bilingual tram, in Arabic & Armenian Issued by the Armenian ruler Hetoum I as vassal of Kaykhusraw II, minted only at Sis in Cilicia (now called Kozan, about 68 km north of Adana in south central Turkey). Normally dated, though often the date is so incompetently engraved as to be illegible. Reported for all years 634-644, of which 634-636 are without the mint name.				
1222	AR bilingual ½ tram, similar, normally undated, occasionally dated 639.				
		C		<b>Kayka'us II (b. Kaykhusraw, 'Izz al-Din), first reign as sole ruler, 643-647 / 1245-1249</b>	
			A1223	AV dinar, known only from Konya 644	RR
			1223.1	AR dirham, square-in-circle type, struck only at Konya & Sivas, 643-647	C
			1223.2	AR dirham, circular margin type but without inner frame, struck only in 645	S
			1224	AR ½ dirham, normally as type 1223.1 though other varieties exist	RR
		RR	1225	AE fals, inscriptions only, in square on both sides	C
		C	1225A	AE fals, enthroned emperor obverse (formerly listed as type #1210)	R
		R		Formerly assigned to Kayka'us I, but stylistically this type must belong to Kayka'us II, either his first or second reign.	
		C		<b>Qilij Arslan IV, at Sivas, 646-647 / 1248-1249 (b. Kaykhusraw, Rukn al-Din)</b> First reign as sole ruler.	
		S	1226	AR dirham, struck only at Sivas in 646 This type portrays a mounted archer right. No copper coins of Qilij Arslan IV can be securely assigned to this reign.	R
		RR		<b>The three brothers (Kayka'us II, Qilij Arslan IV &amp; 'Ala al-Din Kayqubad II), 647-657 / 1249-1259</b> Kayqubad II did not issue any coins of his own.	
		RRR	A1227	AV dinar, Konya 648 & 653, also Malatya 650 <sup>319</sup> Identical style as silver dirham #1227, denominated <i>al-dinar</i> on the dinars of Konya, without denomination at Malatya. İzmirlier lists a dinar and dirham of Malatya (his #555 & 573) struck from the same pair of dies. As explained in footnote #311, Konya 648 is no longer extremely rare.	R
		RR	1227	AR dirham, struck primarily at Sivas & Konya Also known from Kayseri (R), Malatya (RR) and Lu'lu'a (S).	C
		RRR	A1228	AR ½ dirham	RRR
		C	1228	AE fals, normal inscriptional type as #1227, mint of Konya or Sivas	R
		C	1228A	AE fals, king seated on throne, short inscription, always without mint or date	RRR
				<b>The two brothers (Kayqubad II &amp; Qilij Arslan IV), at Kayseri, 652 / 1254</b>	
		RR	1229	AR dirham Struck predominantly at Kayseri in 652 only, but extremely rare issues are known of Sivas & possibly also Konya, all dated 652. One variety of Kayseri bears a large star-in-circle in the obverse center (Zeno-20562).	RRR
		RRR		<b>Qilij Arslan IV, 2<sup>nd</sup> sole reign, 655-664 / 1257-1266</b>	
		C	A1230	AV dinar, struck at Konya or Sivas, several years	RRR
		C	1230	AR dirham Many variations, sometimes with the seal inscription <i>al-manna lillah</i> in reverse center. Some have month as well (S). At least 15 mints known, of which Erzincan, Gümüşbazar, Konya, Lu'lu'a and Sivas are the most common.	C
		S	1230A	AR ½ dirham	RRR
			1230K	AE fals, several varieties	R
				<b>Kayka'us II, 2<sup>nd</sup> sole reign, at various places, 655-660 / 1257-1261</b>	
			A1231	AV dinar, Konya 657, also without mint & date	RRR
		RRR	1231	AR dirham Only the mints of Lu'lu'a and Konya are common, most often dated 658. About half a dozen additional mints are rare.	C
			1231A	AR ½ dirham, mint of Sivas only	RRR

<sup>317</sup> Sotheby's, 7 March 1997, lot 506.

<sup>318</sup> Dirhams of this type dated 638-640 cite the caliph al-Mustansir, those dated 641 the caliph al-Musta'sim.

<sup>319</sup> Both the gold dinar and silver dirhams of Malatya are more likely dated 650 rather than 655, as read by İzmirlier. He suggests that *if* before *sana* is another number 5, but this is very unlikely.

- 1231F AE fals, inscriptions only, in plain circle on both sides R
- 1210 (*sic*) AE fals, enthroned emperor obverse R  
Formerly assigned to Kayka'us I, but stylistically this type must belong to Kayka'us II, assigned to his second reign by İzmirlir.
- Kaykhusraw III, 663-682 / 1265-1283**  
**(b. Qilij Arslan, Ghiyath al-Din Abu'l-Fath)**
- A1232 AV dinar, struck at both Konya and Sivas RRR
- 1232 AR dirham A  
Normally with the seal inscription *al-mulk lillah* in reverse center, sometimes with month (R).  
Struck at about 16 mints, of which Erzurum, Gümüşbazar, Lu'lu'a and Sivas are abundant, Ma'danshahir, Kayseri & Konya reasonably common, and several others only modestly scarce. Some have coarse or even illegible mint/date inscriptions. Dirhams dated in the 660s are generally well struck, but by the mid-670s, production quality had drastically disintegrated.
- 1232A AR ½ dirham, mint & date normally off flan RRR  
Known specimens struck from full dirham dies, so that the marginal mint & date are virtually entirely off flan.<sup>320</sup>
- 1233 AE fals, inscriptions only R  
**Siyavush, rebel at Konya, 675-676 / 1276-1277**  
**(b. Kayka'us, 'Ala al-Din Abu'l-Fath)**  
All coins of this rebel bear his formal name Siyavush, but he was known to contemporary chroniclers by his nickname Cimri, which never appears on his coins.
- A1234 AV double dinar (8.6-8.9g), Konya 675 ???  
The double dinar of Siyavush is now accepted as a modern forgery.
- B1234 AR dirham, several variants RRR  
Known from the mints Konya & Lu'lu'a, both dated 675 & 676.  
**Mas'ud II, 1<sup>st</sup> reign, 679-697 / 1280-1298**  
**(b. Kayka'us, Ghiyath al-Din Abu'l-Fath)**
- C1234 AV dinar, struck at Konya or Sivas RRR
- 1234 AR dirham, many subtypes C  
Normally with the seal inscription *al-'azuma lillah* ("greatness is God's") in reverse center, though the phrase was more often replaced by the kalima after about 688. Over the course of this reign, most mints adopted distinctive coin designs of their own. Most known examples were so poorly struck that all too often the mint or date is off flan or illegible.  
Over 20 mints known, of which Erzincan, Lu'lu'a and Sivas are the most common.
- 1234A AR ½ dirham RRR
- A1235 AE fals, many varieties RRR  
Some versions bear *al-'azuma lillah* on the obverse. Also known with obverse image, including a human face, a horseman, lion & sun, duck, and double-headed spread eagle.<sup>321</sup>
- Kayqubad III, 697-701 / 1298-1302**  
**(b. Faramurz, 'Ala al-Din)**  
His seal script was either *al-manna lillah*, *al-'izza lillah* or *al-'azuma lillah*.  
Strictly speaking, only types #T1235 and 1235.3 were proper issues of Kayqubad III, as vassal under the Ilkhan ruler Ghazan Mahmud, cited on these coins. All other coins were technically issues of various local beyliks, but in the name of the Rum Seljuq instead of the Ilkhan.
- S1235 AV dinar, in his sole name, with his seal inscription *al-manna lillah* on the reverse RRR  
Known mint is Samsun, clear on one specimen published by İzmirlir.
- T1235 AV dinar, citing the Ilkhan Ghazan Mahmud on the reverse (also Samsun) RRR
- 1235.1 AR dirham (2.16g), in his sole name, with inscriptions only R  
Nearly 20 mints, most using distinctive subtypes, all located in southwestern Anatolia.
- 1235.2 AR dirham (2.16g), in his sole name, lion & sun type (sometimes without the sun)<sup>322</sup> RR  
The best known example of this type was struck at a mint once identified as Bafra in northern Anatolia, now identified by İzmirlir as Bafi or Bafa, which is now known to have been located within the beylik of Aydın in far western Turkey. There are several arrangement variations for this type.  
In all likelihood, the great majority of types #1235.1 and 1235.2, dated 697-701, were struck by local beyliks in the name of Kayqubad III, whom they regarded as a nominal overlord, in opposition to the contemporary Ilkhans and Byzantines. Only type #1235.3 was genuinely issued by the Seljuqs of Rum themselves.
- 1235.3 AR dirham, citing the Ilkhan Ghazan Mahmud as overlord (2.88g)<sup>323</sup> RRR  
Struck at Erzincan, Erzurum, Konya, Ma'danshahr, Samsun & Sivas, dated 697-700.  
Subsequent issues from these six mints are ordinary Ilkhan types until after the death of Abu Sa'id in 736/1335.
- Mas'ud II, 2<sup>nd</sup> reign, circa 701-708? / 1302-1308?**  
As rival to Kayqubad III 699-701 / 1298-1300 (no coins), then as independent ruler circa 701-708 / 1302-1308.  
His seal script was either *al-mulk lillah*, *al-'izza lillah*, or *al-'azuma lillah*.
- 1236 AR dirham (2.16g, often lighter) RR  
Coins of this reign are known dated 702-703 and possibly later, from southwest Anatolian mints exclusively (Antalya, Bafi, Burgulu, Finike, Makri and Milas). All are like beylik issues in the name of Mas'ud II.
- 1236E AE fals, without mint or date RRR  
Pictorial obverse, short text on reverse. Several specimens are listed on Zeno (but excluded by İzmirlir).  
In 699/700 the central and eastern portions of the Rum Seljuq kingdom were incorporated into the Ilkhanate, and local Seljuq coinage was suppressed except in those few far western districts where the Ilkhans were exerted no influence. These far western regions were ruled by local beyliks who issued their coins in the name of the last Seljuqs.

## DANISHMENDID

Estelle J. Whelan, "A Contribution to Danishmendid History: The Figured Copper Coins," *Museum Notes*, v. 25 (1980), pp. 133-166. This important work does not include the purely Arabic inscriptional issues such as #1244A.

*A Turkish dynasty, originally rivals to the Seljuqs in Anatolia. All coins lack the name of the mint, and nearly all are undated. Only copper coinage was produced.*

### Amir Ghazi, 497-528 / 1104-1134

- 1237 AE dirham, bust of Christ on obverse, Greek inscriptions on reverse RRR

The Danishmendids were not Christian but Muslim, though the majority of the population under their authority remained Christian. This coin type was derived from Byzantine prototypes that were familiar to their subjects (see also Artuqid types #1820.1 and 1826.1 and Zangid #1850 for similar motifs).

### Malik Muhammad, 528-536 / 1134-1142

- 1238 AE dirham, Greek inscriptions only, both sides RR  
The text translates to "Great King of the Land of the Romans" on obverse, "and Anatolia, Muhammad" on reverse.

<sup>322</sup> Zeno illustrates two examples of the lion type, mints of Finike (#37347, without sun above lion) and Makri (#25505, with sun).

İzmirlir illustrates lion and lion & sun types from Bafi, Finike and Milas (but not Makri), and comments that these were likely early issues of the Menteşe Beyliks, which seems correct. See footnote #326.

<sup>323</sup> Issues dated 697 & 698 follow an earlier weight standard, circa 2.7g, probably an quasi-official reduction of the earlier Rum Seljuq standard of about 2.97g. Specimens of the 2.16g standard actually vary from less than 1.8 to at least 2.4g, unlike the then current Ilkhan dirhams that closely adhere to the standard of 2.16g.

<sup>320</sup> Beware of full dirhams cut down and flogged as the half dirham.

<sup>321</sup> Many subtypes illustrated by İzmirlir and on Zeno.

- ‘Ayn al-Dawla Isma‘il, at Malatya, 536-547 / 1142-1152**
- 1239 AE dirham, Greek inscriptions only, both sides, with most of the second obverse line in cursive Greek RR
- Dhu’l-Qarnayn, at Malatya, 547-557 / 1152-1162**
- 1240 AE dirham, head right with Greek inscription around / Arabic inscription in central circle, Greek inscription around RR  
The obverse Greek text means “the second indiction”.
- Nasir al-Din Muhammad, at Malatya, 557-565 / 1162-1170 and 570-573 / 1175-1178**
- 1241.1 AE dirham, investiture scene (two standing figures), dated 558 in Arabic words (flanking the figures) R
- 1241.2 AE dirham, mounted horseman lancing the serpent, handsomely engraved, undated RR
- Fakhr al-Din Qasim, at Malatya, 565-567 / 1170-1172**
- 1242 AE dirham, lion sejant RR
- ‘Imad al-Din Dhu’l-Nun, at Kayseri, 536-570 / 1142-1175**
- 1243 AE dirham, lion-rider right (Whelan type B) R
- 1244.1 AE dirham, royal inscriptions only, bilingual in Arabic & Greek on both sides (Whelan-A). R
- 1244.2 AE dirham, similar, but Arabic inscriptions only, with central field and outer margin on both sides (Whelan-C), title Nasir al-Din RR  
It remains uncertain whether the title Nasir al-Din refers to Dhu’l-Nun or to a subordinate official, though on the basis of #1244A it seems more likely to be an alternative title of Dhu’l-Nun.
- 1244A AE dirham, 3-line Arabic inscriptions on obverse & reverse, without margins or pictures RRR  
Dhu’l-Nun is entitled both Nasir al-Din and Abu’l-Muzaffar on this purely Arabic type.
- Nizam al-Din Yaghi-Basan, at Sivas, 536-559 / 1142-1164**
- 1245 AE dirham, bust right within a circle, surrounded by an Arabic text / 3-line Arabic text R
- 1246 AE dirham, inscriptions only R
- Shams al-Din Isma‘il, at Sivas, 559-567 / 1164-1172**
- 1247 AE dirham, enthroned seated figure RR  
Layout of text & design as on #1245.

## ANATOLIAN BEYLIKS

- Erel, Seraffetin, *Nadir Birkaç Sikke*, in 4 fascicules, Istanbul, 1963-1973.
- Yapi Kredi Kültür Merkezi, *The Wind Blowing from Asia to Anatolia*, Istanbul 1994 (edited by Sennur Sentürk & Brian Johnson, bilingual in Turkish & English).
- Small selections are published in the Istanbul (both the Ottoman catalog and Artuk), Paris and British Museum catalogs. Numerous short articles on beylik coins have appeared in *Bülten*, the journal of the Turkish Numismatic Society.
- Turkish scholars and collectors are currently actively researching most of the beylik series, and it is anticipated that over the next decade or so, many new publications will become available. Some pre-1990s publications should be used with caution, due to more recent research. Reference titles on specific beyliks are noted with the beylik principalities.
- Following the collapse of Seljuq rule and the decline of Ilkhan influence, a number of small principalities (known as beyliks) emerged in Western Anatolia, spreading into central Anatolia with the waning of Mongol rule, even prior to the Ilkhan disintegration after 736/1335. At least 20 of these principalities are known, but not all produced an identifiable coinage of their own. Nearly all beylik coinage until about 1350 comprises imitations of Ilkhan or Mamluk prototypes without citing the beylik ruler’s name. Only some of these imitative types can securely be assigned to a specific beylik, but*

fortunately, current Turkish research is gradually resolving this uncertainty. By the 1350s-1370s, easily identified beylik coinage became the norm, usually bearing the name of the bey, sometimes with mint or date as well. One of these beyliks, centered at the two small towns of Bilecik and Sugut, ultimately grew into the Ottoman Empire.

Most of the beyliks were swallowed up by the Ottomans in the 1380s and 1390s, but received a reprieve after the Timurid invasion and defeat of the Ottomans in 805/1402. By the 1480s, all the revived beyliks had been permanently reabsorbed into the Ottoman state.

In addition to the types listed here, there are numerous anonymous silver and copper coins struck from about 1300 until the various beys began putting their names or other dynastic symbols on the coinage towards the second half of the 8<sup>th</sup>/14<sup>th</sup> century. Most utilized designs and arrangements were drawn from Ilkhan prototypes. Only some have been successfully assigned to a given beylik. Many are relatively common, especially the imitative types that closely resemble actual types of the Ilkhans, but on which the mint and date are illegible “squiggles”. This series is generally lumped together as Anatolian imitations of Ilkhan coins, principally of Uljaytu & Abu Sa’id, and should for now be classified as Anatolian imitations of their respective Ilkhan prototypes.<sup>324</sup>

### KARESI

Ender, Celil, *Karesi, Saruhan, Aydın ve Mentеше Beylikleri Paraları*, Istanbul 2000. A superb and carefully arranged analysis of the coins of these four beyliks.<sup>325</sup>

A small Beylik state located in the northwest corner of the Asian portion of Turkey, which struck coins during the 2<sup>nd</sup> quarter of the 8<sup>th</sup>/14<sup>th</sup> century. All coins lack mint and date, though their capital, Berghama, had appeared as a mint name on some very rare Ilkhan coins of Uljaytu. See Ender’s work for details.

Some early issues are from the mint of Bergama, all later issues without mint name.

### Temur Khan Beg, 728-735 / 1327-1335

C1248 AR akçe RRR

### Yahshi Khan Beg, 728-744 / 1327-1343

D1248 AR akçe RRR

### Beylerbeyi Çelebi, from 744 / 1343 onwards

1251.1 AR akçe R

Obverse in pointed hexafoil, reverse in octofoil. This type was formerly assigned to the Saruhan Beylik, as an issue of Khizr Beg’s first reign, as the name *beylerbeyi* was misread as *khizr beyi*, now corrected by Ender.

1251.2 AR akçe, as last but inscriptions in plain circle both sides RR

A1248 AE mangır, pointed quatrefoil / plain hexafoil RR

The term *mangır* is a generic term for the beylik and Ottoman copper coins before 1687. The actual names used may have been different.

### SARUHAN

See Celil Ender 2000 (listed under the Karesi Beylik).

Type #1248 is now confirmed as an issue of Ishaq. Type #1250, formerly ascribed to a proposed circa 790/1388 reign of Urkhan, has been reassigned to the Ottoman sultan Orhan, exactly as originally suggested by Pere in 1968 (his no. 3), and included within type #1288.1. Type #1251 has been reassigned to the Karesi dynasty, listed above.

All coins of this dynasty lack a mint name, and unless otherwise noted, are also undated. All except #1253N bear the ruler’s name.

<sup>324</sup> Had the Turkish government adopted a treasure trove law based on the British model, the reporting of find-spots would have been encouraged, with the result that many of these anonymous imitative types could be localized and assigned to specific issuers.

<sup>325</sup> The only disappointment of Ender’s excellent research is the use of unnecessarily cumbersome numbering for types and subtypes.

<b>Ishaq b. Ilyas, 759?-792 / 1358?-1390</b>					
1248	AR akçe, several designs One subtype (R), with toughra obverse, bears the date 776 (or 772, presumably 776 with retrograde "6").	R	L1254	AR akçe, without mint or date Obverse inscription <i>muhammad bin ibrahim / khulida mulkuhu</i> .	RRR
1249	AE mangır	R			
<b>Khizr b. Ishaq, 1<sup>st</sup> reign, 792 / 1390, and 2<sup>nd</sup> reign, 804-813 / 1402-1410</b>					
(Because the 1 <sup>st</sup> and 2 <sup>nd</sup> reign akçes of Khizr cannot be readily distinguished, I have reused the number 1251, formerly of his first reign, for the Karesi ruler Beylerbeyi Çelebi, just after D1248).					
1252.1	AR akçe, obverse & reverse in plain circle Obverse text <i>al-malik / ishaq / khizr bin</i> , full kalima on reverse.	RR			
1252.2	AR akçe, similar design but different legends Obverse inscription <i>ishaq / khizr bin</i> and reverse <i>khalada Allah mulkahu</i> , with double line separating top and bottom section on both sides. Stylistically, 1252.2 seems earlier than 1252.1, but there is at present no means of assigning these to either the first or second reign. Given the stylistic similarity, it may be that both belong to his second reign, and no coins are known of his short first reign.	RR	1254.1	AR akçe, fancy quatrefoil / plain octofoil, without mint and date Mehmet Beg, Musa Beg and Ahmad Ghazi were sons of Ibrahim Beg who ruled conjointly in distinct portions of the beylik.	R
1253	AE mangır, inscriptions generally as #1252.2	R	1254.2	AR akçe, plain circle / highlighted square, without mint and date	RR
<b>Urkhan (Orhan), circa 806-810 / 1403-1407</b>			1254A	AE mangır	RRR
1253B	AR akçe, toughra obverse, dated "87" or 807 Easily confused with the toughra subtype of #1248. The reverse legend <i>khulida mulkahu</i> is in <i>naskhi</i> calligraphy rather than Kufic.	RRR	<b>Ilyas b. Muhammad, 2<sup>nd</sup> reign, 805-823 / 1402-1420</b> No coins are assigned to his alleged first reign, circa 791-792 / 1388-1389.		
1253A	AE mangır, dated 806	RRR	1255	AR akçe, as independent ruler, plain circle / square, dated 805 or undated	S
<b>Saruhan Bey, fl 814 / 1411</b>			1256	AE mangır, dated 805 or 818	RR
1253D	AE mangır, dated 814 Ruler's name written as <i>Sar Khan bin Ishaq</i> . A second type with just the name Ishaq may belong to this same tentative ruler (Ender's types 05-SAR-001 to 101A).	RRR	A1257	AR akçe, as vassal of the Ottoman sultan Mehmet Çelebi, dated 818 or undated, several variants	RRR
<b>Anonymous, circa 790s-814+ / 1390s-1411+</b>			<b>Layth b. Ilyas, 823-825 / 1420-1422</b>		
1253N	AE mangır, designs similar to named Saruhan types, but without name of any ruler or mint, always undated The normal type has hexagon obverse & vertical eye-shape lozenge reverse.	R	1257	AR akçe, dated 823, 824 or 825 The name is usually written as <i>ways</i> rather than <i>layth</i> . <sup>327</sup>	RR
<b>MENTEŞE</b>			1257A	AE mangır, usually dated 823 (often written erroneously as 832)	RRR
See Celil Ender 2000 (listed under Karesi Beylik), which is a major reanalysis of Menteşe coinage, replacing all earlier references. Unless otherwise noted, all coins of this dynasty lack a mint name. With the exception of the Ilkhan type #A1254, all akçes follow a standard of about 0.75g, with individual examples weighing between 0.55 and 0.95g. Mostly without mint name, but some issues from the mints of Ayasuluk, Sultanhisar, Milas & Balat.			<b>Ahmad b. Ilyas, fl. 823-825 / 1420-1422</b> Uncertain ruler, presumably a brother of Layth.		
			1257D	AR akçe, square / square	RRR
			<b>AYDIN</b>		
			Ölçer, Cüneyt, <i>Coinage of the Emirate's of Aidin (sic)</i> , Istanbul 1985. For more recent and much more complete research, see Celil Ender 2000, cited above under Karesi. Beginning with 'Isa Beg, all akçes follow a standard of about 0.75g, with individual specimens varying from about 0.55 to 0.95g. Mostly without mint name, a few citing the mints of Ayasuluk and Ladik, some late anonymous pieces of Ayasuluk or Tire.		
			<b>Muhammad b. Aydın Beg, 707-734 / 1307-1334</b>		
			P1258	AR akçe, without mint or date Hexagon obverse & reverse, with title <i>al-sultan al-malik al-jalal</i> , followed by name and patronymic.	RRR
			<b>Ibrahim Bahadır Beg, 735-746± / 1334-1347±</b>		
			R1258	AE mangır, with name <i>ibrahim</i> alone in obverse octogram, <i>khalada Allah mulkahu</i> on reverse	RRR
			<b>Sulayman Beg b. Muhammad, 734-750 / 1334-1349</b>		
			T1258	AR akçe Obverse inscription, <i>sulayman ibn muhammad khalada Allah mulkahu</i> , kalima on reverse.	RRR
			<b>'Isa Beg, circa 762-789 / 1361-1387</b>		
			1258	AR akçe (about 0.75g), plain circle / square, without mint or date About ten different symbols are found beneath the name 'Isa, for ambiguous purposes. These simple variants are popularly collected; Ender's list of symbols is probably incomplete.	S
			1258A	AR akçe, several other designs, also without mint & date	RR
			327 Ender regards some of the lighter pieces, 0.37-0.52g as half akçes, but another 0.52g coin as a full akçe. There is only one denomination, the akçe, despite the humongous weight discrepancy amongst specimens.		

<sup>326</sup> In their article "The coins of early period of principality of Menteshe...", *Anatolian Coins Monographies I*, Istanbul 2007, Haluk Perk and Hüsnü Öztürk have over 50 dirhams in the name of the Seljuqs of Rum from the mints of Milas, Makri and Finike dated 698-703. These follow the then current weight of the Seljuq dirhams, whence I have regarded them as Seljuq coins, type #1235.1 & 1235.2 in the name of Kayqubad III, and #1236 when in the name of Mas'ud II, 2<sup>nd</sup> reign.

1258B	AR akçe, with mint name Ayasuluk or Ladik Always undated. All subtypes bearing the mint name also show the patronymic, <i>ibn muhammad</i> .	RR	P1262	AR akçe, with name <i>muhammad bik</i> , usually at the bottom of the obverse	RRR
	<b>Khizr (Hızır) b. Muhammad, fl. 767-768 / 1366-1367</b>			<b>Sulaymanshah, 762-789 / 1361-1387, aka Shah Çelebi</b>	
1258K	AR akçe (plain circle / concave hexagon), struck at Ayasuluk, dated 768 <sup>328</sup>	RRR	1262	AR akçe, with his name <i>sulaymanshah</i> , usually at the top of the obverse	RR
	<b>Musa Beg, 804-805 / 1402-1403</b>		1262A	AR akçe, with his name <i>shah çelebi</i> , usually at the bottom of the obverse	RR
1259	AR akçe, hexafoil / square, without mint or date	RRR	1262M	AE mangır, <i>shah çelebi</i> on obverse, <i>khalada Allah mulkahu</i> (often misspelled) on reverse	RRR
	<b>Mehmed Beg, fl. 807 / 1404</b>			<b>Ya'qub b. Sulayman, 1<sup>st</sup> reign, 789-792 / 1387-1390</b>	
1260	AR akçe Obverse <i>mehmet bin umur</i> , reverse <i>khalada Allah mulkahu</i> .	RR	Q1263	AR akçe, with name <i>ya'qub bik</i> or just <i>ya'qub</i> (Zeno-44881) <sup>331</sup>	RRR
1260A	AE mangır, similar inscriptions The royal inscription on both the akçe & mangır was proven by Ender to be <i>muhammad b. umur</i> and not simply <i>umur</i> . In any case, Umur ruled about half a century earlier, whereas the style and calligraphy clearly belongs to the beginning of the 9 <sup>th</sup> /15 <sup>th</sup> century. The calligraphy is clearer on the copper coins, abysmal on the akçes.	RRR		<b>Anonymous, 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 8<sup>th</sup>/14<sup>th</sup> century</b>	
	<b>Mustafa b. Aydın, 824-825 / 1423-1424</b>		1263	AR akçe, local coinage of Simav mint, undated	R
1260L	AR akçe, as vassal under the Karamanid ruler Muhammad b. 'Ala al-Din, dated 824 (without mint name) Cited as <i>mustafa b. muhammad b. aydin</i> , as he was the son of Muhammad, descendant of Aydın.	RRR		<b>Anonymous, citing Timur, circa 805-806 / 1402-1403</b>	
1260M	AR akçe, as independent ruler, undated or dated 824 and always without mint name Cited on the obverse as just <i>mustafa</i> when undated, <i>mustafa bin aydin</i> when dated. Both have <i>khulida mulkuhu</i> on the reverse, plus the year when dated.	RRR	T1264	AR akçe, Germiyan mint, dated 806 (date usually retrograde)	RRR
	<b>Junayd b. Ibrahim, 2<sup>nd</sup> reign, 813-816 / 1410-1413</b>			<b>Ya'qub b. Sulayman, 2<sup>nd</sup> reign, 805-832 / 1402-1429</b>	
1261	AR akçe, as vassal of Ottoman Mehmet I, undated <sup>329</sup>	RRR	1264.1	AR akçe, as vassal of Timur (Tamerlane), circa 805-808, Germiyan mint, known dated 808	RR
	<b>Junayd b. Ibrahim, 3<sup>rd</sup> reign, as independent ruler, 825-829 / 1422-1426</b>		1264.2	AR akçe, as independent ruler after 808, known from Germiyan mint, possibly also Simav Akçes of Germiyan dated 825-826 are solely in the name of the Ottoman Murad II, and thus regarded as Ottoman akçes.	RR
1261A	AR akçe, always with toughra obverse, dated 825	RR	1264C	AE mangır, similar to #1264.2	RRR
1261B	AE mangır, lion / <i>junayd ghazi</i> , no mint or date (Zeno-104430)	RRR		<b>HAMIDID</b>	
	<b>Anonymous, circa 820s-830s / 1420s-1430s</b>			İzmirlier, Yılmaz, <i>Hamidogulları Beyliği Paraları</i> , Istanbul 1999. Earlier coins assigned to this dynasty bear only the names of the Rum Seljuqs (usually Kayqubad III or Mas'ud II) or the Ilkhan Ghazan Mahmud, which are reckoned as examples of their normal types. Most of the Hamidid coins are struck from crudely engraved dies, with somewhat barbarized inscriptions. The dates are rarely legible, and it is likely that many of the coins in the names of the Ilkhans or Mamluks were struck posthumously, either frozen dates or undated.	
1261F	AR akçe, mints of Ayasuluk & Tire, many subtypes	RR?		<b>Anonymous, citing the Ilkhan Uljaytu, ca. 710s / 1310s</b>	
1261G	AE mangır, mint of Tire, dated 822 (usually blundered), always with double-headed eagle on obverse <sup>330</sup>	RR	1264F	AR dirham (square / square), struck at Burdur, Burgulu, Felekabad, Gölhisar, Karaağaç and Antalya, dated 705-716 Some examples have the reverse in pointed pentafoil, thus similar to Uljaytu's normal type A but with large star in center (Burgulu only, 705).	RR
1261J	AE mangır, mint of Ayasuluk, undated, with <i>beg</i> in square on obverse, mint name on reverse	RR		<b>Anonymous, citing the Mamluk Muhammad I, circa 720s / 1320s</b>	
1261K	AE mangır, various types without mint or date Ender lists six different mintless types, three of which are sometimes alternatively offered as Ottoman issues, his #12 (square / square), 13 (square / circle), 14 (hexagon / knotted circle) and 15 (circle / circle), all with just the kalima, divided between the two sides.	R?	1264H	AR dirham (square / diamond), Antalya 718-720 <b>Anonymous, citing the Ilkhan Abu Sa'id, circa 730s / 1330s</b>	RR
	<b>GERMIYAN</b>		1264J	AR dirham (square / diamond), Antalya 714 ( <i>sic</i> ) or undated	RRR
	Ender, Celil, Ustun Erek, and Gultekin Teoman, <i>Germiyanogullari Beyligi Paralari Katalogu</i> , Istanbul 2005 (not seen by the author). All coins are without mint and undated, unless otherwise stated.		1264K	AR dirham, other designs, struck at Gölhisar, Felekabad & Karaağaç, dated 719-721	RRR
	<b>(Ya'qub Beg, 700-741 / 1301-1341: see note to #Q1263)</b>			<b>Mahmud b. Yunus, d.724 / 1324</b>	
	<b>Muhammad Beg, 741-762 1341-1361</b>		1264M	AR dirham, mint of Antalya, dated 714 & 716, about 1.40g	RRR
M1262	AR akçe, imitation of type of the Eretnid ruler Muhammad b. Eretna	RR		<b>Husam al-Din Ilyas, 750s? / 1350s?</b>	
			1264P	AR dirham, mint of Felekabad, undated, approximately 0.75g Usually named just al-Husami on his coinage.	RRR

<sup>328</sup> Published by T. Şengün by the Turkish Numismatic Society in 2005.

<sup>329</sup> There are no coins known from his 1<sup>st</sup> reign, 806-809 / 1403-1406.

<sup>330</sup> Unlike Ender, Kabaklarlı assigned this anonymous type to the Ottoman ruler Murad II (his variants numbered from Tra-15 to Tra-29). Had the Ottomans seized Tire as early as 822?

<sup>331</sup> Eron has attributed this type to Ya'qub I, 700-741 / 1301-1341 (his #1849 & 2403), but the style and calligraphy closely resembles issues of Ishaq Beg of Saruhan (ca. 759-792) and 'Isa Beg of Aydın (ca. 762-789).

<b>Jalis (Jalayi) Bey, fl. 758 / 1357</b>		<b>Qaraman b. Saveji, fl. 827-834 / 1424-1431</b>	
1264R	AR dirham (about 1.5g), mint of Felekabad, design of Abu Sa'id type C (#2200)	RRR	
1264S	AE fals, no mint or date İzmirlier #166C, with obverse retrograde. Several other names are noted by İzmirlier, all of which are on crudely struck coins of queried attribution. Some anonymous coins also exist, tentatively assigned to the Hamidids.	RRR	
<b>DENIZLI (INANJIDS)</b>		<b>ESHREFID</b>	
Ender, Celil, <i>Ladik (Denizli) sikkeleri</i> , Istanbul, 1994.		A small principality centered about Beyşehir.	
<b>Murad, circa 735-762 / 1334-1360</b>		<b>Sulayman, d. 726 / 1326</b>	
A1265	AR akçe, often with 6-point star countermark	RRR	
<b>Ishaq Bey, circa 762-769 / 1360-1368</b>		<b>Anonymous, early 8<sup>th</sup>/14<sup>th</sup> century</b>	
B1265	AR akçe (Other types ending in 1265 are now placed after 1266.)	RRR	
<b>BEYS OF ALANYA</b>		<b>KARAMANID</b>	
Kurkman, Garo, & Ömer Diler, <i>Coinage of 'Ala'ya</i> , Istanbul 1981. Most coins of the Beys of Alanya bear the mint name 'Ala'ya (= Alanya). All coins bear the hexagram, on the obverse of #1266, on the reverse of all other types. See #997E & 1003.2 for earlier issues in the sole name of the Mamluk sultan.		Ölçer, Cüneyt, <i>Karaman Ogulları Beyliği Madeni Paraları</i> , Istanbul 1982. Konya (Quniya in Arabic) is the principal mint of the Karamanids, but a few rare coins were struck at Larende, Kayseri, Nigde, Ermenek and Egridir. Coins of the period roughly 811 to 840 exhibit some of the finest calligraphy ever seen on Islamic coins, but sadly most surviving examples are either poorly struck, worn, or damaged. In the following listing, for convenience, I have termed the thin, relatively broad silver coins <i>dirhams</i> and the thick narrow coins <i>akçes</i> . The actual contemporary names are undetermined. Type #1269 comes in both varieties.	
<b>Anonymous, in the name of the Ilkhan Uljaytu (his type A), circa 710-717+ / 1310-1317+</b>		<b>Anonymous, early types, circa 710-730 / 1310-1330</b>	
A1266	AR dirham, about 1.85g, mint of 'Ala'ya Dated 710-717, thus after Uljaytu replaced his Sunni type A (#2180) of the Ilkhan coinage with his Shi'ite type B (#2185).	RR	
<b>Anonymous, in the name of the Ilkhan Abu Sa'id, circa 718-720s / 1317-1320s</b>		<b>Anonymous, early types, circa 710-730 / 1310-1330</b>	
Either based on type C of Abu Sa'id (#2201) or local variants.		<b>1267 AR dirham, broad thin fabric, mints of Larende &amp; Ermenek, occasionally dated</b>	
B1266	AR dirham, about 1.85g, undated, mint of 'Ala'ya For coins in the name of the Mamluk Muhammad I, see #923.2, dated 719-721.	RRR	R
<b>Anonymous, countermarked type, circa 720s / 1320s</b>		<b>"Badr b. Qaraman," circa 720s / 1320s</b>	
Countermarked on type A1266 or B1266, with the name of a city.		<b>1268 AR dirham, countermarked <i>badr bin qaraman</i> on coins of the previous type</b>	
M1266	AR dirham Struck at Süleymanşehir, Akşehir, Ermenek and Bekşehir, of which the first 2 mints are the least rare.	RR	RR
<b>Anonymous, countermarked type, circa 720s / 1320s</b>		It is not known to whom the name Badr refers, though Hinrichs has suggested that the intended individual is Badr al-Din Ibrahim. The countermark normally appears on coins dated in the late 700s and the 710s.	
Also countermarked on type A1266 or B1266, anepigraphic with unassigned symbols.		<b>'Ala al-Din, 762-800 / 1360-1398</b>	
N1266	AR dirham The beys of Alanya struck no coins from about 730-824 / 1330-1421. For the first issue in the name of the Mamluk al-Salih Muhammad III, see #997E (struck circa 1421-1422), and of his successor Barsbay, see #1003.3 (struck circa 1422-1423).	RR	
<b>Anonymous, probably circa 826-827+ / 1423-1424+</b>		<b>Muhammad b. 'Ala al-Din, 1<sup>st</sup> reign, 805-822 / 1402-1419</b>	
1266	AR akçe, with title <i>amir al-sawahil</i> , "amir of the coast" around the hexagram, undated Possibly also struck afterwards, simultaneously with akçes in the name of Saveji.	S	
<b>Saveji b. Shams al-Din, fl. 827 / 1424</b>		<b>Muhammad b. 'Ala al-Din, 1<sup>st</sup> reign, 805-822 / 1402-1404</b>	
All coins of Saveji are undated.		<b>1270.1 AR dirham, as vassal of Timur (805-807 / 1402-1404)</b>	
K1265	AR akçe, without mint name With inscription <i>amir al-sawahil khulidat dawlatuhu</i> around hexagram on the reverse. Royal title <i>al-sultan</i> together with his name and patrimony on obverse.	RR	R
<b>Anonymous, probably circa 826-827+ / 1423-1424+</b>		<b>1270.2 AR dirham, as independent ruler (807-822 / 1404-1419)</b>	
L1265	AR akçe, similar, but with mint name 'Ala'ya & epithet <i>dar al-amr</i> around the hexagram, with title <i>al-sultan</i> atop the obverse	RR	S
M1265	AR akçe, as #L1265 but with title <i>amir al-a'zam</i>	RR	
		<b>1270A AE mangır, as independent ruler, mint of Konya</b>	
		<b>'Ali b. 'Ala al-Din, 822-824 / 1419-1421</b>	
		<b>Ibrahim, 1<sup>st</sup> reign, 824 / 1421</b>	
		<b>1271 AR dirham</b>	
		<b>Muhammad b. 'Ala al-Din, 2<sup>nd</sup> reign, 824-827 / 1421-1423</b>	
		<b>1272 AR dirham</b>	
		<b>1273 AR dirham</b>	

<sup>332</sup> J.-C. Hinrichs has persuasively argued that this attribution may be incorrect, on the basis that during Eshrefid times the city was known as Süleymanşehir rather than Beyşehir.

<b>Ibrahim, 2<sup>nd</sup> reign, 827-868 / 1423-1463</b>			
The Karamanids were defeated by the Ottomans in 846/1443, but were permitted to rule as underlings and strike their own silver coinage until 871/1466, anonymous copper until about 892/1487.			
1274	AR dirham, broad flan, ornate style, several types (827-840)	R	
1275	AR akçe, thick narrow flan (dated 841 and later) Silver coins of Ibrahim and his successors are normally dated, always in numerals.	S	
1275A	AE mangır, without mint or date	RRR	
<b>Ishaq b. Ibrahim, 868-869 / 1463-1464</b>			
1276	AR akçe	RR	
<b>Pir Ahmad, 869-871 / 1464-1466</b>			
1277	AR akçe	RR	
1277A	AE mangır, same design as the akçe Both the akçe and mangır of Pir Ahmad are of Konya 870.	RRR	
<b>Anonymous, 9<sup>th</sup>/15<sup>th</sup> century</b>			
1278.1	AE mangır, inscriptions on both sides These coppers bear the Persian (!) phrase ' <i>aqebat bi-khayr</i> , "may (his) destiny be good", or a slight variation thereof, sometimes with the mint Konya or the date (875 or 886), but never both.	RRR	
1278.2	AE mangır, late 9 <sup>th</sup> /15 <sup>th</sup> century, ' <i>aqebat bi-khayr</i> on obverse, design or animal on reverse Always without mint, sometimes dated 886.	RRR	
<b><u>ISFENDIYARID (CANDAROĞLULARI)</u></b>			
This dynasty should be properly called Candarid (Candarogullari in Turkish), as it was founded circa 692/1293 by Shams al-Din Demir Candar Bey. The European name has always been Isfendiyarid, though the first Isfendiyar of the dynastic did not ascend the throne until 794/1292, a century later, about 70 years after their first coins were struck.			
Ender, Celil, <i>Candarogullari Beyligi (Isfendiyarogullari Beyligi) Paraları Katalogu / Catalog of the Isfendiyarid Coins</i> , Ender Numismatik Yayınları No. 3, published by the author, Istanbul, 2003. An important and extremely useful catalog, but the numbering system for the types and varieties is unnecessarily complicated.			
Coins of this dynasty were struck mainly at Kastamonu (Qastamuniya) and Sinop (Sanub), and are usually well made, though the calligraphy is usually atrocious. The coinage of the first two rulers listed here, Süleyman I and 'Adil Beg, are strictly anonymous, those of all subsequent rulers bear their name (except for some of the copper).			
<b>temp. Süleyman I, 709-742 / 1309-1341</b>			
1279	AR akçe Anonymous coins, similar to types bearing the name of the Ilkhan ruler Abu Sa'id, struck at Kastamonu and Borlu in the mid-720s, frequently without mint name, usually dated. For similar coins bearing the name of Abu Sa'id, see type #C2221.	R	
<b>temp. 'Adil Beg, circa 746-760 / 1345-1359</b>			
Please note that the denominations and weights for the coinage of 'Adil Beg have been changed from the second edition.			
Most coins of this ruler are dated AH746, rarely visible on actual specimens, others undated. All later Isfendiyarid coins are undated, unless otherwise noted.			
1280	AR ½ akçe, first standard (about 1.0g) (square / square)	S	
1281	AR ½ akçe, second standard (about 0.8g) (inner circle / square)	R	
<b>Kötürüm Bayezit, 762-787 / 1361-1385</b>			
1282.1	AR akçe, 1 <sup>st</sup> standard (1.80g) (square / square), with title <i>amir a'dal</i> (top line of obverse field)	C	
1283.1	AR ½ akçe (0.90g), similar	R	
1282.2	AR akçe (1.80g) (square / square), with <i>jalal al-din</i> instead of <i>amir a'dal</i> on obverse	C	
1283.2	AR ½ akçe (0.90g), similar	R	
1282.3	AR akçe, 2 <sup>nd</sup> standard (1.53g) (concave hexagon / concave hexagon), with title <i>amir a'dal</i>	S	
1283.3	AR ½ akçe (0.76g) (plain circle / plain circle), with title <i>amir a'dal</i>	RR	
1283C	AE mangır, several types, Sinop, Kastamonu or without mint name	RR	
<b>Süleyman II, 787-794 / 1385-1392</b>			
The chronological order for the akçes of Süleyman II and Isfendiyar are conjectural.			
1284.1	AR akçe (1.11g) (looped hexagon / square), with title <i>amir kabir</i>	R	
1284.2	AR akçe (1.44 or 1.53g) (plain square / concave hexagon), title <i>amir a'dal</i>	RR?	
1284.3	AR akçe (1.53g) (lobated square / hexafoil), also with title <i>amir a'dal</i>	R	
1284.4	AR akçe (1.20g) (square / square), without any title, just <i>sulayman zuyyida mulkuhu</i> in obverse square, without mint or date Given the weight and primitive calligraphy of this type and #1285, it is possible that they were struck after Süleyman's death, as it seems that the weight reduction to 1.20g was undertaken several years after Isfendiyar succeeded him. Further research needed!	C	
1285	AR ½ akçe (0.60g), as #1284.4	R	
<b>Isfendiyar, 794-843 / 1392-1439</b>			
1286.1	AR akçe (1.53g) (square / square), obverse inscription <i>isfendiyar khulida mulkuhu</i> , Sinop mint	C	
1286A	AR ½ akçe, as type #1286.1	RR	
1286.2	AR akçe (1.20g) (hexafoil / square), obverse inscription <i>isfendiyar bin bayezit 'izza nasruhu</i> During the Timurid occupation 804-808 two series of silver akçes were issued in the name of Timur, undated examples very similar to #1286.2, followed by a type identical to #1286.3 and dated 807-808. Both of Timur's types are listed together as #2385.	R?	
1286.3	AR akçe (1.20g) (lobated square / hexafoil), with title <i>amir [a]'zam</i>	R	
1286.4	AR akçe (1.02g) (border of dots, usually in the form of a quatrefoil / plain square), name & patronymic only, no additional titles	R?	
1286.5	AR akçe (0.78g) (toughra / plain circle divided by horizontal lines into two sections)	RR	
1286.6	AR akçe (0.78g), design based on type #1299.2 of the Ottoman ruler Mehmet I, but lighter standard, from Kastamonu and dated 824	RRR	
1286.7	AR akçe (0.78g), based on type #1302.3 of the Ottoman Murad II, Kastamonu 834	RRR	
1286F	AE mangır, several types, of which the principal type is of Kastamonu, dated 832 Other varieties undated, usually without mint name, are RRR.	RR	
<b>Ibrahim b. Isfendiyar, 843-847 / 1439-1443</b>			
1286I	AR akçe (about 1.2g), style of type #1302.3 of the Ottoman Murad II, known for Kastamonu 834 (error for 843) and Sinop 843 It seems the Kastamonu engraver forgot to change the 834 of Murad's type to 843 for Ibrahim's akçe.	RRR	
<b>Isma'il b. Ibrahim, 847-865 / 1443-1461</b>			
1287	AE mangır, various types, Kastamonu & Sinop Additional coins were struck by the beys of Tekke, Hamit, Geredi and others, mostly anonymous, mostly very rare. I intend to include these in the fourth edition.	RR	



## OTTOMAN EMPIRE

In addition to the *Standard Catalog of World Coins*<sup>333</sup> and the principal museum catalogs, the following works are useful:

Pere, Nuri, *Osmanlılarda Madeni Paralar*, Istanbul, 1968.

Sultan, Jem, *Coins of the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic*, 2 vols., Thousand Oaks, 1977.

Schaendlinger, Anton C., *Osmanische Numismatik*, Braunschweig, 1973, especially useful for the discussion of Ottoman mints, now replaced by:

Srećković, Slobodan, *Ottoman Mints & Coins*, Belgrade 2002.

Srećković, Slobodan, *Akches* (Volumes One through Six), Belgrade 1999-2009. Every coin illustrated with line drawing or photo or both. English language (except volume 6, which is only in Serbian). Volumes 1-6, cover the akçes until 1143/1730, without references to other Middle Eastern and North African denominations.

Kabaklarlı, Necdet, *Mangır*, Istanbul 1998. A massive work, with virtually all types illustrated by both line drawings and photos, but with an unnecessarily complex system of catalog numbers. Yemeni mints reserved for the following volume:

Kabaklarlı, Necdet, *Mangır: Ottoman Copper Coins minted in Yemen 1517-1640*, Istanbul, 2007.

Cüneyt Ölçer and Ibrahim Artuk published a number of volumes in the 1960s and 1970s, on individual reigns or groups of reigns. Most of these works are still very useful, specially for undated copper mangırs not included in Kabaklarlı's books.

Damalı, Dr. Atom, *Osmanlı Sikkeleri Tarihi / History of Ottoman Coins*, to be published in Ankara in 8 volumes, of which two volumes were available as of June 2010. See [www.niluferdamalivakfi.org](http://www.niluferdamalivakfi.org) for further information. (I have not yet examined these first volumes.)

The Turkish numismatic journal, *Bülten*, is devoted largely to short reports of new discoveries in Ottoman coinage.

Rolf Ehler is currently studying the Ottoman coinage of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. It is hoped that his results will be published soon. From what I have thus far seen of his work, it will be an amazing contribution.

[www.ottomancoins.com](http://www.ottomancoins.com), this is extremely important for all Ottoman coins, and if the authors continue their excellent work, the site might threaten to scare away books, but fortunately books can still be useful. Printed and online specialized research publications will also survive.

*Ottoman coinage may be divided into three periods, the early period of the rising empire (699-918 / 1300-1512), the middle period of maximum power and prestige (918-1099 / 1512-1687), and the late period of declining fortunes (1099-1341 / 1687-1924). Only the first two periods are included here.*

*Although no truly comprehensive study yet exists for the entire Ottoman series, the coinage is relatively well researched, particularly the early and late periods. The late period, commencing in 1687, is excluded because the coinage generally follows European models (milled coinage until the 1840s, thereafter machine-struck) and is adequately treated in the Krause-Mishler catalogs (deluxe editions of 1986 & 1991, now replaced by the century volumes<sup>334</sup>).*

*For additional Ottoman listings of coins struck in areas occupied by the Ottomans for relatively short periods, see #A1118-1128 (Yemeni mints), 1128R-G1129 (Arabian peninsula), and 2706-2711 (Iranian mints).*

Ottoman gold coinage was first introduced by Mehmet II in 882/1477, with a single denomination based on the Venetian ducat (about 3.5g) and commonly known as a *sultani*. It was the solitary gold coin denomination issued under the Ottomans until after 1099/1687, except for a brief issue at Tlemçen in Algeria from 1556 until about 1620 that

followed local Ziyaid tradition. The sultani is also popularly called *altın*, the Turkish word for "gold".

Through the first and second periods (1300-1687) the akçe remained the most profusely issued silver denomination, gradually declining from about 1.25g to less than 0.25g. Multiple akçes were first successfully introduced in the traditional portions of the Empire under Osman II (1618-1622), as the *beşlik* (= 5 akçes) and the *onluk* (= 10 akçes). However, regional denominations dominated throughout Syria, Iraq, Egypt and North Africa from their conquest in the 16<sup>th</sup> century until modern times. This regional coinage has not yet been satisfactorily studied.

The normal copper denomination before 1099/1687 was known generically as a *mangır* in the central and northern Ottoman lands, but often as *fals* or *falus* in the Arab provinces and eastern Anatolia.

Up to and including the reign of Bayezit I (1389-1402), all but a few extremely rare types lack the mint name, and nearly all are undated (except #1291). From the time of Mehmet I onwards (after 816), the mint name was a regular feature on all Ottoman gold and silver coins, later on most copper as well. The level of activity at most mints varied considerably over time, though from 886 onwards, Constantinople (Kostantiniye) is usually the most plentiful mint for silver and copper, Misr for gold. Other common mints are Edirne, Bursa, Novar (later written as Novaberda, the modern Novobrd in Serbia), Serez, Sidrekipsi, Qaratova (Kratova), Uskub (Skopje) for the main series, as well as the Turkoman and Arab mints of Halab, Dimashq, Baghdad, Amid, Khanja (Gença, modern Gümüşhane), Erzurum, and Misr (al-Qahira) for local currencies. For specific types, several other mints are also quite common. In all, more than 100 mints have been attested for the pre-1687 Ottoman coinage, many of them extremely rare.

Most 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman coins were well struck, as was most of the gold in all periods. However, from the time of Selim I (1512-1520) onwards, the quality of both the silver and the copper rapidly degenerated, reaching abysmal levels in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The gold was usually better struck, at least in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. It is generally assumed that the dismal quality of late 17<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman coinage was the chief reason for the adoption of European minting technology during the reign of Süleyman II (1099-1102 / 1687-1691).

The Ottomans developed the concept of dating coins with the initial date of a type or reign, rather than stamping the actual year of issue on them, as had been the predominant Islamic tradition since the Umayyad reform. The first dated coins (with a few extremely rare exceptions) are mangırs of Murad I dated 790 and akçes of Bayezit I dated with his accession year 792. From then until 886/1481, silver coins bear "series" dates, which were changed at intervals of from a few to as many as 14 years (similar to modern United States banknotes). Thereafter, most Ottoman coins were dated with the accession year of the ruler. Regnal years were added in the time of Mustafa III (1171-1187 / 1757-1774), long after the time covered in this *Checklist*. The principal exception to this rule was the coinage of the Ottoman possessions in the Maghreb (modern Algeria, Tunisia and Libya), which after about 1020/1610 reverted to the actual year of issue.

Several scholars have attempted to assign various anonymous types to Osman I (699-724 / 1300-1324), but none of these suggestions is convincing. However, it is likely that some imitative Ilkhan types might have been struck in areas under the authority of Osman I. Further research is needed.

### Orhan (b. 'Uthman), 724-761 / 1324-1360

T1288 AR akçe (ornate octofoil / highlighted square),  
Bursa mint

RRR

Two varieties, both of Ilkhan style, the first bearing the date 727 in words within the obverse margin, replaced by the names of the four Rashidun on the undated second variety.

1288.1 AR akçe, citing Orhan but without name of a caliph,  
several designs

S

Srećković divides this series into 5 subtypes, all without mint or date.

In the previous *Checklist*, I had assigned type Pere #3 to the beyliks of Saruhan as #1250, but Ender has convincingly demonstrated that the coin belongs to this Ottoman sultan.

1288.2 AR akçe, similar, but citing the long-deceased caliph  
al-Mustansir (d. 640/1242), without mint or date

R

### Murad I (b. Orhan), 761-791 / 1360-1389

1289 AR akçe, always without mint or date

S

According to Srećković, three distinct design types.

1290 AE mangır, similar

S

A somewhat scarcer subtype is dated Ramadan 790.

<sup>333</sup> SCWC has catalogued Ottoman coins by their appropriate countries, beginning in 1601. The earlier volume, intended to cover 1453-1600, has not appeared and seems unlikely ever to be completed.

<sup>334</sup> Sadly, the quality of SCWC has been deteriorating since its publisher, Krause Publications, was acquired in 2002 by F&W Publishing of Cincinnati, which has in turn been acquired by an investment holding company (with a mailing address in London). When I was recently cataloguing some 18<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman coins, I was so frustrated by the errors and inconsistency of the 4<sup>th</sup> edition of the 18<sup>th</sup> century (published about 2007) that I grabbed my copy of the 1991 hardbound general edition. To my pleasing surprise, the 1991 issue was easy to use, a true time-saver, and the prices for 18<sup>th</sup> century Turkish coins in the 1991 edition had never been updated for the 2007 18<sup>th</sup> century edition!

	<b>Bayezit I (b. Murad), “the Thunderbolt”, 791-804 / 1389-1402</b>			
1291	AR akçe (about 1.18g) One design only, invariably with the frozen year 792, but without mint name.	C	1302.3	AR akçe (about 1.18g), third series, dated 834 Toughra replaced by name and patronymic in horizontal text only.
1292	AE mangır, always without mint name but sometimes dated 794 (R)  Commencing with the accession of Mehmet Çelebi in 806/1403, virtually all silver coins and many copper coins bear the name of a mint, as do all gold coins after their introduction in 882.	S	1302G	AR akçe, local designs, mint of Germiyan only, dated 825 or 826
	<b>Mehmet Çelebi (b. Bayezit), as vassal, citing Timur (Tamerlane) as overlord, 806-808 / 1403-1405</b>		1303	AE mangır, either reign, many variations Only dated varieties can be securely assigned to a specific reign.
1294	AR akçe (about 1.18g), Bursa mint only, dated 806 See #2384 for an akçe struck in the sole name of Timur.	S		<b>Mehmet II (b. Murad), “the Conqueror”, 1<sup>st</sup> reign, 848-850 / 1444-1446</b>
	<b>Mehmet Çelebi (b. Bayezit) (later Mehmet I), as independent ruler, 808-816 / 1405-1413</b>		1304	AR akçe (about 1.05g), always dated 848 The word <i>bin</i> occurs after (to the left of) <i>muhammad</i> ; the inscription is read upwards as <i>muhammad bin / murad</i> . The location of <i>bin</i> distinguishes this type from #1304N, listed under the 2 <sup>nd</sup> reign of Murad II.
1293.1	AR akçe (about 1.18g for both types) With title <i>al-sultan al-a'zam</i> , struck only at Amasya, dated 808. Some bear the additional text <i>hasbi Allah</i> within a square in the obverse center (R).	C	1305	AE mangır, usually dated 848 or 852 Known dated 848 from Amasya, Bursa & Edirne, 852 from Ayasuluk. Undated types cannot be assigned to the 1 <sup>st</sup> reign, and are thus included with #1309.
1293.2	AR akçe, with title <i>ghiyath al-dunya wa'l-din</i> , reverse normally in quatrefoil Struck at Amasya (sometimes dated 810), Bursa (rarely dated 813) and Engüriye (sometimes dated 806), but usually undated at all mints. It may be presumed that the year 806 at Engüriye (Ankara) is Mehmet's first accession year, and that the coins were not struck before his actual independence in 808.	C		<b>Murad II (b. Mehmet), 2<sup>nd</sup> reign, 850-855 / 1446- 1451</b>
1295	AE mangır  <b>Süleyman Çelebi (b. Bayezit), 806-813 / 1403-1410</b>	R	1304N	AR akçe (about 1.05g), dated 848 The word <i>bin</i> occurs before (to the right of) <i>muhammad</i> ; the inscription is read downwards as <i>murad / bin muhammad</i> . See #1304 for the alternative arrangement. The similarity of these two types exemplifies the monetary concept of retaining a popular design whenever possible.
1296	AR akçe (about 1.18g), toughra on obverse, date, <i>khulida mulkuhu</i> and <i>Rashidun</i> on reverse, always dated Dated 805 (RRR) and 806 (C), also “802” (R), where ‘2’ is just a retrograde ‘6’. This is the earliest Ottoman coin to employ the toughra, a stylized depiction of the sultan's signature. The use of the toughra was occasionally used until 834/1430, then abandoned, only to be revived, initially at the eastern mints at the beginning of the 11 <sup>th</sup> /17 <sup>th</sup> century, then generally throughout the Empire from 1106/1695 until the end of Ottoman rule in 1924.	C		<b>Mehmet II (b. Murad), 2<sup>nd</sup> reign, 855-886 / 1451-1481</b>
1296A	AR akçe (about 1.18g), royal inscriptions and date 813 on obverse, caliph and mint Edirne on reverse	R	1306	AV sultani (also known as <i>funduk</i> or <i>altın</i> ), Constantinople mint only (Kostantiniye) The gold sultani was based on the weight of the Venetian ducat and was introduced in the year 882. Only the year 883 is occasionally available, 882 much rarer, 885 exceedingly rare.
1297	AE mangır, always without mint name  <b>Musa Çelebi (b. Bayezit), rival, 813-816 / 1410-1413</b>	R	1307	AR 10 akçes (onluk), Constantinople mint only Failed attempt to introduce a larger silver denomination.
1298	AR akçe (probably 1.18g), dated 813, either with mint name Edirne or without mint name  <b>Mehmet I (b. Bayezit), as sultan, 816-824 / 1413-1421</b> Known as Mehmet Çelebi before 816. All akçes about 1.15g)	R	1308.1	AR akçe (about 0.98g), first series, dated 855
1299.1	AR akçe (about 1.18g for both types), dated 816 One variety, Bursa mint only, has four ornate knots surrounding the reverse (RR). Seven mints reported.	C	1308.2	AR akçe (about 0.90g), second series, dated 865 This was the first series to be struck at Kostantiniye (Constantinople) (RR).
1299.2	AR akçe, second series, dated 822 Five mints reported.	C	1308.3	AR akçe (about 0.90g), third series, dated 875
1300	AE mangır  <b>Mustafa Çelebi (b. Mehmet), rival, circa 822-825 / 1419-1422</b>	S	1308.4	AR akçe (about 0.75g), fourth series, dated 880
1301	AR akçe (about 1.18g) Struck at Serez (undated) and Edirne (824).  <b>Murad II (b. Mehmet), first reign, 824-848 / 1421-1444</b>	S	1308.5	AR akçe (about 0.75g), fifth series, dated 886
1302.1	AR akçe (about 1.18g), first series, Bursa mint only, dated 824 Toughra obverse, date in concave square in reverse center.	RR	1309	AE mangır, numerous variations, often anonymous All undated types in the name of Mehmet II are conventionally assigned to his 2 <sup>nd</sup> reign.
1302.2	AR akçe (about 1.18g), second series, dated 825 Date above toughra on obverse.	S		<b>Jem Sultan, rival at Bursa, 886 / 1481</b>
			1310	AR akçe (about 0.75g)
				<b>Bayezit II (b. Mehmet), 886-918 / 1481-1512</b>
			1311	AV sultani
			1312	AR akçe (about 0.75g), one type only Dated 886 only at all mints, but struck throughout the reign. Bayezit II was the first sultan to date all gold & silver coins solely by the accessional year, the Ottoman preference until their demise in 1924.
			1313	AE mangır, numerous variants
				<b>Selim I (b Bayezit), “the Grim”, 918-926 / 1512-1520</b>
			1314	AV sultani, normally dated 918 (see note to #1315)
			A1315	AR maydın (±0.9g) Struck at al-Qahira, Dimashq and Halab, also at Sham, generic term for Greater Syria. All other mints struck the akçe (#1315).
			1315	AR akçe, several variants but all one type (±0.72g) Dated 918, except for a number of eastern mints conquered in 922 and later, including some formerly Safavid and Aq Qoyunlu mints, as far east as Mawsil and Bitlis. Both sultanis and akçes of these mints are dated between 922 and 925, and are all very rare.
			1316	AE mangır, numerous variants

**Süleyman I (b. Selim), “the Magnificent”,  
926-974 / 1520-1566**

- R1317 AV ¼ dinar, without mint or date, but struck only at Tilimsan (Tlemçen, clear by style)<sup>335</sup> RRR
- S1317 AV ½ dinar, similar, but unusual rhymed prose in reverse field, probably with both mint & date in marginal segments RRR
- T1317 AV dinar, similar style, but obverse & reverse text at the standard sultani (#1317), Tilimsan 926 only RRR
- 1317 AV sultani C
- 1318 AR dirhem, struck at mints in the Middle East, several subordinate variants with weight between 3.0g and 4.5g C
- Aside from the *akçe* (thanks to Srećković), the silver denominations of this and subsequent reigns (until the 1687 reform) have never been adequately codified. In general, the dirhem is a coin of about 3 grams, the para about half that, the maydın about 1 gram, and the *akçe* beginning at about 0.72g, declining to 0.33 grams by the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Many *akçes* are found clipped down to lighter weights, presumably in order to remain in circulation after the standard *akçe* weight had been reduced, or just plain old cheating.
- 1319 AR para or *gümüş*, mints in Syria and the Jazira S  
The denomination of this common type from Syrian and Jaziran mints during this reign remains uncertain, though frequently classified as either para or *gümüş* (Turkish for “silver”) by modern numismatists. It was more likely maydın, the common denomination of Egypt in the 16<sup>th</sup> & 17<sup>th</sup> centuries (see notes after #1323), but I have retained here the tentative usage of para or *gümüş*. Weight undetermined.
- 1320 AR maydın (Misr) (about 1.2g) C
- 1320G AR square nasri (about 0.98g), struck only at Qafsa (Gafsa) and Tunis in Tunisia, dated 926 only RRR
- 1320J AR square nasri (about 0.6g), struck only at Jaza’ir (Algiers), dated 926 only RRR
- 1320L AR square nasri (about 0.98g), struck only at Tarabulus (Tripoli in Libya) RRR
- 1320M AR square nasri (about 0.45g), struck at Tilimsan (Tlemçen), dated 946 RRR
- A1321.1 AR *akçe*, horizontal inscriptions, 0.76g<sup>336</sup> A  
Many variations, probably a chronological sequence of subtypes that has not yet been elucidated. Srećković has classified these types into three periods, with different royal inscriptions:  
(1) *Sultan Süleyman Shah bin Selim Shah*, 926-947 / 1520-1540<sup>337</sup>  
(2) *Sultan Süleyman Shah bin Selim Khan*, 947-962 / 1540-1555  
(3) *Sultan Süleyman bin Selim Khan*, 962-976 / 1555-1566  
There is no weight difference between these three series.
- A1321.2 AR *akçe*, circular inscriptions, 0.76g S  
All mints except Sidrekipti are rare. Mulings of obverse of A1321.2 and reverse of A1321.1 or vice versa are occasionally seen (R). Struck 957-964 / 1550-1557. See Srećković for additional varieties.
- 1321 AE falus, large module (5-10 grams), from various mints in al-Jazira, normally anonymous S  
The principal mints are Mardin, Amid and Ruha. Al-Jazira means “the Island” and refers to the upper region between the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers, now in northern Iraq, northeastern Syria and southeastern Turkey, with its city al-Jazira (now Cizre in Turkey). It should not be confounded with Jaza’ir, now called Algiers in the modern country of Algeria. Both Jaza’ir (common only in the 19<sup>th</sup> century) and al-Jazira (RRR) were Ottoman mints.
- 1322 AE fals, anonymous, mint of Misr (Cairo in Egypt) S

<sup>335</sup> For Ottoman coins of Tlemçen, see Rolf Ehlert, “Tlemsen’de basılmış osmanlı paraları,” in *Sevgi Gönül hatıra sayıstı*, Turkish Numismatic Society Publications, Istanbul 2005.

<sup>336</sup> This is the only common type that was inadvertently omitted from the first edition of the *Checklist*. For extensive information, see S. Srećković, *Akches (Volume Three): Süleyman I Kanuni*, Belgrade 2003.

<sup>337</sup> Gold sultanis with actual dates AH927-931 and some dated 932 bear the second inscription, ending in *Selim Khan* instead of *Selim Shah*. Other sultanis dated 932 and all dated 933-944 bear *Selim Shah*. See Pere #169.

Weights of this type vary immensely, from about 2 to 10+ grams. Coins of this denomination of Süleyman and subsequent rulers are sometimes known as *para*, presumably due to their heavy weight.

- 1323 AE mangır, usually anonymous C  
With few exceptions, mangırs of this and later reigns are anonymous, assigned to a specific reign only when the date is legible or the type matches dated examples of a specific reign.
- The coinage of the remaining reigns listed here (974-1099 / 1566-1687) has never been systematically studied. Some of the listings, especially for the silver coins, are oversimplifications of complex patterns still imperfectly researched.
- Tentative denominations of the silver coinage of this period:  
The *dirhem* (or dirham, dirhem being the modern Turkish spelling of the word) normally weighed between 2.5 and 3.2 grams, and was struck at mints in Syria, Iraq, eastern Anatolia (especially Gençā and Erzurum), and occasionally in parts of Iran and the Caucasus under temporary Ottoman occupation. The spelling dirhem with an “e” is restricted to the Ottoman series.  
The *para* or *gümüş* was struck mainly after 1003, mainly at Aleppo, Damascus, Khanja (Gença) and Amid (now Diyarbakır). Typical weights ranged from 1.0-1.5g. This denomination was sometimes also known as maydın (*gümüş* means “silver”).  
The *maydın* was struck only in Egypt (Misr), and normally weighed somewhat under one gram. The term derived from the *mu’ayyidi*, the Mamluk silver coin introduced in 815/1412 by Shaykh (type #992), whose title was *al-sultan al-mu’ayyid*. Here the term maydın is used to refer principally to the Egyptian issue, though contemporary Syrian and eastern Anatolian silver coins of similar weight were also frequently known as maydıns.  
The *akçe* was still the most common denomination in silver, with a typical weight declining from about 0.66 to less than 0.3 grams (contemporary Ottoman accounts were normally figured in *akçes*). A wide variety of mints in Anatolia and the Balkans produced the *akçe*, normally employing a uniform type at any given time. Small quantities were struck at Misr, Dimashq, and Halab in addition to their larger paras and maydıns, each mint with a distinctive type. As many as 40 mints were active prior to the 1030s, but thereafter, most local mints were closed, so that after 1058, only about half a dozen mints remained in operation.  
The *nasri* was a small square silver coin struck at a few mints in North Africa.  
The *onluk* (“piece of ten”), a coin of ten *akçes*, was introduced by Osman II, replacing the dirhem at all mints except Baghdad.  
The *beşlik* (“piece of five”), a coin of five *akçes*, was introduced by Murad IV, but struck mainly at Kostantaniye, most prodigiously under Ibrahim.  
Many new denominations were introduced from 1099/1687 onwards, but these do not concern us here.

**Selim II (b. Süleyman), “the Sot”, 974-982 / 1566-1574**

- M1324 AV dinar (about 4.2g), Tilimsan mint only, to the Ziyaniid standard, slightly debased gold RR  
Unconfirmed ½ and ¼ dinars of Tilimsan are rumored to exist.
- 1324 AV sultani C
- 1325 AR dirhem (Near Eastern mints only), about 3.65g C
- 1326 AR para or *gümüş* C
- 1327 AR maydın (Misr), about 1.05g S
- 1328 AR *akçe*, about 0.66g C
- A1329 AR square nasri (Tunis mint), about 0.98g RRR
- 1329 AE fals (Misr) R
- 1330 AE mangır S

**Murad III (b. Selim), 982-1003 / 1574-1595**

- 1331 AV dinar (Tilimsan, to the late Ziyaniid standard of about 4.2g, slightly debased gold), several dates R
- 1331A AV ½ dinar, similar, about 2.1g RR
- 1332.1 AV sultani C  
Reverse inscription: *darib al-nadr wa sahib al-‘izz al-nasr fi’l-birr wa’l-bahr*, “the striker of precious metal, and master of glory, the victorious on land and sea”).
- 1332.2 AV sultani S?  
Reverse inscription: *sultan al-birrayn wa khaqan al-bahrayn al-sultan bin al-sultan*, “sultan of the two lands and khaqan of the

two seas, the sultan, son of the sultan". The two lands refer to Asia and Europe, divided by the Bosphorus (in modern Turkish, *Istanbul Boğazi*), the two seas refer to the Black Sea and the Mediterranean.

With a few very rare exceptions (not noted here), all pre-982 sultanis bear the *darib al-nadr* ... inscription only.

From this reign onwards, the sultanis of the three Ottoman mints in North Africa (Jaza'ir, Tunis & Tarabulus Gharb<sup>338</sup>) are dated with actual years rather than regnal years, whereas Misr, Constantinople and all other mints are invariably dated only with the accession year, as would remain the case until 1924. The same is true of most of the occasional copper and silver coins from the three North African mints.

1333	AR dirhem, about 3.65g Struck principally at Baghdad.	C	1347N	AV sultani, actual date, struck only at the North African mints of Jaza'ir & Tunis	RR
1333A	AR dirhem, about 3.10g, struck only at Amid Examples of both #1333 and #1333A can weigh somewhat more or substantially less. Further research required.	S	B1348	AV dinar (about 4.2g), Tilimsan (Tlemçen) mint only	RRR
1333S	AR shahi, about 4.61g, Basra mint (without the particle <i>al-</i> ) The weight of this and subsequent Basran shahis (#1341S, 1348S, 1359S) correspond to the Iranian mithqal.	RRR	A1348	AV ½ dinar (about 2.1g), Tilimsan mint	RRR
1334	AR para or gümüş The weight of this type remains obscure. At Halab & Dimashq there seem to be several weights, from about 1.5 to about 2.5g. Further research is essential here!	C	1348	AR dirhem, about 3.0g, struck at Baghdad	RR?
1335	AR maydın (Misr), about 1.05g	C	1348S	AR shahi, about 4.61g, Basra mint	RRR
1336.1	AR akçe, 1 <sup>st</sup> standard, about 0.66g, struck 1574-1583	C	1349.1	AR para or gümüş, eastern Anatolian type, approximately 1.22g Struck mainly at Khanja (Gença), Amid and Van.	S
1336.2	AR akçe, 2 <sup>nd</sup> standard, about 0.33g, struck 1585-1595 There seems to be no design changes between the 1 <sup>st</sup> and 2 <sup>nd</sup> standard akçes of this reign. Both types are known with horizontal inscriptions and with circular inscriptions, the latter rare. Weight variations can be considerable, with 1 <sup>st</sup> standard examples usually between about 0.53g and 0.70g, the 2 <sup>nd</sup> standard between 0.25g and 0.38g. It is possible that an intermediate standard of approximately 0.40g-0.45g was briefly used during the inflationary period 991-993 / 1583-1585. However, it seems more likely that these are just underweight and clipped down 1 <sup>st</sup> standard or overweight 2 <sup>nd</sup> standard akçes.	A	1349.2	AR para or gümüş, Syrian type, heavy series, approximately 2.25g Struck mainly at Halab (S) and Dimashq (R).	S
A1337	AR square nasri (Tunisian mints)	RRR	1349.3	AR para or gümüş, Syrian type, light series, approximately 1.54g Struck mainly at Halab. The chronology between #1349.2 and 1349.3 is uncertain.	C
1337	AE fals (Misr)	C	1350	AR maydın (Misr)	C
1338	AE mangır	C	1351	AR square nasri (Tunis) With three horizontal lines of inscription on both sides, known dated 1013. Another type of Ahmed, with a 4-line inscription on obverse and a religious phrase arranged in a complex anagram, dated between xx15 and xx29 are actually issues of Ahmed III struck 1115-1129. A few rare examples reveal the full date, thus confirming that the anagrammatic type was struck a century later.	RRR
	<b>Mehmet III (b. Murad), 1003-1012 / 1595-1603</b>		1352	AR akçe	A
1339	AV dinar (about 4.3g, Tilimsan mint only)	R	1353	AE fals (Misr)	C
1339A	AV ½ dinar, similar, Tilimsan mint	RR	1354	AE mangır	R
1340.1	AV sultani Reverse inscription: <i>darib al-nadr wa sahib al-'izz al-nasr fi'l-birr wa'l-bahr</i> .	C		<b>Mustafa I (b. Mehmet), 1<sup>st</sup> reign, 1026-1027 / 1617-1618</b>	
1340.2	AV sultani Reverse inscription: <i>sultan al-birrayn wa khaqan al-bahrayn al-sultan bin al-sultan</i> .	C	1355	AV sultani In general, coins of this reign can only be distinguished from those of Mustafa's second reign when the accessional year is clearly legible, or securely by die link. Uncertain specimens are traditionally assigned to the second reign. Known only with reverse inscription: <i>sultan al-birrayn wa khaqan al-bahrayn al-sultan bin al-sultan</i> . Unknown from the North African mints.	RRR
1341	AR dirhem, about 3.0g The dirhem and para (#1342) of this reign revive the use of the toughra, which henceforth becomes common on these two denominations, but not all varieties necessarily bear the toughra. Weights vary considerably, more research needed.	C	1356	AR para or gümüş, normally about 1.22g Only the Amid mint is occasionally available, the least rare issue of Mustafa's first reign.	RR
1341S	AR shahi, about 4.61g, Basra mint	RRR	1357	AR akçe (0.34g)	RRR
1342	AR para or gümüş, weights undetermined	C		<b>Osman II (b. Ahmed), 1027-1031 / 1618-1622</b>	
1343	AR maydın (Misr), about 1.05g	C	1358	AV sultani Reverse inscription: <i>sultan al-birrayn wa khaqan al-bahrayn al-sultan bin al-sultan</i> . A very rare variety of Dimashq mint bears the other reverse inscription, <i>darib al-nadr wa...</i> Both varieties occur on later sultanis, but further research needed before the coins can be accurately divided between the two types. No sultanis are reported from the North African mints.	R
1344.1	AR akçe, 3-line inscription on both sides, about 0.34g	S	1359	AR onluk, about 2.8g The onluk, or piece of ten akçes ( <i>on</i> = ten), replaced the dirhem during this reign. However, the average weight is approximately 8-8.5 times that of the akçe, some 15-20% below what might be expected for a coin of "10 akçes". The dirhem was later revived at Baghdad by Murad IV (see #1370) and his successors.	R
1344.2	AR akçe, <i>muhammad</i> in center with circular inscription around on obverse (3-line inscription on reverse), about 0.34g	A	1359S	AR shahi, about 4.61g, Basra mint	RRR
1345	AE fals (Misr)	C	1360	AR para or gümüş, about 1.1g The weight of this denomination seems to vary from mint to mint. Principal mints are Amid and Gença.	R
1346	AE mangır	S			
	<b>Ahmed I (b. Mehmet), 1012-1026 / 1603-1617</b>				
1347.1	AV sultani, accession date Reverse inscription: <i>darib al-nadr wa sahib al-'izz al-nasr fi'l-birr wa'l-bahr</i> .	C?			
1347.2	AV sultani, accession date Reverse inscription: <i>sultan al-birrayn wa khaqan al-bahrayn al-sultan bin al-sultan</i> .	C			

<sup>338</sup> "Tarabulus Gharb" means Tripoli West, which is Tripoli in Libya rather than Tripoli in Lebanon.

1361	AR maydın (Misr), about 0.95g	S	1383N	AV sultani, actual date, struck only at the three North African mints	S
1361N	AR square nasri (Tunis)	RRR		<i>All except Tarabulus Gharb 1078 are at least RR.</i>	
1362.1	AR akçe, 3-line inscription on both sides (0.30g)	S	1383P	AV ½ sultani, struck only at Tarabulus Gharb	RRR
1362.2	AR akçe, 'uthman in center with circular inscription around on obverse (3-line inscription on reverse) (0.30g)	C	1384	AR dirhem (Baghdad), 2.8-3.0g	C
1363	AE mangır	R	1385	AR onluk (mainly Constantinople and Halab), about 2.8g	R
<b>Mustafa I (b. Mehmet), 2<sup>nd</sup> reign, 1031-1032 / 1622-1623</b>					
1364	AV sultani, accessional date	RR	1386.1	AR beşlik, mint of Constantinople, about 1.4g	R
	<i>Normally with reverse inscription: sultan al-birrayn wa khaqan al-bahrayn al-sultan bin al-sultan.</i>		1386.2	AR beşlik?, mint of Tarabulus Gharb	RR
1364N	AV sultani, actual date, struck only at the North African mint of Jaza'ir (Algiers)	RRR		<i>Variable weight from about 1.05-1.45g, dated 1083 or 1096.</i>	
1365	AR onluk, about 2.8g	S	1387	AR maydın (Misr), about 0.8g	A
1366	AR para or gümüş	R		<i>One of the most poorly manufactured Islamic coins of all time, typically about 25% legible.</i>	
	<i>Probably about 0.9-1.0g, mainly from mint of Amid.</i>		1387A	AR square nasri (Tunis) , about 0.7g	RRR
1367	AR maydın (Misr), about 0.95g	S	1388	AR akçe, average 0.25g-0.3g	S
1368	AR akçe (0.30g)	R	1389	AE mangır	R
B1369	AE burbe (Tunis), average weight about 2g	RRR	1390	AE falus (Tarabulus Gharb & Tunis)	S
				<i>Tarabulus Gharb, "West Tarabulus", is Tripoli in Libya, not Tripoli in Lebanon. The falus of Tunis is also known as burbe.</i>	
<b>Murad IV (b. Ahmed), 1032-1049 / 1623-1640</b>					
1369	AV sultani	S	1390B	AE 3 burbe (Tunis), average weight about 2.5g	RR
1369N	AV sultani, actual date, struck at the North African mints of Jaza'ir & Tarabulus Gharb <sup>339</sup>	RR	<b>Anonymous, 15<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> century</b>		
1370	AR dirhem, about 2.8g-3.0g	R	1390M	AE mangır, with mint name but undated, unassignable to a specific reign	C
	<i>Baghdad was reconquered by Murad IV in 1048/1638 from Iranian occupation. On his coins struck at Baghdad he adopted the title Ghazi, otherwise used only under the Ottomans by Mahmud II in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.</i>			<i>Most have geometric patterns on obverse, some have animals, birds, or other motifs.</i>	
1371	AR onluk, about 2.60g	S		<i>For coins of types #1390M and 1390N, see Ölçer, Cüneyt, <i>The Ornamental Copper Coinage of the Ottoman Empire</i>, Istanbul 1975 (Turkish text, English summary).</i>	
1372	AR para or gümüş	S	1390N	AE mangır, anepigraphic, with geometric or other designs obverse & reverse (16 <sup>th</sup> to 17 <sup>th</sup> Century)	S
	<i>Issues of Khanja (Gença) &amp; Amid seem to weigh about 0.9g, those of Halab about 1.1-1.2g. More research needed.</i>			<i>At least 200 varieties are known. With a few rare exceptions, none can be assigned to mint or date.</i>	
1373	AR maydın (Misr), about 0.8g	C	<i>Later reigns fall outside the scope of this volume (except for the Ottoman occupation of part of Iran, #2706-2711). Adequate listings can now be found in the century volumes of the Krause-Mishler's <i>Standard Catalog of World Coins</i>, where the coins are listed geographically according to region (Algeria, Egypt, Iraq, Libya, Syria, Tunisia, and Turkey), and divided chronologically between the century volumes of SCWC.</i>		
1373A	AR square nasri (Tunis), about 0.8g	RRR			
1374	AR akçe (0.30g)	C			
1375	AE mangır	R			
1375B	AE burbe (Tunis), average weight about 2g	RR			
<b>Ibrahim (b. Ahmed), "the Mad", 1049-1058 / 1640-1648</b>					
1376	AV sultani, accessional date	S	<b>IRAN — THE EARLY PERIOD</b>		
1376N	AV sultani, actual date, struck only at the three North African mints	RRR	<i>The first independent dynasties in Iran emerged from the disintegrating 'Abbasid caliphate during the middle of the 3<sup>rd</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>340</sup> Until the Seljuq invasions, circa 425-450 / 1035-1060, Iran and Transoxiana remained fragmented between numerous rivals. A few larger states usually dominated the political scene, each occupying large areas in Iran and Central Asia for many decades, successively the Saffarids, Samanids, Buwayhids, and Ghaznavids. Gold and silver coins of these major dynasties, even the Shi'ite Buwayhids, as well as most of the minor dynasties, continue to cite the 'Abbasid caliph. The dynastic ruler's name is normally inscribed below the caliph's name, thus theoretically as vassals under the caliphate.</i>		
1377	AR dirhem (Baghdad), 2.8-3.0g	C	<i>Whereas I tried to include most of the minor dynasties and rare rulers in the 2<sup>nd</sup> edition of the Checklist, some omissions undoubtedly persist in this 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, as for example in more obscure series such as the Sallarids, for which additional types will undoubtedly continue to be discovered, despite Aram Vardanyan's updated catalog of 2007. There are also many specialized articles, published primarily in Iran and the nations in the Caucasus and Central Asia, which I was unable to consult.</i>		
1377H	AR para? (Halab), circa 1.8g	RR			
1378	AR onluk (10 akçes)	S			
	<i>The onluk weight seems to have been increased from the previous reign, as most Constantinople examples of Ibrahim typically weigh in the range of 2.8-3.0g.</i>				
1379	AR beşlik (5 akçes) (Constantinople, Damascus, and a few other mints), about 1.4g	R			
1380	AR maydın (Misr) (0.8g)	S			
1381	AR akçe (0.30g)	C			
1381A	AR square nasri (Tunis), about 0.8g	RRR			
1382	AE mangır	R			
1382B	AE burbe (Tunis), average weight about 2g	RR			
<b>Mehmet IV (b. Ibrahim), "the Hunter", 1058-1099 / 1648-1687</b>					
1383	AV sultani, accession date	S			

<sup>339</sup> Perhaps also at the third North African mint, Tunis.

<sup>340</sup> The sole earlier dynasty was the Tahirids, which struck independent precious metal coinage only 205-211 / 821-827.

Because of their cultural and linguistic connections to purely Iranian rulers, Central Asian dynasties of this period (roughly AH210-500+) are included in this section.

## TAHIRID

The proper coinage of the Tahirids is summarized in Zambaur's "Contributions," part II, noted in the general bibliography, now somewhat incomplete, due to later discoveries.

Only precious metal coins of Tahir and Talha struck between 205 and 211, plus copper coins of Central Asian mints for the entire dynasty, can justifiably be regarded as Tahirid coins.<sup>341</sup> Later silver and gold coins (after 211) lack the name of the Tahirid ruler, and are thus indistinguishable from other 'Abbasid issues. They are now regarded as 'Abbasid.

Prior to 205, Tahir had been a high military officer in the service of the 'Abbasid caliph al-Ma'mun, having been commander of the forces that defeated al-Amin. His name is occasionally found on earlier silver & gold coins, in al-Muhammadiya as early as 195-196, at an undetermined mint in 198, and 200-206 in Egypt, as well as a few other dirham mints, but these coins are traditionally and correctly regarded as 'Abbasid.

Samarqand is the only rather common mint, specifically for Talha. Specimens of al-Muhammadiya and Zaranj are occasionally found. Other mints are rare, save for the single issue of Herat 206 (#1391A).

Like contemporary 'Abbasid issues, Tahirid silver coins are usually well struck and found in higher grades. The coppers are also well struck, though rarely well preserved. There is no gold coinage.

### Tahir I b. al-Husayn, in rebellion, 205-207 / 821-822

Despite his rebellious behavior, Tahir nominally retained the position of military governor (*sahib al-shurta*) in Baghdad until 206, hence his name on the purely 'Abbasid gold coins of Egypt struck 205-206.

- 1391 AR dirham RR  
Often with name of a local governor. Tahir is frequently cited only by his title of Dhu'l-Yaminayn ("possessor of two right hands", *i.e.*, ambidextrous, here meaning holding both military and civil positions).
- 1391A AR dirham, with the governor al-Shukr b. Ibrahim, struck only at Herat in 206 R
- 1392 AE fals, known from Marw 206 & 207 RRR

### Talha b. Tahir, 207-213 / 822-828

- 1393 AR dirham, struck until 211 S  
Most coins from mints other than Samarqand also bear the name of a local governor. Only Samarqand is frequently available. Some issues bear the name of 'Abd Allah al-Tahiri as heir.
- 1394 AE fals, with Sasanian bust, struck at Bust in 209 RR  
This remarkable coin is the last example of a Sasanian coin type in Iran, except for some early medieval medallion issues and numerous 20<sup>th</sup> century souvenir tokens. It was struck just after the end of the Eastern Sistan series of Arab-Sasanian dirhams.
- A1395 AE fals, inscriptions only, Sijistan RR  
Citing 'Abd Allah al-Talhi. It is uncertain whether this name refers to his brother and successor 'Abd Allah b. Tahir (213-230 / 828-845) or a different 'Abd Allah serving as an official to Talha in Sijistan.  
Reverse margin has either the inscription Qur'an 30:3-4 (RR), or an ancient Greek style fillet border (RRR).
- C1395 AE fals, similar, but Bukhara 209 & 211 RRR  
Citing Talut, unknown individual, for 209, Muhammad b. 'Abd Allah for 211.

<sup>341</sup> Nineteenth century works routinely classified as Tahirid all coins struck in Tahirid territories citing only the caliph, contrary to the current convention. I also agree that dinars and dirhams lacking the Tahirid name should be regarded as gubernatorial issues under the 'Abbasids, thus classified as 'Abbasid, just as the pre-281 silver coins struck in the Samanid region, or the Ya'furid coins of Yemen that never bear the Ya'furid name. Only the copper seems to be justifiably attributable to the Tahirids, as they bear the Tahirid name and were produced only for local circulation.

### 'Abd Allah b. Tahir I, 213-230 / 828-845

- H1395 AE fals, in his name alone RRR  
Known from Khwarizm dated 224 (Zeno-75476), but most specimens either without mint & date or with one or both off flan.
- I1395 AE fals, also citing unknown governor Muhammad b. Yahya RRR  
Always without mint & date, the governor on obverse, the ruler on the reverse. Probably not struck at Khwarizm.
- J1395 AE fals, dated 224-231, citing only the amir Mika'il as *mawla* of Tahir, son of 'Abd Allah and heir-apparent, and the local governor al-Hasan b. Muhammad RRR  
Without the name of 'Abd Allah b. Tahir. First published by Kochnev in 1984. The issue dated 228 portrays a horse, derived from late pre-Islamic coins of this mint, whereas all other dates are text only, standard 'Abbasid design.  
Formerly listed as 'Abbasid, type #B328.  
No gold or silver coins citing 'Abd Allah b. Talha as autonomous ruler (213-230 / 828-845) have been reported.<sup>342</sup>

### Tahir II b. 'Abd Allah, 230-248 / 845-862

- B1395 AE fals S  
Most of his fulus have his *kunya* Abu 'Abd Allah in the obverse field, his name Tahir in the obverse marginal legend. Normally struck at al-Shash and dated 241, also 240 (RRR). See also #A1441 for a related coin of al-Shash dated 233, citing the Samanid underling together with Tahir II as overlord, thus regarded here as a Samanid issue.

### Muhammad b. Tahir II, 248-259 / 862-873

- 1395 AE fals R  
Produced at al-Shash 250 & 251 (citing Ahmad and Muslim, struck) and Bukhara 253 (citing Khalid, cast).

## QARINID

A minor dynasty in Tabaristan, at times rebellious against the 'Abbasid caliph.

### Muhammad b. Qarin, circa 207-225 / 822-840

His personal name was Mazyar, his title *mawla amir al-mu'minin*.

- 1395Q AE fals, mint name Tabaristan bi-madinat Amul, dated AH22x RRR  
Without the caliph's name, thus possibly struck during his rebellion against the caliphate in 224-225.

## HARTHAMID

Only one member of this family, Rafi' b. Harthama, is acknowledged numismatically. He claimed Khorasan after the death of the last Tahirid in 268/882, but was eventually driven out and, after having attempted a resurgence in central Iran, was killed by the Saffarids.

Coins of Rafi' were struck primarily at Nishapur, Herat and Marw, except for the gold, which is known only from al-Muhammadiya (al-Rayy).

### Rafi' b. Harthama, in Khorasan 268-274 / 882-888, and in parts of central Iran until 283 / 896

- A1396 AV dinar (al-Muhammadiya, dated 278, 281 & 283) RRR  
The 278 and 281 issues also cited governor al-Hasan (b. 'Ali).
- B1396 AR dirham, dated 268-270 RR
- C1396 AR dirham, Herat 274 only, also citing Muhammad b. Ahmad (unidentified) RRR

## KHUJISTANDI

A minor dynasty in eastern Khorasan, briefly in control of Herat and Nishapur, where coins were struck in 267 and 268.

<sup>342</sup> Cf. type #222.10, gold dinar of al-Ma'mun, dated 211, citing 'Abd Allah b. Tahir. The name has been read as 'Ubayd Allah b. Tahir by Giulio Bernardi, perhaps an alternative spelling of the Tahirid name when heir to the dynastic throne or of a different individual.

The broad dirhams were struck at Herat and Nishapur and are usually well-made. The narrow dirhams are from Andaraba, typically crude and unevenly struck, without legible date.

**Ahmad b. ‘Abd Allah, fl. 261-268 / 874-881**

1396 AR dirham (approximately 5.0-6.0g), broad module with lengthy field inscriptions R

Known dated 267-268 only, struck at Nishapur (R) and Herat (RRR). A variant of Herat 268 is muled with a reverse die of the caliph al-Mutawakkil (232-247) (R).

1396A AR dirham, narrow module, short field inscriptions, presumably Andaraba mint RRR

Recently discovered for Andaraba 268, date & mint very clear (private collection in Dubai).

**DULAFID**

*Ruling in western and central Iran, the Dulafids were ‘Abbasid governors who emerged briefly as independent rulers from 879 until 897. Their earliest coins are dated 270, but earlier gubernatorial lead seals are known.*

The only plentiful Dulafid mint is Isfahan (Isbahan on the coins), though for the gold, Hamadan and Mah al-Basra are not extremely rare. Silver coins are generally weakly or unevenly struck, the gold more carefully made. A surprisingly large number of lead seals of the Dulafids have survived.

**Ahmad b. ‘Abd al-‘Aziz, 265-280 / 879-893**

1397 AV dinar RR

1397P AV donative dinar, with broad outer blank margins RRR  
Known from Hamadan 275.

1398 AR dirham S

Coins of this ruler are known dated 270-276 only, with Isbahan the most common mint. Earlier & later coins of Dulafid mints lack the local ruler’s name, and are therefore classified as purely ‘Abbasid.

**‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Aziz, 280-284 / 893-897**

1399 AV dinar RR

1400 AR dirham, mainly Isbahan mint R

**AMIR OF NORTHWEST JIBAL**

*A Turkish amir, originally an ‘Abbasid governor at al-Mawsil, Adhikutakin was later expelled, after which he set up an autonomous principality at Hamadan & Qazwin.*

All coins were minted at Hamadan or Qazwin.

**Adhikutakin b. Asantakin, fl. 265-275 / 878-888**

A1401 AV dinar<sup>343</sup> RRR

B1401 AR dirham RRR

**SAFFARID (INCLUDING TAMIMID)**

Vasmer, Richard, “Über die Münzen der Saffariden und ihrer Gegner in Fars und Hurasan,” *Numismatische Zeitschrift, Neue Folge*, vol. 23 (1930), pp. 131-162.

Walker, John, *The Coinage of the Second Saffarid Dynasty in Sistan* (ANS Numismatic Notes and Monographs #72), New York 1936.

In light of subsequent discoveries, both references are now obsolete.

*The dynastic name derives from the profession of its founder, who had been a coppersmith (saffar in Persian) before turning to military adventure. The initial dynasty survived from 247/861 until conquered by the Seljuqs in 440/1048. The Saffarid line was later restored and survived until the Mongol invasions. A fourth dynasty of putative Saffarid origins arose in Sijistan under Mongol auspices, but is better known as the Mehrabanids (q.v.).*

*The rulers from Ya‘qub through al-Mu‘addal b. ‘Ali (247-298) are known as the first Saffarid dynasty, and those from Ahmad*

*b. Muhammad through Tahir b. Khalaf (311-390s) are termed the second Saffarid dynasty. The rulers from Sa‘d b. Ahmad to the Mongol conquest (430s-619) are known as the third Saffarid dynasty.*

*Two anti-Saffarid rebels of the Tamimid family, Tahir b. Muhammad and his son al-Husayn, are normally included with this dynasty.*

During the first dynasty, Fars<sup>344</sup> and Shiraz alternate as the most common mints, though for Ya‘qub, Banjhir (i.e., Panjsher, north of modern Kabul) is the most plentiful. For the second dynasty, all coins were struck at Sijistan, except for some gold and copper of Ahmad struck between 327 and 334, on which the mint name is given as Zaranj, the chief town and administrative center of Sijistan.

For the first two Saffarid dynasties, only the extremely rare full dinars and the copper fulus are consistently well struck. Silver dirhams are rarely fully struck, with the exception of the issues of Nishapur and other mints within the province of Khorasan, although the Fars provincial mint dirhams circa 277-289 were more neatly struck. The fractional gold is usually strongly struck but on irregular flans that were typically smaller than the dies; their weight varies from about 0.5g to 2.0g, thus coins that were weighed for transactions rather than counted. The copper fulus, though well struck, are typically found worn, damaged or corroded, most likely from individual finds rather than hoards.

During the third period, the early billon dirhams were somewhat carelessly struck, almost always found badly worn or corroded. On the other hand, the gold coins and the jitals (beginning with the later issues of Harb) were generally well struck, often somewhat off center but nonetheless attractive. Some jitals reveal traces of a very light silver coating, particularly the common types of Taj al-Din Harb.

Although their center was based in Sijistan province, the first dynasty conquered large areas of Iran, striking coins at several mints in Fars province, of which Shiraz is the most frequent, and occasional issues at al-Ahwaz, Isfahan, Nishapur, Herat, and even ‘Uman and the distant silver mining towns of Andaraba and Banjhir (both north of Kabul). After the death of al-Layth in 298 their territory was permanently restricted to the province of Sijistan, with the mint name either the provincial name Sijistan or its capital Zaranj.

Except for a few gold dinars of Nasr b. Ahmad citing the mint name Sijistan, all coins of the third dynasty bear neither a mint name nor a date, though most types were likely struck at Zaranj.

**FIRST DYNASTY**

**Ya‘qub b. al-Layth, 247-265 / 861-879**

E1401 AV dinar, struck only at al-Ahwaz RRR

1401.1 AR dirham, narrow flan S

Struck at Banjhir 259-261 only, on narrow thickish flans derived from the common Hindushahi drammās of the Kabul region (dramma = Greek *drachm*).

1401.2 AR dirham, broad flan R

Struck at al-Ahwaz and Fars 263-265, on broad flans similar to contemporary ‘Abbasid dirhams.

A1402 BI dramma, bull and horseman type with the Sanskrit title Sri Khudaraiyaka above the bull, Arabic ‘*adl* above the horseman to right S

Believed to have been struck at or near Kapisa (near the modern city of Kabul) by Ya‘qub’s governor there, but without the name of either Ya‘qub or the governor.

B1402 AE fals, struck only at Zaranj RRR

**Anonymous, circa 250s / 860s or later**

E1402 AR dirham, bull & horseman type with ‘*adl* in Arabic (circa 2.8g) S

Similar to type #A1402 but the obverse has *Sri Samanta Deva* in the Brahmi script above bull; the reverse has Arabic ‘*adl* above horse’s head.

<sup>344</sup> Fars was the provincial name, and may well have been used as a mint name in order not to differentiate between separate mint sites within the province. Some rare examples of #1402 have the mint name Fars in the normal marginal legend together with Arrajan in the reverse field. The principal “Fars” mint may have been located at Istakhr. Other examples of this type dated 267-270, also citing Fars in the marginal legend, bear no symbol below the reverse field, and others bear the letter ‘s’ or ‘sh’ (about equal rarity). It has been suggested that those without a symbol were struck at Istakhr, those with the symbol ‘s’ at Shiraz.

<sup>343</sup> Ilich, L., *MNZ* 14:4, p. 30 for Thaghr Qazwin (“the frontier of Qazwin”), 268, Peus 378:1260 for Hamadan 275. Both are now illustrated by Bernardi.

**‘Amr b. al-Layth, 265-288 / 879-901**

His name is always written as ‘*amrw* in order to distinguish it from the name ‘*Umar*, but the final *waw* is not pronounced.

- M1402 AV dinar, reported only from Zaranj 271 and Jannaba 275 RRR
- 1402 AR dirham, broad flan, many variants, 2.5-3.8g S  
For dirhams of Khorasanian mints weighing approximately twice as much as the normal dirham, see #1402N.
- 1402A AR dirham, also citing Mansur, struck at Nishapur in 269 only R  
Mansur (b. Sharkab), rival opponent in Nishapur in 269, retained his nominal position as vassal of ‘Amr.
- 1402B AR dirham, narrow flan, struck only at Andaraba and citing a local governor, Hamdan RR
- 1402N AR 2 dirhams, standard type as #1402 but double weight, approximately 5.5-6.5g RR  
Struck mainly at Nishapur in 284. Dirhams of ‘Amr b. al-Layth are virtually unknown weighing between 3.8 and 5.5g, reinforcing the hypothesis that these heavier issues were indeed intended as the double dirham.

However, by about the year 300, lightweight and overweight dirhams became so common throughout much of the Islamic world, including all of the Saffarid region, thus effectively ending the concept of a single and double dirham (and occasionally also fractions thereof). After the mid-290s, their weight varies gradually from less than 2 to more than 6 grams, thus weighed rather than counted.

**Muhammad b. ‘Amr, as viceroy in Shiraz for his father ‘Amr, 272-274 / 886-888**

- 1403 AR dirham R  
Struck at Shiraz (R), Fars (R), Arrajan (RRR) and Isbahan (RRR).

**Tahir b. Muhammad, as governor of Marw, fl. 281 / 894**

With additional title Abu Hafs. It is uncertain whether this Tahir b. Muhammad was indeed the same person as the king with the same name in 288-296.

- S1404 AR dirham, Marw 281 RRR

**Tahir b. Muhammad, as king, 288-296 / 901-908**

- 1404 AR dirham S  
Only the mint Fars is frequent. Dirhams of Shiraz are moderately rare, those of ‘Uman and Zaranj very rare. Most were rather weakly struck on broad flans.

**al-Layth b. ‘Ali, 296-298 / 908-910**

- A1405 AV dinar RRR  
Struck only at Zaranj in 296.

- 1405 AR dirham R  
Struck principally at Fars, which was permanently lost to the Saffarids at the end of this reign.

**Subkari, in revolt against the Saffarids, 296-298 / 908-910**

- 1406 AR dirham R  
Struck at Fars, Zaranj, and ‘Uman, of which only Fars is occasionally available.

**al-Mu‘addal b. ‘Ali, 298 / 910-911**

- 1407 AR dirham, Zaranj mint only RR  
From 299-305, the local ruler is not named on the coins of Sijistan & Zaranj, which are thus classified as ordinary ‘Abbasid issues of al-Muqtadir (RR).

**INTERMEDIARY RULERS**

*These three intermediary rulers were not of the Saffarid line.*

**Kuthayyir b. Ahmad, circa 305-306 / 917-918**

- 1408 AR dirham RR

**Ahmad b. Qudam, 306-310 / 918-923**

- A1409 AV dinar<sup>345</sup> RRR

- 1409 AR dirham, known dated 306-307 and 310<sup>346</sup> RR

**‘Abd Allah b. Ahmad, fl. 310-311 / 923**

- 1410 AR dirham, dated 310-311 RRR  
All struck with mint name Sijistan. Dirhams of 310 cite ‘Abd Allah’s son ‘Aziz, those of 311 cite ‘Abd Allah alone. Purely Samanid dirhams were also struck at Zaranj in 310 in the name of the Samanid ruler Nasr II (#1451.1).

**SECOND DYNASTY**

**Ahmad b. Muhammad (Abu Ja‘far<sup>347</sup>), 311-352 / 923-963**

- A1411 AV dinar (approximately 2.2-3.5g) RRR

- 1411 AV fractional dinar S  
The Saffarid “quarter” dinar varies considerably in weight, from less than 0.5 to nearly 2.0 grams, obviously a coinage intended to be traded by weight. Nonetheless, the average weight seems to be in the range of 1.0-1.1g, similar to the contemporary Fatimid quarter dinar.

- 1412 AR dirham R  
There are many subtypes, produced from 311 until about 316 and resumed after 321, until about 349. Dirhams dated after 324 are substantially rarer.

- 1412A AR dirham, similar, but also citing the local amir al-Husayn b. Bilal, known dated 318-321 R

- 1412E AR dirham, citing his heir Khalaf, with the Qur’an Surat 112 filling the reverse field, Sijistan 348 RRR

- A1413.1 AR 1/10 dirham (average 0.3g) RRR  
Without mint, known dated 339-340, mainly from the McMahon finds now in the British Museum.

- A1413.2 AR 1/10 dirham, with mint of Zaranj but without date<sup>348</sup> RRR

- 1413 AE fals, 6-spoke wheel design in obverse field R  
This unusual type was struck at Zaranj 327-329. Usually found in worn condition.

- 1413A AE fals, both sides with inscriptions only, several different designs, average 20-22mm, 2.0-2.5g S  
Struck at Zaranj in the 320s and at Sijistan from 337 onwards. Several different designs. Issues of the late 330s and 340s, to judge by their appearance, resemble brass rather than bronze.

- 1413B AE double fals, design as 1413A, 25mm, 4.0-4.5g, known for Zaranj 328<sup>349</sup> RR

**Khalaf (b. Ahmad), in rebellion, circa 329-333 / 941-945**

- K1414 AV fractional dinar, Zaranj mint, known dated 329, 331 and possibly 333, with or without the caliph al-Muttaqi RR  
Without his father’s name, and his name simply as *khalaf*.<sup>350</sup>

**Anonymous, unknown issuer, 334-335 / 946-947**

- S1414 AV fractional dinar, Sijistan mint, dates 334 & 335, citing only the caliph al-Muti‘ RR

**Khalaf b. Ahmad, 1<sup>st</sup> reign, 352-353 / 963-964**

- 1414 AV fractional dinar RR

<sup>346</sup> When I first became interested in Islamic coins generally, then living in Tehran in 1965, Prof. David Bivar of the University of London suggested that I take \$100 and buy as many different Islamic coins from one of the Tehran dealers. He would then teach me how to identify them, so long as he could select one coin of his choice. Because Islamic coins were outrageously cheap in Tehran in those days, I came back to the British Institute of Persian Studies with more than 200 coins for that \$100. He selected a dirham of Ahmad b. Qudam, I believe dated 307. About 20 years later, he donated the coin to the British Museum.

<sup>347</sup> On some coins, especially the copper and brass pieces, the ruler is named only by his *kunya* Abu Ja‘far.

<sup>348</sup> Peus auction 369, lot 1646.

<sup>349</sup> Also known for Sijistan 33x, with weight 3.5-4.0g.

<sup>350</sup> I have not investigated why Khalaf would have omitted his father’s name during these years.

<sup>345</sup> Listed in a Poinson sale circa 1995, reference unavailable to me.



<b>Tahir b. Muhammad al-Tamimi, rebel, 353-359 / 964-970</b>		<b>Tahir b. Khalaf, 390-392 / 1000-1002</b>		
Tahir and his son al-Husayn were not members of the Saffarid dynasty but of the Tamimids, who contested authority over Sijistan with Khalaf b. Ahmad.		B1424	AV full dinar Known at 3.63g (Zamana #158).	RRR
A1415	AV full dinar	A1424	AV fractional dinar (typically 1.0-2.0g)	RRR
1415	AV fractional dinar	1424	AR dirham All of Tahir's coins cite the Ghaznavid Mahmud as overlord, and all are neatly struck.	RR
1415C	AR 1/10 dirham (average 0.3g) Inscribed <i>al-nasir</i> on obverse, <i>wali Allah tahir</i> on reverse. Always without mint or date.	<b>Abu Bakr b. 'Abd Allah, 393-394 / 1003-1004</b> Rebel against Mahmud of Ghazna.		
<b>al-Husayn b. Tahir, 1<sup>st</sup> &amp; 2<sup>nd</sup> reigns, 359-360 / 970-971 and 360-361 / 971-972</b>		1424E	AR dirham Also citing his brother Muhammad b. 'Abd Allah, known only from these coins. Upon the ouster of Abu Bakr, Sijistan passed to the Ghaznavids for several decades.	RRR
1416	AV fractional dinar Coins dated 360 cannot at present be assigned to one or the other reign. Hence the conflation to a single type. However, specimens dated 360 (R) has been assigned to his 1 <sup>st</sup> reign, 361 (RRR) to his 2 <sup>nd</sup> reign, but dateless or date-off-flan specimens cannot be assigned to a specific reign.	<b>THIRD DYNASTY</b>		
<b>Khalaf b. Ahmad, 2<sup>nd</sup> reign, 360-369 / 972-980</b>		<b>Abu 'Ali Sa'd b. Ahmad, 430s / 1040s</b>		
A1417	AV full dinar, recognizing the Samanid Mansur I as overlord Known only from Sijistan 364. <sup>351</sup>	A1425	BI dirham Struck as vassal of the Great Seljuq Bayghu (cf. #1669 and 1669A for contemporary Seljuq dinars and billon dirhams that omit the name of Sa'd b. Ahmad). <sup>352</sup>	RRR
1417	AV fractional dinar, no overlord Khalaf recognized the 'Abbasid caliph al-Muti' until 368, despite the fact that al-Muti' had been deposed by the Buwayhids in 363. Fractional dinars dated 368 are known with either al-Muti' or his successor, al-Ta'i'.	<b>Nasr b. Ahmad, circa 442-465 / 1051-1073</b>		
1418	AE fals, most commonly dated 360 or 361, usually about 24-26mm diameter	E1425	AV dinar, heavily debased with very little gold, Sijistan mint, known dated 440-443 Citing the Seljuq Bayghu as overlord. Some examples appear to be nearly pure silver.	RRR
<b>al-Husayn b. Tahir, 3<sup>rd</sup> reign, 369-371+ / 980-982+</b>		F1425	AV dinar, reasonably fine gold, Sijistan 450 only Citing the Seljuq Chaghri Beg Da'ud as overlord.	RRR
1419.1	AV fractional dinar, without overlord, struck at Sijistan in 369 and 370 Tentatively deciphered dates 372 & 374 have been reported.	B1425	AE fals (or very debased BI dirham) Sometimes citing the Seljuq Bayghu as overlord, mint of Sijistan when legible.	RRR
1419.2	AV fractional dinar, citing as overlord the Samanid ruler Nuh II, known dated 370 only	<b>Abu'l-Fadl Nasr, after 499-559 / 1106-1164</b> Additional title Taj al-Din.		
<b>Khalaf b. Ahmad, 3<sup>rd</sup> reign, 370-390 / 981-1000</b> Also known as Wali al-Dawla Abu Ahmad on his coins struck from about 384 onwards.		1425	AE or BI dirham (or jital) Several varieties, usually poorly struck, heavily worn, or corroded. The jital citing Taj al-Din without any other names, Mahmud (unidentified), and the caliph al-Muqtafi belong to this ruler, not Taj al-Din Harb. No jital of Nasr and his successor Ahmad are listed by Tye, but at least half a dozen different types are now known.	R
Y1420	AV full dinar, as <i>wali al-dawla abu ahmad</i> , known dated 384 Coins bearing the name <i>wali al-dawla abu ahmad</i> lack the name <i>khalaf</i> . Full dinars, fractional dinars and silver dirhams bearing this name were struck 384-390. Virtually all coins of this reign were surprisingly well struck.	<b>Shams al-Din Ahmad, 559-564 / 1164-1169</b>		
1420.1	AV fractional dinar, as <i>khalaf</i> , circa 371 to the early 380s	1426	AE jital The Saffarid jitals, like those of the Khwarizmshahs, weighed between 2.5 and 3.5 grams. Some of these jitals tentatively assigned to this Ahmad bear the title Fakhr al-Din instead of Shams al-Din (RR).	R
1420.2	AV fractional dinar, as <i>wali al-dawla abu ahmad</i> (without the name <i>khalaf</i> ), known dated 385-390	<b>Taj al-Din Harb, 564-610 / 1169-1213</b>		
1421	AR dirham, as <i>wali al-dawla abu ahmad</i> , known dated 384-390	1427.1	AE jital, as independent ruler, several subtypes (Tye 123-124 plus others) Some examples of the Dawar region are struck in an alloy containing much lead.	S
1422	AE fals, with name <i>khalaf</i> Khalaf ruled for a 4 <sup>th</sup> time, Jumada I 392-Safar 393 / April-December 1002, but no coins are known for this 4 <sup>th</sup> reign.	1427.2	AE jital, as vassal of the Khwarizmshah Muhammad, one type only (Tye 125)	C
<b>'Amr b. Khalaf, ruled briefly in the 360s / 970s, died 383 / 994</b>		<b>Shams al-Din Bahramshah, 610-618 / 1213-1221</b>		
1423	AV fractional dinar, as independent ruler Although coins were struck in his name, there is no evidence in the written chronicles that he ever actually ruled. However, these coins paint a different picture. Unfortunately, all his coins are undated, whence the actual years of his theoretical "reign" remain undetermined. The caliph al-Muti' is cited, but the Saffarids continued to cite his name for five years after his dethronement in 363. 'Amr's alleged independence represented by this type is nowhere mentioned in the chronicles.	(1428)	AE jital Does this type exist? My previous reference proved to be an example of type #1429 of his son Nasr. Coins struck during this reign probably bore the sole name of the Khwarizmshah Muhammad (Tye #288.1, included with type #1727).	???
		<b>Taj al-Din Nasr b. Bahramshah, 618 / 1221</b>		
		1429	AE jital (Tye 127) Known as Nusrat al-Din in the literary sources.	S

<sup>351</sup> Sotheby's, 28 May 1987, lot 881.

<sup>352</sup> The listings here of gold and billon coins from the reigns of Sa'd b. Ahmad and Nasr b. Ahmad, including contemporary "purely" Seljuq issues, may be inaccurate. Further research needed.

**Rukn al-Din Abu Mansur, rival, 618-619 / 1221-1222**

1430 AE jital (Tye 128) S  
 ‘Adud al-Din Abu’l-Muzaffar b. Harb,  
 619-622 / 1222-1225

1431 AE jital (Tye 129) R  
 Inaltakin, not a Saffarid, 622-632 / 1225-1235

1431D AE jital (Tye—) RR  
 Most jitals of this reign bear only his title *shah ghazi*, normally within a square in the reverse center.

**ZANJ REBELLION**

The Zanj (whose name has survived in the name Zanzibar, zanjbar in Arabic) were black Africans imported into Iraq as slaves to clear salt deposits from agricultural lands. Under the leadership of their Imam, ‘Ali b. Muhammad, they staged a revolt against the ‘Abbasid caliph.

Most coins were struck at a mint in southern Iraq known as al-Madinat al-Mukhtara. Other coins refer to a camp mint, either *mu’askar al-imam* or *askar al-imam*, both translated as “the camp of the Imam”.

**‘Ali b. Muhammad, 258-271 / 872-884**

A1432 AV dinar RRR  
 1432 AR dirham RRR

**LAWIKS OF GHAZNA & GARDEZ (AFLAHID)**

A local kingdom centered mainly around Gardez, probably Muslim, of whom little is known, founded by a certain Aflah. Their solitary coinage consists of mintless and undated copper coins derived from the common Hindushahi prototype.

**Aflah (b. Muhammad b. Khaqan), fl. 250s-260s / 870s**

F1433 AE “fals” RRR  
 Lion obverse, with name *aflah* in Arabic above, together with elephant reverse, with the name *samanta deva* in Sanskrit above.

**BANIJURID (ABU DA’UDID)**

al-‘Ush, Muhammad Abu-l-Faraj, “Dirhams Abu Dawudides,” *Revue Numismatique*, 6<sup>th</sup> series, vol. 15 (1973), pp. 169-176. A useful introduction, now seriously obsolete.

A minor dynasty in eastern Khorasan whose coinage was spurred by their ownership of silver mines in the Panjsher (“Five Lions”) Valley and adjoining regions. The genealogy of this “dynasty” remains obscure. Regrettably, there is no up-to-date reference for this fascinating and complex series.

Most coins of this dynasty were struck at either Andaraba or Banjhir (Panjsher), an argentiferous regions in the mountainous Hindu Kush. Most specimens show considerable weakness or flat areas. Until about 280, Andaraba and Banjhir coins were struck on thick narrow flans similar to contemporary Hindushahi drammās of the Kabul region (both Spalapati Deva & Samanta Deva types). Later issues, as well as coins of other mints outside the silver mining region, were struck on broad thin flans similar to contemporary ‘Abbasid or Samanid issues. No gold or copper coins are known.

See #A1453-B1453 for coins of yet another purported member of this dynasty.

Until a thorough analysis of silver coinage of Andaraba and Banjhir circa 240s-290s is undertaken and published, attributions of these dirhams presented here should be regarded as tentative, especially those of the 280s and 290s.

**Abu Da’ud Muhammad b. Ahmad, 260-285 / 874-899**

1433 AR dirham, Hindushahi dramma fabric only, many variants S  
 Most of his dirhams bear the full name *Muhammad b. Ahmad*, but a few coins dated in the mid-260s bear only his title *Abu Da’ud*. His principal mints are Banjhir for 261-264, then Andaraba from 265-270 and 275-285. After 280, dirhams became thinner & broader, both at the mints Andaraba (S) and Tayiqan (R).

**Da’ud b. Muhammad, fl. 260 / 874**

1433D AR dirham, without mint name, dated [2]60 RRR  
 The ruler is cited as *al-amir da’ud b. muhammad* in the obverse margin, style of either Andaraba or Banjhir.<sup>353</sup>

**Muhammad b. ‘Umar, fl. 268 / 881-882**

1433G AR dirham, struck only at Banjhir in 268 RRR

**Sa’id b. Shu‘ayb, rebel or rival, fl. 270-274 / 883-887**

1434 AR dirham (dramma fabric) S  
 Sa’id may not have been of the Banijurid family. He is known only from his coins, which were minted exclusively at Andaraba.

**Ahmad b. Muhammad, circa 285-297 / 899-910**

1435 AR dirham S  
 Ahmad is sometimes cited as Abu Ibrahim. After 290, all coins cite the Samanid ruler as overlord. His coins were struck 285-294, principally at Andaraba, Balkh 292-293 (R), all other mints very rare.

**Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Yahya, fl. 295-297 / 908-910**

Ahmad’s relation to the rest of this “dynasty” is unknown.<sup>354</sup>

1436 AR dirham R  
 Struck at Andaraba and Balkh as a Samanid vassal. Also known from a peculiar dirham of Balkh 309, citing the Samanid ruler Nasr II, probably a northern imitation.

**Ja’far b. Ahmad, in al-Khuttal, circa 310-313 / 922-925**

1437 AR dirham RR  
 Ja’far’s relationship to the rest of this “dynasty” is uncertain.

**LATER GOVERNORS OF ANDARABA & BANJHIR (PANJSHER)**

The following governors may not have been related to the Banijurid dynasty. Further research is desperately needed, but given the lack of source information, we may never verify their dynastic origins. Some of the coins may be imitative, with dates that may not coincide with the governors’ reigns.

**Maktum b. Harb, fl. 347-364+ / 958-975+**

L1438 AR dirham RRR  
 Citing the Samanid ruler ‘Abd al-Malik (b. Nuh), with or without his patronymic, and usually citing Harb on one side or the other. Known only from Andaraba dated 347. The relationship between Maktum<sup>355</sup> and Harb (see #1438.1) remains undetermined.

M1438 AR dirham, Andaraba 360 & 364 RR  
 Citing the Samanid ruler Mansur I b. Nuh, fine style.

**Harb b. Sahlan, fl. circa 344-365 / 955-976**

1438.1 AR dirham, without heir, citing the Samanid ruler ‘Abd al-Malik I RR  
 Struck at Andaraba from 344-353 (*sic*), often categorized as purely Samanid.

1438.2 AR dirham, citing Maktum (as heir?), broad flan RR  
 Known dated from 350 to 365, usually citing the Samanid overlord Mansur.

1438.3 AR dirham, citing Maktum, narrow flan, with Qur’an Surat 112 in reverse field S

<sup>353</sup> Gorny & Mosch, auction 148, lot 4634.

<sup>354</sup> These is tentative evidence that Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Yahya. His full name, citing father & grandfather, appears on dirhams of Andaraba dated 296-297 and Balkh 295-297. Dirhams of Andaraba 298 cite the unknown name Mukhtar, 299-300 with Abu Nasr, allegedly the *kunya* of Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Yahya, 300-301 the political word *al-qudra*, “the power”, 302-303 the short name Ahmad (also on dirhams of Balkh 301-302), final 303-306 the full name Ahmad b. Sahl. According to information on Zeno (coins #87509 & 104052), the Ahmad of 301-303 is the some of Muhammad b. Yahya, not the son of Sahl. If this is correct, then the reign of this Ahmad would be 295-303 / 908-915.

<sup>355</sup> Fortunately, these Maktum coins are clearly medieval coins and not modern fantasy issues. It had once been suggested that Microsoft produced these coins in its war against Apple’s computer, “Mac Tomb”.

Struck at Andaraba in 362, particularly well struck. This type is relatively available due to a hoard of at least 200 pieces that surfaced in the 1960s, mostly extremely fine. Struck as independent ruler, without any overlord.

**al-Harith b. Harb, fl. mid or late 4<sup>th</sup>/10<sup>th</sup> century**

1439 AR multiple dirham, usually citing a Samanid overlord, together with his full name *al-harith bin harb* in the reverse field

Struck mainly at Ma'din and Kurat Badakhshan, but often without mint name. Some examples of types #1450, 1455, 1461, 1465 and 1469 can also be regarded as variants of this type, when they cite al-Harith in the obverse or reverse field. Numismatists may assign these coins either to #1439 or to the appropriate Samanid numbers.

Examples with *al-harith* or *harb* (usually abbreviated as *hb*) in the obverse or reverse margin, but not in the central fields, are classified as Samanid, mainly because the margins are rarely fully legible, due to careless striking.

**Sahlan b. Maktum, fl. 364-378 / 974-988**

1439N AR dirham, smaller flan without broad outer margins, Andaraba mint, known dated 369

Citing the Samanid overlord Nuh III, also the Samanid general Fa'iq. Sahlan is cited without his patronymic.

1439U AR multiple dirham, without Samanid overlord, struck only at Andaraba in 374 (SNAT 201)

The Samanid ruler's name has been replaced by the expression *al-'izza lillah*, with Qur'an 65:3 in the reverse margin. This is the more common version of the year 374. See #A1440 for Andaraba 374 citing the Samanid ruler.

1439V AR multiple dirham, without Samanid overlord, coarse epigraphy and without mint or date

Citing Maktum below obverse, Sahlan below reverse. This Maktum is either the father or son of Sahlan (SNAT—).

A1440 AR multiple dirham, citing the Samanid overlord, Nuh III, struck at Andaraba only

Dated 367<sup>356</sup>, 374 and 378. Most bear Qur'an 9:34 in the reverse marginal inscription, "And there are those who bury gold and silver and spend it not in the way of Allah: (announce unto them a most grievous penalty)", a most remarkable statement on what were the largest silver coins yet manufactured in a Muslim kingdom!

Many examples dated 367 bear Qur'an 9:33 in the reverse margin.

**AMIRS OF AL-KHUTTAL**

*A small principality in what is now Tajikistan, with a mint of the dynastic name.*

Coins of the early period bear the mint name al-Khuttal, coins of the later period Khuttalan. See also #1437 for coins citing Ja'far b. Ahmad dated 310-313. Additional dirhams of al-Khuttal dated between the 280s and the 360s are purely Samanid issues.

**al-Harith b. Asad, fl. 280-292 / 893-905**

E1440 AV dinar, al-Khuttal 284 only (Dubai collection)

B1440 AR dirham, al-Khuttal mint

For dirhams of al-Khuttal in the name of Ja'far b. Ahmad dated circa 310-313, see type #1437 under the Banijurids.

**al-Harith b. Muhammad, fl. 366 / 977**

F1440 AR dirham, citing the Samanid Nuh II as overlord, al-Khuttal mint

The name *al-harith* is a tentative reading.

G1440 AE fals, al-Khuttal

**al-Harith b. Mansur, fl. 420s+ / 1030s+**

It is probably that all his coins cite the caliph al-Qa'im.

D1440 AR dirham, Khuttalan mint

The patronymic of this Harith is unknown, but some 55 years later he was unlikely to have been the old al-Harith b. Muhammad of #F1440. Surprisingly, the sole name *harith* has been added later to the dies, which originally might have been a standard issue of the Ghaznavid ruler Mas'ud I, also named on this type.

I1440 AR dirham, possibly Khuttalan mint

Name in full as Fakhr al-Dawla al-Harith b. Mansur, beneath the caliph's name, without Ghaznavid overlord (Zeno-17173).

**Abu'l-Asad, fl. 432-437 / 1041-1046<sup>357</sup>**

C1440 AR dirham, mint of Khuttalan

Citing the Ghaznavid Mas'ud I as overlord, mint name above the reverse field.

H1440 AR dirham, mint of Wakhsh, with his *laqab* Fakhr al-Dawla, without Ghaznavid overlord

Mint name below obverse field, possibly dated in margin (Zeno-13883).

**FARIGHUND**

*A petty dynasty in Tukharistan first under Samanid, then under Ghaznavid tutelage. Little is known of their history.*

The only confirmed mint for the Farighunids is Warwarliz, located north of Balkh, across the Oxus (Amu Darya) River in what is now Tajikistan.

**Ahmad b. Muhammad, 389-401 / 999-1010**

K1440 AR multiple dirham, Warwarliz 400 only, as vassal of the Ghaznavid ruler Mahmud

This recently discovered coin is the latest dated multiple dirham from any mint, an honor formerly assigned to #1608 for the 393 Ghaznavid coin of the same mint, Warwarliz.

**SAMANID**

Tornberg, Carolus Johannes, *Nuni Cufici Regii numophylacii Holmiensis*, Uppsala, 1848 (in Latin).

Tiesenhausen, B., "O monetax' Samanidov", *Zapiski Imperatorskogo Arkheologicheskogo Obshchestva*, vol. 6 (1853), pp. 1-237.

Granberg, Beatrice, *Förteckning Över Kufiska Myntfynd i Finland*, Helsinki, 1966.

The eight thus far published volumes of the register of Swedish coin hoards, *Corpus nummorum saeculorum IX-XI qui in Suecia reperti sunt*, Stockholm, 1975+, contain many Samanid period hoards.

Mitchiner, Michael, *The Multiple Dirhems of Medieval Afghanistan*, Sanderstead, 1973. Very useful for the multiples, though his mint identifications are no longer accepted.<sup>358</sup>

The website Zeno.ru is gradually creating a complete reference guide to all Samanid copper coins.

*One of the major early medieval independent dynasties, they ruled from their capital at Bukhara from 250-395 / 864-1005 (and earlier as governors under the 'Abbasid caliphate, the Tahirids, or both). The most noteworthy aspect of their coinage is the multiple dirham, a broad silver coin of widely disparate weights but averaging close to four times the weight of a normal dirham (11-12 grams), struck primarily near the silver mines of eastern Khorasan and Badakhshan. Normal silver*

<sup>356</sup> Florian Schwarz read the date on this coin as 377 (SNAT-202), but 367 is correct, now that more specimens are available. There are two versions of 367 that confirm that reading. One cites the caliph al-Muti', who was deposed in 363 but was recognized on all silver and gold coins of Nuh III until 367, including the last regular dirhams struck at Andaraba in 366 (Mitchiner AN1-AN3). All his gold & silver coins dated 368-387 cite the succeeding caliph al-Ta'i', despite the fact that al-Ta'i' was deposed in 381. One version of the multiple dirham of Andaraba 367 cites no caliph at all, presumably reflecting the Samanid uncertainty towards the caliphate during that year. As for the examples that I formerly interpreted as dated 368, Schwarz correctly *shows* that they are dated 378 (SNAT-205).

<sup>357</sup> Since comparing Zeno-13883 (#H1440) and 17173 (#I1440), I now suspect that al-Harith b. Mansur and Abu'l-Asad are one and the same person, with the *laqab* Fakhr al-Dawla. The two examples on Zeno are stylistically and calligraphically extremely similar. Type #C1440 is also quite similar (cf. Zeno-13880), also with the caliph al-Qa'im. If this is correct, then type #D1440 is also an issue of the same person, probably his first issue before breaking away from Ghaznavid suzerainty. I would suggest that the chronological order of these four types is #D1440, then C1440, then H1440, finally I1440.

<sup>358</sup> Florian Schwarz has undertaken a masterful study of the multiple dirhams, which has now been published in Tübingen *SNAT*, vol. 14c (N. Khorasan). However, new varieties continue to be discovered.

dirhams, together with normal gold dinars and some copper fulus, were struck in large quantities, though as always, some mints, dates and subtypes are much rarer.

Many of the fulus and some of the dirhams bear the names of local governors, and are collected for these names.<sup>359</sup> These variations are not listed separately here, but for the copper coins, most of these name are now listed on the Zeno charts of Samanid fulus.

Samanid dirhams were extensively imitated in Russia and other parts of Northern Europe. Many types have been conclusively assigned to the Volga Bulgars (see #Q1481), but most others remain unassigned.<sup>360</sup> Although found in huge numbers in European museums, especially in Sweden and Russia, these imitations still remain scarce in the trade. There are also Central Asian and east Khorasanian imitations, but these have never been adequately studied or classified.

Samanid coinage illustrates the distinction between base metal and precious metal coinage in the Islamic tradition. The gold and silver coins cite the ruler (without local governors or other officials until added at various mints between the 310s and 350s) but with minor exceptions always mention the 'Abbasid caliph, whereas the copper fulus cite the ruler as amir or malik but almost always omit the name of the caliph. In other words, their gold and silver coins portray the Samanid ruler as though he were but an 'Abbasid governor, while the coppers proclaim him an autonomous ruler in the Central Asian tradition.

The location of mints reflects the changing geographical extent of the Samanid kingdom. The mints of Balkh, Samarqand and al-Shash, plus Bukhara after 335, are most plentiful for silver, though occasional dates of other mints are only slightly scarce, such as Andaraba, Ma'din, Farwan and Nishapur. Some western Iranian mints produced very limited silver coinage, similar to contemporary gold dinars, but considerably rarer.

Nishapur is generally the most common mint for gold, at least from about 300 onwards, though after 358, Herat has recently become relatively common; Samarqand dinars are not especially rare before about 330, especially during the 280s and the 320s, but very rare thereafter. Samanid advance into Iranian regions west of Nishapur during the 310s-350s led to dinar production at about ten mints, of which al-Muhammadiya is somewhat common, and Jurjan, Amul, and Qazwin not especially rare.

Bukhara is by far the most common mint for copper after 302, but Samarqand and al-Shash are the most common mints during the previous century. There are some sporadic issues of mints such as Akhsikath, Balkh, Herat and a few others that are only moderately scarce for short durations. Bukhara fulus dated 349 and 352-357 are found in massive hoards, and are far more plentiful than all other Samanid fulus put together, as these other fulus are never found in large hoards.

The multiple dirhams are a special case. Kurat Badakhshan and Ma'din are the only two common mints. Andaraba is only scarce (but common for the Ghaznavid multiple dirhams), and Warwariz is no longer extremely rare. Many of the "mints" suggested by Mitchiner (e.g., Yumgan, Kishm, Zebak, Jurm, and others) are imaginary, as the names are scarcely legible and their dies are frequently found muled with dies of Kurat Badakhshan or Ma'din—even dies of those two mints were sometimes muled. Although his mint assignments are no longer tenable, Mitchiner's arrangement of the material is still a good basis for classification, recently substantially upgraded by Schwarz in volume XIVc of the Tübingen sylloge. The Samanid rulers mentioned on the multiple dirhams do not always correspond to the actual ruler at the time of striking, as shown by numerous die links between types naming different rulers, sometimes more than one generation apart. It is now proposed that the production of multiple dirhams did not begin until the mid 360s (the earliest confirmed dates are Andaraba 366 and the recently discovered

Ma'din 363<sup>361</sup>). However, increasingly broad but not particularly heavy regular dirhams struck at Balkh and other mints were produced as early as the late 340s (typically weighing 3.5-5.5 grams), but without the wide outer margins that characterize the multiple dirhams. Sadly, most multiple dirhams were weakly struck, often quite flat.

Nearly all Samanid gold coins of Nishapur, Herat, and the Central Asian mints are fully struck with full margins, and are among the most attractive of all early Islamic coins, perhaps due to their simplicity of design. The principal exceptions are al-Muhammadiya and several other western Iranian mints, whose dinars are normally poorly struck, with much flatness. Gold dinars of Nishapur and most Iranian mints average 95-96% gold, Herat about 90%, Samarqand probably around 97-98%.

Most silver dirhams struck prior to about 320 are well struck, followed by a rapid decline in quality control. By the 350s, the diameter had begun to increase, with some issues of the 370s exceeding 40mm across, especially at Balkh and al-Shash. Early silver dirhams, circa 281-301, averaged 95-97% silver, probably regarded as virtually pure under contemporary smelting technology. From 301-331 (probably only until 327 at Samarqand), some 90-95% was maintained, then typically 70-85% at most mints until about 365, though Balkh retained 90-95% until 375. For post-365 issues, we have the following estimates:<sup>362</sup>

- al-Shash, retained approximately 75-82% until 381
- Samarqand, approximately 60-75% from 365-374
- , approximately 50% from 378-388
- Bukhara, approximately 60-75% from 365-374
- , approximately 50-60% from 376-381, then 40-45% from 382-386
- Balkh, generally approximately 90-95% until 377, with occasional specimens considerably more alloyed
- , approximately 55-60% from 378-389
- Andaraba & Badakhshan (single dirhams), typically 90-96% until 366 (thereafter, multiple dirhams, see next group)

For the multiple dirhams, struck from about 363 until the early 390s (thus including the Ghaznavid multiples):

- Andaraba, approximately 85-97% until 368, then roughly 75-80% from 374-378
- , approximately 55-75% from 385-390
- Badakhshan (multiple dirhams), approximately 60-75% from 370-375 (undoubtedly struck later as well, as most are undated), great variation, with occasional specimens as high as the low 90s%
- Ma'din (same as Badakhshan)
- (other mints and mintless types probably followed similar fineness, but examples have not yet been analyzed)

Surprisingly, until the end of the dynasty, copper coins were as carefully manufactured as the gold, though frequently found worn, broken or corroded. The popularity of copper in Transoxiana undoubtedly derived from the Chinese practice of using large quantities of copper in lieu of precious metals. Square-holed cash had long been common in the region before the Islamic conquest, both imported Chinese issues and local Central Asian issues.

Early copper coins prior to Nasr II, enthroned in 301/914, were extremely rare until the early 2000s. Now that their numismatic importance is recognized in places such as Uzbekistan and Russia, their rarity has been greatly reduced for many issues.

With the exception of a few issues, mainly prior to 283/896, Samanid rulers cite their father's name as well as their own, especially on gold and silver coins. Additional royal titles known from historical sources rarely appear on their coins before about the 340s, only in limited selections thereafter.

#### Nuh I b. Asad, at Samarqand, 204-227 / 819-841

M1440 AE fals

RR

Known from Khwarizm 203 (*sic*), Samarqand 205, Khujand 208 and Binkath 214-216. A few examples of the Binkath issue appeared in the market in 2003.<sup>363</sup>

#### Ahmad b. Asad, in Ferghana, 204-250 / 819-864

Ahmad also ruled in Samarqand from about 227 onwards.

1440 AE fals

R

<sup>361</sup> SARC auction 8, lot 286.

<sup>362</sup> Ilich, L., etc., *Dirham und Rappenpfennig: Mittelalterliche Münzprägung in Bergbauregionen*, Bonn 2003. The fineness estimates here are only approximate, and should not be regarded with absolute certainty.

<sup>363</sup> Several examples of Khujanda 208 have been reported, citing the local governor Muhammad b. al-Azhar. Cf. Zeno-84211.

<sup>359</sup> The names of local governors or other authorities were rarely added to silver and gold coins of the major royal mints (Nishapur, Herat, Bukhara, Samarqand, al-Shash) except on later issues, almost exclusively after 352, nor to the coins struck at mints in central or northern Iran. On the other hand, some local names were adopted at many issues of the eastern Khorasan mints such as Balkh and Andaraba from about 314 onwards. Local official's names were commonplace on copper coins of other secondary mints, where substantial authority normally rested with local vassals, and at the principal mints, such as Bukhara, Herat and Balkh, after about 358.

<sup>360</sup> Some serious research has been undertaken and published. Can someone kindly inform me of these publications?

	Struck mainly at Samarqand in 244 & 245, also at Ferghana (RRR) in 247 & 250 and Akhsikath 250, despite his lengthy reign. The Samarqand fals cites Ahmad b. Asad in the reverse margin, his son and successor Nasr below the reverse field. See type #B1395 for a Tahirid issue of al-Shash that also cites Ahmad.		
	<b>Yahya b. Asad, at al-Shash, 204-247 / 819-861</b>		
A1441	AE fals, sometimes dated 233, often undated, all from the mints of al-Shash & Binkath	RR	
	Coins of al-Shash 233 cite the Tahirid overlord, Tahir II b. 'Abd Allah. Also known for Binkath, 214 ( <i>sic</i> ) & undated, with the name Yahya beneath the reverse field.		
	<b>Nasr I (b. Ahmad), 250-279 / 864-892</b>		
1441	AE fals	R	
	Some fulus of al-Shash 255 cite the Tahirid ruler Muhammad (b. Tahir II) as overlord. The most frequent mints are al-Shash and Samarqand.		
	Silver and gold coins struck at the two active Transoxiana mints, Samarqand & al-Shash, during this and previous reigns (and under Isma'il until 281) are of normal 'Abbasid type, thus classified as 'Abbasid. Only copper coins bear the Samanid names.		
	<b>Ya'qub b. Ahmad, fl. 265 / 878-879</b>		
A1442	AE fals	RR	
	Struck only at al-Shash in 265.		
	<b>Ahmad b. al-Hasan b. Nasr, at Khujanda, fl. 260-270 / 874-884</b>		
B1442	AE fals	RRR	
	Struck only at Khujanda <sup>364</sup> , known dated 260 (or 266) & 270.		
	<b>Nuh 'II' b. Asad II, at Khujanda, fl. 274-279 / 887-892</b>		
C1442	AE fals	RRR	
	Struck only at Khujanda, known dated 274 & 279. The name Abu Muhammad appears below the obverse, and may be the <i>kunya</i> of Nuh b. Asad. See #A1477 for coins of his father Asad at Akhsikath.		
	<b>Isma'il I (b. Ahmad), 279-295 / 892-907</b>		
1442	AV dinar	R	
	Samarqand and al-Shash are the least rare mints for both silver and gold.		
1443	AR dirham	C	
	Dirhams of all mints dated 291 cite the 'Abbasid vizier as <i>al-wazir abu'l-husayn wali al-dawla</i> . Dirhams of Balkh are known dated posthumously in 296 and of Andaraba until 300. As overlord cited on some coins of the Banijurids, he is named solely with his <i>kunya</i> Abu Ja'far.		
1444	AE fals	S	
	Struck mainly at Samarqand, but also at Ustrushana (280 only, RR) and al-Shash (R). See type #1477U for fulus of Ustrushana dated 279.		
	<b>Ahmad II (b. Isma'il), 295-301 / 907-914</b>		
1445	AV dinar	S	
	Struck mainly at Samarqand and Nishapur. Nishapur became the primary Samanid gold mint by the end of this reign.		
1446	AR dirham	C	
	Coins of this type from Balkh and Andaraba dated 299-300 cite a governor Abu Nasr, identified on Zeno as the Banijurid Abu Nasr Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Yahya (R). Samarqand and al-Shash are the two most common mints.		
	(1447 — the AE fals of Ahmad II was mistakenly listed in the first edition of the Checklist. No such coin is known to exist.)		
	<b>Muhammad b. Hurmuz, rebel, fl. 299 / 910</b>		
1447D	AR dirham, mint of Balkh (ANS collection)	RRR	
	<b>Ishaq b. Ahmad, rival claimant, 301 / 914</b>		
A1448	AV dinar, struck at Nishapur and Samarqand <sup>365</sup>	RRR	
1448	AR dirham, struck mainly at Samarqand	RR	
A1449	AE fals, Samarqand only	RRR	
	<b>Nasr II (b. Ahmad), 301-331 / 914-943</b>		
1449	AV dinar	C	
	Nishapur is by far the most common gold mint for this and all subsequent reigns, though Herat is not especially rare from about 358 onwards (pre-301 dinars are mainly from Samarqand, which remains only slightly scarce through this reign). Some Nishapur dinars of the 320s and 330s bear the signature of a die engraver in the obverse or reverse margins tentatively read as <i>ba harith, i.e., Abu Harith</i> . Unlike Khorasanian and Transoxiana issues, coins from most Iranian mints ( <i>e.g., al-Muhammadiya</i> ) are usually weakly struck, with distinctive calligraphy and titlature.		
1449D	AV dinar, donative style with broad outer margins, struck only at Nishapur in the early 300s	RR	
1450	AR multiple dirham (SNAT—)	RRR	
	Multiple dirhams in the name of Nasr b. Ahmad are believed to have been struck later in the century, probably in the 370s-380s. Examples are known that mule dies citing Nasr II and Nuh III!		
1451	AR dirham	A	
	This type was extensively imitated by the Volga-Bulgars, sometimes with the name of a local ruler. The imitations commonly retain the mint & date of the Samanid prototype (N1481ff), even when the Volga-Bulghar ruler is named. A few types bear the name of a local official, especially at Balkh and Andaraba. For another Balkh dirham citing Balkategin, see #1595.1.		
	Early dates of this reign are generally well struck but their quality slowly deteriorates from the 310s onwards.		
1451P	AR dirham, donative style with broad outer margins, struck only at Nishapur, usually dated 305	RR	
1452	AE fals	S	
	Most common are the Bukhara issues 302-306. <sup>366</sup> Other mints include Samarqand, Binkath, Tunkath Ilaq, Akhsikath & al-Shash.		
	<b>Anonymous, 324 &amp; 335 / 936 &amp; 946</b>		
1452N	AV dinar, with the caliph's name replaced by the phrase <i>al-qudra lillah</i> ("power belongs to God"), followed by the title <i>amir al-mu'minin</i>	RRR	
	Struck only at al-Muhammadiya and Jurjan, both in 324, during the struggle between the Ziyarid and Samanid armies seeking to gain control of al-Muhammadiya after the demise of Mardawij (Ziyarid), more likely by the supporters of the Samanids than by allies of the Ziyarids.		
1452O	AV dinar, similar, but without <i>amir al-mu'minin</i> , struck at Hawsam (in Gilan) in 335	RRR	
	<b>Ahmad b. Sahl, in Khorasan, 303-308 / 915-920</b>		
	This rebel in Khorasan maintained formal recognition of Nasr II on all his coins. He was not of the Samanid lineage, and it has been suggested that he might have been a Banijurid.		
A1453	AV dinar <sup>367</sup>	RR	
B1453	AR dirham	S	
	Struck mainly at Andaraba, with Andaraba 303 the most common date, also at Nishapur, Balkh and Banjhir. An issue of Andaraba dated 302 is perhaps an unofficial imitation, more likely an engraver's typo.		
	<b>Layla b. Nu'man, rebel, 309 / 921-922</b>		
E1453	AR dirham, Nishapur mint only, dated 309	RRR	
	Layla was not of the Samanid line. He used the titles <i>al-mu'ayyid li-din Allah &amp; al-muntasir li-al-rasul Allah</i> (Zeno-93236).		

<sup>365</sup> The Samarqand dinar was reported only in Sotheby's, 25 May 2000, lot 430.

<sup>366</sup> Issues dated 302-304 average 20-21mm at about 2.5g, 305-306 at 24-25mm and about 3.5g. It has been theorized that these might be two separate "denominations", but that seems unlikely. Also, the local governor Muhammad (al-Jayhani) is cited below the obverse on those dated 302-304.

<sup>367</sup> Spink-Taisei, Auction 31, 20 June 1989, lot 419 (Nishapur 306). There is also a dinar of Balkh 302 that cites just the name Ahmad beneath the obverse field, without patronymic. The Balkh 302 type has been assigned to the Banijurid Ahmad b. Muhammad, whose "reign" ended circa 299, but Ahmad b. Sahl seems far more likely.

<sup>364</sup> Normally written *khujanda*, but *khujand* without the final *ta marbuta* during the earliest Samanid period and occasionally in later times, most frequently on Chaghatayid silver.

	<b>Yahya b. Ahmad, rebel, 315-319 / 927-931</b> <sup>368</sup>			
1453	AV dinar (Nishapur only)	RR		
A1454	AR dirham, dated 319, also known from a muling with an old obverse die of Samarqand 299	RRR		
	Possibly a contemporary imitation. A normal dirham, struck at Nishapur in 319, has recently been published (Baldwin's, 8 May 2002, lot 379).			
	<b>Nuh II (b. Nasr), 331-343 / 943-954</b>			
	Nuh did not recognize the deposal of the 'Abbasid caliph al-Mustakfi in 334, but continued to cite the deposed caliph on all his later silver and gold coins. See also the note to type #1460.			
1454	AV dinar	C		
	Some Nishapur dinars bear the name of the die engraver near the obverse or reverse margin, either Ba Harith (S) or Abu Bakr (RR).			
1454A	AV dinar, with reverse field bearing the Qur'an Surat 112, <i>Allah ahad Allah al-samad lam yalid wa lam yulad wa lam yakun lahu kufuwwan ahad</i>	RR		
	Known from Samarqand 332, and from Saveh, Qazwin, Hamadan & al-Muhammadiya dated 333.			
1454D	AV dinar, donative style with broad outer margins, known for Nishapur 333	RRR		
1455	AR multiple dirham (SNAT 243-267)	S		
	Believed to have been struck posthumously, after circa 363. One example cites Nuh b. Nasr on obverse, Nuh b. Mansur, 365-387, on reverse (SNAT 374). Other examples citing <i>nuh bin nasr</i> also cite the caliph al-Ta'i' (363-381) on the same side ( <i>e.g.</i> , Mitchiner-M3), proof that some, probably all of the multiples citing Nuh b. Nasr, were actually struck after 363, the accession year of al-Ta'i'. Thus one can conclude that on the multiples, <i>nasr</i> was just a stylized form of <i>mansur</i> . <sup>369</sup>			
1456	AR dirham, types similar to the dinar	C		
	During this reign, in addition to Nishapur and al-Shash, Bukhara also became a common mint (starting in the year 335), which it remained until the end of the dynasty. Balkh is a scarce mint, all others rare.			
1457	AE fals	S		
	Struck almost exclusively at Bukhara, other mints at least RR. Most fulus of Ferghana and Nasrabad are listed under the Samanids of Akhsikath (#E1477 & F1477).			
1457A	AE fals, citing his son 'Abd al-Malik as regent (Bukhara 333-334 only)	RR		
	'Abd al-Malik served as regent in Bukhara while his father was in Khorasan for about 7 months in 333-334. On the reverse, the name ' <i>abd al-malik</i> appears in large type in the center, his father in small type in the standard <i>mimma amara bihi al-amir</i> ... legend in the margin.			
	<b>Ibrahim b. Ahmad, rebel, 335 / 947</b>			
1458	AV dinar (Nishapur only)	RR		
1459	AR dirham	RRR		
	<b>'Abd al-Malik I (b. Nuh II), 343-350 / 954-961</b>			
1460	AV dinar	C		
	Dinars of 343 retain the name of the deposed caliph al-Mustakfi, those of 344 lack the name of any caliph (S), and those of 345 onwards bear the name of al-Muti'. The only common mint is Nishapur.			
1461.1	AR multiple dirham, bearing a name that resembles ' <i>ubayd</i> below reverse field	R		
	The name ' <i>Ubayd</i> is perhaps a stylized version of ' <i>Abd</i> from ' <i>Abd al-Malik</i> . The obverse may cite another, usually later, Samanid ruler. Cf. SNAT 382 for the reverse type.			
1461.2	AR multiple dirham, all other forms	RRR		
	The only coin that can at least tentatively be assigned to 'Abd al-Malik is Mitchiner's type BA3, unclear mint & date (not 350 as he proposed). It cites 'Abd al-Malik atop the obverse field and his successor Mansur b. Nuh in the usual reverse position. I now consider this piece a later imitation struck no earlier than 363. <sup>370</sup>			
1462	AR dirham	C		
	Often abysmally struck, the worst of the Samanid dirhams. Truly well-struck examples are rare. Issues of Andaraba mint (RR) are struck on broad thin flans, with crude calligraphy, sometimes citing Harb on obverse or reverse. The quoted 'Abbasid caliphs follow approximately the same years as on type #1460.			
1463	AE fals, mainly Bukhara or Balkh mints, other mints much rarer (see also #1463N)	R		
	<b>Nasr (b. 'Abd al-Malik I), viceroy at Bukhara, circa 349-350 / 960-961</b>			
1463N	AE fals, Bukhara 349 only	S		
	This relatively common type was formerly listed as a variant of type #1463. It cites the title <i>al-malik al-muwaffaq</i> above <i>nasr</i> on the obverse. This title probably refers to Nasr rather than his father 'Abd al-Malik, as this title seems not to appear on any gold, silver or copper coins that also cite the name 'Abd al-Malik.			
	<b>Mansur I (b. Nuh II), 350-365 / 961-976</b>			
1464	AV dinar	C		
	Nishapur is the most common mint, with Herat slightly scarce. All other mints are very rare.			
1464A	AV fractional dinar, known from Bukhara 350 <sup>371</sup>	RRR		
1465	AR multiple dirham, name <i>mansur bin nuh</i> , believed struck after his death in 365	C		
	The name <i>mansur bin nuh</i> on types #1465 & 1465A might also refer to Mansur II. Further research essential!			
1465A	AR multiple dirham, name just <i>mansur</i> , also presumed to be post 365	S		
1465D	AR multiple dirham, with Qur'an Surat 112 on reverse (as #1466A), Samarqand 359 only <sup>372</sup>	RRR		
1466	AR dirham	C		
	During this reign, dirhams become increasingly broad and usually of poorer silver, as noted in the general information for the Samanids. The Balkh issues are the larger, often approaching 40mm, but without the thickness and heaviness characteristic of the multiple dirhams.			
1466A	AR dirham, with Qur'an Surat 112 on reverse	RR		
	The Qur'anic text is on the same that was used on all standard Umayyad dirhams, but is followed by the names <i>al-muti' lillah</i> and <i>al-mansur bin nuh</i> . Known from Samarqand dated 358. Cf. the similar multiple dirham, #1465D.			
1466D	AR fractional dirham, donative?	RR		
	About 15mm diameter, small dies, known from Bukhara 355.			
1467.1	AE fals, horizontal legends in fields	A		
	Struck principally at Bukhara 352-357; other mints are rare. Nearly all with diameter 21-22mm. Unlike all other Samanid and related copper coinage of this region, the Bukhara fulus 349 & 352-357 are frequently found in large hoards, sometimes containing more than 1,000 pieces. Perhaps the Samanids attempted to imitate the Chinese policy of copper coinage, accepted both privately and publicly as mass currency, but for unknown reasons, it was abolished in 358. <sup>373</sup>			

<sup>368</sup> Copper fulus of Bukhara 315 & 316 bear a monogram below the reverse field that may be that of Yahya b. Ahmad, brother of Nasr II (included for now with type #1452, R).

<sup>369</sup> Illustrations in SNAT-14c illustrate how Mansur magically became Nasr. For example, SNAT #369 shows a clear *mansur*, #348 is still clearly *mansur* but with tiny *r*, #311 shows *mansu* with the *r* having fallen below but still a normal *r*, #250 is the same but with the "fallen *r*" flipped upside-down, more like a crescent, #267 has lost the *r* altogether, and *m* and *n* of *mansu* have been merged, but still resembling *masu* rather than *nasu*, #293 is more clearly *masr*, finally #253 with a clear *nasr*!

<sup>370</sup> For a related group, probably not of Badakhshan region and too light to be reckoned as multiple dirhams (4.4-5.6 grams), see SNAT XIVc:240-242. These are best regarded as blundered imitations of 'Abd al-Malik's ordinary dirhams. It is described as "Volga-Bulgarian" in Elsen auction 94, lot 1781, which seems plausible.

<sup>371</sup> Private collection in US, 0.66g.

<sup>372</sup> Probably struck from the same dies engraved for the standard dirhams, but on much broader planchets and with wide margins. If actually made at Samarqand in 359, these would bear the earliest confirmed date for a multiple dirham, but it is more likely that they were struck much later in the Badakhshan region from dies brought from Samarqand, legally or otherwise.

<sup>373</sup> Normal production of silver dirhams continued unabatedly at the principal dirham mints (Balkh, Bukhara, Samarqand and al-Shash) during the years

1467.2	AE fals, obverse with 2 circular legends only, reverse normal style as #1467.1 Struck only at Bukhara in 353. Diameter as #1467.1.	R			
1467.3	AE fals, broad flan, struck 358-365 Diameter usually 25-30mm. Struck primarily at Bukhara in 358 and Ferghana in 358-359. Whereas the pre-358 issues of Bukhara cite only the Samanid ruler, 358 and later issues cite from one to three subordinate officials, as do other mints of this series. They do not surface in large hoards (see note to #1467.1).	S			
	<b>Nuh III (b. Mansur I), 365-387 / 976-997</b> Coins of this ruler in gold and silver with name of a Ghaznavid governor are listed as Ghaznavid (#1596ff. & A1602ff.).				
1468	AV dinar Dinars of Nuh III, struck almost exclusively at Nishapur & Herat, usually bear the name of a governor.	C			
A1469	AV fractional dinar, struck only at Sijistan, without name of a local ruler, possibly dated 374	RRR			
1469.1	AR multiple dirham, reverse in 4-line legend (SNAT 302-316) The extra line (3 <sup>rd</sup> from the top) cites the caliph al-Ta'i', usually severely stylized and barely legible.	C			
1469.2	AR multiple dirham, reverse in 3-line legend (SNAT 346-376) The very common multiple dirhams of Nuh II also naming al-Harith b. Harb in the central field are included under #1439 (q.v.). Coins categorized as #1469.1 and 1469.2 lack the name of al-Harith. Some examples bear the name of either the governor or some other official in the obverse or reverse margin. Multiple dirhams of Andaraba 364-378 citing both Nuh III and Sahlan b. Maktum are now regarded as Banijurid, listed here as type #1440.	C			
1469A	AR multiple dirham, finest calligraphy with clear mint, date, and numerous religious inscriptions Struck only at Tayiqan in 372 and 380, including Qur'an 9:34 in reverse margin (as on type #A1440), but no mention of the Banijurid ruler. <sup>374</sup>	RRR			
1469W	AR multiple dirham, citing Fa'iq, struck only at Warwarliz in 370, with the mint inscribed as "Walwaliz", one of many common spellings for this city name Standard Qur'an 9:33 in reverse margin. For Warwarliz ("Walwaliz") 374, see #1476S. SNAT 1251-1253.	RR			
1470	AR or BI dirham (see note to #1468) Most bear the name of a local governor or other official. There is a great variety of different names, particularly at Bukhara. Balkh is the most common mint after 380, though for earlier years, Bukhara, Samarqand and al-Shash are reasonably common. All other mints are rare.	C			
1471	AE fals (mainly Bukhara mint, with many varieties) Fulus of Balkh 368, citing Fa'iq, and Herat 378, citing al-Hasan b. 'Ali, formerly extremely rare, have appeared in moderate quantities in recent years (R).	S			
	<b>Mansur II (b. Nuh II), 387-389 / 997-999</b>				
1472.1	AV dinar, in his sole name (Herat mint only)	R			
1472.2	AV dinar, citing the majordomo Abu'l-Fawaris Bektuzun (Nishapur mint)	R			
1473	AR dirham Nearly all dirhams of Mansur II struck at Balkh also bear the name of al-Wali Sayf al-Dawla Mahmud, and are thus classified as Ghaznavid, type #1604.	RR			
1474	AE fals, struck at Bukhara & Samarqand, the latter recently discovered and extremely rare	RR			
	<b>'Abd al-Malik II (b. Nuh II), 389-390 / 999-1000</b>				
1475	AV dinar (Nishapur, citing Abu'l-Fawaris Bektuzun)	RR			
1475A	AR dirham (Nishapur, Bukhara & Isbijab 389 only) <sup>375</sup>	RRR			
1476	AE fals (Bukhara)	RR			
	<b>Isma'il II (b. Nuh II), 390-395 / 1000-1004</b>				
1476C	AV dinar, struck at Nishapur 391	RR			
1476B	AR dirham, struck only at Nishapur 390	RRR			
1476A	AE fals, struck only at Bukhara 390	RRR			
	<b>Imitations of Samanid silver coins</b>				
1476H	AR dirham, mostly of Russian origin Hundreds of varieties are known, mainly imitating coins of Isma'il I through 'Abd al-Malik I (279-350). See also #K1481 for Khazarian imitations and Q1481 for Volga-Bulghar imitations. There are many other imitations not yet assigned to a specific kingdom or tribe, to which I have collectively assigned the type number 1476H.	S			
1476K	AR multiple dirham, mostly of Badakhshan region Most examples bear highly stylized versions of Samanid legends, such as #1465 or 1465A of Mansur I and #1469 of Nuh III, but cannot be assigned to any ruler due to very crude epigraphy.	S			
1476L	AR multiple dirham, similar, but with Shi'ite text 'ali wali Allah below & tawakkul yakfi above obverse field Reverse as SNAT 382, with stylized word at the bottom that looks like 'ubayd but is probably a thoroughly stylized version of the name Mansur. See also #1461 for the normal version bearing the reverse of SNAT 382 or similar.	RRR			
	<b>AMIR OF WARWARLIZ</b> <i>An unknown and apparently local group in what is now the southern region of Tajikistan, who achieved independence from both the Samanids and the Ghaznavids, both of whom were attempting to control the region. I have found no literary evidence for this ruler. The coins are known only from the mint of Warwarliz, always dated AH374, spelled walwaliz.</i>				
	<b>'Ali (with title al-Nasir li-din Allah), fl. 374 / 985</b>				
1476S	AR multiple dirham (SNAT 1254-1256) The reverse Qur'anic legend is 6:160, rarely found on Islamic coins. The names <i>h.b. bin</i> and <i>muhammad</i> appear above & below the reverse field, respectively. The quality is unusually splendid for a multiple dirham.	RR			
	<b>SAMANID OF AKHSIKATH (FERGHANA VALLEY)</b> E.A. Davidovich, "Ferganskije samanidy po numizmaticheskim dannym", <i>Epigrafika vostoka</i> , v. 11 (1956), pp. 14-26. E.A. Davidovich, "Numizmaticheskie materialy dlya istorii razvitiya feodal'nykh otnoshenij b Srednej Azii pri Samanidakh", <i>Trudy akademii nauk tadzhikskoj SSR</i> , v. 27 (1954), pp. 69-117. All of these coins are listed in the charts of Samanid copper coins on Zeno. <i>A branch of the Samanid family ruling in the Ferghana Valley, with their capital at Akhsikath.</i> Akhsikath was the sole mint, except for coins of Asad struck at Khasata and of Malik and his son Bakr, which bear the mint names Ferghana and Nasrabad.				
	<b>Ahmad I b. Asad, 204-250 / 819-864</b> Ahmad I also ruled at Samarqand and Ferghana, and is listed as a regular Samanid ruler, type #1440 (q.v.). Cf. Zeno-42033, struck at Akhsikath in 250.				
	<b>Asad b. Ahmad, fl. 268-270 / 881-883</b>				
A1477	AE fals Struck at Akhsikath 268, 269 & 270 and Khasata 269.	RRR			

349-358 and thereafter. Perhaps the Samanid refusal to eliminate the silver dirhams stymied their attempt to introduce an alternative copper coin currency, just as in the United States for replacing the \$1 banknote with a \$1 coin, in 1979 and again in 2000 & 2007, where public acceptance of dollar coins failed because paper dollar production was never curtailed.

<sup>374</sup> SNAT-1234 & 1235. The date on SNAT-1235 was misinterpreted as "375" for 380, which is clear in the illustration.

<sup>375</sup> Isbijab & Bukhara reported December 2003 by V. Nastich, Nishapur recently found by me, item #101991.

- Ahmad II b. Asad, fl. 270-277 / 883-890**  
 G1477 AE fals RRR  
 Struck at Akhsikath 270 & 277.
- Ishaq b. Ahmad, fl. 277-290 / 890-903**  
 B1477 AE fals RRR
- Muhammad b. Ishaq, fl. 294-299 / 907-912**  
 C1477 AE fals RRR
- Muhammad b. Asad, fl. 303 / 915-916**  
 D1477 AE fals RR  
 Coins of Akhsikath dated 304-315 are pure Samanid issues in the name of Nasr II, type #1452.  
 The following two rulers are probably not related to the Samanids, given Malik's Turkish patronymic, but are included here for the sake of convenience. All coins of these two rulers also bear the main Samanid ruler as overlord.
- Malik b. Shakartegin, fl. 312-344 / 924-955**  
 E1477 AE fals R  
 Copper coins of Ferghana 330-342 are occasionally available, but coins of Uzkand 312, Akhsikath 320 and Nasrabad 343-344 are extremely rare.  
 For coins of Nasrabad dated 335-341, see #F1477. All fulus of Nasrabad were carefully struck from elegantly engraved dies, and command a substantial premium when well preserved.
- Bakr b. Malik, fl. 335-341 / 946-952**  
 F1477 AE fals RR  
 Struck only at Nasrabad, 335-341. All cite his father Malik (b. Shakartegin).
- SIMJURID**  
 A local dynasty who served as governors for the Samanids in Nishapur & Herat 350-387 / 961-997, but their names appear on the coinage, mostly gold & silver, from those two mints between 359 and 384, and on some copper coins of Bukhara in the late 370s. In 384, the Simjurid governor 'Imad al-Dawla Muhammad II was expelled from Khorasan in 384 and went to Jurjan where he came to peace with the Buwayhid Fakh al-Dawla. Following the death of Fakh al-Dawla in 387, Abu'l-Qasim 'Ali, son of Muhammad I, briefly declared independence in Jurjan, but quickly returned the leadership in Jurjan to the Ziyarids, perhaps later in 387. The only truly Simjurid coins were produced in 387.  
 Coins occasionally attributed to members of this "dynasty" of viziers and governors to the Samanids are included with #1464, 1466, 1468 and 1470. No thorough listing of the various names of governors, both Simjurids and others, that appear on Samanid coins dated 359-384 has yet been assembled.
- Abu'l-Qasim 'Ali (b. Muhammad II), 387 / 997**  
 H1477 AR dirham, Jurjan 387 only (Zeno-1334 & 1353) RRR  
 Named 'ali b. nasir al-dawla on either obverse or reverse, with his kunya abu'l-qasim on the other side.
- MUHTAJID**  
 Rtveladze, E.V., "K istorii denezhnogo obrashcheniya b Saganijane VIII-nachala XIII b.", *Epigrafika vostoka*, v. 23 (1985), pp. 38-43.  
 A minor dynasty in Saghaniyan, vassals of the Samanids.  
 Except for one extremely rare gold dinar, only copper coins are known, minted at Saghaniyan unless otherwise noted. They are often rather weakly struck.  
 See type #3434 for anonymous dirhams also assigned to the Muhtajids.
- Ahmad b. Muhammad, fl. 330s-343(?) / 940s-954(?)**  
 L1477 AV dinar, struck at Nishapur in 343, as sole ruler RRR  
 Ahmad briefly rebelled at Nishapur during this year.  
 M1477 AE fals RRR  
 Probably only struck at Saghaniyan.
- Nasr b. Ahmad, fl. 341-365 / 952-976**  
 1477.1 AE fals R  
 Citing the Samanid Mansur I below reverse field, Muhtajid name below obverse field, dated 355 or 357.  
 1477.2 AE fals R  
 Citing the Samanid Mansur I below reverse, Muhtajid name in reverse margin only, dated 357.  
 Types #1477.1 & 1477.2 are usually found in tiny quantities within large hoards of common fulus of Bukhara dated 349-357.
- Abu'l-Qasim al-Hasan b. Ahmad, fl. 367-377 / 978-987**  
 1477A AE fals, known dated 367 (Zeno-87296) RRR  
 Citing the Samanid Nuh III as suzerain below the reverse, al-Hasan below the obverse.
- Abu'l-Qasim, fl. 424-428 / 1032-1036**  
 1477H BI dirham, with his title *al-malik al-'adil* RR  
 Normally with *abu* below and *al-qasim* above the reverse field, both in small text.
- MATTID (MUTID)**  
 Molchanov, Arkady A., "The Mutid Dynasty of Ispijab and its coins (10<sup>th</sup>-early 11<sup>th</sup> century)", *ONS Newsletter*, no.171 (2002), pp. 4-5.  
 A minor dynasty in Ispijab (Ispijab) of Turkish origin, first under Samanid suzerainty, later Qarakhanid. Effective independence applies only to Husayn I b. Matt (no coins), his brother Ahmad, who succeeded him, and the later ruler Muhammad II b. al-Husayn.<sup>376</sup>
- Ahmad b. Matt, fl. 307 / 919-920**  
 1477M AE fals, citing the Samanid Nasr II, Isbijab 307 RRR
- Muhammad II b. al-Husayn b. Matt, fl. 385 / 995-996**  
 1477N AE fals, citing the Samanid Nuh III and unknown governor Mu'adh, Isbijab 385 RRR
- AFSHINID (AMIRS OF USRUSHANA)**  
 Local amir under the Samanids.
- Siyar b. 'Abd Allah, fl. 279-280 / 892-893**  
 1477U AE fals, struck only at Usrushana in 279 RRR  
 This type cites Siyar alone (with the patronymic only in the reverse margin), without any Samanid or other overlord. Fulus of Usrushana dated 280 were struck in the sole name of the Samanid Isma'il I, who ousted Siyar in 279 or early in 280. See Zeno-42486 for further information.
- AMIR OF BUST**  
 A succession of local rulers at Bust, now called Lashkari-Bazar, in eastern Sijistan. Little is known of this kingdom, most of whose amirs are known only from their coins.  
 All coins bear the mint name Bust. Generally well struck, they are normally found in poor condition, corroded or worn, though well preserved specimens are often quite magnificent.
- Khut-Tegin I, fl. 337-341+ / 948-952+**  
 Formerly read as Jatakin, corrected on Zeno.<sup>377</sup>
- A1478 AE fals RR  
**Muhammad b. Khut-Tegin (Abu'l-Hasan), fl. 347 / 958**  
 B1478 AE fals RR
- <sup>376</sup> Several other Samanid coins cite a Mattid individual, but as officials in other cities where they never ruled (Balkh, Andaraba, Bukhara, etc.). These should be regarded as ordinary Samanid issues. The Qarakhanid issues are similar to typical copper and silver coins of that reign. Thanks to Vladimir Belyaev for these listings.  
<sup>377</sup> *Jatakin* represents the Arabization of the name, as the coin's inscription is in Arabic. Thanks for "orientexpert" on Zeno for the correction.



**Bekchur, fl. 349-350 / 960-961**

- C1478 AE fals RR  
 There are two separate sizes, one about 25mm weighing 2.5-3.0g, the other about 30mm at circa 4.5-5.0g, possibly a double fals, similar to some nearly contemporary Saffarid fulus.

**Baytuz, fl. 359-365 / 970-976**

- D1478 AE fals RR  
 When visible, the date is normally 359, though one specimen dated 365 has been confirmed (SARC auction 10, lot 653).

**Takantash, fl. 367-369 / 977-979**

- E1478.1 AE broad fals, as vassal of the Ghaznavid Mahmud b. Sebuktegin (date undetermined) RRR  
 E1478.2 AE broad fals, as independent ruler (369 only) RRR

**Khut-Tegin II, fl. 368? / 978?**

- F1478 AE broad fals RRR  
 Attribution of coins to this ruler remains conjectural<sup>378</sup>.

**AFRIGHID OF KATH (BANU 'IRAQ)**

See Zeno, under "Special Projects > Khwarizm Numismatics".

**'Iraq b. Mansur, circa 280-309 / 893-921**

With title *mawla amir al-mu'minin*.

- P1478 AE fals, horse parading right on obverse, reverse as #Q1478, known dated AH280 RRR  
 Q1478 AE fals, kalima obverse, name & title in reverse field, mint undetermined RRR

**Ahmad b. Muhammad, fl. 348-366+ / 959-977+<sup>379</sup>**

With the additional title *khwarizmshah* on the dirhams and some fulus, just *shah* on most fulus.

- J1478 AR dirham, known for Khwarizm 348 RRR  
 K1478 AE fals, mint of Khwarizm, usually dated 356 R

**MA'MUNID OF GURGANJ (AMIRS OF URGENCH)**

See Zeno, under "Special Projects > Khwarizm Numismatics".

*A minor dynasty that started at Jurjaniya in 356/967, then seized Kath in 385. They ruled until 408. They took the title khwarizmshah from the Ifrighids of Kath, and that title appears on many of their coins.*

Dirhams were struck at Bukhara, Farawa, Kath, Khwarizm, Nisa, and Jurjaniya. Copper mints are noted in the listings. Both silver and copper are usually rather poorly struck, except for type #M1478.

**Muhammad b. 'Ali, 356-382 / 967-992**

- L1478 AE fals, mint of Jurjaniya RR  
 Coins are reported for the next ruler, Ma'mun I b. Muhammad, 382-387 / 992-997, information needed.

**'Ali b. Ma'mun I, 387-400 / 997-1009**

- M1478 AR dirham RR?  
 Known for at least four of the mints listed in the introduction.  
 N1478 AE fals, sometimes with mint name RRR  
 Known dated 390 for Bukhara, 391 for Kath.

**Abu'l-'Abbas Ma'mun II b. Ma'mun I, 400-408 / 1009-1017**

- O1478 BI broad dirham, mint of Khwarizm RRR  
 With his additional titles *'ayn al-dawla wa zayn al-milla*.<sup>380</sup>

**AMIR OF RAYY**

*A rebel against the Samanids who struck coins only at Damghan in 339.*

**'Ali b. Kama, 339-348 / 950-959**

- S1478 AR dirham RRR

**AMIR OF FARWAN**

*Probably several members, dynastic origin unknown, only one of whom is definitely known to have struck coins.*

Silver struck at Farwan and Ma'din, copper at Farwan only. Some Samanid dirhams of Andaraba in the 310s (type #1451) bear the name of Yusuf, possibly the father of the Ahmad cited below.

**Ahmad b. Yusuf, fl. 334-348 / 945-959**

- U1478 AR dirham RRR  
 V1478 AE fals, known dated 344 & 348 RR

**SAJID**

Vasmer, Richard, "O monetakh Sadzhidov," *Izvestiya Obsledovaniya i Izucheniya Azerbaidzhana*, Baku, 1927, no. 5, pp. 22-48 (not seen).

*The earliest of the minor dynasties of Adharbayjan and Armenia. The father of Yusuf had earlier been named on copper fulus of Aleppo in his capacity as governor of that town (included with type #286).*

Bardha'a is the most common Sajid mint. Coins from the mints Ardabil, Adharbayjan, Maragha, Urmiya and Arminiya are occasionally seen, as are dirhams of al-Muhammadiya dated 312.

The earlier Sajid, Abu'l-Saj Diwdad, served as 'Abbasid governor in Halab, where copper fulus bearing his name were struck in 255-256, reckoned here as part of type #286.

**Muhammad al-Afshin b. Diwdad, 276-288 / 889-901**

- Y1478 AV dinar, struck at Maragha and Bardha'a RRR  
 Cited as *al-Afshin* on his coins.<sup>381</sup>

**Yusuf b. Diwdad, 288-315 / 901-927**

- 1478 AV dinar R  
 Dinars dated 297-299 bearing the caliph al-Muqtadir also cite the Sajid vizier Abu'l-Hasan.<sup>382</sup>  
 1479 AR dirham R  
 1479P AR dirham, donative issue, distinguished by broad blank outer margins on both sides RRR  
 Reported for Ardabil 305, and stylistically similar to the Nishapur 305 dirhams of the Samanids (#1451P) and some 'Abbasid donative dirhams also dated in the early 300s.

**al-Fath b. al-Afshin, 315-317 / 927-929**

- A1480 AV dinar, struck at Ardabil & Bardha'a RR  
 B1480 AR dirham, known from mint of Adharbayjan RRR

**Muflih al-Yusufi, fl. 317-323 / 929-934**

- 1480 AV dinar<sup>383</sup> RR  
 A1481 AR dirham RRR  
 Muflih was not properly a Sajid, but was a client of Yusuf b. Diwdad who later assumed power in the Sajid lands. His coins bear the title *mawla amir al-mu'minin*, "friend of the commander of the believers", a title also found (rarely) on dinars of his predecessor al-Fath (#A1480).

<sup>381</sup> Emirates Coin Auction 1, lot 381, dated 285 (Maragha), noted by Vasmer for Bardha'a.

<sup>382</sup> With the exception of Ardabil 311 (RR), Sajid dinars citing the caliph al-Muqtadir never cite the caliphal heir apparent Abu'l-'Abbas.

<sup>383</sup> Post-320 coins of Muflih al-Yusufi cite the caliphal heir apparent, the son of al-Qahir, by his personal name 'Abd al-Samad rather than his *kunya* Abu'l-Qasim. Earlier dates cite the caliph al-Muqtadir and his heir Abu'l-'Abbas exactly as they are cited on ordinary 'Abbasid coins.

<sup>378</sup> Only known specimen is Tübingen EC6 E3.

<sup>379</sup> Formerly listed incorrectly as the first of the Ma'munids. I thank Håkam Fransson for correcting my mistake.

<sup>380</sup> Published by V. Kalinin in ONS Newsletter #201, with illustration.

**‘Abd Allah b. Mahfuz, circa 323-326 / 934-937**

Of unknown lineage.

B1481 AR dirham, struck only at Ardabil in 324<sup>384</sup> RRR

**AMIRS OF YUN**

*A minor dynasty in the Yun district in Tukharistan in north-eastern Afghanistan, the emirate of Yun is known from a single textual reference in the Hudud al-‘Alam and a few coins, recently published in SNAT vol. 14c.*

All coins bear the mint name al-Yun.

**Muhammad b. Pakh, fl. circa 380s / 990s**

E1481 AR multiple dirham, as vassal of the Samanid ruler Nuh III, without the caliph RRR

**Muhammad II Pakh, circa 424-430s / 1032-1040±**

D1481 AR normal dirham, known dated 424, caliph al-Qa‘im RRR

The ruler’s name is given as *muhammad pakh*. It is unclear whether this alleged Muhammad II is actually a different person than “Muhammad b. Pakh”, whose coins were struck some 30-40 years earlier (#E-1481).

This dated type is believed to be without overlord.

F1481 AR normal dirham, as vassal of Ghaznavid Mas‘ud I, citing caliph al-Qa‘im RRR

With the name *pakh* only (without *muhammad*), in the right edge of the reverse field.

G1481 AR normal dirham, as vassal of the Seljuq Chaghri Beg RRR

With the name *pakh* only (without *muhammad*).

**KHAZARS**

Shake, Glen, *The Coins of the Khazar Empire*, Allen TX, 2000, without coin illustrations.

*A supposedly Jewish kingdom in the region comprising what is now eastern Ukraine and parts of Russia. Their only confirmed coinage consists of a few rare ‘Abbasid-style dirhams circa 830s-840s inscribed with the mint name Ard al-Khazar<sup>385</sup> (“Land of the Khazars”). They are normally found muled with genuine ‘Abbasid reverse dies from earlier decades. However, there is no proof that these were in any way “official” Khazarian issues as opposed to privately produced.*

*In addition, some imitative dirhams of various sorts have been assigned to the Khazars by various scholars, and a consensus is now emerging on which of the imitations are likely issues of the Khazars (type K1481).*

**Anonymous, dated in the 220s / 830s-840s**

J1481 AR dirham, Ard al-Khazar mint RRR

K1481.1 AR dirham, imitation of an ‘Abbasid dirham, normally citing the caliph al-Mu‘tadid RRR?

Many examples imitate earlier ‘Abbasid dirhams, perhaps even as early as al-Mansur, 136-158.

K1481.2 AR dirham, imitation of a Samanid dirham of Isma‘il I b. Ahmad R?

Khazarian imitations usually copy dirhams of al-Mu‘tadid or Isma‘il, though some seem to copy earlier ‘Abbasid types. Some are mulings of two obverses or reverses, and many have one side or both sides completely retrograde. They are tentatively assigned to the Khazars because their prototypes antedate the earliest prototypes used by the Volga-Bulghars and because they have been found in regions of the former Khazarian domain. They were probably minted in the 280s-290s / 890s-early 910s. Both types are normally without “mint” or “date”, though some attempt

to imitate actual ‘Abbasid or Samanid mint names. There are no religious symbols, either Jewish, Christian or Muslim.

**VOLGA-BULGHARS**

Rispling, Gert, “The Volga Bulgarian imitative coinage of al-Amir Yaltavar (‘Barman’) and Mikail b. Jafar”, *Commentationes de nummis saeculorum IX-XI in Suecia repertis. Nova series*, 6 (1990), pp. 275-282 (with long bibliography of related material).

*A trading kingdom on the middle Volga River, whose history is very sketchily known.*

Coins were minted at either Suwar or Bulghar. However, all examples of type #K1481 and most examples of #N1481 & P1481 copy their mint name and date from Samanid prototypes, typically of the period 300-310 of either Samarqand or al-Shash. Volga-Bulghar coins are found mostly in north European hoards and, while not rare in museum collections, are seldom seen in the trade. They normally are found in tolerably decent condition.

**“Yaltavar” (= Almish b. Shalkay), first half of 4<sup>th</sup>/10<sup>th</sup> century**

N1481 AR dirham RR

All coins of this type & P1481 bear pseudo mints & dates copied from Samanid prototypes, sometimes illegible. The name was read as Yaltavar by Rispling, correcting the former reading of Barman. Yaltavar was also known by a Muslim name, never found on coins.

Some examples of Yaltavar are bracteates of the reverse only.

**Talib b. Ahmad, 338-347 / 949-958**

O1481 AR dirham RR

Coins of Talib and his successor Mika‘il (#P1481) normally bear the actual Hijri date.

**Mika‘il b. Ja‘far, mid-4<sup>th</sup>/10<sup>th</sup> century**

P1481 AR dirham (see note to #N1481) RR

**‘Abd Allah b. Mika‘il, fl. 346 or 347 / 957 or 958**

T1481 AR dirham, Bulghar mint, citing the caliph al-Mustakfi (Zeno-72609) RRR

**Mu‘min b. al-Hasan, fl. 359-376 / 970-986**

R1481 AR dirham, Bulghar mint, dated 366, with caliph al-Muti‘ (Zeno-69193) RRR

**‘Abd al-Rahman b. Mu‘min, fl. 387 / 997, (‘Adud al-Dawla)**

S1481 AR dirham, unread mint, dated 387 (very clearly), with caliph al-Ta‘i‘ (Zeno-1420, where the mint name is discussed) RRR

**Anonymous, imitations of Samanid types (typically “dated” circa 285-310 / 898-922)**

Q1481 AR dirham RR

Coins of this anonymous type are usually marked with special symbols, and are sometimes die-linked to named Volga-Bulghar coins. Some retain the mint names of their Samanid prototypes, usually al-Shash, Nishapur or Samarqand. They were struck after the “dates”, probably circa 920s-960s, though some with pseudo-dates earlier than 300 may have been struck earlier, either by the Volga-Bulghars or other East European traders.

**SU‘LUKID**

See G.C. Miles, *The Numismatic History of Rayy*.

*A minor Iranian family that briefly held control of Rayy (then known as al-Muhammadiya) and minted coins there.*

All Su‘lukid coins were struck at al-Muhammadiya (Rayy) and resemble contemporary ‘Abbasid coins except for the addition of the local ruler’s name. Technically, the first two Su‘lukids were Samanid governors at Rayy from circa 298-316, but the Samanid ruler was not named before 314. The Su‘lukids themselves were omitted on coins dated before 302, from 303-307 and 312-313, as they simultaneously functioned as ‘Abbasid prefects at Rayy.

<sup>384</sup> Sotheby’s, 21 November 1985, lot 389, now in the Shamma collection.

<sup>385</sup> Earlier scholars, including Zambaur, misread the mint as Ard al-Khayr, “land of the good”, which makes little sense. An estimated 40-50 specimens are known, mostly in Russian and Scandinavian museums from northern hoards. Very few are in the private market.

	<b>Muhammad b. 'Ali, 1<sup>st</sup> reign, as independent ruler, circa 301-302 / 914-915</b>		1484.2 AR dirham, in his sole name, Adharbayjan 341 and Ardabil 343 only	RR
Z1481	AV dinar (al-Muhammadiya 302 only)	RRR	Only the Ardabil mint inserted his full titulature.	
	<b>Ahmad b. 'Ali, fl. 304-311 / 917-923</b>		<b>Wahsudan b. Muhammad, circa 330-357 / 942-968</b>	
1481	AV dinar	RR	A1485 AR dirham	RR
	Ahmad did not add his name to the coinage of al-Muhammadiya until 308. Earlier gold and silver coins of al-Muhammadiya during his reign are thus classified as purely 'Abbasid.		His titles are al-Sallar, Abu Mansur, al-Sa'id and Sayf Al Muhammad ("sword of the family of Muhammad"). Each of his coins bears one or more of these titles.	
1482	AR dirham	R	During his roughly quarter century of rule, Wahsudan was chief of the Sallarids and based in their traditional capital, the Daylamite city of Tarom. No coins were struck there.	
	<b>Muhammad b. 'Ali, 2<sup>nd</sup> reign, as Samanid vassal, circa 314-316 / 926-928</b>		<b>Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Razzaq, circa 336-338 / 947-949</b>	
A1483	AV dinar	R	G1485 AV dinar, Maragha 337 only	RRR
1483	AR dirham	RR	Not of the Sallarids but a Buwayhid military commander sent to Adharbayjan by Rukn al-Dawla.	
	<b>Abu Tahir b. Muhammad, fl. 316 / 928</b>		<b>Justan b. al-Marzuban, circa 346-349 / 957-960</b>	
1483A	AV dinar	RRR	1485 AV dinar, Maragha 347 only	RR
	Possibly an otherwise unknown son of Muhammad b. 'Ali. Struck only at al-Muhammadiya in 316.		1486 AR dirham, Ardabil 347 only	RR
			All coins of Justan cite his brother Ibrahim b. al-Marzuban, with Justan named on the reverse, Ibrahim on the obverse.	
	<b>KURDS OF ADHARBAYJAN</b>		<b>Ibrahim b. al-Marzuban (al-Sallar al-Mansur), circa 349-355 / 960-966</b>	
	Vardanyan, Aram, "On the coinage of Daysam ibn Ibrahim in Adharbayjan and Armenia in the 10 <sup>th</sup> century AD", <i>ONS Newsletter 197</i> (Autumn 2008), pp. 11-20.		1487 AR dirham, Ardabil 354 and 355 only <sup>388</sup>	RR
	<i>There were several undetermined rulers of Kurdish origin in Adharbayjan<sup>386</sup>, of which only one is numismatically relevant.</i>		As sole ruler, citing his vizier Sa'id b. 'Abd Allah.	
	Struck at Bardha'a, Ardabil, al-Maragha, Arminiya and "Adharbayjan" (located at Ganja??), dated 325-330 & 338-341. All cite the current 'Abbasid caliph, but no other rulers or officials are mentioned.		A1488 AR dirham, citing his father Wahsudan as Abu Mansur b. al-Sallar, Ardabil 354-356 only	RR
			Some issues dated 355-356 cite the Buwayhid ruler Rukn al-Dawla Abu 'Ali as well as his own father, the first citation of a Buwayhid overlord on Sallarid coinage.	
	<b>Daysam b. Ibrahim, circa 325-341 / 937-952</b>		<b>Isma'il b. Wahsudan, fl. 350-355 / 961-966</b>	
A1484	AV dinar	RR	C1488 AR dirham, Bardha'a 351 and Ardabil 351 only	RRR
B1484	AR dirham	RR	Citing his father, (al-Sallar) Wahsudan b. Muhammad.	
	<b>SALLARID</b>		<b>Nuh b. Wahsudan (Abu al-Hasan), fl. 355 / 966</b>	
	Vasmer, Richard, "Zur Chronologie der Gastaniden und Sallariden," <i>Islamica</i> , vol. 3 (1927), pp. 165-186, 482-485.		E1488 AR dirham, Ardabil 355 only	RRR
	Vardanyan, Aram, "On the Coinage of the Sallarids and Contemporary Military Generals in Iranian Adharbayjan in the Tenth Century AD", <i>Journal of the ONS no. 191</i> , Spring 2007, pp. 9-19. This excellent work replaces Vasmer's work of 80 years earlier.		<b>Kaykhusraw b. al-Marzuban, ca. 356-357 / 967-968</b>	
	<i>A local Adharbayjani dynasty of Daylamite origin, who were able to control parts of Adharbayjan, with their subordinate capital at Ardabil. The dynasty was fragmented into local branches. Dates of rule are only guesswork, despite the exhaustive study (non-numismatic) of this dynasty by Ahmad Kasravi.<sup>387</sup></i>		J1488 AR dirham, Ardabil, possibly dated 357	RRR
	Most Sallarid coins were struck at Ardabil, though there seems to be a bewildering variety of local names or name combinations on Ardabil coins in the 340s and 350s. The silver coins are usually weakly struck, the gold rather elegantly made. A few of these coins cite the Buwayhid ruler as overlord, normally Rukn al-Dawla.		Citing his brother Ibrahim b. al-Marzuban as overlord and the Buwayhid ruler Rukn al-Dawla. <sup>389</sup>	
	The listings here derive from Vardanyan's work cited above, and replace the tentative descriptions of the 2 <sup>nd</sup> edition of the <i>Checklist</i> .		<b>Sharmazan b. Mishaki (al-Nasir Abu'l-Qasim), fl. 355-361 / 966-972</b>	
	<b>Muhammad b. Musafir, circa 330-337/341 / 942-948/952</b>		B1488 AR dirham, citing Wahsudan b. Muhammad, Ardabil 355 and 357 only, without Buwayhid overlord	RRR
R1484	AR dirham, in his sole name, Urmiya 333 only	RRR	Sharmazan was a military general who served Wahsudan b. Muhammad, then became effectively independent circa 359, after the death of Wahsudan.	
	<b>al-Marzuban b. Muhammad, circa 330-346 / 942-957</b>		F1488 AR dirham, in his own name, as vassal of the Buwayhid ruler Rukn al-Dawla, Ardabil 360 and 361 only	RRR
V1484	AV dinar, citing his father as al-Sallar Abu Mansur, Ardabil 342 & 343 only	RRR	<b>Justan b. Sharmazan (al-Musaddad Abu Nasr), fl. 359 / 970</b>	
	With the additional titulature, <i>al-malik al-mu'ayyid</i> .		G1488 AR dirham, Ardabil 359 only	RRR
1484.1	AR dirham, citing his father Muhammad b. Musafir, Urmiya 333 only	RRR	Without overlord. It seems peculiar that Sharmazan would first appoint his own son as independent ruler in 359, then ascend the throne himself during the following year.	
			<b>Rustam b. Justan, fl. 359-362 / 970-973</b>	
			H1488 AR dirham, al-Maragha 359 and 362 only	RRR
			Citing his vizier 'Ubayd Allah b. Muhammad. <sup>390</sup>	

<sup>386</sup> In pre-modern times, Adharbayjan, *i.e.*, Azerbaijan, refers to the region consisting of the modern Republic of Azerbaijan together with the Iranian provinces of Eastern and Western Azerbaijan.

<sup>387</sup> Ahmad Kasravi, *Shahryaran-e Gomnan*, Tabriz 1954.

<sup>388</sup> Vardanyan lists a gold dinar of al-Mansur Abu Ishaq (= Ibrahim b. al-Marzuban) as vassal under the Fatimid al-Mu'izz, struck at Arminiya in 353. However, its authenticity remains questionable.

<sup>389</sup> Published by Farhod Mosanef in *ONS Newsletter #206*, pp. 8-10.

<sup>390</sup> ICA auction 12, lot 3437.

## KANGARID

A minor Daylamite dynasty of little importance, with its capital at Tarom, a mountain fortress north of Qazwin.

Coins of Wahsudan were struck entirely at Jalalabad in the year 343, an unknown location, perhaps an administrative foundation at or near Tarom, perhaps merely an epithetical name for Tarom itself. All are exquisitely struck, probably donative issues.

Both the dinar and dirham bear the Isma'ili list of Imams, *muhammad 'ali al-hasan al-husayn 'ali muhammad ja'far isma'il muhammad* in the obverse margin. The reverse is inscribed *'ali khalifat / Allah / wahsudan bin / muhammad*, with the phrase *sayf al muhammad* in addition on the dirham.

### Wahsudan b. Muhammad, fl. 343 / 954-955

Not to be confused with the contemporary Sallarid ruler of the same name (#A1485).

K1488 AV dinar, normally about 7-9g RRR  
1488 AR dirham<sup>391</sup> RR

## JASTANID (or JUSTANID)

A minor Daylamite dynasty in southern Gilan, centered at Rudbar (*al-Rudbar*), which is the mint name on all these coins. The city of Rudbar was almost totally destroyed in the disastrous earthquake of 1990.

### Manadhir b. Jastan, circa 336-361 / 948-972

A1489 AV dinar, known dated 359<sup>392</sup> RRR  
B1489 AV fractional dinar (approximately 0.7g) RRR

### Khusrashah b. Manadhir, fl. 361-368 / 972-979

F1489 AV dinar RRR  
1489 AR dirham R  
Known dated 361-363 citing the caliph al-Muti' and 368 with the caliph al-Ta'ib.  
Modern cast forgeries of this type are plentiful, produced in the 1950s or 1960s, probably as some sort of advertising or promotional tokens, rather than to deceive numismatists.

## HASHIMID OF DARBAND

V.P. Lebedev, "A dirham of the ruler of Darband, Maymun bin Ahmad...", *ONS Newsletter*, No. 202 (winter 2010), pp. 11-12.

A minor dynasty ruling at *al-Bab (Darband)* from the 3<sup>rd</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> to the 5<sup>th</sup>/11<sup>th</sup> century, for whom only minimal information has survived.

### Maymun b. Ahmad, circa 366-382 / 977-982

1489H AR dirham, mint & date unknown RRR  
Entitled *al-amir al-'adil abu'l-qasim* and citing the Shirvanshah ruler Muhammad b. Ahmad. No known specimen has legible mint or date. It is now illustrated as Zeno-83819.

## RAWWADID

S. Album, "Notes on the coinage of Muhammad ibn al-Husayn al-Rawwadi", *Revue numismatique*, 6e série, t. 14 (1972), pp. 99-104.

A more up-to-date study by Aram Vardanyan is in *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. 169, 2009, pp. 245-260.

Said to be of mixed Arab and Kurdish origin, this minor dynasty was centered at Tabriz in Adharbayjan.

Most Rawwadid coins were minted at either Tabriz, Ardabil or Maragha, though few specimens show the mint.

### al-Nasir b. al-Rawwad (Abu'l-Hajja al-Husayn b. Muhammad), circa 344-378 / 955-988

T1490 AR dirham RRR

Struck only at Ardabil in 351, citing the Sallarid ruler Wahsudan b. Muhammad as overlord.

### Muhammad b. al-Husayn, fl. 387-407 / 997-1016

1490 BI broad dirham RR  
Stylistically resembling multiple dirhams of the Ghaznavids, but of highly debased silver.<sup>393</sup>

## MAZYADID (SHIRVANSHAHS, 1<sup>ST</sup> DYNASTY)

The Mazyadids are now regarded as the first branch of the Khaqanids. Former type #E1491 has been amalgamated with the identical Khaqanid type #A1908, of the same individual.

## JA'FARID

Molchanov, A.A., "New Evidence of Ja'farid Coinage", *ONS Newsletter #176* (Summer 2003), pp.7-8.

Turkia, Severian, & Irakli Paghava, "The coins of Ja'far III b. 'Ali, emir of Tiflis", *ONS Newsletter #197* (Autumn 2008), pp. 5-11.

A local Arab dynasty ruling in Georgia.

With the exception of the recently discovered fals of Ja'far III, all Ja'farid coins are silver dirhams, and all were minted at Tiflis (modern Tbilisi). They are typically rather haphazardly struck, with substantial weak areas. The reign dates given for each of the first three rulers represent the earliest and latest known dates on their dirhams.

### Mansur b. Ja'far, fl. 342-343 / 954-955

P1491 AR dirham RRR

### Ja'far II b. Mansur, fl. 364-374 / 975-985

Q1491 AR dirham RRR

### 'Ali b. Ja'far, fl. 386-418 / 996-1027

His titles are *al-amir al-muzaffar al-mansur abu'l-hasan*, all or parts of which cited on his dirhams.

R1491 AR dirham R\*  
Though rarely seen in the trade, large quantities of #R1491 are preserved in museums in the lands of the former Soviet Union.

### Ja'far III b. 'Ali, circa 421-437 / 1030-1046

Titles on his fulus include *al-sayyid al-muzaffar abu'l-fadl*.

S1491 AE/BI fals, without mint or date, citing the caliph al-Qa'im RRR

Reverse legend *al-mansur / ja'far bin 'ali*, of which al-Mansur is either his own title or a reference to an undetermined suzerain. At least one other subtype is known.

## SHADDADID

Lebedev, V. P., Markov, D.B., and Koifman, A.A., *Monetnoe delo i monetnoe obrashshenie gandzhiiskogo emirata shaddididov*, 2006.

A Kurdish dynasty in Armenia, ruling in various places in the Adharbayjan region from about 950 to the 1170s. At present, coins are known for five of the Shaddadid rulers.

All coins dated 385-395 were minted at Bardha'a, thereafter solely at Janza (when visible). Coins of Fadl are rather well struck on round flans resembling contemporary Ghaznavid yamini dirhams, but those of the four later rulers are usually weakly struck on flans of irregular shape. All dirhams are approximately 50% silver, the remaining 50% mostly copper, though individual specimens can vary considerably.

### al-Fadl I b. Muhammad, 375-422 / 985-1031 (al-Sayyid al-Mansur Abu'l Hayja)

1491 AR dirham (approximately 3g) C  
Formerly very rare, a large hoard of several thousand dirhams, terminal date 400, reached the market in 1990. Some 10-20% of the hoard coins are dated 385-399, the rest 400, almost always with the month of Muharram, but only the year 400 dirhams have become available in the market in quantities. A few coins are known of Janza 401-404, all extremely rare. Weight & style are relatively uniform, unlike later issues.

<sup>391</sup> When I visited the Malik Museum in 1965 (then in Tehran, later in Mashhad), I saw about 200 examples of the silver dirham, used by the curator as temporary replacements of coins moved to special displays!

<sup>392</sup> Sotheby's, 20 April 1983, lots 87 (full dinar) and 88 (fractional dinar).

<sup>393</sup> The second publication with clear illustration seems to be Emirates Coin Auction 2, March 2000, lot 505 (Tabriz 403), after the quoted article.

1491A	AR fractional dirham, similar, variable weight 0.8g-1.8g	RR	
	<b>‘Ali b. Musa al-Lashkari (grandson of Fadl I), 425-441 / 1034-1049</b>		
1491M	AR dirham	RRR	
	When visible, the mint is Janza; known dated 431.		
	<b>Shawur b. al-Fadl, 441-459 / 1049-1067 (al-Jalil al-Mushaddid, or al-Ajall)</b>		
1492	AR dirham	R	
	Weights vary from less than one to more than 7 grams. Actual specimens rarely do justice to the excellent die work, as they are struck on flans far smaller than the dies, often haphazardly shaped. Clearly dated examples are very rare; a few show the mint, always Janza. Lebedev identified 16 subtypes, many with intricate designs.		
	<b>al-Fadl II b. Shawur, 459-466 / 1067-1075 (Fakhr al-Dawla)</b>		
1492F	AR dirham	RRR	
	Citing the Seljuq Alp Arslan as overlord, mint & date unknown.		
	<b>Ashwat b. Shawur, circa 460-461 / 1068-1069 (Sharaf al-Dawla, Abu ‘Ali)</b>		
1492G	AR dirham, unknown date & mint <sup>394</sup>	RRR	
	Ashwat is the Arabicized version of the Armenian name Ashot.		
	<b>al-Fadl III b. al-Fadl II, circa 466-468 / 1075-1077 (Fakhr al-Dawla, Shams al-Muluk, Abu’l-Muzaffar, Sayf Amir al-Mu’minin)</b>		
1492K	AR dirham, often debased	RR	
	Known struck at Janza 466, but almost always without legible mint or date. The name Fadl never appears on the coins, which cite only various portions of his titlature. Citing the Seljuq Malikshah as overlord.		

## HADHABANI KURDS

A minor Kurdish dynasty centered on the city of Ushni in what is now the Western Azerbaijan province of Iran.

When visible, the mint is Ushna (earlier spelling of Ushni, now called Oshnoviyeh). Coins are usually fairly well struck but much worn.

**Abu’l-Hayja’ b. Rabib al-Dawla, fl. 425 / 1035±**  
With title *‘izz al-din wa’l-dawla*.

A1493	BI dirham, known struck at Ushna & dated 425	RR	
	<b>Jastan b. Rabib al-Dawla, fl. 451-452 / 1060-1061</b>		
B1493	BI dirham	RRR	
	It is possible that Abu’l-Hayja’ and Jastan are one and the same, rather than brothers.		

## HABBARID (AMIRS OF SIND)

The Habbarids ruled in Sind from the 3<sup>rd</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> century to the early 5<sup>th</sup>/11<sup>th</sup>. The sequence of rulers and their dates have not yet been reconstructed. The coinage consists of tiny fractional dirhams and poorly struck coppers, believed to have been struck at either Multan or Mansura, both in modern Pakistan (the mint is never indicated on the coins, all are undated). The coppers first became known in the 1980s, and their rarity is still tentative, with new types and even additional rulers periodically appearing in the market.

The silver coins are usually well struck but often quite off center; except for Ahmad, they are normally found considerably worn. The copper coins are poorly struck and usually found appallingly worn or corroded, or abysmally cleaned. The denomination of the silver, traditionally described rather vaguely as a “fractional dirham”, has lately been provisionally identified by Robert Tye as a *damma*, a traditional western Indian coin of about 0.5g previously used by the

Gurjuras, Pratiharas and other medieval Hindu kingdoms.<sup>395</sup> The name of the copper denomination is unknown and has been designated here by the generic term *fals*.

The weight of the damma seems to correspond closely to one sixth of a traditional Islamic dirham, whence the denomination is something called *danik*, “sixth”. The extent to which this weight standard was applied to individual specimens remains to be determined.

Hoard of silver dammas marketed since the 1970s typically contain several thousand examples each.

**Da’ud, early 3<sup>rd</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> century?**

1493	AR damma	R	
1493A	AE fals	R?	
	<b>‘Abd al-Rahman</b>		
1494	AR damma	S	
	<b>‘Abd Allah I</b>		
1495	AR damma	C	
	The ruler’s name appears on both obverse & reverse. The obverse legend is <i>Allah wali ‘abd Allah wa nasiruhu</i> .		
1495A	AE fals	R?	
	Two types, one with horizontal legends only, another with reverse legends in a square surrounding a floral pattern. The latter type may be an issue of ‘Abd Allah II.		
	<b>‘Ali</b>		
1496	AR damma	C	
	The obverse legend is <i>billah yathiqu ‘ali wa bihi yuntasir</i> . A similar formula, but with the appropriate name, appears on coins of ‘Umar and Khatam.		
1497	AE fals	R?	
	<b>‘Umar</b>		
A1498	AV fractional dinar, without mint & date	RRR	
1498	AR damma (see #1496 for text)	C	
1499	AE fals	S?	
	<b>Khatam</b>		
C1500	AR damma (see #1496 for text)	R	
	<b>‘Isa</b>		
E1500	AR damma	RR	
	The obverse legend is <i>yu’tazzu billah ‘isa wa bihi yuntasir</i> .		
	<b>Muhammad</b>		
1500	AR damma	C	
1501	AE fals	RR?	
	<b>‘Abd Allah II</b>		
A1502	AR damma	C	

The ruler’s name appears only on the reverse, in the formula, *muhammad rasul Allah al-amir ‘abd Allah*, with only the kalima on the obverse. There is some question whether the two sorts of coins naming ‘Abd Allah are of different rulers or of different mints issued by the same ruler.

The following types, 1502 through 1502K, are of similar style and from the same region as the Habbarid coins, but these rulers may not be of the Habbarid dynasty. Similar tiny debased silver coins were struck simultaneously by the Ghaznavids, from Mahmud (389-421) until Ibrahim (451-492), but stylistically very different, presumably produced at an alternative location in Sind.

**Ahmad, fl. circa 420 / 1030**

1502	AR or BI damma, without name of the caliph	A	
	Ahmad is generally considered to be later than the others. The reverse bear the words, <i>muhammad rasul Allah al-amir ahmad</i> . His coins are of very different style and may have been struck at Multan. Some examples are of nearly pure copper.		
	This extremely common type has been forged in modern times, with examples seen in silver, bronze and even aluminum.		

<sup>394</sup> Citing the Seljuq Alp Arslan as overlord. For dating, see Alexander Akopyan, “A unique coin of the Shaddadid ruler, Ashot ibn Shawur”, *ONS Newsletter* No. 195 (2008).

<sup>395</sup> Robert Tye, *Jitals*, pp. 84-86.

The forgeries are struck on perfectly round machine-punched blanks, easily distinguished from the genuine.

- 1502A AR or BI damma, similar, later style, with 'izz below both obverse & reverse C?
- 1502B AR or BI damma, similar, with caliph al-Qa'im on the obverse (*al-qa'im atop, bi-amr Allah* below the obverse field) R?

**al-Mu'tazz (or al-muqir), probably 430s or 440s / 1040s or 1050s**

- 1502F AR or BI damma, similar to #1502A but with 'izz only beneath the obverse RR

**Ya'qub Beg, dates unknown**

- 1502K AR damma, citing the caliph al-Qa'im (422-467) C  
 Several types known, all with highly ornamental epigraphy, all without mint or date. This ruler seems to be unrecorded in history and is of unknown dynastic origin. Known from a hoard of about 2000 pieces that emerged in the market in 2001. Probably struck in far northern Sind, perhaps at or near Multan.  
 Tentative dating would be the 440s/1050s.

**AMIRS OF MULTAN**

Cribb, Joe, forthcoming study (I thank him for his assistance in this listing).

*Little is known of these amirs, who ruled Multan from some time in the 3<sup>rd</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> century until the Fatimid conquest during the latter part of the 4<sup>th</sup>/10<sup>th</sup> century. The chronology of the amirs is not known, except that Asad, son of al-Munabbih, was ruling in Multan in 305/918, as is corroborated in a nearly contemporary chronicle. Only tiny silver coins are known, struck to the same 0.5g standard as the Habbarid fractional dirhams, thus tentatively called dammas.*

*All coins listed here bear the ruler's name preceded by lillah, "for God", at the bottom of the obverse, replacing the altar base on similar pre-Islamic coins. Three large pellets appear above the name and are flanked by remnants of a Brahmi inscription. The reverse bears a short Brahmi inscription, either a personal name or the name of a deity.*

The coins are struck from dies larger than the flan, so that numerous specimens are needed to read the full inscriptions. None bear mint or date, though it is presumed most or all were struck at Multan.

The three large pellets derived from a crude representation of the Sasanian fire-altar! Many pre-Islamic dammas of Multan bear a very crude bust on the obverse and the fire-altar on the reverse, and are slightly heavier (about 0.7g).

**Munabbih (without definite article), probably late 3<sup>rd</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> century**

- 1503 AR damma RR  
**Asad, fl. 305 / 918**

- 1504 AR damma RR

- 1504A AR damma, Arabic instead of Nagari inscription on reverse RRR  
 The Arabic 3-line inscription is ..... / *asad* ... / *baraka*.

**Muhammad, dates unknown**

- 1505 AR damma R?  
 The Nagari inscription is "Sri Madhamati", thus a transliteration of Muhammad.

**Hasan (or Husayn), dates unknown**

- 1506 AR damma RRR

**Sulayman, dates unknown**

- 1507 AR damma RRR

**Harun, dates unknown**

- 1508 AR damma RRR  
 The reverse inscription is "Sri Lakshmi".  
 The sequence of the last six rulers is unknown, as is their chronological position relative to Asad and Munabbih.

**Shibl, dates unknown**

- 1509 AR 1/5 dirham (approximately 0.6g), perhaps earlier than the Munabbih issues or struck at a secondary mint C  
 A large group of several thousand examples reached the market early in 2004. A few other unread names have been reported from the same hoard group.

**al-Rabi', dates unknown**

- 1510 AR damma RR  
 Instead of a Nagari inscription the reverse bears a thoroughly degenerate "bust left" derived from Sasanian drachms, as found on the last pre-Islamic issues. For that reason, this may be one of the earliest of the series. First found in the 2004 hoard.

**PROTO-QARAKHANID**

See Zeno-962 for this type and further references.

**Malik Aram Yinal Qaraj, 4<sup>th</sup>/10<sup>th</sup> century**

The first two words are clear, the 3<sup>rd</sup> word Yinal almost certain, the 4<sup>th</sup> word Qaraj somewhat ambiguous.

- 1510P AE cast cash, square hole, name on obverse (in late Kufic Arabic), blank reverse, no mint or date R  
 Assigned to the region of Semirechye, now in southeastern Kazakhstan and northern Kyrgyzstan (Kirghizia).

**QARAKHANID (ILEK KHANS)**

- Barthold, W., *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, London, 1928.  
 Dorn, Bernhard, "Über die Münzen der Ilake oder ehemalige Chane von Turkistan," *Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale de St. Pétersbourg*, vol. 26 (1880), cols. 542-571 (= *Mélanges Asiatiques*, vol. 8 [1876-1881], pp. 703-744) (not seen by the author).  
 Dorn, Bernhard, "Nachträge zu der Abhandlung über die Münzen der Ilake....," *Ibid.*, vol. 27 (1881) cols. 151-164 (= *Mél. As.*, vol. 9 [1880-1888], pp. 55-73) (not seen).  
 Fedorov, M.N., "A political history of the Qarakhanids at the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 11<sup>th</sup> centuries," *Numizmatika i Epigrafika*, vol. 10 (1972), pp. 131-154 (in Russian), followed by further articles in v. 11 (1974), pp. 158-178, v. 13 (1980), pp. 38-57 and v.14 (1984), pp. 100-125, covering the rest of the 11<sup>th</sup> century (now superseded by Kochnev).  
 Fedorov, M.N., a series of important articles on Qarakhanid coins, arranged by mint or region, published by the ONS Newsletter, either as articles or supplements, beginning with #162, and especially the supplements to #165 & 168.  
 Pritsak, O., "Die Karachaniden," *Der Islam*, vol. 31 (1954), pp. 17-68.  
 Vasmer, Richard, "Zur Münzkunde der Qarahaniden," *Mitteilungen des Seminars für orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin, West-asiatische Studien*, vol. 33 (1930), pp. 83-104.  
 Kochnev, B.D., "Svod nadpisej na karakhanidskikh monetakh: Antroponimij i titulatura", part 1, *Vostochnoe istoricheskoe istochnikovedenie i spetsial'nye istoricheskie distsipliny*, vol. 4 (1995), pp. 201-278, and part 2, v. 5 (1997), pp. 245-314, with corrections & additions in vol. 6 (2004), pp. 261-291 – A general compendium of the inscriptions on all Qarakhanid coins and the basis for the listing in this *Checklist*.  
 Kochnev, B.D., *The Numismatic History of the Qarakhanid Qaganate*, published in Russian in 2006 (see Zeno-34572 for information) (I have not yet had the opportunity to examine this book).  
 During the past several decades, a large literature on the Qarakhanids has appeared in Russian, principally by Davidovich, Fedorov, and Kochnev. Most of these pre-1995 references can be found in the bibliography to the 1995 article by Kochnev.  
 Zeno.ru: More than 1500 illustrations, especially of copper fulus, have been recorded by Zeno under "Special projects > Qarakhanid Numismatics", often with detailed descriptions. They are organized by region and mint.  
*Qarakhanid nomenclature is extremely complicated and has only recently been elucidated, thanks to important studies by Davidovich, Fedorov, and especially Kochnev. The listings for the years 381-433 are based entirely on Kochnev's research, without which these listings would have been impossible to achieve, whereas the foundation for later listings has been the second portion of Kochnev's study. As a general rule, coins are assigned to the lowest-ranking Qarakhanid prince mentioned (occasionally a non-Qarakhanid vassal). Kochnev's admirable work has made it possible to assign most Qarakhanid coins to*

the actual issuer, though many types, especially those dated from about 415 until the 460s, bear so little information that their precise attribution cannot always be unambiguously determined. The dates of many rulers are very tentative, and are based largely on the coins recorded by Kochnev.

Coins of this dynasty are becoming more available (especially the later rulers) as supplies are exported from the former Soviet Union. Over 300 different names appear on the coinage in more than 1000 formulations and combinations, but the actual number of distinct persons is less.

Qarakhanid rulers bore many names and titles. These generally included an Islamic name (in Arabic, the *ism*), a Turkish name, an Arabic title (normally constructed with *al-dawla* before about 500, with *al-din* thereafter), and one or more Turkish titles (frequently constructed with *tegin*). Most Turkish and Arabic titles were specific to a particular individual, but could be passed on to another individual, not necessarily a direct heir, after the death of the title-holder. A few titles were rather generic and could be used simultaneously by more than one person (e.g., *amir*, *malik*, *padishah*, etc.).

Gold dinars were rarely seldom issued in the early periods, known only from Herat & Nishapur dated 396 and from Samarqand dated 482-483 (plus a questioned Khujanda 425 at Tübingen). Dinars were frequently struck from the 550s until about 610, usually of pure gold, but horribly manufactured. Known examples of the later period were struck at Bukhara, Samarqand, Tirmidh and Taliqan, and also at Nishapur in the 550s only.

Determining the actual issuer of an individual coin can be a difficult and frustrating experience. In general, on the silver coinage of the early period (before 460/1068), the chain of names and titles begins in the reverse field following the mention of the caliph, then continues either in the reverse margin or in the obverse field (more rarely, at the top and bottom of the reverse field). The order of names proceeds normally from the highest to the lowest ranking official, but because of the practice of using multiple names and titles, it is not always routine to determine what parts of the scattered inscription refer to which individual. In the following revised listings I have attempted to assign types to the local issuer, i.e., to the lowest ranking Qarakhanid cited on the coin. Local officials not clearly of the Qarakhanid line, possibly overseers of the mints or other lower ranking officers, are often cited on the coins, especially the copper fulus, and are not considered to be the issuer of the coins. Virtually all of these individuals are known only from the coins. They are usually ignored in the descriptions here, but are cited in both Kochnev's and Fedorov's articles.

The copper coins most often have the local ruler cited in the reverse margin, though there is no consistent rule. Many coppers, particularly from the 410s to 440s, cite only rather generic titles and cannot thus be readily assigned to a particular ruler without a good understanding of the allocation of titles at the time of issue. With a few exceptions, proper copper coinage ceased in the 450s, by which time the dirham had become a largely copper coin, sometimes lightly coated with a silver wash.

Rather little Qarakhanid coinage is known from the 470s to the middle of the following century. During the third period, from the 530s to the end of the dynasty circa 610, one sees increasing numbers of broad copper dirhams, originally lightly silver-washed, together with small quantities of gold dinars. There was no longer any silver coinage. In the third period, only one person is normally mentioned on each coin (aside from the caliph), usually with his Arabic title *XX al-dunya wa'l-din*, several Turkish titles (mostly non-specific), and occasionally his Arabic name (*ism*) and patronymic (*nasab*), calligraphically often very difficult to read. The attribution of third period coins also presents major difficulties, not all of which have yet been resolved.

In the second edition, the listings for the Qarakhanids were completely renumbered, using the numbers 3300-3499. The type numbers 1503-1522 used in the first edition have been deleted.

At least sixty Qarakhanid mints have been reported, almost exclusively in the Russian literature, but a complete list can be found in the Qarakhanid file on Zeno. For the early period (to about 460), the most frequently encountered mints are Bukhara, Uzkand, Quz-Urdu, Akhsikath, al-Shash, Saghaniyan, Taraz and for gold only, Nishapur, though most mints were prolific producers only for restricted periods. Territorial and mint data are given in the following listings (based largely on Kochnev's articles). For silver-washed copper dirhams of the later period, Samarqand is the most common mint, though coins of Uzkand, Bukhara, Saghaniyan, Kasan and Binkath (aka Banakat) are occasionally available. Gold of the later period is mostly from Nishapur, occasionally from Bukhara.

Qarakhanid silver dirhams prior to 393 follow Samanid traditions, both in design and silver debasement, but are extremely rare. In 393, a new fine silver coinage was promulgated, often of the finest style

and calligraphy. By the 410s, the silver became increasingly alloyed, with billon the rule by the 430s, copper by the 450s. Most coins of the early period were carefully manufactured, both silver and copper. Nice specimens of the silver and gold are common, but most extant copper is worn or corroded.

For the late period, the gold dinars are generally haphazardly manufactured but rarely found worn, the broad copper dirhams also typically crudely struck, though occasionally quite attractive. The broad coppers were struck from very shallow dies and are often hard to decipher, even when well preserved. They are typically 35-45mm in diameter, with an average weight of about 5-6 grams. Their calligraphy is highly stylized, and often frustratingly difficult to decipher.

Many coins of the 1<sup>st</sup> period, especially copper, bear only the title *Ilek*, which was held by the following rulers:

388-403	Nasr b. 'Ali
403	Mansur b. 'Ali
403-415	Muhammad b. 'Ali
415-416	'Ali b. al-Hasan
416-433	Yusuf b. 'Ali

I had hope to have completed a thorough revision of the Qarakhanid chapter in time for the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, utilizing Kochnev's numismatic study published in 2006, Federov's articles in the *ONS Newsletter*, and the vast accumulation of images on Zeno, but alas, this will have to wait for the 4<sup>th</sup> edition, or perhaps sooner on our website. Some of the descriptions here may now be obsolete, especially the mints and dates noted for specific types, and to a lesser extent, the suggested rarities.

#### FIRST PERIOD (381-431 / 991-1040)

Types marked with an asterisk (\*) continue into the second period.

#### **Harun b. Sulayman, d. 382 / 992 (Shihab al-Dawla, Abu Musa, Bughra Khan)**

- |       |  |     |
|-------|--|-----|
| V3300 | AV dinar, struck only at Bukhara in 381  | RRR |
|       | Harun may also have been known as al-Hasan or may have had a brother named al-Hasan. <sup>396</sup> This al-Hasan had numerous sons who struck coins (# 3341-48 & 3351-54). Most members of the eastern branch of the Qarakhanid dynasty (after 433) were descended from either Harun or al-Hasan. |     |
| 3300  | AR dirham  | RRR |
|       | Struck at Ferghana in 381 and Bukhara in 382.  |     |
| 3300D | AE fals, Bukhara 382, ruler as just Abu Musa   | RRR |
|       | Zeno-94890.  |     |
| 3300E | AE fals, struck only at Taraz 381  | RRR |
|       | Ruler cited as Shihab al-Dawla Abu Musa ( <i>sic</i> ), also citing Muhammad b. 'Ali in reverse margin (Zeno-15882).   |     |
|       | <b>Nasr b. 'Ali, circa 383-403 / 993-1012<br/>(al-Mu'ayyad al-'Adl, Abu'l-Hasan, Ilek 388-403)</b>   |     |
| 3301  | AV dinar, struck only in 396 at Nishapur and Herat, the latter extremely rare  | RR  |
| 3302  | AR dirham  | S   |
|       | Most dirhams of Nasr also bear the title Nasir al-Haqq Khan, which refers to his brother Ahmad as his suzerain. The most common mints are Akhsikath, Uzkand, Bukhara and Samarqand. Also known from Balkh (RR) & Nishapur (RRR), both dated 396.   |     |
| 3302A | AR fractional dirham (approximately 0.6g), known from Bukhara 401  | RRR |
| 3303  | AE fals  | S   |
|       | On many fulus 384-388, Nasr is entitled <i>tungha-tegin</i> , which I had misinterpreted as Tighatekin in the first edition (#1503). <sup>397</sup>  |     |

<sup>396</sup> This question has been discussed by Kochnev (1995), who leans towards regarding Harun and al-Hasan as brothers.

<sup>397</sup> On some examples the "n" of *tungha* is omitted, leading to the misreading as *tigha-tegin* or *tugha-tegin*.

<b>Ahmad b. 'Ali, circa 384-407 / 994-1016</b> (Nasir al-Haqq Khan, Qutb al-Dawla wa Nasr al-Milla, Abu Nasr, al-Malik al-Muzaffar)		<b>Mansur b. 'Ali, 403-415 / 1013-1024</b> (al-Malik al-Muzaffar, Shams al-Dawla 403-406, Nur al-Dawla 406-415, Arslan Khan)	
3304	AR dirham Ahmad b. 'Ali is also cited as overlord in his capacity as chief amir on most coins of his brothers Nasr, Mansur and Muhammad struck prior to 406. His own dirhams were struck mainly at Quz Urdu, Il Urdu, Uzkan and Akhsikath. <sup>398</sup>	S	3311 AR dirham, as Shams al-Dawla RR
3305	AE fals Ahmad's territory was originally Ilaq <sup>399</sup> , to which (after 394) Quz Urdu (= Balasagun) and Isbijab were later added. In addition, from 388 until his death in 407 he was the Great Khan, <i>i.e.</i> , chief of the Qarakhanid dynasty, with his capital at Quz Urdu. He is most commonly cited on coins, especially silver, as Nasir al-Haqq Khan, sometimes just as Khan.	R	3312 AR dirham, as Nur al-Dawla (406-415) and Great Khan S Mansur used the title Shams al-Dawla 403-406, thereafter Nur al-Dawla. For a few months in 403 he briefly assumed the title <i>ilek</i> . However, the relatively plentiful coins bearing the inscription <i>arslan khan ilek</i> (dated 406-415) are issues of Muhammad b. 'Ali as <i>ilek</i> , citing Arslan Khan (Mansur) as overlord (#3307-08). Mansur's proper dirhams were struck at Quz Urdu (406-414) and Shash (407-411), plus a few anomalous issues of other mints.
<b>Khaqan Simnani, fl. 404-406 / 1013-1015</b> Only the name <i>khaqan simnani</i> appears on these coins. <i>Khaqan</i> may refer to the Ilek Ahmad b. 'Ali, but the name of Simnani remains unidentified. <sup>400</sup>			
3305S	AE fals, Bukhara 404-406 only	S	3313 AE fals, struck only at Al-Sughd in 411 RRR Other copper coins bearing his name or titles are issues of one or another vassal. See #3308.
<b>Yusuf b. 'Abd Allah, at Shash, 394-396 / 1004-1006 and 403-405 / 1012-1014</b>			
3306	AR dirham, Shash mint The relationship of this individual to the rest of the dynasty is unknown.	RR	3314 AR dirham RRR 3314E AE fals, Ushrushana 423 (for 413?) RRR In his name as <i>samsam al-dawla yaghan-tegin</i> . (#3315 is now listed as #T3430.)
3306A	AE fals, Shash mint, dated 394-396 Many specimens have a cat portrayed in the obverse field. Some dated 394 repeat the name <i>yusuf bin 'abd Allah</i> within a wreath or dotted circle instead of the cat, 395 with just the name <i>yusuf</i> in a crescent within a square.	RR	<b>Ahmad b. Mansur, fl. 409-410 / 1008-1009,</b> 3316 AR dirham RRR Struck only at Uzkan and Akhsikath, always with his name & patronymic in the obverse field, citing the Ilek on the reverse.
<b>Muhammad b. 'Ali, circa 393-415 / 1003-1024</b> (Sana' al-Dawla <sup>401</sup> , Arslan Tegin 393-401, Yinal-Tegin 403-405, Ilek 403-415, al-Amir al-Jalil al-Mumakkan al-Mansur, Ilek al-Mansur)			
3307	AR dirham Muhammad acquired the title of <i>ilek</i> after the death of his brother Nasr in 403. After Mansur b. 'Ali became supreme khan in 406, Muhammad is commonly cited on the coins merely as <i>ilek</i> , without any other names or titles. He retained the title of Ilek until his death in 415. His residence was at Taraz. The most common dirham mints are Taraz (393-415). After 403, Shash, Ushrushana ( <i>aka</i> Ushrushana), Khujanda, Bukhara, and Samarqand and reasonably common mints for this ruler.	S	<b>al-Husayn b. Mansur, at Bukhara, fl. 406-407 / 1015-1016</b> (Sayf al-Dawla, Abu 'Ali, Chaghri-Tegin) 3317 AR dirham, Bukhara only RR 3317E AE fals, Bukhara only RR
3308	AE fals Many coppers cite Muhammad only as Ilek, together with the name of a subordinate, such as his brother Mansur b. 'Ali (at Samarqand). Note that even though Muhammad b. 'Ali had achieved the title of Ilek, he still remained subordinate to his brother Mansur after 406, when Mansur acquired the title of Great Khan. See #3312. On a remarkable issue of al-Shash 407, there is a large fish in the obverse center (RR).	S	<b>Ahmad b. Nasr, at Isbijab and Shash, fl. 389-404 / 999-1014</b> (Mu'izz al-Dawla, Abu Nasr, Matt) 3318 AR dirham R <b>Muhammad b. Nasr, circa 411-447 / 1020-1055</b> (Ayn al-Dawla Malkan, Sayf al-Dawla Malkan, Mu'ayyad al-'Adil) 3319 AR dirham, with the title 'Ayn al-Dawla Malkan, circa 411-415 RR 3320 AE fals, similar RRR Coins of Muhammad b. Nasr as 'Ayn al-Dawla were struck at Akhsikath (silver) and Uzkan (silver & copper). The vocalization of "Malkan" is uncertain.
<b>Ahmad b. Muhammad (b. 'Ali), fl. 411 / 1020</b>			
3309	AR dirham, Bukhara 411 only	RR?	3321 AR dirham, with the title Sayf al-Dawla Malkan, 415-416, struck only at Ilaq in 415 RRR
3310	AE fals, Bukhara 411 only On both dirhams and fulus, Ahmad is cited simply as <i>ahmad bin ilek</i> , as his father Muhammad was then the Ilek.	RRR	3322* AR or BI dirham, as the Arslan Khan in the west, 431-447 (Mu'ayyad al-'Adl, Arslan Khan) R After 431/1040, Nasr ceded most of the west to his son Ibrahim (or brother?), but retained Khujanda as his personal territory. His own coins were struck at Khujanda 434-444 and at Marghinan and Quba 445-447, the latter two mints always with some local official cited as well. Some of the post-431 coins bear his earlier title 'Ayn al-Dawla. 3323 AE fals, similar to #3322 RR
		<b>Ibrahim b. Nasr, as governor, circa 408-431 / 1017-1040</b> (Fakhr al-Dawla, Arslan Khan Buri-Tegin)	
		3324 AR dirham, as governor RR Struck mainly at Ilaq 408-411 & Saghaniyan 430-431.	
		3325 AE fals, similar, Ilaq 408-409 only RRR	

<sup>398</sup> On an extremely rare dirham of Samarqand 388 he bears the titles *al-malik nasir al-haqq qara-khaqan*, also citing his brother Nasr as *al-mu'ayyad al-'adil*, sometimes followed by the name *tungha-tegin* (SNAT-881).

<sup>399</sup> A district on the Syr-Darya River, not to be confused with the title Ilek.

<sup>400</sup> The name Simnani appears only on the 404 & 405 fulus, omitted in 406, but the title Khaqan is retained during all three years.

<sup>401</sup> Sometimes *Sinan al-Dawla*.



<b>Ibrahim b. Nasr, as independent ruler, 431-460 / 1040-1068</b> <b>(Tafghaj Bughra Khan, Mu'ayyad al-'Adl)</b>		3336	AE fals, similar	RRR
Ibrahim also used the titles 'Imad al-Dawla, Taj al-Milla, 'Izz al-Umma, Kahf al-Muslimin, and Sayf Khalifat Allah.		3337	AR dirham, as 'Adud al-Dawla, AR dirham, Akhsikath only	RRR
3326* AR or BI dirham, as independent ruler, 431-460 / 1040-1068, as Bughra Khan	R	3338	AE fals, similar	RRR
3327 AE fals, similar, mainly Bukhara	RR		<b>Kuj-Tegin, at Uzskand, fl. 416-425 / 1025-1034</b> <b>(Sayf al-Dawla in 416, 'Adud al-Dawla 418-423, without laqab 424-425)</b>	
3328* AR or BI dirham, as King of the East and China (453-460)	RR	3339	AR dirham	RR
With the additional title <i>malik al-mashriq wa sin</i> , struck 453-460, principally at Bukhara, Samarqand, Marghinan, Isbijab, Shash, and Binkath, after most of the Ferghana Valley was seized from the Eastern Khan. Types #3326 and 3328 were struck simultaneously, often at the same mints, from 453-460.			The identity of this personage remains obscure. His least rare mint is Uzskand. He is normally cited as vassal of Yusuf b. Harun (until 423), then as vassal of one or another of Yusuf's sons.	
For western issues attributed to a local ruler, often one of his many sons, see #3363 ff. & #3386. The dates on his vassal coinage suggest that he ruled into 461.		3340	AE fals	RRR
<b>al-'Abbas b. Muhammad b. Nasr, fl. 415-433 / 1024-1042</b> <b>(Mu'izz al-Dawla, Abu'l-Muzaffar, Malik ibn Malkan)</b>			<b>Muhammad b. al-Hasan (Tungha-Khan),</b> <b>1<sup>st</sup> reign, 415-418 / 1024-1027</b> As independent Great Khan 415-416, later as vassal of Yusuf b. Harun at Akhsikath.	
3329 AR dirham	RR	3341	AR dirham	RR
Struck only at Akhsikath and Kasan. His personal name <i>al-'abbas</i> never appears on the coinage.			Muhammad's own dirhams were struck only at Quz Urdu, his residence as Great Khan. He is cited as overlord at least nine other mints.	
3330 AE fals, struck mainly at Akhsikath in 426 and Kasan in 433	RRR	3342	AE fals, struck only at al-Sughd 416-417	RRR
<b>Nasr b. al-Qasim (Sayf al-Dawla, unidentified), fl. 391-392 / 1001-1004</b>			<b>Muhammad b. al-Hasan, 2<sup>nd</sup> reign, 428-433 / 1037-1042</b> Some coins bear the additional title <i>al-Malik al-Mu'ayyid</i> . <sup>403</sup>	
3331 AR dirham, Shash 391-392 only	RRR	3343	AR dirham	RR
Some issues dated 392 bear the laqab Qutb al-Dawla, which may refer to someone else, not identified.			Mints of Uzskand, Akhsikath and Samarqand, of which only Uzskand is occasionally available.	
3331F AE fals, Shash 392 only	RRR	3344	AE fals, second reign, Bukhara and Samarqand 429-430 only	RRR
<b>'Abd al-Rahman b. Mansur (Abu? Muhammad), fl. 409 / 1018</b>			<b>'Ali b. al-Hasan (Abu'l-Hasan), 411-426 / 1020-1035</b> <b>(Baha' al-Dawla 411-416, Qutb al-Dawla wa Nasr al-Milla Tafghaj Bughra Khan 423-426)</b> From 416-423 / 1025-1032, he was known as <i>al-malik al-muzaffar</i> , but issued no coins in that capacity (though the title is found on coins of his son Yusuf during that period, citing 'Ali as overlord). He is known in the written histories as 'Ali-Tegin, one of the most powerful members of the Qarakhanid dynasty. His coinage is very complex, with the descriptions here incomplete and tentative.	
H3332 AE fals, struck only at Kharashkath, near Tashkent in 409 <sup>402</sup>	RRR	3345	AR dirham, as Baha' al-Dawla, struck 411-416	R
The indicated name appears on the reverse; in the obverse center appears an unknown name or title interpreted as <i>Irtā</i> .			Shash is the most common mint, but Bukhara is also not especially rare. He bore the additional titles of Yangha-Tegin and Arslan Khan 411-415 and Ilek 415-416. Some of his relatively common dirhams struck at al-Shash in 415-416 lack his name and Dawla title, but are inscribed <i>al-malik khan al-amir al-'adil</i> , occasionally with <i>taghan khan</i> .	
I3332 AE fals, also mint of Kharashkath	RRR	3346	AE fals	RR
Citing his name in reverse margin and <i>Irtā</i> at the bottom of the reverse field. Mint unknown, perhaps dated either 405 or 415.		3347	AR dirham, as Qutb al-Dawla wa Nasr al-Milla Tafghaj Bughra Khan (thus Great Khan), struck 423-426	R
<b>Siraj al-Dawla Yinal-Tegin, unidentified, fl. 394-395 / 1004-1005</b>			The least rare mint is Khutulkh Urdu (= Dabusiya), where exquisitely engraved fine silver dirhams were struck.	
3332 AR dirham, at Hiftdih only	RRR	3348	AE fals, similar	RR
The relationship of Siraj al-Dawla to the Qarakhanid dynasty is unknown, though his title suggests membership in the dynastic line. Kochnev has suggested that this Siraj al-Dawla might be identical to the well-known Mansur b. 'Ali (#3311-3313).		3348A	AE fals, similar, but without <i>al-dawla</i> title, citing his full actual name <i>abu'l-hasan 'ali b. al-hasan</i>	RR
<b>Nizam al-Dawla Abu'l-Muzaffar Tungha-Tegin, fl. 399-404 / 1009-1014</b>			Known from al-Sughd 421.	
Probably the same person as Muhammad b. al-Hasan. See #3341.			<b>Yusuf b. 'Ali, 416-433 / 1025-1042</b> <b>(Shams al-Dawla, Arslan-Tegin, Arslan-Ilek)</b> Yusuf succeeded his father as Ilek in 416 or shortly afterwards, and retained that title until 433. On most coins he is identified only as <i>ilek</i> or <i>arslan ilek</i> , without any further name or titulature.	
3333 AR dirham	R			
Struck only at Shash 399-401 and Samarqand 401-404.				
3334 AE fals, Samarqand 401-404 only	RR			
<b>Nizam al-Dawla Yinal-Tegin, unidentified, fl. 412 / 1021</b>				
T3335 AE fals, struck at Samarqand only, dated 412	RR			
<b>Ahmad Atam-Tegin, fl. 404-424 / 1014-1033,</b> <b>(Nasir al-Dawla 404-417, 'Adud al-Dawla 419-424)</b>				
3335 AR dirham, as Nasir al-Dawla	RR			
Struck mainly at Isbijab, more rarely at Taraz and Budukhat. The identity of Atam-Tegin is unknown, but his titles suggest that he was a Qarakhanid scion. Nor is it certain (though quite likely) that Nasir al-Dawla Atam-Tegin (#3335-36) and 'Adud al-Dawla Atam-Tegin (#3337-38) are indeed the same individual.				

<sup>402</sup> Identified by Vladimir Nastich in 1999 (Zeno-36061).

<sup>403</sup> There is much controversy over his chronology. Bayhaqi claims that he was killed in battle in 418, but other sources suggest he was still alive in the 430s. The coins seem to indicate that Muhammad b. al-Hasan did indeed have a second reign, if my assumption is correct that the Muhammad b. al-Hasan of the later coins is the same as the person who had previously ruled in 415-418.

- 3349 AR dirham R  
Struck mainly at Bukhara and Samarqand.
- 3350 AE fals, with his name or only his personal title, usually Arslan-Tegin RR  
This and #3350 A were struck mainly at Bukhara, Samarqand and al-Sughd, typically with severely abbreviated royal legends.
- 3350A AE fals, cited generically, as Ilek, Arslan, or both RR  
**Ahmad b. al-Hasan, fl. 413-414 / 1022-1023**
- 3351 AE fals, al-Kushani mint only RRR  
**Bakr b. al-Hasan (Abi Sa'id), fl. 393-400 / 1003-1009<sup>404</sup>**
- 3352 AE fals, struck at Ilaq only RRR  
Always as vassal of Qutb al-Dawla Ahmad b. 'Ali.  
**al-Husayn b. al-Hasan, fl. 404-418 / 1013-1027 ('Adud al-Dawla, Abu 'Ali, Chaghri Tegin)**
- 3353 AR dirham, Nawkat mint only RR
- 3354 AE fals, Nawkat and Ilaq mints RRR  
A fals of Nawkat 409 cites the local amir Biktughmish.  
**Yusuf b. Harun, circa 395-423 / 1005-1032 (Nasir al-Dawla, Qadir Khan, Malik al-Mashriq, occasionally al-Malik al-'Adil)**
- 3355 AR dirham S  
With a few very rare exceptions, Yusuf's proper coins are from Kashghar & Yarkand only, but he was recognized as overlord at mints in the Ferghana Valley after 406. He is identified on his coins as Qadir Khan b. Bughra Khan, often with the name Yusuf added in Arabic or Uighur beneath the obverse field. He was recognized as Great Khan 416-423.  
*Malik al-mashriq* = "king of the east". The title was expanded on coins 418-423 to *malik al-mashriq wa'l-sin*, "king of the east and China" after his conquest of Khotan, regarded by both medieval Muslim and modern geographers as part of China. No coins are known to have been minted at Khotan by the Qarakhanids.
- 3356 AE fals RRR  
Struck at Kashghar in 395-402, Uzkand circa 419-423, and Ishtikhan in 419.  
**Sulayman b. Harun, fl. 416-426 / 1025-1035 ('Adud al-Dawla, Malik al-Mashriq)**  
Dirhams of Uzkand and Akhsikath struck 417-426 do not mention Sulayman (included with types #3329 or 3335). As local governor, he enjoyed the right to place his name only on copper coins, as vassal of his father (until 423), then of his brother Yusuf (after 423).
- A3357 AR dirham, struck only at Uzkand in 416, cited as *sulayman bin / shihab al-dawla* RRR
- B3357 AE fals, struck at Uzkand 417-426, Akhsikath 419-422 and Qubba 420 RR  
**'Imad al-Dawla Chaghri-Tegin, at Yarkand, fl. 407-417 / 1006-1016**
- 3357 AR dirham RR  
Also cited on dirhams of Kashghar dated 414-416. He is perhaps the same individual as Sulayman b. Yusuf b. Harun, but with titles used before his father's death in 423.  
**Rukn al-Dawla, fl. 423 / 1032**  
Unknown, possibly a son of Yusuf b. Harun.
- 3358 AR dirham RRR  
Struck only at Rishtan and Khujanda in 423, as vassal of Yusuf b. Harun.  
**Sulayman b. Yusuf, 423-448 / 1031-1056 (Sharaf al-Dawla, Abu Shuja', Arslan Khan, Amir al-Umara', Malik al-Mashriq wa'l-Sin)**
- 3359\* AR or BI dirham S
- Dirhams of Kashghar are relatively common, but ceased to be struck in 430. The only other mint occasionally encountered is Uzkand, usually bearing the royal title *qadir khaqan*. After 423, Sulayman occasionally used the title Nasir al-Haqq and Qadir Khan (or Qadir Khaqan). He was Khan in the East from 423 or 424 until 448. Some examples of Kashghar dated 427 or 428 bear the additional title *malik al-mashriq wa sin*, "king of the east and of China", believed due to his occupation of the city of Khotan (R).
- 3360 AE fals, almost always Uzkand mint RR  
**Muhammad b. Yusuf, 421-449 / 1030-1057 (Qiwam al-Dawla, Bughra Khan)**
- 3361\* AR or BI dirham RR  
Governor 421-424 / 1030-1033 in Shash and Nawkat, as Bughra Khan 424-448 / 1033-1056 in the east as rival to his brother Sulayman, as *malik al-islam* (*sic*) 448-449 / 1056-1057. His coinage was struck mainly at Shash and Nawkat before 448, mainly at Uzkand as *malik al-islam* in 448-449. On his latest coins, Muhammad used first the title Mushayyid al-Dawla (circa 447-448), then later Jalal al-Dawla (448-449).
- Jibra'il b. Yusuf (Sultan al-Dawla), fl. 424-433 / 1033-1042**  
Vassal of his brother Muhammad b. Yusuf.
- 3362\* AR or BI dirham RR  
Struck only at Taraz and Shash.
- SECOND PERIOD (431-524 / 1040-1130): WESTERN KHANATE**
- The definitive split between the eastern and western khanates occurred in 431/1040. Rulers from before 431 who continued in power afterwards are noted above with asterisks (#3322 etc.).*
- The Ferghana Valley, which included more than a dozen mints, was repeatedly contested by rival khans. The boundary between the two regions fluctuated widely over the years. The coins constitute the most important primary source for tracing the course of these conflicts.*
- Most western issues of 431-460 are subsumed under types #3326 and 3328. Only vassal issues of those years are included in this subsection.*
- During this period, the dirham became a highly debased billon coin, often appearing as virtually pure copper. The fals remained a bronze or copper coin of somewhat larger diameter, retaining its distinctive layout and design. The fals usually has a smaller central area than the dirham, fatter calligraphy, and occasionally geometric frames around the central inscription (usually short). In conjunction with the Seljuq invasion of 482-483, the first Qarakhanid gold dinars after nearly 90 years were struck.
- The given rarities for this period are very tentative. These coins have been largely ignored in the past, due to their miserable appearance and difficulty of attribution. It is possible that larger hoards will reach the market in the future.
- Shu'ayth b. Ibrahim, at Nawkat, circa 450-454 / 1058-1062 (Yamin al-Dawla, Yaghan-Tegin)**
- 3363 BI dirham, Nawkat mint only, as vassal of Ibrahim (presumably his father) RRR  
For coins of Ibrahim, who was technically the western khan but also enjoyed some power in the east, see #3326-3328.
- Da'ud b. Ibrahim, at Uzkand, 458-460 / 1066-1068 (Kuj-Tegin)**
- 3364 BI dirham, as vassal of Ibrahim RRR  
One dirham of this ruler has a fragmentary date tentatively read as 452, suggesting an early commencement of his rule at Uzkand.
- Yusuf b. Burhan al-Dawla, ca, 460-461 / 1068-1069**
- 3365 BI dirham, at Quz-Urdu only, as vassal of Ibrahim RRR  
For coins of Yusuf's father, see #3383. Although Yusuf's apanage was traditionally a part of the eastern khanate, his only coins were struck as vassal of the western khan, Ibrahim b. Nasr.

<sup>404</sup> On one fals of 400, he is misnamed Bakr b. Muhammad!

<b>Nasr b. Ibrahim, 460-472 / 1068-1080</b> (Shams al-Mulk, Nasir al-Haqq wa'l-Din, Abu'l-Hasan)		<b>Ahmad b. Muhammad, at Nawkat, fl. 436-444 / 1045-1052</b> (Sana al-Dawla, Arslan-Tegin)	
3366	BI dirham Struck at Samarqand, Bukhara and Akhsikath. Some coins of 460 and 461 cite his father Ibrahim as overlord.	RR	3377 BI dirham, struck mainly at Taraz in 444 Cited as overlord on some coins of Marghinan and Quba, 443-444 (type #3322). His father was perhaps the well-known Muhammad b. Yusuf.
3367	AE fals, Bukhara mint only	RRR	
<b>Toghan Khan 'Ali, fl. 460-461 / 1068-1069</b>		<b>Bahram, 440-445 / 1048-1053</b> (‘Adud al-Dawla 440-442, Fakhr al-Dawla 442-445)	
3368	BI dirham, as vassal of Ibrahim Mint not known, but style of Samarqand. ‘Ali bore the title (Fakhr??) al-Dawla wa Nasr al-Milla (first part uncertain). His lineage is undetermined.	RRR	3378 BI dirham, as ‘Adud al-Dawla 3379 AR dirham, as Fakhr al-Dawla Both types struck at Marghinan, Quba, and Uzskand.
<b>Khidr b. Ibrahim, 472-473 / 1080-1081</b> (Tafghaj Khan)		<b>Shams al-Dawla Arslan Ilek, 444-449 / 1052-1057</b>	
3369	AR dirham, Samarqand & Uzskand mints Fragmentary numismatic evidence suggests that Khidr may have reigned as late as 476 or 479.	RRR	3380 BI dirham, mints of Barskhan and Uch, date uncertain RR
<b>Ahmad b. Khidr, 473-488 / 1081-1095</b> (‘Imad al-Dawla, Sayf Khalifat Allah)		<b>Nasir al-Dawla Ghazi, fl. 445-446 / 1053-1054</b> (Mu‘izz al-Milla, Yakan-Tegin [or Yanka-Tegin])	
3370	BI dirham All known specimens lack legible mint & date.	RRR	3381 BI dirham Struck only at Barskhan 445-446 and Uch 445.
<b>Muhammad b. Ibrahim, fl. 482 / 1089</b> (al-Mu‘ayyid al-‘Adl, ‘Imad al-Dawla, Arslan Khan)		<b>Ibrahim b. Muhammad, at Taraz 449-454 / 1057-1062</b> (b. Yusuf, Arslan Khan)	
3371	AV dinar (pale gold), Samarqand only Citing the Great Seljuq ruler Malikshah I as overlord. On a dinar at Tübingen, the <i>ism</i> of the ruler is clearly Ahmad, and it is possible that Ahmad b. Khidr and Muhammad “b. Ibrahim” are one and the same individual. Both bore the title ‘Imad al-Dawla.	RRR	3382 BI dirham RRR
<b>‘Imad al-Dawla Mahmud, fl. 490 / 1097</b> (Abu'l-Qasim, Tafghaj Khan)		<b>Burhan al-Dawla Ayyub, fl. 454 / 1062</b> (Arslan-Tegin)	
3372	AE fals Struck at Bukhara and Samarqand in 490 only. Is it possible that ‘Imad al-Dawla Mahmud is the same person as ‘Imad al-Dawla Muhammad b. Ibrahim (see type #3371)?	RRR	3383 BI dirham, at Quz-Urdu For coins of his son Yusuf, see #3365. RRR
<b>Muhammad b. Sulayman, 495-523 / 1102-1129</b> (‘Ala al-Dawla, Tafghaj Khan, possibly also Arslan Khan)		<b>Yusuf b. Sulayman, fl. 460-472 / 1068-1080</b> (‘Imad al-Dawla, Tughril Khan, probably also Zayn al-Din)	
3373	BI dirham, Bukhara & Samarqand only	RR	3384 BI dirham Struck at Marghinan, Taraz and al-Shash, always citing ‘Umar (presumably the father of Jibra’il, for which see #3389 below). RR
3374	AE fals, mostly Samarqand mint Muhammad b. Sulayman is usually termed <i>khaqan</i> on his coins. The title <i>sultan</i> or <i>al-sultan al-mu‘azzam</i> is occasionally found on dirhams of Bukhara, presumably a reference to Sanjar, the Great Seljuq, who seems to have made himself overlord over the western Qarakhanid lands for a short interval.	RRR	<b>Nizam al-Dawla Mahmud, fl. 462 / 1069-1070</b> 3385 BI dirham Usually as vassal of Tughril Khan Yusuf b. Sulayman. His coins were minted only at Ghanaj and Chinanchikath, both unknown for any other issues. All bear the date 462, when legible. RRR
<b>Ahmad b. Muhammad, fl. circa 523-524 / 1129-1130,</b> (b. Sulayman)		<b>Sharaf al-Dawla Mu‘izz, fl. 459-462 / 1067-1070</b> (Tughril-Tegin)	
3375	AE fals, Samarqand	RRR	3386 BI dirham, as vassal of Ibrahim b. Nasr of the western khanate (459 only) 3387 BI, dirham, as independent ruler (461-462) Struck at Nawkat, Binkath and Taraz. RRR
<b>SECOND PERIOD (431-524 / 1040-1130):</b> <b>EASTERN KHANATE</b>		<b>Hasan b. Sulayman, fl. 481 / 1088-1089</b> (Tafghaj Khan)	
Most issues of the years 431-449 are included with types #3359, 3361, and 3362. Only dirhams were struck in the eastern Khanate after 440, coppery coins of low-grade billon similar to those of the western khanate. Minting was restricted to the Ferghana Valley and surrounding foothills, together with sporadic issues further north and east, at Barskhan in Xinjiang (till 449) <sup>405</sup> , Quz-Urdu on the Chu River (till 472), and Taraz (till 481). After about 500, there is a long hiatus of at least half a century in coinage production within the eastern Khanate.		3388 BI dirham, Taraz & Kasan only, dated 481 RRR	
<b>Jalal al-Dawla Tungha-Tegin, at Akhsikath,</b> fl. 440-449 / 1048-1057		<b>Jibra’il b. ‘Umar, fl. 494 / 1100-1101</b> (Tafghaj Khan)	
3376	BI dirham, Akhsikath only As vassal of Muhammad b. Yusuf. The title Jalal al-Dawla should not be confused with the identical title later used by Muhammad b. Yusuf in 448-449 (type #3361).	RR?	3389 BI dirham, Taraz & Kasan only, dated 494 RRR
		<b>Tafghaj Khan Ibrahim, dates unknown</b> 3390 BI dirham Unknown with legible mint or date, but citing the caliph al-Mustazhir (487-512), “circa 500/1106”. RRR	
		<b>THIRD PERIOD: MAIN SERIES (524-610 / 1130-1214)</b> The standard denominations of this period were the gold dinar and the broad copper dirham, normally lightly silver-plated though the silver wash is rarely preserved. They are noted here as AE dirham. Coins denoted as AE fals are narrower and thicker, readily distinguished from the very broad and relatively thin dirham, as well as by the presence of royal titles in the reverse margin (AE dirhams have either the mint/date formula or the Prophetic Mission in the reverse margin).	

<sup>405</sup> Barskhan seems to have replaced Kashghar as a mint site after 430.

With very few exceptions, all coins of the main series of the third period were struck at Bukhara and Samarqand. Local rulers struck their coins at their respective mints, as noted in the listings.

Nearly all coins of the third period, whatever the metal, bear their inscriptions in an angular epigraphy, difficult to read, especially when the coin is, as usual, either worn, corroded, diseased or poorly struck. Moreover, the attribution of the various honorific titles that largely take the place of personal names is all too often uncertain, due to the paucity of published sources for this period.

Since the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, modest quantities of third period copper dirhams, of both the main and local series, have emerged in the market, predominantly in terrible condition. None are truly common, with the solitary exception of the eastern khanate issue of Sulayman Tafghaj Khan (#3427), of which at least 1000 pieces have reached in market.

Most of the copper fulus remain very rare, except as noted in the listings below. All gold dinars remain at least very rare. All are carelessly struck, not unlike contemporary Ghoriid or Khwarizmshah dinars, usually without legible mint and date, often quite abysmal and difficult to attribute. There is no silver coinage, though most of the copper dirhams were originally very lightly silver-washed.

All rulers of this period, with the possible exception of Muhammad III, were vassals of the Qara-Khitay, who had originally been the Liao dynasty in northern China from 947-1123, after which they migrated to Central Asia. The later Qarakhanid vassals never cited the Qara-Khitay suzerain (known as the Gūr-Khan), but mentioned only their own names on the coinage, often together with the name of the 'Abbasid caliph in Baghdad. The Liao Chinese cash coinage lies outside the scope of this *Checklist*, and are conveniently catalogued by David Hartill, *Cast Chinese Coins*.

**Mahmud III b. Muhammad ('Ala al-Dawla),  
at Samarqand, circa 530-536 / 1136-1142**

(Former #3391 is now listed under the Great Seljuqs as # F1688.)

3392 AE dirham, as local ruler at Samarqand before 536/1142, AE dirham RR

Some copper dirhams of this type cite the Great Seljuq Sanjar as overlord (rarity undetermined).

3393 AE fals, similar RRR

**Ibrahim b. Muhammad, fl. 537-548 / 1143-1153  
(Rukn al-Din)**

3394 AE dirham R?

A dirham of Bukhara 541 cites Sanjar as overlord. Other later issues bear the title *Gurkhan*, which probably refers not to Ibrahim but to a Qara-Khitay overlord, as Gūr-Khan was the standard title of the Qara-Khitay chieftains. The same title was later revived by the Timurids.

**Mahmud b. Husayn, fl. 552 / 1157  
(Jalal al-Din Qadir Tafghaj Khan)**

3395 AV dinar RRR

3396 AE dirham RRR

**Mas'ud b. Hasan, 556-566 / 1161-1171  
(Rukn al-Din Qilij Tafghaj Khan)**

3397 AV dinar RRR

Struck at Balkh, with mint name above obverse field. These coins, often of highly debased gold, often have the ruler's name as *mas'ud b. al-husayn, i.e.,* as son of al-Husayn instead of Hasan.

3398 AE dirham (30-45mm) (former #1517) S

Struck mainly at Samarqand. Some issues bear the denomination adjective *rukni*.

3399 AE fals (about 25mm) RR

Struck at Samarqand, citing the ruler in obverse center as Qilij Tafghaj Khaqan, with the caliph al-Mustanjid.

**Muhammad b. Mas'ud, at Samarqand, 566-574+ /  
1171-1179+ (Ghiyath al-Din, probably also  
Qilij Tafghaj Khan or Akdash Tafghaj Khan)**

3400 AV dinar, caliph al-Mustadi (former #1519)<sup>406</sup> RR

3401 AE dirham S

**Ibrahim b. al-Husayn, as khan in the west,  
574-599 / 1178-1203 (Nusrat al-Din Kuj Arslan Khan)**

See #3415 & A3416 as his earlier issues as local ruler in Uzkand.

First series, with title *khaqan* (574-584)

3402 AV dinar RR

3403.1 AE dirham, mint of Samarqand, similar S

3403.2 AE dirham, mints of Balkh and Tirmidh, different style and smaller flans, known dated 583 R

Normally with name given as *ibrahim arslan khaqan*.

3404 AE fals, similar to #3403.1 RR?

Second series, with title *ulugh sultan al-salatin* (584-599)

3405 AV dinar RR

It is not known why Ibrahim would have abandoned the traditional Qarakhanid title of Khaqan for that of Sultan.

Struck at several mints, including Balkh & Samarqand.

3406.1 AE dirham, mint of Samarqand, similar R?

3406.2 AE dirham, mint of Balkh, different style and smaller flans R

3407 AE fals, similar to #3406.1 RR?

For additional coins of this ruler struck before 574 as local ruler at Uzkand, see #3415 & A3416.

**'Uthman b. Ibrahim, 599-607 / 1203-1210  
(Nusrat al-Din)**

As independent ruler (599-605):

3408 AV dinar RRR

3409 AE dirham, similar RRR?

As vassal of the Khwarizmshah Muhammad b. Takish (606-607):

3410 AV dinar RRR

3411 AE dirham, similar R

**THIRD PERIOD: LOCAL RULERS**

In addition to works cited above:

Kochnev, B. D., "Zametki po srednevekovoj numizmatike Srednej Asii. Ch. 10", *Istoriya material'noj kul'tury Uzbekistana*, v. 24 (1990), pp. 207-214.

Denominations and average conditions as the main series.

Coins were normally struck only at the residence of the local ruler, as indicated in the descriptions. The occasional exceptions are also indicated.

**Rukn al-Din Muhammad b. Mas'ud, fl. 560 / 1165**

3412 AV dinar, Taliqan mint only RRR

Possibly the same person as Ghiyath al-Din Muhammad, who ruled at Samarqand (#3400).

(Type #3413 is now regarded as duplicate listing of #K1523.)

**al-Husayn b. al-Hasan, fl. 540s-576 / late 1140s-1180  
(Tughril Khan)**

Ruled at Uzkand before circa 551, then until at least 576/1180 at an unknown location near Uzkand.

3414 AE dirham RRR

On this and following types of this mint, the mint name is often written as Uzjand instead of Uzkand. Some of his coins are dated in the 560s and 570s, without mint name.

**Ibrahim b. al-Husayn, at Uzkand, 551-574 / 1156-1178  
(Nusrat al-Din Arslan Khan)**

3415 AV dinar RR

A3416 AE dirham S

All his dirhams bear only the text *ibrahim / arslan / khaqan* in the obverse field. Those dated circa 559-565 have both fields in plain circle, those dated 566-573 have obverse in lobated square within circle of pellets, reverse in complex octogram.

See types #3402-3407 for his later issues as chief ruler.

<sup>406</sup> A private collector has acquired an example citing the caliph al-Nasir, apparently dated xx4, possibly a muling with an obverse dated 574.

<b>Ahmad b. Ibrahim, at Uzkand, 574-607 / 1178-1210</b> (Jalal al-Din Qadir Khaqan)				
All of Ahmad's coins carry only his title, never his personal name.				
3416	AE dirham, as independent ruler with title of Khaqan (590s, probably also earlier)	R		
Several variants, of which triple circle / square within triple circle (central circles are of pellets on both sides) is the most common, with his title Jalal al-Din. Other types exist.				
3417	AE dirham, as independent ruler with title of Sultan or Ulugh Sultan (601-607)	RR		
3418	AE dirham, as vassal of the Khwarizmshah Muhammad (607 only)	R		
<b>Mahmud b. Ahmad, at Uzkand, 607-609 / 1210-1212</b> (Jalal al-Din or Mu'izz al-Din, Kuj Arslan Khan)				
3419	AE dirham, as vassal of the Khwarizmshah Muhammad (607 or 609)	R		
The orthography of the digit 7 or 9 is unclear on all known specimens, but for historical reasons, must be 609, <i>i.e.</i> , after his independence in 608. Coins struck when vassal of Muhammad always bear the personal name Mahmud of this ruler, whereas those struck as independent ruler bear only his titles.				
3420	AE dirham, as independent ruler (608 only)	RR		
<b>Anonymous, dated 610 / 1213-1214</b>				
3420N	AE dirham, al-Uzkand 610 only	RRR		
With the remarkable Persian inscription in the obverse field, <i>khanan-khan 'umrash barad hazar sal ta velayat-e gorosneh sir shavad</i> , "May the khan of khans ( <i>cf.</i> shahanshah) live a thousand years, for the starving country to become sated". Mint & date in the margin on both sides. <sup>407</sup>				
<b>Nasr b. al-Husayn (Tughril Khan), at Kasan, fl. 564-568 / 1169-1173</b>				
3421	AE dirham	RRR		
<b>Jalal al-Din Muhammad b. Nasr, fl. 574-598 / 1178-1202</b>				
Son and successor to Nasr Tughril Khan, ruled only at Kasan.				
3422	AE dirham	RR?		
<b>Mu'izz al-Din Ulugh Tughril Khan, at Kasan, fl. 605 / 1208-1209</b>				
3422D	AE dirham, struck only at Kasan in 605	RRR		
<b>Mu'izz al-Din Qilij Khaqan, at Banakath, fl. 574-578 / 1178-1182</b>				
3423	AE dirham (former #1521)	RR		
Reverse in double square, each line twisted at the center.				
<b>Husam al-Din Ulugh Toghan, at Marghinan, fl. 602 / 1205-1206</b>				
3424	AE husami dirham, Marghinan mint	RR		
Most examples are dated 602 and have the reverse in a lovely quatrefoil pattern with <i>Allah</i> in the center. The denomination adverb <i>husami</i> appears atop the obverse field.				
<b>Shams al-Din Qutlugh Bilga Khaqan, at Parab, late 590s / early 1200s</b>				
3424P	AE dirham, possibly dated 598	RRR		
Distinguished by the reverse in a triple circle, the central circle of pellets, the other two a solid line.				
<b>'Imad al-Din Ulugh Akdash Chaghri Khan, at Banakath, fl. 596-602 / 1200-1206</b>				
3425	AE dirham, struck at Banakath	RR		
Dirhams dated 596-597 are the same style as #3423, those dated 602 have both sides in a plain circle & very ornate calligraphy.				
<b><u>LATER KHANS OF EASTERN TURKISTAN</u></b>				
Known only from copper coins, always without mint or date, but believed to have been struck at Kashghar. <sup>408</sup>				
<b>Muhammad Arslan Khan, 553-? / 1158-?</b>				
3426	AE fals (former #1518)	R		S
<b>Sulayman Tafghaj Khan, in eastern Turkistan, fl. before circa 574 / 1179</b>				
3427	AE broad dirham (former #1515)	R		C
Always without mint or date, but likely struck at Kashghar. Formerly assigned erroneously (by me and others) to Sulayman-Tegin, who allegedly ruled circa 490/1097. Nearly all coins bear the title <i>al-mustaghfir billah</i> , which looks deceptively like a caliphal title, but whose reference is undetermined. The relationship of Sulayman to the rest of the eastern Khaqanate remains obscure.				
<b>Yusuf Arslan Khan, d. 601 / 1205</b>				
Son & successor to Muhammad Arslan Khan.				
3428	AE fals	R		
<b><u>QARAKHANID VASSALS</u></b>				
<i>These vassals were not Qarakhanids, but local rulers who normally bore the Persian title of dihqan. Some, but not all of them, recognized a Qarakhanid overlord, as noted in the descriptions.</i>				
<b>Mansur b. Ahmad, dihqan of Ilaq, fl. 382-389 / 992-999</b> (Abu Salih, Yaghan-Tegin, Bughra Khan)				
Both Mansur and his son Muhammad bore the title <i>dihqan al-jalil</i> , which often appears on the coin without the personal name or other titles.				
3429	AE fals	RR		
<b>Muhammad b. Mansur, dihqan of Ilaq, fl. 391-395 / 1001-1006</b>				
T3430	AR dirham, struck only at Nawkat <sup>409</sup> in 395, citing Ahmad b. 'Ali as Nasir al-Haqq Khan, (formerly listed as #3315)	RRR		
3430	AE fals, struck only at Ilaq, 391-393, citing Ahmad b. 'Ali similarly	RR		
<b>Salar b. Muhammad (Abu Shuja'), dihqan of Ilaq, fl. 399 / 1009</b>				
3431	AE fals	RRR		
<b>Muzaffar Kiya, dihqan at Saghaniyan, fl. 395-406 / 1005-1015</b>				
3432	AR dirham, Saghaniyan only	RR		
3433	AE fals, Saghaniyan 398-406 only	RRR		
<b>Anonymous, circa 420s / 1030s</b>				
3434	BI dirham, mint of Saghaniyan only, almost always poorly struck	R		
Presumably struck by the local amirs of Chaghaniyan, a name that was Arabicized as Saghaniyan. Dated 412-424, of which 422 is most frequent. These are listed on Zeno as Muhtajid, within "local dynasties and rulers" under the Samanids.				
<b>Chaghri Subashi Uka, fl. 417-426 / 1024-1033</b>				
3435	AE fals, Ishtikhan 417-426 & al-Sughd 421	RR		
Most coins also cite the current Ilek, usually only by his title <i>ilek</i> . Numerous arrangements.				

<sup>407</sup> Published by Vladimir Nastich in *ONS Newsletter* #167 (2001). Strictly speaking, this coin should be assigned to the Qara-Khitay rather than the Qarakhanids.

<sup>408</sup> *Xinjiang Numismatics*, Hong Kong 1991, #104-121 (#3426) and 87-88 (#3428), where they are incorrectly attributed.

<sup>409</sup> Kochnev has shown that the mint formerly read as Tunkath or Tunkath Ilaq should correctly be read as Nawkat for coins of the Qarakhanids.

	<b>Il-Kulug, at Kharashkath, fl. 404 / 1013</b>		<b>Malik Yaghan Khan (Nasir al-Din), at Balkh &amp; Tirmidh, circa 573-574 / 1177-1178</b>	
3436	AE fals, Kharashkath 404 Citing the Ilek Ahmad b. 'Ali as overlord. Zeno-29753.	RRR	B1523 AE rukni dirham	R
	<b>Anonymous, struck at Kharashkath in 404 / 1013</b>		This ruler was called Malik Toghan Khan in the Second Edition. However, the form Malik Yaghan Khan remains controversial. Issues of Tirmidh bear a central circle on the obverse containing a sword and his name <i>yaghan khan</i> .	
3436A	AE fals, also Kharashkath 404 This issue perhaps reflects political uncertainty between the reigns or governorships of Il-Kulug and Ilyas Hajjaj.	RR	A very rare type from Samarqand bears the inscription <i>al-khaqan al-'adil / al-'azam nasir / al-dunya wa al-din / malik toghan khan</i> , similar to the legend found on Balkh dirhams of this type.	
	<b>Ilyas Hajjaj, at Kharashkath, fl. 405 / 1014</b>		<b>Anonymous, citing only the 'Abbasid caliph al-Mustadi (566-575 / 1170-1180)</b>	
3437	AE fals, Kharashkath 405 Citing the Ilek Ahmad b. 'Ali as overlord. Kochnev #403.	RRR	H1523 AE qarar dirham, mint of Balkh	RR
	<b>Anonymous, circa 420 / 1029</b>		<b>Khusrawshah (b. Sanjar b. Hasan), at Tirmidh, circa 576-583 / 1179-1186</b>	
3437M	AE fals, Kharashkath 420, issuer unknown Obverse inscription in margin around fancy square.	RRR	M1523 AV dinar, with title <i>al-sultan al-'azam rukn al-dunya wa'l-din</i>	RRR
	<b>Mu'izz al-Dawla Yabghu, at Karmina, fl. 415 / 1024</b>		Presumably struck at the mint of Tirmidh, but specimens with legible mint name not yet reported.	
3438	AE fals, Karmina 415	RRR	C1523.1 AE dirham, with title <i>al-khaqan rukn al-dunya wa'l-din</i>	RR
	<b>Inanj Kuktuz, at Karmina, fl. 417 / 1026</b>		This type lacks the mint, but was presumably also struck at Tirmidh. Type C1523.2 is said to bear the mint, although I have been unable to confirm its presence. Neither type is in SNAT-14d.	
3439	AE fals, Karmina 417	RRR	C1523.2 AE dirham, with title <i>al-sultan abu'l-harith bin sultan</i>	R
	<b>Yabghu Sayf al-Dawla, at Karmina, fl. 419 / 1028</b>		D1523 AE dirham, struck at Balkh, known dated 574	R?
3440	AE fals, Karmina 419	RRR	As ruler of Balkh. With caliph al-Mustadi (SNAT 808-810). (For AE dirhams of Balkh & Tirmidh struck by main ruler Nusrat al-Din Ibrahim b. al-Husayn, see #3403.2 & 3406.2.)	
	<b>(Baha' ?) al-Dawla Jibra'il b. Muhammad, at Karmina, fl. 420 / 1029</b>		<b>'Uddat al-Dunya wa'l-Din 'Ali b. Ja'far (with title Ulugh Arslan Khaqan), until 594 / 1198</b>	
3441	AE fals, Karmina 420	RRR	Ruled at Balkh as vassal of the Ghorid of Bamiyan, Baha' al-Din Sam b. Muhammad.	
	<b>QARAKHANIDS IN BALKH &amp; TIRMIDH</b>		E1523 AV debased dinar, possibly minted at Tirmidh	RRR
	Michael Fedorov, <i>The Genealogy of the Qarakhanid rulers of Tirmidh and Balkh</i> , ONS Newsletter no.164 (Summer 2000), pp.19-21 (no photos).		<b>Tughril Khaqan, in Tirmidh, fl. 586-591 / 1190-1195</b>	
	Illustrations of most of the coins are in the Northern Khorasan volume 14c of <i>SNA Tübingen</i> by F. Schwarz.		F1523.1 AE broad dirham (30-34mm), as vassal of Nasir al-Dunya wa'l-Din (= Ibrahim, see no. 3406)	RR?
	<i>Recent studies of this coinage by Fedorov, Kochnev and Schwarz have determined that the Qara-Khitay ("black Chinese"), whose leaders were known as the Gür-Khan, were never direct rulers of this area. The Gür-Khans were suzerains over most of the Qarakhanids from approximately 535/1140 onwards. When Balkh was conquered by the Qarakhanid Mas'ud b. Hasan in 560/1165, Mas'ud was technically the vassal under the Gür-Khan, but actual rule of this region was restricted to the main western or local Qarakhanids. Balkh was lost to the Ghorids of Bamiyan in 592/1196 or 594/1198 and Tirmidh to the Khwarizmshahs in 609/1212.</i>		Always without mint name but known mainly from finds in the region of Tirmidh. On these coins the name resembles Toghan rather than Tughril, and it is conceivable that both names were used for the same ruler.	
	The only known mints are Balkh, south of the Oxus River, and Tirmidh, north of the river. All examples are rather flatly struck on thin, broad flans, normally 30-36mm in diameter, similar to 3 <sup>rd</sup> period Qarakhanid coinage of Central Asian mints, unless otherwise noted.		F1523.2AE narrow dirham (22-25mm), with <i>'adl tughril khaqan</i> on obverse, <i>tirmidh sultan al-salatin</i> on reverse, without overlord, undated	RR?
	See also types #3403.2 and 3406.2 for Balkh & Tirmidh issues of the western Qarakhanids of Samarqand dated between 582 and 585.		<b>Ghiyath al-Dunya wa'l-Din Mahmud, in Tirmidh, d.609 / 1212</b>	
	These listings for this dynastic group are tentative and will undoubtedly require significant rewriting in the future.		G1523 AV debased dinar	RR
	<b>Ahmad Toghan-Tegin, at Tirmidh, fl. 561 / 1166 ('Imad al-Din Abu'l-Muzaffar)</b>		Mahmud was the son of Ibrahim b. Husayn, and brother of the last western Qarakhanid ruler, 'Uthman b. Ibrahim (#3408-3411). Both brothers were defeated and killed by the Khwarizmshah Muhammad in 609 (SNAT 1078).	
K1523	AV debased dinar, dated Rabi' I 561 See #3397 for another Balkh debased gold issue in the early 560s.	RRR	<b>'ALID OF TABARISTAN</b>	
	<b>'Ala al-Din Arslan Khan, fl. 560s / 1160s or 1170s</b>		S.M. Stern, "The coins of Amul", <i>Numismatic Chronicle</i> , 7 <sup>th</sup> series, v. 7 (1967), pp. 205-278.	
L1523	AE dirham, struck only at Balkh Known with the 'Abbasid caliph al-Mustanjid (555-566) or al-Mustadi (566-575) (SNAT 793-800).	RR	Vardanyan, Aram, "Numismatic Evidence to the Presence of Zaydī 'Alids in the Northern Jibāl, Gīlān and Khurāsān in AH 250-350 (AD 864-961)", <i>Numismatic Chronicle</i> , vol. 170, 2010, pp. 355-374. All of the various related dynasties will be discussed in this article.	
	<b>Sanjar Qadir Tafghaj Khan, at Balkh, fl. circa 574-583 / 1177-1186</b>		<i>Local Shi'ite rulers in Amul and Jurjan. With few exceptions, all coins were struck at either Amul or Jurjan. Most bear the Shi'ite epithetical name, al-da'i illa al-haqq.</i>	
A1523	AE dirham	R?		

### Anonymous, circa 180s / 800s

- Z1523 AR dirham, citing the 'Abbasid caliph al-Rashid and an as yet unidentified 'Abd Allah RR  
Without mint or date, to a weight standard of about 2.05g, lower than the early 'Abbasid standard of 2.97g but identical to that of the Tabaristan "hemidrachm" struck until the 810s. There are two dots below obverse field, and the reverse is identical to #219.5 of the 'Abbasid caliph Harun al-Rashid. Several varieties.

### al-Hasan b. Zayd, 250-270 / 864-884

- T1523 AV dinar, known from Nishapur 262 only<sup>410</sup> RRR  
1523 AR dirham R  
The least rare issues struck at Jurjan in 268 and 269. The religious expression on al-Hasan's coins is *al-da'i illa al-haqq*. The obverse outer margin bears Qur'an 42:23, the reverse margin Qur'an 22:39.

### Muhammad b. Zayd, 271-287 / 884-900

Same style as al-Hasan b. Zayd, also with *al-da'i illa al-haqq*.

- 1523V AV dinar RRR  
A1524 AR dirham RRR

### al-Hasan b. al-Qasim, first reign, 306-311 / 918-924

- B1524 AV dinar RRR  
C1524 AR dirham, similar RRR

### Ja'far b. al-Hasan, 311-314 / 924-926

- D1524 AV dinar RR

### temp. al-Hasan b. al-Qasim, 2<sup>nd</sup> reign, 314-316 / 927-929

- E1524 AV dinar, al-Muhammadiya 316 only<sup>411</sup> R  
The type does not bear the ruler's name, but only his epithetical title *al-rida min al muhammad*.

## 'ALID OF QAZWIN

### Al-Husayn b. Ahmad, fl. 250-253 / 864-867

Originally a commander for al-Hasan b. Zayd of Tabaristan, he was assigned to Qazwin, where he declared himself independent, ruling there until overthrown in late 253.

- H1524 AR dirham, Qazwin 253 (Zeno-13834) RRR  
The word *al-thaghr*, "frontier", beneath the obverse field refers to Qazwin being at the furthest western point under the 'Alids.

## ZAYDI IMAMS OF HAWSAM

See Stern (cited before #Z1523 above).

*Of Alid origins, these Imams ruled at Hawsam for most of the 4<sup>th</sup>/10<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup>/11<sup>th</sup> centuries. Hawsam is believed to be the modern Rudbar<sup>412</sup> in the Gilan province of Iran. Coins are known only of Ja'far.*

### Ja'far b. Muhammad, al-Tha'ir fi Allah, circa 319-350 / 931-961,

- K1524 AR dirham RRR  
Dated in the 340s, of which only 341 is occasionally available.

## FIRUZANID

Coins of this dynasty appear to be unpublished, except #P1524.

*A minor dynasty in western Khorasan, centered around Damghan and Bistam, normally vassals of the Buwayhids. All of their known coins cite a Buwayhid overlord.*

### al-Hasan b. Firuzan, 330-356 / 942-967

- P1524 AV dinar, mint of Biyar, AH341, citing the Buwayhid ruler Rukn al-Dawla as overlord<sup>413</sup> RRR

### Nasr b. al-Hasan, fl. 370s / 980s

- Q1524 AR dirham, mints of Damghan and Bistam RRR  
Citing the Buwayhid Fakhr al-Dawla as overlord.

### Firuzan b. al-Hasan, fl. 397 / 1006-1007

- R1524 AR dirham, mint(s) undetermined RRR  
Citing the Buwayhid Majd al-Dawla as overlord.

## BAVANDID OF TABARISTAN

Miles, George C., "The Coinage of the Bawandids of Tabaristan," in *Iran and Islam, In Memory of the Late Vladimir Minorsky*, ed. C.E. Bosworth, Edinburgh, 1971, pp. 443-460, now very outdated, except for the first ruler, Rustam b. Sharwin.

*Although in power from 45/665 until 750/1349, their coinage is restricted to two periods, the first circa 353-380s (with one exception, silver only, debased silver after about 370), and the second circa 494-560 (gold only).*

Gold & silver coins of the first four rulers were struck at Firrim in Tabaristan. Most of the later gold, from Shahriyar b. Qarin to the end of the dynasty was struck at Sariya (= Sari) in the same province, with some very rare issues known from Amul, Bistam and Shihmar. Most gold and silver coins of this dynasty are carelessly or weakly struck, often off-center, with mint and/or date off flan, as are contemporary Buwayhid dirhams for the 1<sup>st</sup> period, Seljuq dinars for the 2<sup>nd</sup> period.

### FIRST PERIOD

#### Rustam b. Sharwin, circa 353-370 / 964-980

- N1524 AV dinar, Fatimid concentric style<sup>414</sup> RRR  
1524 AR dirham R

Many dirhams of this ruler bear his name not in the field but as part of the inner obverse marginal inscription (same rarity). Rustam's dirhams are the earliest eastern coinage to bear the Shi'ite inscription '*ali wali Allah*'. Most examples also cite the current Buwayhid overlord and the Sunni 'Abbasid caliph.

#### al-Marzuban b. Sharwin, circa 370-374 / 980-984

- A1525 BI dirham RRR

#### Sharwan b. Rustam, circa 375-376 / 984-986

- B1525 BI dirham RRR

#### Shahriyar b. Rustam, fl. 377-393 / 987-1003

- 1525.1 BI dirham, citing the Buwayhid Fakhr al-Dawla as overlord, known dated 377 RRR  
1525.2 BI dirham, citing the Ziyarid ruler Qabus b. Wushmagir, known dated 390 & 393 RRR

Stylistically identical to type #1536.1 of Qabus, but with the name of Shahriyar added below the name of Qabus.

The mint of Firrim was closed permanently after the first period of Bavandid coinage, which resumed at Sariya & Amul in the second period, with a few additional mints under the later rulers, as noted.

### SECOND PERIOD

#### Shahriyar b. Qarin, 466-504 / 1073-1111

Due to examples of type #1526A dated 505, it is conceivable that Shahriyar was succeeded by Qarin in 505 or 506 rather than 504.

Struck at Sariya 494-505, Amul 497.

- 1526.1 AV dinar, with Seljuq overlord (struck 494-503) S  
Dinars of this and the following four rulers were struck to a light standard of about 1.4g, or about 1/3 the weight of the canonical dinar. Individual specimens vary considerably in weight. All dinars of this subtype cite the Great Seljuq overlord Muhammad (b. Malikshah).

<sup>410</sup> Emirates Coin Auction 2, March 2000, lot 524.

<sup>411</sup> Sotheby's, 25 May 2000, lot 426. No longer extremely rare, as at least several dozen pieces surfaced in the AH323 hoard, first marketed in 2009.

<sup>412</sup> Rudbar was devastated by a severe earthquake in 1990.

<sup>413</sup> Tübingen, recent acquisition (1999). The precise location of Biyar has not been determined. A specimen in Islamic Coin Auction #14, lot 349, lists the mint as Sari, but that seems impossible.

<sup>414</sup> Sotheby's, 20 April 1983, lot 86.

1526.2	AV dinar, without overlord (struck 504 only)	R
1526A	AV dinar, citing the Seljuq Muhammad & Jalal al-Din Ahmad, struck at Sariya in 504 and 505 Jalal al-Din Ahmad is unknown in the histories. His name also appears on a purely Seljuq dinar of Muhammad b. Malikshah, struck at Amul 504 but without the name of a Bavandid ruler.	RR
<b>Qarin b. Shahriyar, 504-508+ / 1111-1114+</b>		
A1527	AV dinar	RRR
<b>Wishtahm b. Qarin, fl. 510 / 1116-1117</b>		
B1527	AV dinar	RRR
<b>Bahram, fl. 512 / 1118-1119</b>		
C1527	AV dinar	RRR
<b>‘Ali b. Shahriyar, 511-534 / 1118-1140</b>		
1527	AV dinar, Sariya mint, several variants	R
<b>Rustam b. ‘Ali, circa 534-557 / 1140-1162</b>		
1528.1	AV dinar (pale gold), local issue as independent ruler with title <i>al-sultan al-a‘zam</i>	RR
1528.2	AV dinar (fine gold), without titles, as vassal of the Qarakhanid Abu‘l-Qasim Mahmud Known from Nishapur mint, dated 55x.	RRR
<b>al-Hasan b. Rustam (‘Ala al-Dawla), circa 557-567 / 1162-1172</b>		
1529.1	AV heavy dinar, fine gold Struck at Bistam 557 and Nishapur 559, as vassal of the Seljuq ruler Arslan b. Tughril.	RRR
1529.2	AV light dinar (approximately 2g), pale gold Uncertain mint, perhaps Shihmar in Tabaristan.	RR

### ZIYARID (IN TABARISTAN)

Miles, George C., "Coinage of the Ziyarid Dynasty of Tabaristan and Gurgan," *ANS Museum Notes*, vol. 18 (1972), pp. 119-137, useful but now obsolete.

*The first of the two major Daylamite dynasties to arise in north-central Iran, the latter being the Buwayhids. They ruled circa 315-483 / 927-1090, principally in portions of Tabaristan & Jurjan provinces, but their coinage is of shorter duration. A minor branch of the dynasty ruled briefly in the western Jibal, presumably with their capital at Burujird (no coins). One ruler, Farhad b. Mardawij, struck coins, first as vassal of the Kakwayhids, later as vassal of the Ghaznavids.*

Except for the coins of Mardawij, struck in mints in central Iran (notably Mah al-Basra & Karaj), all Ziyarid coins were struck at Amul, Astarabad, Jurjan and Sariya (= Sari) in Tabaristan, plus al-Hawsam in Gilan. The last mint is very rare. Ziyarid silver and billon coins are generally poorly struck and unattractive. There was no fixed weight for the dirham, which can vary from less than 1.5 to more than 5 grams, thus weighed instead of counted for payments.

#### Mardawij (b. Ziyar), 315-323 / 927-935 (independent 322-323 / 934-935)

1530	AV dinar	S
Struck at al-Karaj, Hamadan, Mah al-Basra (= Nihawand) and Qumm in 322, before the Ziyarids retreated to Tabaristan. An example of al-Muhammadiya 322 was in the Shamma collection, now at the national museum of Qatar. All mints except Mah al-Basra are still very rare. Although still somewhat rare, this type is no longer the extreme rarity prior to the apparently massive hoard of gold dinars terminating in about 330 that entered the market circa October 2005, and contained a moderate but still uncalculated quantity of Mardawij dinars, perhaps about 20 pieces of all four mints, but the known quantity is now probably more than 200 pieces. <sup>415</sup>		

<sup>415</sup> Yet another hoard surfaced in 2009, with terminal date 323, including at least 150 Mardawij dinars, nearly all of Mah al-Basra 322, together with several each of Qumm, al-Karaj and Hamadan. When Miles published his article in 1972 only one coin of Mardawij was known!

<b>Bakran b. Khurshid, fl. 323 / 935</b>		
1530K	AV dinar, as independent ruler, al-Karaj 323 <sup>416</sup> Not of the Ziyarid family, Bakran was the military officer under Mardawij, then involved in the assassination of Mardawij in 323. <i>(For an anonymous al-qudra lillah dinar of Jurjan 324, see #1452N, listed under the Samanids for convenience.)</i>	RRR
<b>Zahir al-Dawla Wushmagir (b. Ziyar), 323-357 / 935-967</b>		
1531	AR dirham	RR
With one confirmed exception, a unique dirham in the ANS of al-Rayy dated 347, coins struck under the authority of Wushmagir between 323 and 352 cite only their nominal overlord, either the Samanid or Buwayhid ruler, and are therefore not classified as Ziyarid. Coinage bearing the name Wushmagir commenced in 353 and were resumed posthumously during the reign of his son Bisutun in 360.		
<b>Lankar b. Wushmagir, fl. 351 / 961</b>		
A1532	AR dirham, struck at al-Hawsam in Gilan province, dated 351	RRR
<b>Zahir al-Dawla Bisutun (b. Wushmagir), 357-367 / 967-978</b>		
1532	AV dinar	RRR
In the name of his deceased father, as #1533.		
A1533	AR dirham, in his own name, struck 357-360	RR
1533	AR dirham, in name of his father Zahir al-Dawla Wushmagir (360-367)	S
In 360 Bisutun removed his own name from the coins and used the name and titles of his deceased father, Zahir al-Dawla Abu Mansur Wushmagir, for reasons that have never been elucidated.		
<b>Malkan b. al-Hasan, unknown rebel, fl. 357 / 968-969</b>		
A1534	AR dirham, Jurjan mint only, dated 357 Citing the Samanid ruler Mansur b. Nuh as overlord.	RRR
<b>Shams al-Ma‘ali Qabus (b. Wushmagir), 1<sup>st</sup> reign, 367-371 / 978-982</b>		
1534	AV dinar	RR
1535	AR dirham	S
From 371 to 387, Qabus ruled as vassal of the Buwayhids, and struck coins solely in the name of his Buwayhid overlord. These relatively common coins are therefore regarded as purely Buwayhid.		
<b>Shams al-Ma‘ali Qabus, 2<sup>nd</sup> reign, 387-403 / 997-1012</b>		
1536.1	BI dirham, in his own name, without overlord	R
1536.2	BI dirham, in the sole name of the caliph al-Qadir, known dated 394-396 from Jurjan mint	RR
<b>Falak al-Ma‘ali Manuchihr (b. Qabus), 403-420 / 1012-1029</b>		
1537	BI dirham (usually dark gray in color), known dated 405-416 See Zeno-62938 for a lovely example of Jurjan 407.	RR

### ZIYARID (IN THE JIBAL)

<b>Farhad b. Mardawij, fl. 415-425 / 1024-1034</b>		
1537F	AR dirham, as vassal of the Kakwayhid Muhammad b. Dushmanzar & the Buwayhid Majd al-Dawla Known dated 415 from the Burujird mint.	RRR
1537G	AR dirham, as vassal of the Ghaznavid Mas‘ud I (mint unknown)	RRR

Normal ‘Abbasid dinars struck at Mah al-Basra (= Nihawand) in 318 bear the letters *m r* or *m r j* below the reverse field. These initials are now believed to be a reference to Mardawij prior to his seizing independence in 322.

<sup>416</sup> ICA 10, lot 284, possibly from the 2006 dinar hoard, also Zeno-64770.



## BUWAYHID (Buyid)

L. Treadwell, *Buyid Coinage: A die corpus (322-445 A.H.)*, Oxford 2001, replacing all former notes and articles on Buwayhid coinage. Unlisted examples continue to be discovered.

*The most famous of the Daylamite dynasties. Buwayhid rule extended over most of Iran and Iraq 322-454 / 934-1061, but the house was always divided into rival lineages, often in conflict with one another. The Buwayhid "state" was organized as a constellation of several autonomous regional principalities nominally subordinate to the chief Buwayhid amir, who was usually (but not always) the ruler based in either Baghdad or Shiraz. In general, Buwayhid coins name the local ruler, his superiors, and always the current 'Abbasid caliph. It is sometimes difficult to determine just who was the actual issuer without knowing the historical background from the textual sources. Moreover, Buwayhid rulers are commonly cited on coins by a succession of differing titles over the course of their careers. Fortunately, the magnificent work by Treadwell provides accurate assignment of the coins to individual rulers, their heirs and subordinates. Thanks to his publication, the regnal dates given here should now be reasonably reliable.*

*Buwayhid coins are struck in gold and silver; there is no copper coinage, though a few extremely rare lead "coins" have been reported from excavations in southern Iran (not listed here, as they are more likely either tokens or seals). Between circa 370 and 410, most silver dirhams are substantially debased, especially in the Jibal and the northern provinces. Nonetheless, the late coinage of Fars province, after about 395/1005, was invariably struck in fine silver from dies of superb aesthetic quality (except for a few issues in the 440s, struck from equally magnificent dies, but on debased billon).*

*The Buwayhids are also known as the Buyids; the first spelling reflects the Arabic transcription of the name, the latter the Persian. Both forms are correct. Take your choice!*

The Buwayhids struck coins at more than 60 mints, many of which are quite rare. For silver coins, the most common are as follows: Madinat al-Salam and al-Basra in Iraq (Wasit and al-Kufa are somewhat rare); Hamadan and Mah al-Kufa in western Iran (al-Dinawar is rather common in the 370s only); Suq al-Ahwaz, Tustar min al-Ahwaz, al-Ahwaz and Ramhurmuz in Khuzestan; Arrajan, Jannaba, Shiraz, Siraf, Fasa and Kard-Fanakhusra (a royal residence founded by 'Adud al-Dawla) in Fars; Bardasir and Jiruft in Kirman; Isbahan, Qazwin and al-Muhammadiya in central Iran; Amul and Jurjan in Tabaristan. 'Uman (Oman) is not especially rare but is highly prized due to its location on the Arabian peninsula. Not all mints are common in all periods. For gold dinars, only Madinat al-Salam and Suq al-Ahwaz are truly common, though Hamadan, al-Muhammadiya and Isfahan are also frequently seen. Shiraz, the most common mint of all for silver, is surprisingly one of the rarest mints for gold!

There is considerable variation in the physical quality of Buwayhid coins. Some, particularly those struck at certain mints of types #1550 and 1570, as well as most coins struck after about AH400, are usually carefully struck, with full detail and fine calligraphy. Most types, however, show considerable weakness, unevenness, and are struck on poorly made planchets. Gold dinars were usually more carefully produced than silver dirhams.

Most of the later rulers bore increasingly complex titulature, of which only portions appear on individual coins, especially on weakly struck examples. These are noted directly after the rulers' names.

A few Buwayhid silver dirhams bear the engraver's signature, always placed above the word *qabl* in the obverse outer marginal legend, listed separately as types #1547E, 1550E, U1553 and 1554E.

**'Imad al-Dawla Abu'l-Hasan 'Ali (b. Buwayh),  
as 'Ali b. Buwayh, 322-334 / 934-946**

1538 AR dirham

A variant of this type has extra marginal legends on obverse and reverse bearing auspicious formulae (S, rarer if nicely struck). Strangely, the two styles were struck simultaneously at Shiraz from 323 to 328.

C

**'Imad al-Dawla Abu'l-Hasan 'Ali (b. Buwayh),  
as 'Imad al-Dawla Abu'l-Hasan, 334-338 / 946-949**

1539 AV dinar, often with the title *amir al-umara*  
(mints in the Jibal)

R

1540 AR dirham, similar (mints in the Jibal & Fars)

C

**Mu'izz al-Dawla Ahmad (b. Buwayh),  
in Iraq & Khuzestan, as Ahmad b. Buwayh,  
328-334 / 939-946**

All coins of Mu'izz al-Dawla cite the Buwayhid chief amir as overlord, 'Imad al-Dawla until 338 (as 'Ali b. Buwayh 328-334, then as 'Imad al-Dawla 334-338), Rukn al-Dawla thereafter.

1541 AR dirham, as *Ahmad bin Buwayh* (328-334 / 939-946)

S

**Mu'izz al-Dawla Ahmad (b. Buwayh),  
as Mu'izz al-Dawla Abu'l-Husayn, 334-356 / 946-967**

1542.1 AV dinar, citing 'Imad al-Dawla as overlord

S

Madinat al-Salam is the most frequently encountered mint for gold of this reign (all types). Silver is also commonly found from al-Basra, Suq al-Ahwaz, Tustar min al-Ahwaz and Ramhurmuz.

1542.2 AV dinar, as #1542.1, but with Rukn al-Dawla as overlord (338-356 / 950-967)

S

1543.1 AR dirham, similar to #1542.1 ('Imad al-Dawla as overlord)

C

1543.2 AR dirham, similar to #1542.2 (Rukn al-Dawla as overlord)

C

1544 AV dinar, as #1542.2 but citing 'Izz al-Dawla & Rukn al-Dawla, struck 348-356

S

Beginning in 348, all gold and silver coins of Mu'izz al-Dawla cite his son 'Izz al-Dawla as well, presumably to reflect his son's appointment as heir-apparent.

1545 AR dirham, similar

C

**Sanad al-Dawla Abu Harb (b. Mu'izz al-Dawla),  
at al-Basra, 356-357 / 967-968**

Rebel or subordinate ruler. Brother of 'Izz al-Dawla, whose name also appears on his coins.

A1546 AR dirham, struck only at al-Basra 357

RRR

**Rukn al-Dawla Abu 'Ali al-Hasan (b. Buwayh),  
as al-Hasan b. Buwayh, circa 330-331 / 943-944**

Governor in Khuzestan during this short period.

T1546 AR dirham, as vassal of 'Ali b. Buwayh, 330-331

RRR

**Rukn al-Dawla Abu 'Ali al-Hasan (b. Buwayh),  
as Rukn al-Dawla Abu 'Ali, 335-366 / 947-977**

Appointed ruler in the Jibal & Tabaristan in 335, then chief of the Buwayhids from 338 until his death in 366.

*As vassal under 'Imad al-Dawla (335-338):*

1546 AV dinar

S

1547 AR dirham, similar

RR

*As independent ruler (338-366):*

1546A AV dinar

S

For both subtypes of #1546, al-Muhammadiya and Isfahan are the most common mints, though Hamadan and Qazwin are not especially rare (same for the silver).

1547A AR dirham, normal styles

C

1547E AR dirham, similar, but with the name of the die engraver added to the obverse

RR

Struck at Isbahan in 354 and al-Muhammadiya 361 & 362. The engraver's name is added above *qabl* in the outer obverse margin (...*min qabl wa min ba'd...*), as '*amal al-hasan bin muhammad*', "the work of al-Hasan b. Muhammad".

**'Adud al-Dawla Abu Shuja' (b. Rukn al-Dawla),  
as Abu Shuja', 338-341 / 949-952**

His personal name was Fana Khusraw, which never appears on the coinage. His total rule was 338-372 / 949-983.

T1548	AV dinar, Rukn al-Dawla as overlord, in Fars province only	RR	<b>Fakhr al-Dawla ‘Ali (b. Rukn al-Dawla), as governor in Hamadan, 359-369 / 970-980</b>
1548	AR dirham, similar	S	<i>As ‘Ali b. Rukn al-Dawla (359-364):</i>
	<b>‘Adud al-Dawla Abu Shuja‘ (b. Rukn al-Dawla), as ‘Adud al-Dawla Abu Shuja‘, 341-372 / 952-983</b>		1559 AR dirham RR
	<i>As normal vassal under his father Rukn al-Dawla:</i>		Citing his father Rukn al-Dawla as overlord, and struck only at Hamadan and Mah al-Kufa.
1549	AV dinar, citing his father Rukn al-Dawla (struck 341-366)	R	<i>As Fakhr al-Dawla Abu’l-Hasan (365-369):</i>
1550.1	AR dirham, similar, normal round margins	C	All coins of this series cite both Mu’ayyid al-Dawla and ‘Adud al-Dawla; coins dated 365-366 also cite Rukn al-Dawla!
1550.2	AR dirham, similar, but marginal inscriptions in the form of a hexagon on both faces	RR	1560 AV dinar, R
	Struck only at Shiraz, 344-346.		1561 AR dirham, similar, often somewhat debased S
1550E	AR dirham, as #1550.1 but struck from dies signed by the engraver al-Hasan b. Muhammad, Arrajan 354 & 359 (see note to #1547E)	RRR	Struck at Hamadan, Karaj, Mah al-Basra & Mah al-Kufa.
	<i>As independent ruler without any overlord:</i>		<b>Fakhr al-Dawla ‘Ali (b. Rukn al-Dawla), as independent ruler, 373-387 / 983-997</b>
	In 368, ‘Adud al-Dawla received the additional title Taj al-Milla, which normally appears on his coins from that year onwards. Silver and gold coins as sole ruler but without <i>taj al-milla</i> are scarcer, if only because they were struck for a shorter duration (367-368). For the gold, all mints except Suq al-Ahwaz are rare.		Cited as <i>fakhr al-dawla</i> , with the addition titles <i>falak al-umma</i> added at various mints 375-377 and <i>shahanshah</i> in 380.
1551	AV dinar, as sole ruler (struck 367-372)	S	1562 AV dinar S
1552	AR or BI dirham, similar	C	1563 AR or BI dirham, similar C
	<b>Mu’ayyid al-Dawla Abu Mansur (b. Rukn al-Dawla), in central Iran, 356-373 / 967-984</b>		<b>Sharaf al-Dawla Abu’l-Fawaris Shirdhil (b. ‘Adud al-Dawla), governor of Kirman, as Shirdhil, circa 361-372 / 972-983</b>
	<i>As nominal vassal of Rukn al-Dawla (356 only):</i>		Additional title <i>zayn al-milla</i> .
T1553	AR dirham, struck only at Isfahan in 356	RR	1564 AR dirham, cited as <i>shirdhil bin ‘adud al-dawla</i> S
	Without the name of ‘Adud al-Dawla.		Until 366/367, Rukn al-Dawla (d.366) is also cited on these coins. Coins dated 367 and later are much rarer and noticeably debased.
U1553	AR dirham, as #T1553 but signed by engraver al-Hasan b. Muhammad (see #1547A), struck only at Isfahan in 356	RRR	<b>Sharaf al-Dawla Abu’l-Fawaris Shirdhil, as independent ruler in Iraq &amp; southern Iran, 373-379 / 983-989</b>
	<i>As nominal vassal of ‘Adud al-Dawla (356-372):</i>		<i>As Abu’l-Fawaris: (dated 373-377 / 983-987)</i>
	Coins struck prior to 367 also bear the name of Rukn al-Dawla in his capacity of chief of the Buwayhid clan.		1565 AR or BI dirham, no overlord S
1553	AV dinar	S	<i>As Sharaf al-Dawla wa Zayn al-Milla Abu’l-Fawaris (dated 377-379 / 987-989):</i>
1554	AR or BI dirham, similar, often quite debased, especially after about 368	C	The title Sharaf al-Dawla was introduced at different times at least three mints, for reasons not yet explained.
1554E	AR or BI dirham, signed by engraver al-Hasan b. Muhammad (see #1547E for description)	RR	1566 AV dinar, no overlord, struck only at Madinat al-Salam, dated 379 <sup>417</sup> RRR
	Known for Isfahan 358 & 359. Also for Qazwin 367, but signed <i>‘amal muhammad</i> , “the work of Muhammad”, perhaps the son of al-Hasan b. Muhammad.		A1567 AR or BI dirham, similar, confirmed only for the mints of Shiraz and Kazirun. R
	<i>As independent ruler without any overlord (372-373):</i>		<b>Samsam al-Dawla Abu Kalijar al-Marzuban (b. ‘Adud al-Dawla), governor in ‘Uman, as al-Marzuban bin ‘Adud al-Dawla, 362-372 / 973-983</b>
	Struck after the death of ‘Adud al-Dawla in 372, only at mints in the Caspian region.		Citing his father ‘Adud al-Dawla as overlord. Issues dated 362-366 and some of 367 ( <i>sic</i> ) also cite Rukn al-Dawla.
A1555	AV dinar, (Caspian region only), mainly Jurjan mint	RRR	U1567 AV dinar, inscriptions as #1567 RR
1555	BI dirham, similar (several mints, dated 373 only)	R	U1568 AR dirham, similar R
	<b>‘Izz al-Dawla Bakhtiyar (b. Mu’izz al-Dawla), 356-367 / 967-978</b>		<b>Samsam al-Dawla Abu Kalijar al-Marzuban, governor of Khuzestan, 367-372 / 978-983</b>
	For coins bearing the name of ‘Izz al-Dawla struck before 356, see #1544-1545 above.		With his name as <i>al-marzuban bin ‘adud al-dawla</i> , as on his coins of ‘Uman (#U1567 & U1658), also citing his father ‘Adud al-Dawla as overlord.
	Nearly all coins of ‘Izz al-Dawla cite Rukn al-Dawla as overlord.		His issues from ‘Uman are stylistically very different, even after 367, and are therefore listed as separate types above.
1556	AV dinar, mainly Madinat al-Salam mint	R	1567 AV dinar C
1557	AR or BI dirham	S	Only the mint of Suq al-Ahwaz is common.
	<b>I‘zaz al-Dawla (Abu Kalijar, b. ‘Izz al-Dawla), circa 365 / 976</b>		1568 AR or BI dirham, similar, usually somewhat debased S
	Mentioned as heir on some coins of his father ‘Izz al-Dawla.		<b>Samsam al-Dawla Abu Kalijar al-Marzuban, independent ruler in Iraq, 372-376 / 983-987, as Samsam al-Dawla wa Shams al-Milla</b>
1558	AR dirham, struck only at al-Basra 365	RRR	A1569 AV dinar, struck only at Madinat al-Salam RR
	Citing his father ‘Izz al-Dawla, the chief amir ‘Adud al-Dawla, and his uncle ‘Umdat al-Dawla Abu Ishaq, a brother of ‘Izz al-Dawla, who issued no coins of his own, plus the caliph.		

<sup>417</sup> S. Shamma collection, dated 379.

1569	AR or BI dirham, similar, usually debased Struck only at Madinat al-Salam & al-Mawsil, the latter RRR.	RR	1574	AR or BI dirham Baha' al-Dawla is also cited as overlord on numerous issues of the Hasanwayhid, 'Uqaylid, and Marwanid dynasties, as well as a few other local issues.	S
	<b>Samsam al-Dawla Abu Kalijar al-Marzuban, subordinate ruler in Fars, Kirman &amp; 'Uman, 380-387 / 990-997</b>			<b>Khusrafiruz (b. Rukn al-Dawla), at Amul and al-Ruyan only, 373-384 / 983-994</b>	
	Same titulature as #1569, plus his kunya <i>abu kalijar</i> . Citing Fakhr al-Dawla as overlord.		A1575	AV dinar as vassal of Mu'ayyid al-Dawla (373 only) <sup>418</sup>	RRR
T1570	AV dinar Known only from the mint of 'Uman.	RRR	1575.1	AR or BI dirham, similar, dated 373 only	RR
1570	AR dirham, as #T1570, many mints in Fars and Kirman provinces, also 'Uman Struck from carefully engraved dies on fine silver planchets, usually with minimal weakness.	C	1575.2	AR or BI dirham, as vassal of his brother Fakhr al-Dawla, struck 373-384	R
	<b>Samsam al-Dawla Abu Kalijar al-Marzuban, as independent ruler, 387-388 / 997-998</b>			<b>Majd al-Dawla (b. Fakhr al-Dawla), 387-420 / 997-1029</b>	
	Same titulature as #1569, but without overlord.			His full titulature is: <i>al-amir al-sayyid shahanshah majd al-dawla wa kahf al-umma abu talib</i> .	
1570D	AR or BI dirham, struck only at Tawwaj & 'Uman	RRR		<u>As Abu Talib bin Fakhr al-Dawla (387-389):</u>	
	<b>Nur al-Dawla Abu Nasr (b. 'Izz al-Dawla Bakhtiyar), 388-389 / 998-999</b>			Although Abu Talib did not receive his titles <i>majd al-dawla</i> , etc., until 389, he was an independent ruler during the previous two years.	
	Also citing his brother Husam al-Dawla Abu'l-Qasim. Both were killed later in 389.		1576	AR or BI dirham (usually very debased, mostly copper & lead), / 997-999), always weakly struck	C
	The attribution of the following two types is tentative.			Only the mint of al-Muhammadiya is common.	
1570M	AV dinar, Shiraz 389 only	RRR		<u>With his title Majd al-Dawla (389-420):</u>	
1570N	AR dirham, same legends as his dinar Known only dated 389, mints of Shiraz and possibly Siraf.	RRR		Majd al-Dawla briefly lost his independence and recognized Baha al-Dawla as overlord, circa 400-404.	
	<b>Taj al-Dawla Abu'l-Husayn Ahmad (b. 'Adud al-Dawla), in Khuzestan &amp; al-Basra, 373-375 / 984-986</b>		1577	AV dinar, mainly mint of al-Muhammadiya	R
	With one exception (#H1571), all his coins cite only his <i>kunya</i> Abu'l-Husayn. His <i>laqab</i> Taj al-Dawla is never included, unlike his brother Diya' al-Dawla. He should not be confused with 'Adud al-Dawla, whose 2 <sup>nd</sup> <i>laqab</i> was Taj al-Milla.		1578	AR or BI dirham, similar	S
	<u>Cited as Ahmad b. 'Adud al-Dawla (373 only):</u>			Many billon dirhams of Majd al-Dawla (this type) and Shams al-Dawla (type #1579) are remarkably heavy, up to 10 grams or even more. Some unusual dirhams of Majd al-Dawla struck at al-Muhammadiya in the late 390s have the obverse and reverse marginal inscriptions arranged in a hexagon (R).	
H1571	AR dirham, known only from Suq al-Ahwaz 373 Citing the overlord Abu'l-Fawaris, the later Sharaf al-Dawla.	RRR		<b>Abu Kalijar (b. Majd al-Dawla), fl. 432 / 1031 (Sayf al-Muluk Fakhr Din Allah)</b>	
	<u>Cited as Abu'l-Husayn b. 'Adud al-Dawla (373-375):</u>		1578D	AV dinar, struck only at al-Muhammadiya in 432	RRR
K1571	AV dinar	RRR		<b>Shams al-Dawla Abu Tahir (b. Fakhr al-Dawla), (Sharaf al-Umma), 387-412 / 997-1021</b>	
1571	AR or BI dirham All coins in the name of Abu'l-Husayn cite Abu'l-Fawaris as overlord. The earliest issues of 373 cite Mu'ayyid al-dawla as higher overlord, later issues of 373 cite no higher overlord, and all coins dated 374-375 cite Fakhr al-Dawla as higher overlord.	S	V1579	AV dinar, known only from Hamadan 405	RRR
	<b>Diya' al-Dawla Abu Tahir Firuzshah (b. 'Adud al-Dawla), in al-Basra circa 372-373 / 983-984</b>		1579	AR or BI dirham, usually very much debased, mainly Hamadan mint (see note to #1578)	R
1572	AR or BI dirham, as independent ruler, cited only as <i>Diya' al-Dawla</i> , al-Basra 372 only	RRR		<b>Sultan al-Dawla (b. Baha' al-Dawla), in Iraq, Khuzestan, and Fars, 403-415 / 1012-1024</b>	
	<b>Baha' al-Dawla Abu Nasr (b. 'Adud al-Dawla), in Iraq &amp; Khuzestan, 379-403 / 989-1012, in Fars after 388-403 / 998-1012</b>			His full titulature: <i>al-malik al-'adil shahanshah 'imad al-din sultan al-dawla wa 'izz al-milla wa mughith al-umma abu shuja'</i> .	
	His full titles: <i>al-malik al-'adil baha' al-dawla wa diya' al-milla wa ghiyath al-umma shahanshah qiwwam al-din abu nasr</i> . Each individual coin contain only a fraction of these titles.		1580	AV dinar	R
1573	AV dinar His dinars of Suq al-Ahwaz mint are amongst the most common of all medieval Islamic gold coins, especially those dated 398 and 399. Other mints are rare.	C	1581	AR dirham, normally fine silver	S
1573A	AV base dinar, debased imitation of dinars of Suq al-Ahwaz dated 398 or 399, presumably contemporary Struck in moderately to heavily debased gold, sometimes virtually pure silver (perhaps pure silver with light gold wash), occasionally in poor quality billon. These abundant coins may have been a local currency produced for some considerable period of time after 399, though their function remains undetermined (see note to #B1584).	C		The previous recognition of the 413-415 coins as issues of Musharrif al-Dawla (412-415 / 1021-1024) bearing the name of Sultan al-Dawla is not correct. Sultan al-Dawla lost Iraq to Musharrif al-Dawla for those years, but retained Fars until his death in Sha'ban 415 (late 1024). There are no known coins of Madinat al-Salam or other Iraqi mints dated between 412 and 415, thus none are known of Musharrif al-Dawla. <sup>419</sup>	
			1581A	AR fractional dirham (Sabur mint, ±0.5-1.0g)	RR
				<b>Jalal al-Dawla Abu Tahir (b. Baha' al-Dawla), in al-Basra, 403-416 / 1012-1025, in Iraq generally 416-435 / 1025-1044</b>	
				His full titles are <i>al-malik ... rukn al-din jalal al-dawla wa jamal al-milla wa nasir al-umma abu tahir</i> . About one word is illegible (before <i>rukn</i> ) on the only dirham specimen thus far reported, not included on the gold dinar.	
			1582	AV dinar Known only from Madinat al-Salam dated 435.	RRR

<sup>418</sup> Sotheby's, 15 November 1984, lot 450 (date missing).

<sup>419</sup> Musharrif al-Dawla is named on some 'Annazid coins struck in the early 410s, type #1590, for having assisted Abu'l-Shawk against the Kakwayhids.

- 1582D AR dirham RRR  
Known only from al-Basra 406.  
**Qawam al-Dawla (b. Baha' al-Dawla), in Kirman and periodically in Fars, 403-419 / 1012-1028**  
His full titles are *malik al-muluk qawam al-dawla wa zayn al-umma wa sharaf al-milla abu'l-fawaris*, sometimes with the additional titles *shahanshah* and *sana al-din*.  
He takes the *kunya* Abu Fawaris on some coins of Shiraz and Jiruft dated 407-409, possibly on other coins as well.
- 1583 AR dirham RR  
Coins struck in the Fars and Kirman provinces, mainly in 407 and 416 at Shiraz. All are struck in fine silver. It is uncertain whether his title is Qiwam, Qawam or Qawwam al-Dawla.  
**'Imad al-Din Abu Kalijar (b. Sultan al-Dawla), in Fars, 415-440 / 1024-1048 (& Iraq after 435 / 1044)**  
His full titles until 435 are *shahanshah malik al-muluk 'imad din Allah wa ghiyath 'ibad Allah wa yamin khalifat al-muluk abu kalijar*. In 436 his principal titles changed to *muhyi din Allah wa ghiyath 'ibad Allah wa qasim khalifat Allah*.
- A1584 AV dinar, fine gold, usually Shiraz 435 RR  
B1584 AV debased dinar, struck at Suq al-Ahwaz and always dated 421 R  
Suq al-Ahwaz dinars dated 421 began appearing in the market in 2006, from a hoard of unknown quantity. They are stylistically and metallurgically so similar to the debased dinars of Suq al-Ahwaz dated 398 and 399 (type #1573A) that I would suspect that Baha' al-Dawla's 398 and 399 debased dinars were struck until 420 or 421 without change of date.<sup>420</sup>
- 1584 AR dirham (fine silver) R  
Dirhams of Shiraz exhibit an eclectic array of aesthetically stimulating types, usually struck on broad flans. Most of these are very rare, and highly prized in the marketplace. Abu Kalijar used many titles on his coins, often divided between obverse & reverse.  
**Fulad Sutun (Abu Mansur bin Muhyi Din Allah), 1<sup>st</sup> reign, 440 / 1048**
- A1585 AR dirham (fine silver) RRR  
Son of 'Imad al-Din Abu Kalijar b. Sultan al-Dawla. His popular name *fulad sutun* never appears on the coinage of either reign (this item for the first, #1585F for the second).  
**al-Malik al-Rahim Khusrafiruz (b. 'Imad al-Din), in Fars & Iraq, 440-447 / 1048-1055**  
His silver dirhams bear the titles *shahanshah al-rahim sultan din Allah wa malik 'ibad Allah wa 'adud khalifat Allah abu nasr*, sometimes together with *muhyi din Allah*. The gold dinar bears a short version of the above titulare, together with the additional title *dhakhirat al-din*.
- B1585 AV dinar R  
A recently discovered type, all from one hoard and all apparently struck at al-Ahwaz in 445.
- 1585 AR dirham (fine or debased silver) RRR  
**Fulad Sutun, 2<sup>nd</sup> reign, 447-454 / 1055-1061**
- 1585F AR dirham RRR  
Named Shahanshah al-Mu'azzam Abu Mansur, citing the Great Seljuq Tughril Beg as overlord, struck only at Shiraz in 451.<sup>421</sup>
- JULANDID**  
*An Omani Arab dynasty who ruled briefly on the Iranian side of the Persian Gulf, at a place called Huzu, not far from the modern city of Bandar Lengeh, once an important port city.*  
All known coins were struck at Huzu. Most are somewhat weakly struck, frequently found worn or damaged, and stylistically and
- calligraphically very similar to the Siraf mint dirhams of the Buwayhids. All bear the name and patronymic of the issuer, without any overlord other than the 'Abbasid caliph.  
**Badr b. Khattal, fl. 334 / 945-946**  
A1586 AR dirham, known only from Huzu dated 334<sup>422</sup> RRR  
This ruler may not have been related to the Julandids.  
**Ridwan b. Ja'far, fl. 338-349 / 949-960**  
1586 AR dirham RR  
**Abu Muttalib, fl. 342**  
1586M AR dirham, two uncertain mints, known dated 342 RRR  
Citing only Abu Muttalib, whose relationship to the Julandids is unknown, and the caliph al-Muti'.  
One of the mints is possibly Tanah, said to have been a town somewhere between Siraf and Huzu, the other unread. A few examples were found amongst a small hoard of perhaps 200 dirhams, mostly Buwayhid but including about a dozen Julandid dirhams of Ridwan, with a terminal date of 346 for the hoard. I have been unable to find any reference to Abu Muttalib in the few history chronicles I have examined. The style of these dirhams is very close to those of Ridwan b. Ja'far and to the Buwayhid coins of Siraf, but not of any other Buwayhid mint.
- ILYASID**  
*A minor dynasty at Kirman, rivals to both the Buwayhids and Samanids. All coins struck at Kirman.*  
**Abu 'Ali Muhammad b. Ilyas, 320-322 / 932-934 & 324-356 / 936-967**  
C1587 AR dirham, several different dates known RRR
- 'IMRANID**  
*A minor Arab dynasty at al-Basra, vassals of the Buwayhids.*  
All coins struck at al-Basra circa 387-393 and 405, generally carefully struck, always citing the Buwayhid ruler, Baha' al-Dawla during the earlier dates, Sultan al-Dawla in 405.  
**Muhadhdhab al-Dawla, 376-408 / 987-1018**  
N1587 AV dinar RRR  
1587 AR dirham RR
- HASANWAYHID**  
Bergmann, E. von, "Beiträge zur muhammedanischen Münzkunde," *Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philos.-Hist. Klasse, Wien*, vol. 73 (1873), pp. 129-170.  
Miles, George C., "Trésor de Dirhems du IXe siècle," *Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique en Iran*, v. 37 (1970), pp. 67-145.  
Qouchani, "Qalamrou-e hukumat-e Abu'l-Najm Badr ebn-e Hasanweyh beh asnad-e sekkehha", *Iranian Journal of Archaeology and History*, 8:2 (spring-summer 1373/1994), pp. 46-65, in Farsi. By far the most important study of this coinage.  
*A minor Barzikani Kurdish dynasty in western Iran, or which only one member of the family was of any importance. Coins struck 391-405 only.*  
The usual mints for the Hasanwayhids were Burujird, Mah al-Kufa, al-Rur, and Saburkhvast, though in all about 15-20 mints are known, including several that operated as mints only for this dynasty. Gold dinars were usually exquisitely struck on neat flans, with clear mint & date. Most silver dirhams were poorly struck on scruffy blanks. Dirhams with fully legible mint & date are exceptional. All coins of Badr are dated between 391 and 405. Earlier coins from mints under his authority cite only the Buwayhid overlord and are thus classified as Buwayhid.  
All his proper coinage also bears the name of his Buwayhid overlord, either Baha' al-Dawla, Sultan al-Dawla, Majd al-Dawla or Shams al-Dawla. Those citing Majd al-Dawla are the least rare.  
**Badr b. Hasanwayh, 369-405 / 980-1014**  
1588 AV dinar, always with name of ruler RR

<sup>420</sup> A modest hoard of the heavily debased dinars of Suq al-Ahwaz 398, 399 and 421 entered the market in 2009, probably several hundred examples of 398 and 399, a few dozen of 421. This hoard convinced me that the 398 & 399 types were struck for many years after their dates. Like the 421 dinars in the hoard, the 398-399 dinars were mostly extremely fine condition or better.

<sup>421</sup> My thanks to Muhammad Ali Aravand, for reporting this, March 2009.

<sup>422</sup> First reported by Spink-Taisei, Auction 31, 20 June 1989, lot 441.

Dinars are reported citing Baha' al-Dawla, Majd al-Dawla, or Shams al-Dawla as Buwayhid overlords, but it is also possible that some dinars cite Sultan al-Dawla (as confirmed for the dirhams).

Most dinars bear the word *ibriz*, "pure", below obverse or reverse.

1589.1 BI dirham (often much debased), without name of ruler but with *khamisa* in field (circa 391-393) RR  
The precise significance of *khamisa* ("five") is unknown. The term occurs on debased issues of #1589.2 as well, and may refer to the silver content or trade value of the coin.

1589.2 AR or BI dirham, with name of Badr (usually with the patronymic as well), citing the Buwayhid Baha' al-Dawla as overlord, 390s R

1589.3 AR or BI dirham, similar, but citing the Buwayhid Majd al-Dawla, 390s S

1589.4 AR dirham, similar, but citing the Buwayhid Shams al-Dawla, early 400s R

1589.5 AR or BI dirham, similar, but citing the Buwayhid Sultan al-Dawla, thus 403-405 RR  
After about 399, most dirhams are struck in fine silver, including all examples of #1589.4 (but surprisingly, not all of the last type, #1589.5). Coins of the first three issues are normally moderately to heavily debased. Central fields of #1589.2 & 1589.3 are enclosed either in a circle or hexagon, probably of equal rarity.

### 'ANNAZID

A minor dynasty, possibly of Kurdish origin, who succeeded the Hasanwayhids in western Iran, ultimately becoming vassals of the Great Seljuqs. Only Faris seems to have struck coins in any quantity, though dirhams of 'Ali b. 'Umar have become less rare in recent years. The dynasty is sometimes called the 'Ayyarids, and the correct dynastic name remains disputable, though now listed as Annazid in Wikipedia.

Most known 'Annazid coins lack the mint name. Their capital city was Hulwan.

'Ali b. 'Umar, fl. 417 / 1026

D1590 AR dirham RR  
Known from Mah al-Kufa mint, AH417. Citing as overlords the Kakwayhid Muhammad and the Buwayhids Majd al-Dawla and al-Hasan b. Shams al-Dawla.<sup>423</sup>

Husam al-Dawla Abu'l-Shawk Faris, 401-437 / 1011-1045

E1590 AR or BI dirham RRR  
A dirham of Mah al-Kufa dated 424 is in the Shamma collection. Abu'l-Shawk's dirhams are fine silver until about 420, thereafter increasingly debased.

Nasir al-Dawla Muhalhil, 437-446 / 1045-1055

Muhalhil had been quasi-independent ruler at Shahrzur since the early 400s, but probably issued no coins until 437.

F1590 BI dirham RRR  
Struck by Muhalhil as vassal of the Great Seljuq Tughril Beg, at the mint of Hulwan.

### KAKWAYHID

Miles, George C., "The Coinage of the Kakwayhid Dynasty," *Iraq*, vol. 5 (1938), pp. 89-104. Supplements by the same author were published in *ANS Museum Notes*, vols. 9 (1960), 12 (1966), and 18 (1972). Many additional types have subsequently been discovered, most of them still unpublished, except in sale and auction catalogs.

*The last of the Daylamite dynasties, independent 1008-1051 in western & central Iran. A branch survived much later at Yazd, but is not known to have struck any coins.*

Isbahan (i.e., Isfahan) is by far the most common mint for all types, but coins of Saburkhwast and al-Karaj are occasionally seen. There are at least a dozen additional mints, most of them very rare.

Kakwayhid dies show exquisite style and calligraphy, especially for the silver coinage of the 410s and early 420s. Unfortunately, few

specimens were adequately struck to fully reveal the intricacy of the engraving. A few dies used for type #1591 are signed by the engraver.

The great majority of Kakwayhid coins also cite their overlord, Buwayhid from about 405 until 434, except for a short period in the early 420s when the overlord at most mints was the Ghaznavid ruler, at first Mahmud, then Mas'ud I after 421. From 435 onward, the overlord is the Great Seljuq sultan Tughril Beg.

'Ala al-Dawla Muhammad, 398-433 / 1008-1041  
(Abu Ja'far, b. Dushmanzar)

1590 AV dinar R

1591 AR dirham, similar S  
These dirhams are often of great artistic quality, though usually weakly struck. The silver is normally quite debased from about 420 onwards.

1591A AR dirham, similar, but with Qur'an Surat 112 on the reverse (*Allah ahad Allah samad ...*) R  
The most common mint is Saburkhwast.

Both the dinars and dirhams of this ruler occur with bewildering variety, just as the contemporary Buwayhid coinage of Shiraz. Some coins struck outside of Isbahan also bear the names of local governors or vassals. Further research is essential, given the large number of new types discovered since Miles' excellent articles!

Faramurz (b. Muhammad), 433-443 / 1041-1051

1592.1 AV dinar, citing the Buwayhid overlord Abu Kalijar, 433-434 R

1592.2 AV dinar, citing the Seljuq Tughril Beg as overlord, 435 and later C  
The dinar of Isbahan 435 is perhaps the most common medieval Islamic gold coin of all, due to a find in the 1960s of a hoard that weighed at least 9 kilos, about 3000 specimens, terminating in year 435, of which well over 95% were two issues of Isfahan 435, one with and one without the word *shams* above the reverse field, but otherwise identical.

Nearly all the common Isfahan 435 dinars are in choice lustrous uncirculated condition, fit to be slabbed (encapsulated) – and in January 2011 I saw four examples already slabbed by NGC.

1593 AR of BI dirham (usually debased), similar, normally under the suzerainty of Tughril Beg RR

### BANI MIZYAD

Jafar, Yahya, "A dirhem of the Mizyadis", *ONS Newsletter* #199 (2009).

*A tribal dynasty based in southern Iraq, who ruled from about 350/950 until 558/1163, often centered at Hilla.*

Baha' al-Dawla Mansur b. Dabis, 474-479 / 1081-1087

1593M AR dirham, known from Hilla 476 RRR  
Citing the Seljuq Malikshah I as overlord.

### GHAZNAVID

Deyell, J.S., *Living without Silver: The Monetary History of Early Medieval North India*, Delhi, 1990.

Hattori, Naoto, *Khulba I-X*, Kyoto, 1980s & 1990s (self-published).

Sourdel, Dominique, *Inventaire des monnaies musulmanes anciennes du Musée du Caboul*, Damascus 1953.

Sourdel, Dominique, "Un trésor de dinars gaznavides et salguqides découvert en Afghanistan," *Bulletin d'études orientales*, vol. 18 (1963-64), pp. 197-219.

Thomas, Edward, "On the coins of the Kings of Ghazni," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. 9 (1848), pp. 267-387.

Thomas, Edward, "Supplementary contributions to the series of coins of the Kings of Ghazni," *Ibid.*, vol. 17 (1859), pp. 138-208.

Tye, Robert & Monica, *Jitals*, Isle of South Uist, 1995.

The listings for the Ghazna mint in the Eastern Khorasan volume of SNAT (v.14d) are especially important.

*Of Turkish extraction, the Ghaznavids were at first mamluk ("slave") governors for the Samanids in and around Ghazna in what is now southeastern Afghanistan. They achieved independence in 389/999 and survived until 582/1186, though after about 555/1160 their territories were confined to the city of Lahore and surrounding areas in the Punjab.*

<sup>423</sup> This type was published by Miles as an ordinary Kakwayhid type. The relationship of 'Ali b. 'Umar to the 'Annazids is tentative.

Ghaznavid coinage is of great variety, with all manner of local issues. No attempt has yet been undertaken to systematically catalog this complex series. As a result, the type listings given here are surely incomplete. When not otherwise noted, the dirham is a slightly thick coin of about 18mm breadth, weighing 2.5-3.5 grams, derived from the earlier Hindushahi dramma of Kapisa near Kabul. The issues of Mahmud were known as yamini dirhams, after Mahmud's title, Yamin al-Dawla, and are frequently inscribed "yamini" or even "yaminiya".

After the reign of Mahmud, proper copper coinage ceased. Most yamini dirhams and other early silver coins are of fine alloy, but from the reign of Mas'ud I onwards, much of the silver is substantially debased. Yamini style dirhams of Mahmud and Mas'ud I are sometimes found in base metal, but these are believed to be contemporary counterfeits, perhaps produced at the official mints; such forgeries are relatively common and thus suggest a fair degree of hanky-panky on the part of mint authorities. Actual debasement reached its maximum under Ibrahim, whereas later rulers restored a finer alloy, perhaps about 60% silver, with the rest in base metal.

The rulers are known by various titles in addition to or in lieu of their proper names. The principal titles found on the coins are noted for each ruler. Dates of reign for Mawdud and later rulers are somewhat uncertain. I have followed the dates suggested by C.E. Bosworth, *The Later Ghaznavids: Splendour and Decay*, Edinburgh 1977, p. viii.

Coins of the early members of the Ghaznavid dynasty, Ibrahim b. 'Abd al-Ghaffar through Mansur b. Balkategin, were struck at Ghazna. All gold dinars of Sebuktegin are from Herat, his silver mainly from Farwan for single dirhams, Andaraba for multiple dirhams. Mahmud and Mas'ud I regularly struck gold at Ghazna, jitals at Lahore, silver principally at Balkh, Nishapur, and especially Ghazna, and copper at Ghazna and Bust. After the loss of Khorasan to the Seljuqs in 431, all dinars and dirhams were struck at Ghazna, jitals at Lahore, fractional dirhams in Sind (probably at or near Multan). Some scarce gold and silver coins were struck at Iranian mints during the western Ghaznavid incursion from 420 to 427, of which only the gold of al-Rayy is occasionally available.

Ghaznavid gold dinars were at first carefully struck, initially at the two mints of Nishapur and Herat, later at Ghazna, which first struck dinars in 405. By the time of Mawdud, the overall quality of the dinar had diminished. Dinars of Ibrahim were not only poorly struck, but the gold alloy deteriorated, probably significantly below 50% by the end of his reign. Subsequent dinars are horribly struck, barely legible, and increasingly debased. Fine gold was restored only during the last ruler, Khusraw Malik.

Multiple dirhams were struck only under Sebuktegin, Isma'il and Mahmud, mainly at Andaraba. Quality and fineness appear to be similar to previous Samanid issues. The traditional dirhams, almost always broader than the yamini dirhams, were struck only at the mints of Khorasan, primarily Balkh and Nishapur, but also in very limited quantities at Herat and Marw. Their fineness remains untested, but my guess would be in the 60-90% range.

The most important Ghaznavid silver coinage was the dirham of yamini style, or "standard dirham" as it might be termed, first introduced by Sebuktegin in 380 and produced until the collapse of the dynasty. Although not yet analyzed, the fineness of the standard dirham seems to have been in the 75-85% range until the end of Mas'ud's reign in 432, then perhaps somewhat lower until the earliest issues of Ibrahim. Thereafter, the fineness rapidly depreciated, probably below 10% for some of the scruffiest issues of Ibrahim and his immediate successors. Their fineness returned to somewhere in the 50-70% range during the long reign of Bahramshah, perhaps in the year 525 or thereabouts, and was thus retained until the loss of Ghazna in 568/1173. The fineness estimates provided here are just a guess.

Throughout the Ghaznavid period, the standard dirhams were usually struck on planchets smaller than the dies, so that the marginal legends, sometimes containing mint & date on one side or the other, are off flan. Thus the majority struck from dated dies fail to reveal the inscribed date. Before the loss of Khorasan in 431, some standard dirhams were struck at other mints, such as Warwarliz, Andarab(a) and Farwan, with the mint name usually inserted in the obverse or reverse field rather than in the margin.

Jitals were struck in a copper alloy that usually contains a few percent of silver, as well as other base metals, such as lead or antimony. Most were struck in the eastern regions of the kingdom, principally at Lahore. The jitals have been very well catalogued by Tye, though additional types and varieties continue to be discovered.

The copper fulus were often struck from exceptionally fine dies, but often with considerable carelessness, especially those of the principal mint for the fals, Ghazna. The very broad fulus of Bust were never well struck, and most surviving examples are unpleasantly worn, damaged or corroded.

#### Balkategin, circa 320-326 / 932-938

As governor of Balkh under the Samanid ruler, Nasr II, cited on the coins at the bottom of either obverse or reverse field.

T1594 AR dirham R

#### Ibrahim b. 'Abd al-Ghaffar, fl. circa 338-345 / 949-956

1594 AE fals, Ghazna mint only, often dated 343 RR

#### Alptekin, circa 343-355 / 954-966

A1595 AR dirham (Andaraba mint) RRR

Citing the Samanid ruler, 'Abd al-Malik; it remains unclear whether the Alptekin of this coin is the same as the early Ghaznavid Alptekin.

Struck at Andaraba only, known dated 347 or 349.

#### Balkategin, circa 355-362 / 966-973<sup>424</sup>

1595 AE fals, as Ghaznavid ruler (Ghazna, normally dated 357) RR

#### Mansur b. Balkategin, in Ghazna, 358 / 969 & circa 366-373 / 977-983

A1596 AE fals RRR

Struck only at Ghazna in 358 & 368. The above four rulers of this kingdom were not related to Sebuktegin and his successors, who formed a true dynastic line, also known as the Sebukteginids.

#### Sebuktegin (Nasir al-Dawla), 366-387 / 977-997

From 366, local ruler in Bust & Gardez, seizing Ghazna shortly after 373. According to his coinage, he became the Samanid governor in 380, centered at Farwan. Herat also fell under his rule from 384 until his death in 387. All his silver and gold coinage cites the Samanid ruler Nuh III.

1596 AV dinar, Herat mint only, 384-387 R

1597 AR multiple dirham, similar, struck at Andaraba S

A coarsely engraved variant, barely legible, was assigned by Mitchiner to the Ma'din mint (M-M29, SNAT 383).

1598 AR dirham, similar, broad flan, Herat mint RRR

Stylistically similar to contemporary Samanid dirhams of Bukhara.

1599 AR dirham, narrow flan, as autonomous ruler in Ghazna (but citing the Samanid overlord Nuh III) C

Moderately rare with legible date (known from Farwan dated 380-385). These coins were probably struck entirely at Farwan, though most examples lack the mint name.

The narrow, thickish fabric of this type was derived from the dramma (*i.e.*, drachm) of the Hindushahi kings of Kabul (Spalapati Deva & Samanta Deva). This denomination was later debased and seems to have been known as a *jital* from about 500/1100 onwards. However, to separate the Ghazna types from the Lahore types, I have retained the denomination *dirham* for all the post-500 Ghazna silver issues under this dynasty, since when legible, the engraved denomination is always *dirham*.

1599A AE fals, Ghazna mint only RR  
Known dated 374.

1599K AE jital, probably struck at Ghazna but without mint name (Tye #83), name Sebuktegin above lion RR?

Lion right on obverse, elephant left on reverse, as on the copper coins of Bhima of the Hindushahi dynasty, which were struck for many decades during the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> centuries.

#### Isma'il, 387-388 / 997-998

1600 AR multiple dirham, struck only at Warwarliz in 388 RRR  
Citing the Samanid Nuh b. Mansur, who died in 387!

<sup>424</sup> It has not been determined whether the Balkategin of #T1594 and #1595 are truly the same individual.

1601	AR dirham (3-4 grams), Hindushahi fabric as type #1599 of Sebuktegin Always without mint & date, citing the Samanid Mansur II.	S	Most gold and silver coins of this reign from the mints of Herat, Balkh and Ghazna dated in the latter part of 420 and in 421 bear the name of the month as well as the year (types #1606, 1607, 1609, and 1611).	
1601A	AE fals Probably struck at Ghazna, attested with triangular design in obverse field. <sup>425</sup> <b>Mahmud (Abu'l-Qasim, b. Sebuktegin), governor of Ghazna, circa 367-384 / 978-994</b> Coins of this governorate cite his father Sebuktegin as overlord, but without citing a Samanid ruler.	RRR	1606 AV dinar, struck in fine gold (Nishapur mint) Other mints are known, mainly Iranian mints dated 420-421, all very rare. <b>WARNING:</b> Counterfeits of Nishapur 389 exist, recognized under magnification by the modern concentric machining marks in the fields.	C
E1602	AE broad fals, Bust mint, very broad flan, normally with sword depicted in field Coins of this type were struck by Mahmud as governor of Bust on behalf of his father Sebuktegin as early as 368 (without sword). Mahmud was named governor of Ghazna in 367/977-978 by his father Sebuktegin (see #F1602).	RR	1606A AV dinar, citing Mas'ud as governor of the west (al-Rayy 420) <sup>427</sup>	RRR
F1602	AE fals, Ghazna mint <b>Mahmud (Abu'l-Qasim, b. Sebuktegin), as Samanid governor in western Khorasan, 384-387 / 994-997</b> Citing the Samanid ruler Nuh III, but without Mahmud's father Sebuktegin, with titles <i>al-wali sayf al-dawla</i> .	RR	1607 AV dinar, struck in pale gold (mints of Herat & Ghazna only), similar Coins were minted at Herat from 389 to 421 and at Ghazna from 405 to 421. The gold alloy at these mints is generally rather good until about 408 and gradually becomes pale thereafter. Late 420 and all 421 issues also bear the month.	C
A1602	AV dinar, Nishapur mint only, struck 384-386, with Samanid overlord Nuh III	R	1608 AR multiple dirham (typically from about 8g to more than 12g) Nearly all struck at Andaraba in 389, with sword below the obverse field and the name Balkkategin atop the obverse margin. Multiple dirhams were extremely rare until the discovery of the humongous hoard of allegedly more than 30,000 specimens in 1967. About 30% of the hoard was of this type. <sup>428</sup> A few later dates in the 390s are known for the mints of Andaraba and Warwarliz, terminating in 397, all very rare.	C
B1602	AR multiple dirham, Andaraba 385 only, ruler cited as <i>sayf al-dawla wa nasiruhu</i> (SNAT 207-209)	RR	1609 AR yamini dirham (2.5-3.5g), similar (Ghazna & other eastern mints) Most yamini dirhams have isolated Arabic letters (more rarely Brahmi) or other symbols somewhere in the obverse or reverse field. The meaning of these letters remains obscure. Whereas some may possibly refer to mints that were subordinate to Ghazna, it is more likely that they represent mintmasters or other officials principally at Ghazna itself. The chronology of these symbols is unclear, nor has it been determined whether they have identical meaning on both silver and gold issues. Contemporary forgeries in copper or silver-plated copper ( <i>subaerata</i> ) are often encountered (S). Similar contemporary forgeries are also known for types #1621 of Mas'ud I and #1626 of Mawdud, probably later rulers as well.	A
C1602	AR dirham Struck on broad (25-27mm) or narrow (19-22mm) flans, often with a sword in field, principally at Nishapur. It is conceivable that the two distinct sizes represent two separate denominations, such as a single and double dirham (further study needed).	R	1609A AR yamini dirham (2.5-3.5g), similar, but with mint name other than Ghazna, somewhere in the obverse or reverse field	S
D1602	AE fals, Nishapur mint <b>Mahmud (Abu'l-Qasim, b. Sebuktegin), as Samanid governor throughout Khorasan, 387-389 / 997-999</b> Citing the Samanid ruler Mansur II. Struck at Ghazna, Herat, Nishapur, and rarely at Warwarliz & Farwan. Also with title <i>sayf al-dawla</i> .	RR	1609N AR yamini double dirham (5.5-6.5g), as #1609	RR
1602	AV dinar, fine gold Most coins of this type depict a sword in the obverse or reverse field. Struck only at Nishapur.	R	1609O AR yamini double dirham (5.5-6.5g), as #1609A, with mint name in field	RRR
1603	AR multiple dirham, similar Struck at Andaraba in 388. An extremely rare variant is known from Warwarliz, undated.	R	1610 AR bilingual dirham (in Sanskrit & Arabic) Struck at Mahmudpur (= Lahore) in 418 & 419, dated in words in Arabic, but also dated 418 in Sanskrit numerals on the reverse. A few examples are dated 418 in Arabic, 419 in Sanskrit, or vice versa (RR). Lahore was renamed Mahmudpur in honor of Mahmud the Ghaznavid.	R
1604	AR dirham, broad flan Struck at Balkh and Nishapur, the latter rare.	S	1611.1 AR broad dirham (usually 22-26mm), normal reverse	C
1604A	AR broad dirham (about 24mm), with the complete Qur'an Verse 3:18 (ending in ... <i>al-'aziz al-hakim</i> ), Nishapur 387 only	RRR		
1605	AR dirham, narrow flan, yamini type, always without mint name but believed to have been minted at Farwan or Ghazna <b>Mahmud (Abu'l-Qasim, b. Sebuktegin), as independent ruler, 389-421 / 999-1030</b> <sup>426</sup> His principal titles are <i>yamin al-dawla wa amin al-milla</i> . Because of the first part of this title, his dirham became known as <i>yamini</i> , a word that often appears in the obverse or reverse field on coins of all three metals, occasionally in the feminine form <i>yaminiya</i> . Additional titles include <i>nizam al-din</i> , <i>al-amir al-sayyid</i> , and <i>wali amir al-mu'minin</i> .	C		

<sup>425</sup> Unpublished example in the Ashmolean.

<sup>426</sup> His effective rule commenced in 388/998, upon the demise of Isma'il. Hence his reign is traditionally regarded as 388-421 / 998-1030, though he continued to recognize Mansur II as his Samanid overlord until well into 389, together with his *laqab* Sayf al-Dawla. His new *laqab* Yamin al-Dawla was acquired during the year 389, after Samanid suzerainty was abolished.

<sup>427</sup> Private collection in America.

<sup>428</sup> Another hoard, albeit very much smaller, containing about 1000 multiple dirhams and perhaps 300 regular dirhams (mostly Balkh, also Bukhara, Samarqand and al-Shash, circa 350s-380s) reached the market in 2008 and 2009. The terminal date was 388, hence the hoard contained none of the common Andaraba 389 multiple dirham of Mahmud, fewer than half a dozen of the scarcer Andaraba 388 (#1603) and a few regular dirhams of Balkh 388, none later. The multiple dirhams of the new hoard were less than 2% Ghaznavid, less than 10% Banijurid (mainly Sahlan b. Maktum) and close to 90% Samanid, whereas the great hoard was about 30% Ghaznavid, perhaps 30% Banijurid (mainly al-Harith b. Harb), perhaps 40% Samanid.

Struck principally at Balkh, Nishapur and Sijistan, the last very rare. Dirhams from mints conquered during Mahmud's western campaigns in 420-421 are very rare (mainly al-Muhammadiya). Balkh dirhams of 420 & 421 usually cite the month, from Dhu'l-Qa'da 420 to Jumada I 421.		<b>Mas'ud I, 421-432 / 1030-1042,</b> <b>(Nasir Din Allah Abu Sa'id, b. Mahmud)</b>			
		Additional titles used primarily on the gold coinage: <i>nizam al-din, zahir khalifat Allah, or hafiz 'ibad Allah.</i>			
1611.2	AR broad dirham (normally 28-34mm), with Ayat al-Ikhlās on reverse (Qur'an Surat 112), Balkh 390-393 only	R	1618	AV dinar, fine gold, mainly mint of Nishapur	C
Balkh issues dated 394 and later belong to type #1611.1. The typical weight of both subtypes of #1611 is in the range of 3.5 to 5.0 grams.			A few rare issues were struck at the Iranian mints of Hamadan, al-Rayy, and Isfahan. The province of Khorasan, including the mint cities Nishapur and Herat, were lost to the Seljuqs in 432/1040. With the exception of a single variety of #1625 struck at Herat in 433, all subsequent Ghaznavid dinars were struck only at Ghazna, almost exclusively in pale gold.		
1612	AR ½ dirham (circa 1.0-1.7g), usually Bust mint, rarely visible	S	1619	AV dinar, pale gold, mints of Herat & Ghazna	C
Some rather finely engraved examples of this denomination, always without mint name, were likely struck at Ghazna. The issues of Bust are normally undated, though the year 401 is occasionally seen (RR).			1620	AR broad dirham, principally Balkh and Nishapur mints	C
1613	AR damma (tiny fractional dirham, about 0.5g), without mint name but struck in Sind	C	Some very rare examples were struck at al-Muhammadiya (Rayy) in both fine Kakwayhid and less elegant Ghaznavid styles.		
Believed struck at Mansura or Multan in Sind, but always without mint name. Tye has suggested that the denomination may have been known as the <i>damma</i> (see note above #1493). The weight is almost identical to 1/6 canonical dirham, similar to the <i>sudaysi</i> of the Rassids of Yemen.			1621	AR dirham, ordinary style (struck mainly at Ghazna)	A
1614	AE broad fals (Bust, 30-35mm)	RR	Successor to the yamini, with many variations, as for Mahmud, but always without mint name. While Ghazna was the primary mint, some may have been struck elsewhere, to judge by the great variation of calligraphy, layout and symbols.		
1615	AE normal fals (principally Ghazna and Balkh, average 25mm), normally lovely fine style	S	Average weight about 3g.		
More and more interesting varieties have appeared since the mid-1990s, revealing a large number of distinctive types, mostly undated and often without mint name.			1621A	AR dirham, ordinary style, with mint name (other than Ghazna)	S
The fals of Balkh 394 lacks the name and titles of Mahmud but bears the word <i>yaminiya</i> below the reverse field, which obviously refers to Yamin al-Dawla Mahmud. For that reason I have reckoned it as this type rather than #1615A.			Known from mints of Andarab ( <i>sic</i> ), Farwan, Khuttalan and Warwarliz, without governor's name.		
Not to be confused with contemporary copper forgeries of the yamini dirham, which are relatively common.			1621B	AR dirham, citing local official Balkategin, mint of Andarab ( <i>sic</i> ), undated	RR
1615A	AE normal fals, without name of ruler (Ghazna, average about 25mm)	R	1621C	AR 2 dirhams, ordinary style, approximately 5.5g, mint(s) undetermined (see #16090)	RR
Technically anonymous, as it cites only the caliph al-Qadir.			1622	AR ½ dirham, several variants	R
<b>Nasr b. Sebuktegin, as governor in Bust under his father Sebuktegin, circa 387 / 997</b>			Style as the Bust fractions of Mahmud, but without mint name.		
B1616	AE broad fals, also citing his father, Bust mint, dated 387	RRR	1623	AR or BI dirham, bull & horseman type (Lahore?) (Tye #89)	R
<b>Nasr b. Sebuktegin, as governor in Sijistan under his brother Mahmud, circa 400-412 / 1010-1022</b>			Sanskrit name Sri Samanta Deva above bull, Arabic Mas'ud above horseman. Some examples bear a short word or a symbol on the center of the bull's body. All later bull & horseman types, as well as bull-only types retain the name of Sri Samanta Deva above the bull, increasingly stylized on later issues.		
A1616	AR broad dirham, also citing his brother Mahmud, Sijistan mint	RR	1624	AR damma (Sind)	S
Sometimes referred to as Nasr b. Nasir al-Dawla on the coins.			<b>Mawdud, 432-440 / 1041-1048</b> <b>(Shihab al-Dawla Abu'l-Fath, b. Mas'ud)</b>		
<b>Muhammad (b. Mahmud), as governor of Juzjan, circa 414-421 / 1024-1030</b>			Additional titles: <i>qutb al-milla, fakhr al-umma.</i>		
1617A	AR dirham, citing his father Yamin al-Dawla Mahmud	RR	1625	AV dinar, pale gold, Ghazna mint	S
When visible, the mint & date are always Juzjan 414 (Juzjan in eastern Khorasan is not to be confused with Jurjan in Iran).			Also known from Herat dated 433, during the brief local uprising against the Seljuq conquerors, citing unknown Abu Jahl below reverse field (RRR).		
<b>Muhammad, 1<sup>st</sup> reign, 421 / 1030, as independent ruler (Jalal al-Dawla Abu Ahmad, b. Mahmud)</b>			1626	AR dirham, normal styles (Ghazna, but often without mint name)	C
Most of his coins bear the additional title <i>jamal al-milla</i> .			Frequently dated, sometimes with month (S).		
1616	AV dinar	RR	A1627	BI jital, Rajput bull on obverse, horseman on reverse with <i>mawdud</i> above (Tye #91-92)	R
The least rare example of this type is Ghazna 419, apparently the muling of an old obverse die of Mahmud with a reverse die of Muhammad.			B1627	BI jital, as #A1627 but horseman in circle, Kufic legend in surrounding margin	RR
1617	AR dirham, normal style, Ghazna mint	R	1627	BI jital, Rajput bull on obverse, Arabic inscriptions only on reverse (Lahore) (Tye #93-94)	C
Some examples omit the name Muhammad, but can readily be identified by his title Jamal al-Dawla or his <i>kunya</i> Abu Ahmad.			Two very distinct types, one with the kunya Abu'l-Fath at the top (1627.1), the other with Abu'l-Fath in the second line from the bottom (1627.2). The former is rare.		
B1617D	AE fals, with <i>muhammad bin mahmud</i> / 'adl within star of Solomon	RRR	1628	AR damma (Sind)	R
The mint for this type has been tentatively read as Maymaneh; always undated.			<b>'Ali, 440 / 1048-1049 (al-Mu'ayyad bi-nasr Allah)</b>		
No known coins of Muhammad's ephemeral second reign (432/1042).			1628K	AR dirham (Ghazna)	RRR
			<b>'Abd al-Rashid, 440-443 / 1049-1052</b> <b>(Izz al-Dawla wa Zayn al-Milla Sayf Allah)</b>		
			See #1629A for alternative titulature of 'Abd al-Rashid.		



1629	AV dinar	R	Types #1638-A1645 are believed to have been struck exclusively at Ghazna. Hoards containing hundreds or even thousands of these types often appear on the market. Most seem to have a silver content somewhere between 10% and 40%.
	Dinars of this type are known dated 439, and dinars of Mawdud dated 440 and 441 are also known. Presumably, these are mulings with old dies, evidence that obsolete dies were not discarded so long as they were still in serviceable condition and without political objection.		
1629A	AV dinar, with changed titles, dated 443 only	RRR	
	Titles <i>sama al-dawla wa sana al-milla sayf Allah</i> . These titles and the name <i>'abd al-rashid</i> all appear on the reverse, so that there is no question that these titles indeed belong to 'Abd al-Rashid.		
1630	AR dirham, normal style (Ghazna)	S	
	Many silver dirhams bear the additional title <i>sayf Allah</i> .		
1631	BI jital, bull on obverse (Lahore) (Tye #96-97)	S	
	No Sind fractional dirhams are known for 'Abd al-Rashid or the usurper Tughril.		
<b>Tughril, usurper, 443-444 / 1053</b> <b>(Qiwam al-Dawla Abu Sa'id)</b>			
A1632	AV dinar (Ghazna)	RRR	
1632	AR dirham, normal style (Ghazna)	R	<b>Mas'ud III, 492-508 / 1099-1115 ('Ala al-Dawla Abu Sa'd)</b>
	Formerly RRR, but at least 100, perhaps 200+ examples of this type reached the market circa 1999, now dispersed. Known dirhams of this style but weighing about 5.0-5.5g were perhaps intended as double dirhams (RRR).		
<b>Farrukhzad (b. Mas'ud), 444-451 / 1053-1059</b> <b>(Jamal al-Dawla wa Kamal al-Milla Abu Shuja')</b>			
	Additional titles are <i>mu'ayyid amir al-mu'minin</i> (used 443-444) and <i>kamal al-milla</i> (from 445 onwards).		
	Dinars exist dated 443, and it is possible that Farrukhzad had already claimed the throne before the start of 444. Since his name always appears on the reverse and the date on the obverse, the 443 dinars may represent a muling with an obverse die of a previous ruler, either Mawdud or the rebel Tughril.		
1633	AV dinar	S	
1634	AR dirham, normal style (Ghazna only, not always noted on the coin), occasionally dated	C	
1634A	AR ½ dirham, Ghazna style, about 1.0g	RR	
1635	BI jital, bull on obverse (Lahore) (Tye #99-100)	C	
1636	AR damma (Sind), about 0.5g, much debased	R	
<b>Ibrahim, 451-492 / 1059-1099</b>			
	The titles of Ibrahim are not well understood, largely because few dated coins have been published and no thorough research has yet been undertaken. On earlier coins he is either <i>zahir al-dawla</i> or <i>nasir al-dawla</i> , on most later coins he is styled <i>al-sultan al-a'zam</i> , <i>qahir al-muluk</i> , <i>malik al-islam</i> , or <i>sayyid al-salatin</i> (or some combination of these). Many dinars struck 451-465 also bear the kunya <i>abu'l-muzaffar</i> (also found on some later jitals of Lahore).		
1637	AV dinar, pale to very pale gold (later coins more debased)	C	
	In 1995, a large hoard (circa 1000± coins) of late debased dinars of Ibrahim reached the market. Dated specimens show 480-484, though examples with clear date are scarce, about 10% of the hoard. These appear to be substantially more debased than earlier types of this reign, which are known dated from 451 to 465. <sup>429</sup> Dinars dated 466-479 and after 485 seem to be unknown, except for a unique specimen dated 475 <sup>430</sup> .		
1638	AR dirham, normal style, without denominational name, relatively fine to severely debased silver	A	
	The billon dirhams of Ibrahim frequently have a denominational name above the obverse or reverse field. Several varieties are listed below. Their chronology is unknown, save for the mention of the 'Abbasid caliph. The meaning of these denominational adjectives remains unknown, though one might conjecture that the names were related to either their silver content or assigned value. The rarities assigned to the named denominations are tentative.		
			1639 BI 'adudi dirham C
			1640 BI nusayri dirham C
			1641 BI qarari dirham C
			1641A BI qahir dirham S
			1642 BI hafizi dirham C
			1643 BI 'imadi dirham (known dated 471) S
			1644 BI zahiri dirham S
			A1645 AR ½ dirham, Ghazna types R
			Struck from special smaller dies. A few very rare examples are inscribed <i>nisf</i> , Arabic for "half". Typically 0.8-1.0g.
			1645 BI/AE jital, bull on obverse (Lahore) (Tye 102-103) C
			1646 BI damma (Sind), heavily debased C
			This is the last issue of the fractional dirham ( <i>damma</i> ) in Sind.
			<b>Mas'ud III, 492-508 / 1099-1115 ('Ala al-Dawla Abu Sa'd)</b>
			1647 AV dinar (Ghazna), very pale gold RR
			Always poorly engraved & barely legible, truly loathsome.
			1648 AR debased dirham, normal types, sometimes with denominational name S
			Known denominational titles include the <i>zahiri</i> , <i>yamini</i> , <i>qahiri</i> , and <i>sana'i</i> dirhams. Rarity of individual issues is undetermined, nor is their chronology, nor has their fineness been analyzed.
			1648A AR debased fractional dirham (about 1g) RR?
			Always without mint name but presumably struck at Ghazna.
			1649 BI/AE jital, bull on obverse (Lahore), various symbols on bull's rump. (Tye 105, several subtypes) C
			No coins have been reported for his successor, 'Adud al-Dawla Shirzad, who ruled 508-509 / 1115-1116.
			<b>Arslanshah, 509-511 / 1116-1117 (Sultan al-Dawla)</b>
			1650 BI jital, bull on obverse (Lahore), (Tye 107) S
			On these jitals he is always named Malik Arslan, and most, if not all of his jitals bear the word <i>baha</i> above the field.
			No silver or gold coinage of this ruler is known.
			<b>Bahramshah, 511-552 / 1117-1157 (Yamin al-Dawla)</b>
			1651 AV dinar (Ghazna), very pale gold R
			These dinars are so hideously produced that the marginal inscriptions are almost always undecipherable. Even the field inscriptions are horrific.
			1652 AR dirham, normal types (Ghazna) A
			Most examples of types #1651 and 1652 cite the Great Seljuq Sanjar as overlord. The silver debasement is modest, with the fineness perhaps 50-60% or slightly better.
			The only date occasionally found is 525; other dates are at least very rare.
			1653 AR ½ dirham (1.0-1.5g), from special smaller dies made for the half dirham S
			Always without mint name, but probably struck only at Ghazna. Many varieties, with text differently arranged.
			1654 AR debased ¼ dirham (0.5-0.8g), similar, at least three varieties RR
			1655 BI/AE jital, bull on obverse (Lahore) (Tye 110) C
			1656 BI/AE jital, inscriptions only but Punjab fabric and calligraphy (Tye 109) S
			1657 AE jital, short inscriptions only, Ghazna style (Tye 110e1) S
			<i>Yamin al-dawla</i> on obverse, <i>bahramshah</i> on reverse, both sides within a rayed circle, similar to the reverse of #A1658.
			A1658 AE jital (perhaps Lahore), bull obverse, <i>yamini</i> in rayed circle reverse S
			This type was formerly misread and misattributed to the Delhi ruler Queen Raziya.

<sup>429</sup> A hoard of perhaps 200-300 pieces, terminal date 456 or 457, appeared in the market beginning in 2007. Portions of the 1995 hoard of 480-484 dinars continue to relentlessly appear on the market, and I now suspect that the size of the hoard was at least several thousand pieces.

<sup>430</sup> In a private collection in the United States.

**Khusrawshah, 552-555 / 1157-1160 (Mu'izz al-Dawla)**

Recently discovered normal gold and silver coins in the name of Khusrawshah are dated 548, suggesting that his reign most likely began in 548. There are no coins of Bahramshah known dated as late as 548.

For the time being, I have retained the dates of the reigns of Bahramshah as 511-552 and Khusrawshah as 552-555, although it now seems that either Khusrawshah succeeded Bahramshah in 548 or the two Ghaznavids ruled as rivals between 548 and 552.

The name is often transcribed as Khusro Shah.

- 1658 AV dinar, very pale gold RR  
 A few dozen examples surfaced circa 2000. The calligraphy is truly disgraceful and virtually unreadable. One dinar of noticeably better calligraphy and some relatively well-struck silver dirhams are now known dated 548, with the clearly legible mint name Ghazna.
- 1659.1 AR dirham, citing the Seljuq ruler Sanjar as overlord, normally debased metal S  
 Known dated 548 & 550 (both RR), or undated with circle of pellets replacing the mint/date formula.
- 1659.2 AR dirham, similar, but without overlord S  
 Always with circle of pellets instead of date and mint.
- 1660 BI/AE jital, bull on obverse (Lahore) (Tye 113) S
- 1661 AE jital (perhaps Lahore), as A1658 but *mu'izzi* in rayed circle (Tye 114) S  
 This type was formerly assigned to the Ghorid Mu'izz al-Din Muhammad b. Sam.<sup>431</sup>

**Khusraw Malik, 555-582 / 1160-1186 (Taj al-Dawla)**

Other titles were used, as noted in the type descriptions.

The name can also be transcribed as Khusro Malik.

- A1662 AV dinar, fine gold, Ghazna mint, good style & calligraphy RRR
- 1662 AR dirham, normal Ghazna types R  
 Khusraw Malik used three *laqabs* progressively, first Taj al-Dawla, then Siraj al-Dawla, finally Abu'l-Muluk. The range of silver fineness remains undetermined. The relative rarity of these three types is currently unknown.
- 1663.1 BI/AE jital, bull on obverse, reverse margin of dotted circles, title Taj al-Dawla (Tye 116) S  
 Cursive calligraphy, circle divided into 4 sections superimposed on bull's rump. Tye has suggested that this type was struck at Kurraman rather than Lahore.
- 1663.2 BI/AE jital, bull on obverse, title Taj al-Dawla (Lahore) (Tye 119) C  
 Squared calligraphy, cross on bull's rump.
- 1663.3 BI/AE jital, bull on obverse, Arabic *khayr* in center of bull's body, title Taj al-Dawla (Tye 118) S
- 1663.4 BI/AE jital, bull on obverse, title Abu'l-Muluk (Tye 117) C
- 1664.1 BI/AE jital, short inscriptions both sides, title Taj al-Dawla (Tye 121) C
- 1664.2 BI/AE jital, short inscriptions both sides, title Siraj al-Dawla (Tye 120) C
- A1665 AE jital (perhaps Lahore), as A1658 but *taji* in rayed circle (Tye 122) RR

**SHARS OF GHARSHISTAN (*sic*)**

A local ruler whose coins bear the mint name *Juzjan* and are stylistically similar to contemporary Ghaznavid coins of Balkh. All coins cite the Ghaznavid Mahmud as overlord.

**Abu Nasr, circa 396-400 / 1006-1010**

- G1665 AR broad dirham, ruler cited below obverse field RRR
- H1665 AR narrow dirham, ruler below reverse field RR  
 Stylistically similar to the standard *yamini* dirhams of Mahmud.

**GREAT SELJUQ**

There is no comprehensive catalog for this complex coinage. In addition to the usual museum and auction catalogs, the following are of some use:

- Alptekin, Çoskun, "Selçuklu Paraları," *Selçuklu araştırmaları dergisi*, vol. 3 (1971), pp. 435-591, based largely on the holdings of the British Museum.
- al-Husayni, Muhammad Baqir, "Analytic and statistical study of Islamic titles," *Sumer*, vol. 27 (1971), pp. 185-231; vol. 28 (1972), pp. 153-184. (in Arabic).
- Khodzhanizyazov, T., *Deneznoe obrashchenia v gosudarstva Velikikh Sel'dzhukov*, Ashkhabad 1977 (in Russian).
- Khodzhanizyazov, T., *Katalog monet gosudarstva Velikikh Sel'dzhukov*, Ashkhabad 1979 (in Russian).
- Lowick, N.M., "Seljuq coins," *Numismatic Chronicle*, ser. 7, vol. 10 (1970), pp. 241-251.
- Jafar, Yahya, *The Seljuq Period in Baghdad 447-552H*, London 2011.

*The Seljuqs were Turkic peoples from Central Asia who advanced into Iran and the fertile crescent towards the second quarter of the 5<sup>th</sup>/11<sup>th</sup> century. They conquered much of Iran from the Buwayhids and their subordinates by about 1040, Iraq around 1060, eastern Anatolia following their infamous defeat and capture of the Byzantine emperor Romanus IV in 1071, and much of Syria by 1080. Their attempts to maintain an empire were thwarted by the Turkish tradition of dividing the patrimony between numerous sons and other heirs, so that a unified state was unsustainable. Nonetheless, from 429 until 485, under the strong military leadership of Tughril Beg, then Alp Arslan and finally Malikshah I, a largely unified empire was maintained, which rapidly disintegrated after Malikshah's death in 485/1092.*

*Seljuq coinage is principally in gold, plus some normally very debased billon dirhams, the occasional copper fals, and a few eastern jitals. Gold coins struck east of Nishapur are almost invariably of alloyed gold, whereas issues of Nishapur and points west are of fine gold. Much of the pale gold after about 483 has the appearance of silver. By the 530s, pale gold coinage was typically only 10-15% gold, the rest mostly silver but often containing considerable copper. Nowadays, these later issues are often gilt and immorally sold by spurious dealers as "fine gold".*

*There was no fixed weight standard for the gold coinage. Seljuq dinars vary randomly from barely one to more than six grams and were thus intended to be weighed rather than counted.*

The most common mint for Seljuq fine gold is Nishapur, but coins of al-Ahwaz, Madinat al-Salam, Hamadan, al-Rayy and Isfahan are also relatively common, at least for some periods. For the pale gold issues, the principal mints are Marw, Balkh, and Herat. In all, some sixty mints struck fine or pale gold dinars, most very occasionally, in some cases known only for a single year.

Seljuq dinars of both find and pale gold were generally rather negligently struck. Fully struck, well-centered examples dated after the 450s are virtually never encountered, except for the mint of Madinat al-Salam and occasional dinars from Isfahan and al-Ahwaz. Some degree of flatness and irregularity is the norm. Most of the later coinage, especially after the death of Ghiyath al-Din Muhammad in 511, is even more crudely struck, typically with 10-20% flatness, often much worse. The rare debased billon "black" dirhams are even more miserably made and, because of their alloy, are usually found severely corroded. Surprisingly, the rare copper fulus of Malikshah were carefully made and may have been intended as a pure copper replacement for the ugly black dirhams of the time.

Each of the Seljuq rulers bore many personal titles, of which only the principal ones are noted in the listings here. However, the titles never appear on the coins in a uniform or consistent fashion; different mints often "selected" their own preferred subset of the titles to include in their coinage. Many Seljuq rulers bore the title *malik* ("prince")<sup>432</sup>

<sup>431</sup> Thanks to Robert Tye for correctly reattributing the rayed circle jitals to the late Ghaznavid kings.

<sup>432</sup> *Malik* originally meant "king" but during the Seljuq period, when "kings" had taken the title of *sultan*, the title took on the meaning of "prince", normally assigned to the son of a ruling sultan or some other close relative.

prior to their accession and sultan afterwards. Moreover, the layout of the inscriptions varied dramatically from mint to mint, and often from year to year at some of the more productive mints, even at Nishapur, but especially in the east.

To declare their leadership, the Seljuq rulers adopted the title *al-sultan al-mu'azzam* rather than the superior title *al-sultan al-a'zam*, perhaps formally expressing their presumption that they were theoretically servants of the 'Abbasid caliphate. Virtually all of the silver and gold coins also cite the then current 'Abbasid caliph.

Numerous Seljuq coins, especially after the 470s, bear the name of a local governor or dynast in addition to the Seljuq. Some of these governors are noted under the first listing for the ruler, with the known mints in parentheses. Most of these are rare, though a few, especially from Hamadan, are relatively available (the governors of Hamadan are listed separately as #A1707-F1707). However, I have not included the caliphal heirs-apparent and viziers named on Seljuq dinars minted at Madinat al-Salam.

Eastern gold dinars first underwent some debasement under Mahmud of Ghazna in the AH390s at his Herat mint, with further reduction of gold fineness gradually increasing at eastern mints throughout the Seljuq period, often assuming different reductions at different mints. Most eastern gold dinars had fallen to 10-20% fineness by the end of Sanjar's reign in 552, reduced even further under the early Ghoriid successors, as well as some of the Qarakanids.<sup>433</sup>

Like the Samanids, Buwayhids, early Ilkhans, etc., the Seljuqs were frequently named on the coinage of lesser dynasties, many known as the *atabegs* (*q.v.*). In some cases, coins of the atabegs or other subordinate rulers are much more common than the independent issues of a particular Seljuq ruler, especially the Seljuqs of western Iran. Unfortunately, I have not had the time to include that information here.

**Yabghu Musa b. Saljuq, fl. 415-420 / 1024-1029**

N1665 AE fals, Karmina mint only<sup>434</sup> RRR  
Karmina was located near Samarqand.

**Baha' al-Din Kuktash b. 'Ali b. Siyawak, fl.429-430 / 1037-1039**

P1665 AV dinar, struck only at Hamadan in 430 RRR

**Tughril Beg, 429-455 / 1038-1063 (Rukn al-Din Abu Talib, Muhammad b. Mika'il)**

His other titles include *al-amir al-ajall*, changed about 440 to *al-sultan al-mu'azzam*, often accompanied by *shahanshah*.

1665 AV dinar, always fine gold C  
On some coins of central Iranian mints, especially early dinars of al-Rayy, Tughril is cited by his Muslim name, *Muhammad bin Mika'il*.

T1666 AR dirham, fine silver, broad flan RRR  
Known only from Shiraz 447<sup>435</sup>, probably to mark the first Seljuq conquest of Shiraz from the Buwayhids in that year.

1666 BI dirham, mainly mint of Nishapur R  
Heavily debased, blackish color. Also known from mints such as al-Ahwaz and Jurjan (RR).

**Chaghri Beg Da'ud (b. Mika'il), in Marw & Balkh, 431-452 / 1040-1061**

1667 AV dinar, fine gold (Marw and Sijistan mints) RRR  
1668 BI dirham (usually heavily debased) R  
When legible, the mint is always Balkh, known dated 432-450. Some examples seem to be almost pure copper.

**Bayghu, in Herat & Sijistan, fl. 434-448 / 1043-1056**

Bayghu can also be interpreted as Yabghu. The correct version remains undetermined.

His full title, as on a dinar of Herat 439 (Zeno-45966) is *al-malik al-'adil abu 'ali al-hasan bin musa*, where Musa is perhaps the issuer of type #N1665 at Karmina.

1669 AV dinar R  
1669A BI dirham, Sijistan mint only RRR

See also #A1425 & B1425, which also cite the current Saffarid rulers, unlike #1669 and 1669A.

**Ibrahim b. Yusuf Inanj Yabghu, at Hamadan, circa 434-441 / 1043-1050**

His additional titlature found on the dinars, *sayf al-dawla wa kahf al-umma*.

A1670 AV dinar RRR

B1670 AR dirham (probably fine silver) RRR

**Rasultakin b. Mu'izz al-Dawla, fl. 455 / 1063**

E1670 AV dinar, struck only at Istakhr in 455 RRR

Rasultakin was the son of either the uncle or father-in-law of Tughril Beg. His own titles were *husam al-din abu shuja'*.

**Alp Arslan Muhammad (b. Da'ud), as malik at Herat, circa 450-455 / 1058-1063**

Alp Arslan's many titles include *'adud al-dawla wa taj al-umma, abu shuja', malik al-islam, shahanshah*.

K1670 AV dinar, citing his father Chaghri Beg as overlord, struck mainly at Herat in 450 RR

L1670 AV dinar, without his father, struck at Marw 453<sup>436</sup> RRR

M1670 BI dirham, citing his father as overlord, mints of Balkh & Herat<sup>437</sup> RRR

**Alp Arslan Muhammad (b. Da'ud), as sultan, 455-465 / 1063-1072**

1670 AV dinar, fine gold S  
Fine gold was struck at Nishapur and numerous western mints in Iran and Iraq. For coins also bearing the name of Arslan Khan (struck at Shiraz), see type #A1679.

1671 AV dinar, pale gold (eastern mints) S  
From this reign onwards, all dinars of Balkh, Warwarliz, Herat, Sarakhs, Marw, and Marw al-Rud are struck in debased gold, later heavily debased. By the time of Sanjar, these mints were striking "dinars" in virtually pure silver, often with a light gold wash. Some coins struck before 463 still retain relatively good gold content, more than 50%, perhaps much higher. Subsequent debasement seems to have taken place gradually, and possibly at different rates at various mints. More research required!

1672 BI dirham, mainly mint of Nishapur R

**Takish Beg, in eastern Khorasan, circa 454-477 / 1062-1084 (Shihab al-Dawla)**

1673.1 AV dinar, pale gold, as vassal of Alp Arslan RR

1673.2 AV dinar, as last but as vassal of Malikshah R  
Most coins of Takish Beg cite Malikshah I as overlord. His own title is Shihab al-Dawla, is found on most of his coins, struck only at Balkh and Warwarliz.

1673A AV dinar, pale gold, with his name given as *Shihab al-Dawla Takish Arslan* RRR  
Struck only at Balkh and dated 476.

1673C AE fals, citing Malikshah RRR  
Zeno-61784, mint & date illegible.

**Ilyas (b. Tughril Beg), at Balkh circa 458-465 / 1066-1072**

As subordinate of Alp Arslan.

1673E AV dinar, pale gold only RR  
One example cites Ilyas alone, without any Seljuq overlord, struck at Balkh and apparently dated 454 (Tübingen).

1673F BI dirham, similar, known dated 463 RRR  
No specimens recorded with legible mint name.

**Malikshah I (b. Alp Arslan Muhammad), 465-485 / 1072-1092**

The principal titles of Malikshah I are *jalal al-dawla, mu'izz al-din, rukn al-islam*, and *abu'l-fath*. No single coin includes

<sup>433</sup> For initial results, see Ilich etc., *Dirham und Rappenpfennig: Mittelalterliche Münzprägung in Bergbauregionen*, Bonn 2003.

<sup>434</sup> B.D. Kochnev, "Nachalnyj etap sel'dzhukidskoj chekanki", *Mezhdunarodnyj numizmaticheskiy al'manakh*, v.5 (1996), pp.5-15.

<sup>435</sup> Sold at a Spink auction, reference needed.

<sup>436</sup> In an American private collection.

<sup>437</sup> Album, Price List 155 (July 1999), #225, for Herat 450.

them all. Towards the end of this reign, an increasing number of mints began adding the name of a local governor or atabeg, of which the following are occasionally seen:

Malik al-Muluk Ahmad, son of Malikshah I, died in 481<sup>438</sup> (Amul) (RR)  
 Amir Sharaf (Arrajan) (RRR)  
 Khutlugh Beg (= Öner) (Shiraz, Kazirun) (RR)  
 Masnad al-Dawla Sulayman (Warwarliz) (RRR)  
 'Izz al-Dawla Nuh (Marw, on type 1675 only, often with the additional title Sayf al-Milla) (RR)

- 1674 AV dinar, fine gold (western mints) C  
 Nishapur is by far the most common mint, al-Ahwaz & Isfahan are only scarce.
- 1674A AV dinar, fine gold, with Ayat al-Kursi (Qur'an 2:255) filling the reverse field with minuscule text RRR  
 Known from Isfahan 483, with remarkably fine epigraphy.
- 1675 AV dinar, pale gold (same eastern mints noted under #1671) S  
 Some late issues of this type, struck at Marw & Sarakhs 483-485, appear as almost pure silver, though analysis at Bochum revealed an average gold content of about 10%, whereas dinars of Nishapur during the same years maintain a fineness of about 92%.
- 1676 BI dirham, mainly mint of Nishapur R
- 1677 AE fals, usually broad flan RR  
 Struck mainly at Isfahan, but often without mint name, with relatively little weakness. For Syrian coppers issued for Tutush but in the sole name of Malikshah, see type #774.
- 1677J AE jital, without mint or date R  
 With caliph al-Muqtadi, about 4 or 5 pairs of annulets in obverse & reverse margins.

**Toghanshah, in central Khorasan, circa 465-475+ / 1072-1082+**

Toghanshah's titles were *shams al-dawla, fakhr al-umara'*, and *abu'l-fawaris*.

- 1678 AV dinar, pale gold only R  
 Struck only at Herat, Marw and Marw al-Rud. His earliest coins, struck in 465 and possibly for another year or two, lack his titles. The alloy degree varies.
- 1678A BI dirham, mint unknown RRR
- Burhan al-Dawla Mahmud, in Balkh, circa 480-484 / 1091-1092**
- Burhan al-Dawla Mahmud seems to have also been recognized as ruler elsewhere in Central Asia.

The dynastic relationship of this ruler remains unknown. There is no evidence that he might have been either Seljuq or Qarakhanid. His coins of 480 cite no overlord, those of 483-484 cite Malikshah. Only the mint of Balkh is known.

- 1678G AV dinar, pale gold, Balkh mint only RRR?
- 1678J BI jital, with his *laqab* on obverse, his *ism* on reverse, probably without overlord RRR
- 1678K BI jital, with his *laqab* and *ism* on reverse, citing the Seljuq Malikshah below obverse field RRR  
 (For dinars of **Taj al-Din Tutush** struck at Iranian mints, see #775A under Seljuqs of Syria.)

**Arslan Shah, in Fars circa 458-461 / 1066-1069 and at Marw circa 464-467 / 1072-1074**

Arslan Shah was the youngest son of Alp Arslan. His Fars coins cite Alp Arslan as overlord, his Marw coins Malikshah I.

Arslan Shah was later known as Arslan Arghu, and struck coins under that name 486-490 (#1680-A1682).

- A1679 AV dinar, fine gold (Fars provincial mints) RRR  
 B1679 AV dinar, pale gold (Marw only) RR

**Mahmud I, 485-487 / 1092-1094 (Nasir al-Din Abu'l-Qasim, b. Malikshah)**

- 1679 AV dinar, fine gold R  
 Struck mainly at Isfahan, though a few other mints are known. A dinar of Shiraz also bears the name of a local governor, Khutlugh Beg Öner (RRR).
- A1680 AV dinar, very base gold, Sarakhs mint only RRR

**Arslan Arghu, 486-490 / 1093-1097 (al-Malik al-Muzaffar Fakhr al-Muluk Mu'izz al-Islam)**

The son of Alp Arslan Muhammad.

The coins are clearly inscribed Arghu, not Arghun as noted in many references. His Muslim name Muhammad is found on some of his dinars. Some fine and pale gold coins dated 488 and later cite the senior ruler of the Seljuqs, Barkiyaruq, as overlord, but the chronology of his relationship to Barkiyaruq remains to be elucidated.

For his earlier issues as Arslan Shah, see #A1679-B1679.

- 1680 AV dinar, fine gold, Nishapur mint only, struck 486, 488 and 489 (to Barkiyaruq 486-487) R
- 1681 AV dinar, pale gold, eastern mints, normal reverse R  
 Known mints include Balkh, Herat, Marw, Marw al-Rud, Nisa, Sarakhs and Warwarliz.
- 1681A AV dinar, pale gold, with Ayat al-Kursi (Qur'an 2:255) in reverse field, Balkh mint only RRR
- A1682 BI dirham, probably mint of Nishapur RRR

**Barkiyaruq (b. Malikshah), 486-498 / 1093-1105 (Rukn al-Din Malik al-Islam Abu'l Muzaffar)**

Governors found on coins of this ruler include:

Khass Beg (Abhar, Zanjan), (RR)  
 Shuja' al-Dawla Arghush (Amul, Sariya) (R)  
 Il-Aba (Amul) (R)  
 Arghush Arslan (Amul) (RR)  
 Baha' al-Dawla Yinal (al-Basra) (RR)  
 Dadbek (as *amir al-umara'*, Damghan) (RRR)  
 Bursuq b. Bursuq (al-Rayy) (RRR)  
 Fakhr al-Muluk Khutlugh Beg Öner (Shiraz) (RRR)  
 Sharaf al-Din Muhammad (Zanjan, 488 only) (RRR)

- 1682.1 AV dinar, fine gold C
- 1682.2 AV dinar, pale gold, known only from Sarakhs dated 489 RRR

**Muhammad I, 492-511 / 1099-1118 (Ghiyath al-Din Abu Shuja', b. Malikshah)**

Rival to his brother Barkiyaruq until the latter's death in 498. Dinars of Nishapur citing his name also cite his viceroy Sanjar and are listed under Sanjar (#1685.1).

Governors found on coins of this ruler include:

Il-Aba (Amul, 493 only) (RRR)  
 Bik Arslan (Abhar, 493 only) (RRR)  
 (Jalal al-Dawla) Ahmad (Amul) (RR)  
 Sharaf al-Din 'Ali (Qazwin) (RRR)  
 Khass Beg (Zanjan) (RR)  
 Sayf al-Din Barbak 'Ali b. 'Umar (Garah) (RRR)  
 Sharaf al-Muluk Ilqafshit (Qazwin, 500 only) (RRR)  
 'Umar (Qumm, 499-504) (RRR)  
 Abu Ishaq (al-Ahwaz 502) (RRR) (Qur'an Surat 112 on reverse)

- 1683 AV dinar, fine gold only C
- 1683A AV dinar, similar, but with Ayat al-Kursi (Qur'an 2:255) in reverse field, known from Isfahan 510 RRR
- A1684 AE fals or jital (small module), various types RR  
 Struck at Tirmidh, but mint name usually off flan.

**Sanjar, as viceroy under Barkiyaruq, 490-492 / 1097-1098, (Mu'izz al-Din Abu'l-Harith)**

Sanjar retained these titles on all his coins, as well as most coinage of his subordinates quoting him as overlord.

- 1684.1 AV dinar, fine gold, Nishapur mint R  
 On some coins of types 1684-1687, especially those struck before 511, Sanjar takes the title 'Adud al-Dawla.
- 1684.2 AV dinar, similar, but pale gold, eastern mints S

<sup>438</sup> Fine gold dinars of Amul dated 483 and 484 cite Malik al-Muluk Ahmad, either posthumously or because 481 was not the year of his death. Dinars of Malikshah, Amul 485, have no governor.

1684A AV dinar, pale gold, with Ayat al-Kursi (Qur'an 2:255) in reverse field, Balkh mint only R

**Sanjar, as viceroy under Muhammad, 492-511 / 1099-1118**

1685.1 AV dinar, fine gold (primarily Nishapur mint) C

1685.2 AV dinar, pale gold, similar (eastern mints) S

1685A AV dinar, pale gold, with Ayat al-Kursi (Qur'an 2:255) in reverse field, Balkh mint only RR

**Sanjar, as independent sultan, 511-552 / 1118-1157**

Coins of Sanjar as independent sultan rarely cite a local governor.

Governors found on coins of this ruler:

Khumartegin (Amul 519) (RR)

1686 AV dinar, fine gold C

Only the mint of Nishapur is common.

See also #1690A for the issue of Nishapur 528 citing Tughril II.

1687 AV dinar, pale gold, numerous varieties C

From the 520s onward, coins of this type contain very little gold and are often virtually pure silver with a light gold coating. The alloy varies from mint to mint, but is probably never more than 30% gold, although after the mid-530s the gold content slipped well below this at some mints. Balkh & Herat are the main mints for this type. Further research on this series is urgently needed.

**WARNING:** Many of these pale gold coins have been gold-plated in modern times to foist them off as good gold.

1687A AV dinar, pale gold, with Ayat al-Kursi (Qur'an 2:255) on obverse or reverse, Balkh mint R

1687B AV dinar, pale gold, with reverse field divided as honeycomb, typically into 19 hexagons RR

The 19-hexagon type has 12 hexagons each containing the word *sanjar*, with the remaining seven hexagons citing the caliph al-Mustarshid. Mint uncertain, perhaps Herat.

1687K AR dinar, citing the caliph al-Muqtafi RRR

1687L BI dirham (average 1.9g), citing the caliph al-Rāshid RRR

A1688 AE fals (small module), various types R

Struck at Tirmidh, but mint name usually off flan, from a small hoard discovered in the mid-1990s. This type may also be classified as a jital.

**Mahmud b. Muhammad, 549-557 / 1154-1162**

**(Rukn al-Din Abu'l-Qasim)**

Supporter of Sanjar during his brief captivity circa 550, then successor to Sanjar after his death in 552, recognized as suzerain by the Ghuzz who had occupied the region. The identification of these coins was published by V.P. Lebedev and A.A. Koifman: <http://www.zeno.ru/showgallery.php?cat=8530>

F1688 AV dinar, fine gold, mint of Nishapur, dated 554-558 (formerly type #3391) RR

Reasonably well struck. The issue dated 558 is either an engraver's type or a misreading of the date.

G1688.1 AR "dinar", citing the caliph al-Muqtafi RRR

Type G1668 may contain a tiny fraction on gold, and was minted at Balkh, Tirmidh, Wakhsh & Walwalij (*sic*). Most specimens are miserably struck, often with the caliph's name illegible.

G1688.2 AR "dinar", citing the caliph al-Mustanjid RRR

**RULERS IN WESTERN IRAN & IRAQ**

*Founded by a son of Ghiyath al-Din Muhammad, this branch of the Seljuq dynasty was centered in Hamadan and Isfahan, as well as Madinat al-Salam until about 555. Many coins bear the name of a subordinate ruler or governor, especially after the accession of Mas'ud in 529. Very few have been published and correctly elucidated. Except for the mint of Madinat al-Salam, nearly all of the 529 and later issues are poorly struck, rarely with legible mint & date, all too often so ghastly that even the ruler's and governor's names are illegible.*

*Until about 530, nearly all gold coins are of fine gold, but thereafter the fineness varies from mint to mint. Only Madinat al-Salam maintained fine gold throughout the period.*

Isfahan, al-Rayy, and Madinat al-Salam are the most common mints for this branch of the Seljuq house. Some issues of al-Ahwaz, Nihawand and Hamadan are only modestly rare.

Several members of this branch struck coins in various gubernatorial capacities prior to their accession to the throne, usually as prince under the tutelage of one or another atabeg. These coins are generally rare, but are not distinguished in the listings, as pitifully little information is currently available.

**Mahmud II, 511-525 / 1118-1131**

**(Mughith al-Din Abu'l-Qasim, b. Muhammad)**

Most coins of this ruler cite Sanjar as overlord.

Governors found on coins of this ruler include:

Inanj Yabghu Zangi (Rudhrwar) (RRR)<sup>439</sup>

'Izz al-Din Sunqur al-Bukhari (Nihawand) (R)

Alp Arslan Beg al-Bukhara (Nihawand) (R) (see #1688A)

Khass Beg (Sumayram 512) (RRR)

Yurunqush (al-Zakawi) (Nihawand) (S) (see #1688B)

Yurunqush (al-Bazdar) (Qazwin) (RR)

Fakhr al-Din Muhammad bin Altuntegin (Asadabad) (RRR)

Bursuq b. Bursuq ('Akbar Mukram 516) (RRR) (see E1707)<sup>440</sup>

1688 AV dinar C

1688A AV "1/3 dinar", citing local ruler Alp Arslan Beg al-Bukhari, mainly Nihawand mint (519)<sup>441</sup> RR

Probably the same personage whose name appears as 'Izz al-Din Sunqur al-Bukhari on coins of the same mint & date.

1688B AV "1/3 dinar", citing local ruler Sa'd al-Dawla Yurunqush (al-Zakawi), Nihawand mint (520s) R

Numerous subordinate individuals are mentioned on dinars of Da'ud and later rulers of this line, but so little is known about them that no attempt has been made to indicate them here. All are rare.

**Da'ud, 525-526 / 1131-1132**

**(Ghiyath al-Din, b. Mahmud)**

Da'ud survived after 526 and was recognized as Seljuq overlord by the Fars province atabegs until 532/1138.

1689 AV dinar RRR

**Tughril II, 526-529 / 1132-1134**

**(Rukn al-Din, b. Muhammad)**

1690 AV dinar, as independent ruler, mainly Madinat al-Salam RR

1690A AV dinar, as vassal under Sanjar<sup>442</sup> RRR

Struck only at Nishapur, where Sanjar was himself the effective ruler. Known dated 528 only.

**Mas'ud, 529-547 / 1134-1152**

**(Ghiyath al-Din, b. Muhammad)**

1691 AV dinar, mints in Iraq and Iran S

Except for Madinat al-Salam, most dinars are miserably engraved. They typically bear names or honorific titles of subordinate officials, not normally members of the Seljuq family, most of whom have not been identified.

(#1692 & 1693 are now listed under the Burids of Damascus, as #M784 and N784.)

(No coins are known of Malikshah III, 547-548 / 1152-1153, though his name appears on many dinars of the Salghurid ruler Sunqur, #1925.)

**Muhammad II, 548-555 / 1153-1160**

**(Rukn al-Din, b. Mahmud)**

1694 AV dinar, best known from Madinat al-Salam RRR

<sup>439</sup> Possibly the same individual as 'Imad al-Din Zangi, eponymous founder of the Zangid dynasty. A better example in Tübingen reveals that the mint is Rudhrwar, not Burujird as noted in the 2<sup>nd</sup> edition.

<sup>440</sup> ICA #12, lot 3591.

<sup>441</sup> Types #1688A & 1688B derive from a hoard of perhaps 200± pieces, mostly without legible date, that entered the market circa 1960, now thoroughly dispersed and rarely offered for sale.

<sup>442</sup> Or did Sanjar recognize Tughril as his overlord, for some forgotten political necessity?

**Sulayman Shah, 555-556 / 1160-1161  
(Ghiyath al-Din, b. Muhammad)**

Sulayman Shah was viceroy in Rayy from about 527/1133 onwards.

1695 AV dinar or fraction RR  
Only the coins issued as viceroy, struck at al-Rayy, are occasionally available.

**Arslan, 556-571 / 1161-1176 (Mu'izz al-Din, b. Tughril)**

A1696 AV dinar, fine gold, Nishapur mint only RRR  
Apparently struck only in 558. Thereafter he is cited as suzerain over the Amir of Nishapur, Ay-Aba, with the title Rukn al-Din Abu'l-Muzaffar. See #1707.

B1696 AV dinar, pale gold RR  
Small flan, normally 1.4-1.6g, always poorly struck, known only without legible mint or date. Some bear additional names of what may be local governors or other officials.

1696 AE large dirham, mints in Adharbayjan RR  
Weight and fabric based on the 11<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> century Byzantine follis.

**Tughril III, 571-590 / 1176-1194 (Rukn al-Din, b. Arslan)**

1696G AV dinar, pale gold RRR  
Similar to #B1696 in style and weight, also known only without legible mint name. This ruler is also cited on coins of various atabegs, notably the Ildegizids, whose coins are relatively common.

**SELJUQS OF KIRMAN**

*The Seljuq coinage of Kirman consists mainly of dinars, of good gold up to and including the issues of Iranshah, thereafter increasingly debased. There are also silver dirhams struck during the early reigns, relatively fine silver under Qawurd, heavily debased thereafter. The latest dinars are essentially silver with some copper composite. Dates of reign are somewhat uncertain.*

The principal mints are Bardasir, Bamm and Jiruft (as well as Shiraz for early silver only). Coins of the last four rulers are abysmally struck and rarely show a mint name. The overall quality of the early dinars is good, but by the middle of the reign of Arslanshah I, the dinars are horribly struck, often 75% or more flat, and frequently so weakly struck that they cannot be assigned to a ruler. In fact, the late "dinars" of this dynasty are among the ugliest Islamic coins ever manufactured, little different from the proverbial "squashed milk-bottle tops".

**Qawurd, 440-465 / 1048-1073  
(al-Malik al-'Adil 'Imad al-Dawla)**

The ruler's name is generally Qara Arslan Beg on his coins.

1697.1 AV dinar, citing the Great Seljuq ruler Chaghri Beg Da'ud as overlord, dated 447-451 R  
Some issues dated 452 may still cite Chaghri Beg, perhaps due to the use of obsolete dies. Confirmation needed.

1697.2 AV dinar, without Chaghri Beg, struck 451-465<sup>443</sup> S

1698 AR dirham, mainly mints of Shiraz, Bardasir and Jiruft RR

**Sultanshah (b. Qawurd), 467-477 / 1074-1085  
(Rukn al-Din wa'l-Dawla)**

Also known as *rukun al-muluk* and *malik al-barr wa'l-bahr* ("king of the land and the sea").

1699 AV dinar RRR

**Turanshah I (b. Qawurd), 477-490 / 1085-1097  
(Muhyi al-Din wa'l-Dawla)**

1700 AV dinar R  
Many specimens also bear the title Mu'izz al-Dunya wa'l-Din for his overlord, the Great Seljuq Malikshah I. He achieved independence after Malikshah's death in 485.

**Iranshah (b. Turanshah I), 490-495 / 1097-1101  
(Baha' al-Din wa'l-Dawla Sayyid al-Muluk)**

1701 AV dinar, without overlord RR

**Arslanshah I (b. Kirmanshah), 495-537 / 1101-1142  
(Muhyi al-Islam wa'l-Muslimin, Sayf Muluk al-'Alamin)**

1702 AV dinar, usually very debased, numerous subtypes known R

The existence of dinars struck at Jiruft and dated 491 and 494 suggests that Arslanshah ruled locally at Jiruft prior to 495, either as governor or as opponent to Iranshah.

Dinars dated prior to the early 500s were struck in reasonably fine gold. Thereafter, the gold proportion quickly declined, so that by the end of the reign the dinars were essentially pure silver.

After the reign of Arslanshah I, dinars of this dynasty are essentially silver, with no visible trace of gold, and approaching billon towards the end of this dynasty. One can speculate that this debasement was either the result of financial distress or a clever attempt to dissuade the export of precious metals.<sup>444</sup>

**Tughrilshah (b. Muhammad), 551-565 / 1156-1170**

1703 AR dinar RR

**Bahramshah (b. Tughrilshah), 565-570 / 1170-1175**

1704 AR dinar RR

**Arslanshah II (b. Tughrilshah), 570-572 / 1175-1176**

1705 AR dinar RR

**Turanshah II (b. Tughrilshah), 572-579 / 1176-1183  
(Ghiyath al-Dunya wa'l-Din)**

1706 AR dinar RRR

**SELJUQ GOVERNORS OF HAMADAN**

*A series of probably unrelated governors who earned the right to place their names on the coins soon after the accession of Malikshah I in 465/1072. The rulers' tentative dates are based solely on their surviving coins.*

Fine gold dinars only, virtually all minted at Hamadan, usually partially weak or flat. Dinars with full mint & date are especially rare.

Some of the governor names, as on #B1707 and C1707, may refer to the same individual. It is also uncertain if certain name variations, such as Sayf al-Dawla and Sharaf al-Dawla for Inanj Yabghu (#B1707), refer to the same governor.

**Shams al-Ma'ali Chaghri Tegin, fl. 467-484 / 1074-1091**

A1707 AV dinar R

On coins dated 467, the title is *shams al-ma'ali 'abbas arslan tegin*, and in 470, *shams al-ma'ali fulad arslan*, both likely referring to the same individual. All of his coins cite the Great Seljuq Malikshah I as overlord.

**Sayf al-Dawla Inanj Beg (or Inanj Yabghu),  
fl. 486-at least 491 / 1093-after 1097**

B1707 AV dinar RR

Sometimes with the additional title Taj al-Muluk. A dinar of Saveh 493 bears the name Sharaf al-Muluk Inanj Yabghu, who is possibly the same as this Inanj Beg.

**Shams al-Muluk Inanj Tughril, fl. 494 / 1101**

C1707 AV dinar RRR

Could Inanj Tughril be the same as Inanj Yabghu or Inanj Beg?

**Alp Sunqur Beg, fl. 502 / 1108-1109,**

D1707 AV dinar RRR

<sup>444</sup> Most known "dinars" of the last four Kirman rulers are derived from a hoard of several hundred pieces I examined circa 1969. At least 1/3 of these pieces were utterly unattributable. None showed a date, and it is likely that they were all struck without a date. Only about 10% of the hoard was tolerable.

<sup>443</sup> An example of Bamm 450 also lacks the name Chaghri Beg (Tübingen #90-36-24).

**Bursuq b. Bursuq, fl. 503-504 / 1109-1111**

E1707 AV dinar RR  
Struck at Hamadan & Burujird in 503 and 504, later at 'Askar Mukram in 516.<sup>445</sup>

**Nusrat al-Din Alp Lachin Beg Mankubarz,  
fl. 507-512 / 1114-1119<sup>446</sup>**

F1707 AV dinar RR

**AMIRS OF NISHAPUR**

*The Amirs of Nishapur were Ghuzz governors, at first nominal vassals of the Seljuqs, then of the Khwarizmshahs, occasionally independent. Nishapur was conquered by the Khwarizmshah in 583/1187.*

All coins of these amirs were struck at Nishapur in fine gold (except #1707A). Most are weakly struck, with large flat areas, overall quite ugly, rarely showing clear mint and date. Hence coins with legible date are substantially rarer than those without. The relative rarities of the various overlord types are very tentative at this time.

**Ay-Aba, 556-567 / 1161-1172**

1707.1 AV dinar, citing the Seljuq of Western Iran, Arslan b. Tughril, with his own title *malik muluk al-umara ay-aba* RR  
Known dated 560.

On all three subtypes, the ruler's name appears at the bottom of the reverse field, Ay-Aba on #1707.1-1707.3, with the title al-Mu'ayyid added only on #1707.2.

1707.2 AV dinar, citing the Khwarizmshah, II Arslan b. Atsiz, with his own name as *al-malik al-mu'ayyad ay-aba* R  
Known dated 563.

1707.3 AV dinar, citing II Arslan b. Atsiz, his own name just *al-malik ay-aba* R  
Known dated 564-566.

1707A AV dinar, pale gold, Herat mint RR?  
Legends similar to #1707.2, but with bow & arrow flanking obverse field. Date not yet determined.

**Toghanshah, 567-581 / 1172-1185  
(‘Adud al-Dawla wa’l-Din Abu Bakr, b. Ay-Aba<sup>447</sup>)**

1708.1 AV dinar, citing the Khwarizmshah Takish as overlord and the caliph al-Mustadi RR  
Known dated 570. Most, if not all examples of this subtype also bear his son Abu al-Muzaffar Sanjar as heir.

1708.2 AV dinar, citing Takish as overlord, his son Sanjar as heir, and the caliph al-Nasir R  
Known dated 576-577. On most of his coins, Toghanshah takes the title *al-malik al-'adil*.

1708.3 AV dinar, as independent ruler, citing the caliph al-Mustadi, without his son Sanjar, dates unknown RR?  
The dating of this type is peculiar, for there is a later type with the caliph al-Nasir that still cites Takish as overlord (#1708.2). Could this be a type struck between 577 and 581 with an obsolete reverse die that cites the deceased caliph al-Mustadi?

1708.4 AV dinar, as independent ruler, citing the caliph al-Nasir and his son Sanjar as heir, dates unknown RR

**Sanjar, 581-583 / 1185-1187  
(b. Toghanshah, known as Abu'l-Harith)**

1708D AV dinar, as independent ruler RR  
When still heir, Sanjar's kunya was *abu'l-muzaffar*. This type has at times been misattributed to the Sanjar of the Great Seljuqs (d. 552/1157), but the caliph's name al-Nasir confirms this attribution.

**KHWARIZMSHAHS (ANUSHTEGINID)**

There is no even remotely satisfactory numismatic study of this dynasty's complex coinage, except for Tye's study of the jitals. Aside from the museum catalogs (especially Kabul and London), the following are useful:

Deyell, John S., *Living without Silver*, Delhi 1990 (for the jital coinage).

Hoernle, Rudolf, "Catalogue of the central Asiatic coins," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1889, Suppl., pp. 1-51.

Tye, Robert & Monica, *Jitals*, Isle of South Uist, 1995. This is the most comprehensive catalog of Islamic & Hindu jitals struck in northern India and the eastern fringes of the Islamic world. Jitals are referenced here to Tye's catalog numbers.

Zeno.ru – Especially useful for the broad copper "dirhams".

*A Turkish dynasty, originally Seljuq governors in Khwarizm (Khorezm, Chorasmia, many other spellings), who later put together a significant empire, embracing most of Central Asia, together with what is now eastern Iran, Afghanistan and portions of Pakistan. The principal ruler, 'Ala al-Din Muhammad, never established an imperial coinage, but retained the local monetary structure in each region he conquered, replacing the former ruler's name with his own. The type listings given here remain incomprehensive, though most omitted types are undoubtedly relatively rare. Coins of Atsiz, II-Arslan and Takish were struck almost entirely at Khwarizm or Nishapur, as noted in the descriptions. With the exception of some very rare copper and billon coins, only fine gold was struck prior to 'Ala al-Din Muhammad. Under Muhammad, a host of additional mints became active, normally with distinctive regional types, as noted in the listings. This complex series consists primarily of fine gold, fine silver, along with various kinds of copper-based coinage.*

Fine gold coins of nearly all mints show considerable weakness of strike, as do nearly all types of the larger silver dirhams. In general, there was no weight standard, with individual specimens of either metal varying from less than 2g to as much as 7g for any given type, with a few Ghazna specimens even heavier. The only exceptions that adhered to a weight standard are the Kanauj style pale gold dinar (#1713) and a few silver coins mainly from Ghazna (#1714, 1720, 1720A and 1721), plus some issues of the last ruler, Mangubarni. These standardized silver coins were struck to a theoretical dirham weight of roughly 3.45g, usually with relatively meager variation. Surprisingly, these are the only precious metal types that were carefully struck with minimal weakness at worst.

Normal copper coinage consisted of copper "dirhams" struck at various Central Asian mints and some smaller thin fulus from Khwarizm and Marw. The copper "dirhams" followed the previous Qarakhanid preference, together with a light silver wash rarely preserved on surviving specimens.

The jitals of Muhammad and Mangubarni are often quite well struck, though typically found quite worn, especially those of the western mints located mainly in modern Afghanistan. Because many of these jitals are made of mixed metal (copper, lead and other base metals), they sometimes tend to laminate and can literally flake apart into fragments. For this reason, all jitals should be stored with minimum exposure to changes in temperature and humidity.

Most fine gold dinars were struck without mint name or so weakly that the mint name is illegible. When cited, the mint name usually appears in the obverse or reverse margin, often together with the date. Nishapur and Ghazna are the most common mints. Sometimes the mint name appears atop the central field of the obverse or reverse, especially at Bukhara, Balkh and Tirmidh, with the result that a large percentage of known specimens of those three cities clearly reveal the mint. Consequently, these three mints are also relatively common.

For the broad dirhams, Ghazna and Firuzkuh are the least rare, but only the mintless type perhaps struck at Balkh (#1719) is truly common. For the broad copper "dirhams" only Tirmidh is relatively common, with Samarqand only moderately rare.<sup>448</sup> The rarity of the jital mints is indicated in their listings, when appropriate.

<sup>445</sup> 'Askar Mukram 516 in ICA 12, lot 3592. The Bursuqid dynasty was probably named after this individual (see #A1895).

<sup>446</sup> It is possible that Alp Lachin Beg Mankubarz was the same person as Mankubars, the atabeg of Fars circa 524-533 (see type #1923).

<sup>447</sup> The father's name is given only by his title *al-mu'ayyad*.

<sup>448</sup> I am especially thankful for the detailed information regarding the Khwarizmshah copper coinage provided to me by Vladimir Nastich.

<b>Atsiz, 521-551 / 1127-1156 ('Ala al-Din Abu'l-Muzaffar)</b>			
1709	AV dinar (fine gold), mint of Khwarizm Most, but not all dinars of Atsiz bear the Great Seljuq ruler Mu'izz al-Din Sanjar as overlord. <sup>449</sup>	RR	
<b>II-Arslan, 551-567 / 1156-1172 (Taj al-Din Abu'l-Fath)</b>			
1710	AV dinar (fine gold) Normally cited as <i>taj al-dunya wa'l-din il-arслан bin atsiz</i> . Known mints are Khwarizm and Nishapur.	R	
1710D	BI dirham, citing also Arghun (?) b. 'Abd al-Hamid, caliph al-Mustanjid, mint unknown (Zeno-4810)	RRR	
1710G	AE dirham, caliph al-Mustanjid, at least two varieties (Zeno-27189)	RRR	
<b>Sultanshah, 567-589 / 1172-1193 (Jalal al-Din)</b>			
A1711	AV dinar, mint unknown, tentative attribution	RRR	
<b>Takish (aka Tekish), 567-596 / 1172-1200 ('Ala al-Din Abu'l-Muzaffar)</b>			
1711	AV dinar (fine gold), mints of Nishapur (after 583) and Khwarizm (entire reign) Prior to 583 dinars of Nishapur citing Takish also mention the amir of Nishapur and are therefore listed under that rubric (#1707-1708D). Takish is normally cited as <i>takish bin khwarizmshah</i> .	S	
1711A	AE "dirham", known only from Marw, probably undated <sup>450</sup>	RRR	
1711B	AE fals, Khwarizm mint, caliph al-Mustadi Square in center on both sides (Zeno-68118)	RRR	
1711C	AE fals, Khwarizm mint, without caliph Trefoil in obverse center, triangle in reverse center, undated (Zeno-95643 and 99663).	RRR	
1711D	AE fals, Khwarizm mint, caliph al-Nasir Central circle with name <i>takish</i> on obverse, caliph's name in reverse central circle (Zeno-27190 and 27191).	RR	
<b>Muhammad, 596-617 / 1200-1220 ('Ala al-Din Abu'l-Fath, b. Takish)</b>			
Most gold and silver coins of this reign bear the kalima and the name of the caliph al-Nasir on the reverse, the ruler's titlature on the obverse, normally as <i>al-sultan al-a'zam 'ala al-dunya wa'l-din abu'l-fath muhammad bin al-sultan takish</i> , often partially abbreviated, sometimes with the additional title <i>burhan amir al-mu'minin</i> .			
1712	AV dinar, various types, fine gold Gold content seems to be (1) about 80-85% in most areas, including the mints of Khwarizm, Bukhara, Samarqand, Balkh and Tirmidh, (2) nearly 90% at Nishapur and Ghazna, the most common mints for the reign, and (3) roughly 75% for some of the southern mints, particularly Dawar and Shafurqan, all rather rare. More than 20 mints are known for the gold dinar, with each mint utilizing its own style, calligraphy and weight variation. <b>WARNING:</b> "Rare" gold dinars of Dawar resembling the jital #1728 are modern fantasies, first seen about 1994.	C	
1712A	AV dinar, as last but with ruler's additional title <i>sikandar al-thani</i> ("the second Alexander"), mint unknown	RR	
1712B	AV dinar, as last but title <i>burhan amir al-mu'minin</i> , struck at Firuzkuh and other uncertain mints	RR	
1713	AV dinar, Kanauj fabric, very pale gold (tentatively estimated at about 40% gold) Mitchiner #911, misdescribed as silver. The fabric and style derive from the Kanauj issues of Muhammad b. Sam (#1764). Always without mint, but more likely to have been struck at or near Ghazna rather than either Kanauj or Bayana, neither of which was controlled by the Khwarizmshahs.	S	
1714	AR double dirham (about 6.0-7.0g), Ghazna type, undated Generally as #1721, but twice as heavy and with longer inscriptions in four horizontal lines. Always without mint name.	RRR	
1715	AR broad dirham, Ghazna type (inner circle, modified Kufic calligraphy, with mint name) Weights vary from less than 2g to more than 9g, with the lightest coins usually on unusually thin small planchets. Because there is a continuous series of weights from lightest to heaviest, they must all be considered as one and the same denomination. Known dated 612-618 ( <i>sic</i> ), after Muhammad seized Ghazna from Taj al-Din Yildiz in 612. All types 1715-1721 are struck from fine silver. According to preliminary studies, those of Farwan and Ghazna average about 98% fine, those of other mints normally 80-88%, but relatively few specimens have so far been analyzed. Many of the latter types bear a few percent of gold, but it remains undetermined whether the gold was intentionally added or was the result of primitive metallurgy. However, it has been hypothesized that gold was intentionally added to the broad dirhams of Firuzkuh (#1718).	S	
1716	AR broad dirham, Farwan mint (central inscriptions in hexagon on both sides) Always dated 614. Another, perhaps later variety of Farwan bears the obverse in a central circle as #1715 but with 6-petal margin around on both obverse & reverse (RR).	R	
1717.1	AR broad dirham, Herat type (square-in-circle type, mint name not usually cited, cursive calligraphy, fine silver) Some mintless pieces might have been struck at other mints.	R	
1717.2	AR broad dirham, Herat type (inner circle, as #1715 but cursive calligraphy)	R	
1718.1	AR broad dirham, Firuzkuh type (central inscriptions in plain or lobated square) Struck at Firuzkuh and Dawar, but the mint has not yet been identified for each of several subtypes, as most examples of this crudely struck series have the mint off flan. This type differs from the Herat type #1717.2 by calligraphy, coarseness of manufacture, and what is believed to be moderately debased silver.	S	
1718.2	AR broad dirham, Hadrat Firuzkuh (bull's-eye type, three circular legends, with <i>sultan</i> in obverse center, <i>Allah</i> in reverse center)	RRR	
1719	AR broad dirham, without mint name, with <i>sultan</i> and <i>muhammad bin</i> in plain circle central areas on obverse and reverse, respectively (Balkh?) The assignment of this type to Balkh is hypothetical, at best. Balkh produced large quantities of copper dirhams, but no silver dirhams citing the mint are reported. Several subtypes.	C	
1719A	AR broad dirham, different from types 1715-1719, unassigned to mint or date Several subtypes known, mostly mintless or without discernible mint name, usually undated, normally weakly struck, probably from several locations within western & southern Afghanistan. The descriptions of types #1715-1719A remain somewhat tentative and require further research. Will someone help us, please!	S	
1720	AR medium dirham, hexagram type, dated 614 This type imitates the common Ayyubid coinage of Aleppo. <sup>451</sup> Like the Ayyubid prototype, it is found as both a full and a half dirham, but unlike the Ayyubid coins, both are identical in design and struck from the same dies. The mint name is never inscribed, but it can be argued that the coins were almost certainly struck at Ghazna. <sup>452</sup> The weights of the two denominations are 3.45g and 1.73g, rarely with more than 5% variation.	S	
1720A	AR ½ medium dirham, type as last, struck from the same dies, also dated 614.	RR	
1721	AR medium dirham, fine silver, prototype for Chingiz Khan #1967 (Ghazna), undated	S	

<sup>449</sup> Peus auction 386, lot 1149, Khwarizm 544, very clear date and citing Sanjar as overlord. A dinar of (Khwarizm) clear dated 551 omits Sanjar (Zeno-63828).

<sup>450</sup> For a variant without mint and date, see Zeno-40675, found in Turkmenistan.

<sup>451</sup> The adoption of an Ayyubid style from Aleppo is not surprising, as a group of Muhammad's soldiers had supported one of the Ayyubids in eastern Anatolia, especially after the death in 613 of the Ayyubid ruler in Aleppo, al-Zahir Ghazi.

<sup>452</sup> The calligraphy on this type is identical to the broad dirhams of Ghazna (type #1715). They have normally have been found in the market in Kabul.



		The mint name never appears on this type and on #1714 but is presumed to be Ghazna for stylistic and historical reasons. Always undated, probably struck circa 615-617. Nonetheless, it seems perplexing that a standard broad dirham of variable weight (#1715) and a fixed weight special dirham might have been produced simultaneously at the same mint.	
1722	AE broad "dirham", Samarqand type (average about 45mm, but some as small as 35mm), dated 610 and 613-616	Six varieties, with the mint & date inscription normally in both the obverse & reverse margins. Each year of issue exhibits a distinctive border setting, and a unique denomination epithet above the obverse or reverse field. These are <i>sikandari</i> or <i>jamshidi</i> for 610, <i>zafari</i> for 613, <i>mansuri</i> for 614, <i>qadiri</i> for 615 and <i>jamshidi</i> for 616. The 616 issue often has the obverse date looking like 610, and it is conceivable that all <i>jamshidi</i> dirhams of 610 were actually struck in 616. <sup>453</sup>	
		The distinction between the epithetical subtypes and their chronology remains unknown.	
A1723	AE broad "dirham", Chaghaniyan type (35-45mm)	Several subtypes, dated 613-616, but mint & date are commonly off flan. Cf. SNAT 14c:1227-1230 & Zeno-6418. Some issues dated 616 bear the denomination epithet <i>sanjari</i> . The names Chaghaniyan and Saghaniyan are identical, the former the Persian, the latter the Arabic spelling. The Arabic spelling was used on coins struck prior to the Khwarizmshahs.	R
1723	AE broad "dirham", Balkh type (30-35mm)	Many subtypes, dated 609-616 or undated, sometimes with a denomination epithet, either <i>qadiri</i> or <i>muzaffari</i> .	R
1723A	AE broad <i>mansuri</i> "dirham", unknown mint, reduced size (25mm), known dated 608	Obverse in double square, reverse in circle within square with knotted corners; <i>mansuri</i> written in margin above the obverse. Ruler's title includes the word <i>shahanshah</i> , rarely encountered on Khwarizmshah coins. Apparently without mint name.	RR
1723B	AE broad <i>sanjari</i> "dirham", Bukhara mint, known dated 611-612 (Zeno-47521 and 69431)		RR
1723C	AE broad "dirham", Kasan mint, struck 615	Obverse in circle, reverse in circle within square, knotted inside the corners (Zeno-45788). A variety without epithetic and dated 609, obverse & reverse fields in circle, is known only without clear mint name but might have been issued at Kasan, published in <i>ONS Newsletter</i> 201.	RRR
1723D	AE broad <i>sultani</i> "dirham", Parab mint, dated 607 or 609 (Zeno-75361)	Obverse field in circle, reverse in plain quatrefoil. Parab & Otrar ( <i>aka</i> Utrar) are regional and urban names for the same location.	RRR
1723E	AE broad <i>sultani</i> "dirham", Otrar mint (written with <i>waw</i> after the initial <i>alif</i> ) (Zeno-2609)	Obverse field in plain circle, reverse in intertwined double circle.	RRR
1723F	AE broad "dirham", al-Uzjand mint, dated 610 <sup>454</sup>		RR
A1724	AE broad "dirham", Tirmidh type (30-35mm), struck 614-617	No less than seven principal variants, distinguished by the cartouche surrounding the central area – a square, a circle, a dodekalobe, or a lobated square. Most types bear a subordinate denomination epithet, including <i>zahiri</i> (614), <i>fathi</i> or <i>zafari</i> (615), <i>sultani</i> (615-616), <i>mansuri</i> (616) and <i>qarari</i> (617). The <i>sultani</i> variant often shows abridged dates, just 5 for 615 and 606 for 616. One variety dated 617 bears the bow & arrow in the obverse center.	S
B1724	AE medium "dirham", al-Ma'dan mint, known dated 611 (about 26mm) (Zeno-69022)	Both obverse & reverse fields in plain circle.	RRR
K1724	AE ½ <i>sultani</i> "dirham" (about 27mm), Otrar mint, dated 613, type as the broad type #1723E		RRR
L1724	AE ½ <i>fathi</i> "dirham", Tirmidh mint, dated 615 (22-23mm)	Lobated square on obverse, circular border on reverse.	RRR
T1724	AE medium fals (thin flans), Bukhara mint, unknown with legible date		RRR
1724	AE medium fals (thin flans), Khwarizm mint, several years 602-610 (average 25mm or smaller)		R
1725	AE medium fals (very thin, 25-28mm), Marw mint	Normally dated 603 or 613, though 603 is probably just a "typo" for 613, with others dated 614. Some examples show a trace of light silver wash. Another version is of Bukhara, date lost (Zeno-40262) (RRR).	S
1725N	AE small fals (15-18mm), undated (Zeno-52680, mint tentatively read as Nisa)	The following types (#1726-1741M) represent the immense variety of jitals struck during Muhammad's reign, cross-referenced to Tye's excellent study of the medieval jitals. Khwarizmiyan jitals of 'Ala al-Din Muhammad continue to reach the market in large hoards, sometimes several thousand pieces of one or a limited group of types. Issues of Mangubarni have never been found in such large hoards. <sup>455</sup>	RRR
<b><u>JITALS: Inscriptions only:</u></b>			
1726	AE jital, inscriptional type, simple 3-line inscriptions on both sides (Tye 283)	Without mint name, but believed minted at Ghazna only.	A
1727	AE jital, similar, different fabric and 3-line or 4-line inscriptions on both sides (mostly Dawar region) (Tye 279-282, 284, 286-288)	Jitals of the Dawar region normally have a large component of lead in the alloy and are grayish in color. Struck at Dawar, Khwast, Shafurqan, Herat and without mint.	C
1727A	AE jital, similar, with title <i>zill Allah fi al-ard</i> , "shadow of God on the earth" (Tye 285)		R
1728	AE jital (lead alloy), similar, circular inscription around a central rosette or circle containing the mint name, both sides (mostly Dawar region) (Tye 258-269)	Mints of Dawar (Zamin-Dawar), Takinabad and Sangah, also without mint.	C
1729	AE jital, similar, circular inscription on one side, 3-line horizontal inscription on the other (Dawar region) (Tye 249-256)	Mints of Sibi, Dawar, Takinabad and Khwast, also without mint.	C
1729A	AE jital, similar, with title <i>zill Allah fi al-ard</i> , "shadow of God on the earth" (Tye 257)		R
1730	AE jital, similar, hexagon type, similar to the silver dirham #1716 (Farwan, Tye 278)		S
1731.1	AE jital, similar, circular obverse legend (Taliqan, Tye 245, and without mint, Tye 274)	<i>Muhammad</i> in obverse center.	C
1731.2	AE jital, similar, but with mint name instead of <i>muhammad</i> in obverse center (Kurzuwan, Tye 246 & Shafurqan, Tye 247)		C
1731.3	AE jital, similar, but <i>bin sultan</i> in obverse center (without mint, Tye 248)		S
1732	AE jital, similar, legends in square both sides, sometimes dated 616 (Bust, Tye 275)		S
1732A	AE jital, similar, also legends in square on both sides, undated, mint unconfirmed (Tye 276-277)		S
<b><u>Horse types:</u></b>			
1733	AE jital, riderless horse type ("Baluqan", Tye 226)	The mint name traditionally read as Baluqan is now believed to be a corrupted form of Shafurqan.	C

<sup>453</sup> Confusion between 10 (*sana*) and 16 (*sitt* or *sitta*) occurred occasionally, when the engraver cut *sana* and then misread it as *sitta* and proceeded with *ashar* and the rest of the date. The same problem is known for several Ayyubid coins, confusing 600 with 606 or 610 with 616, and elsewhere. For other Khwarizmiyan dating errors, see types #A1725 and #1725.

<sup>454</sup> Published by Davidovich in 1957, not yet on Zeno.

<sup>455</sup> Tye's catalog has now been out-of-stock for several years. Since its publication, at least several dozen new jital types have been discovered, and for many listed issues, new hoards have provided additional information. Let's all encourage Tye to complete and publish a second edition!

1734.1	AE jital, Ghor horseman type, holding long spear or lance horizontally (Tye 208-215) Minted at Taliqan, Shafurqan and Dawar. Some versions of all three mints lack the spear, and on one type of Dawar he holds the lance upright (Tye-215).	C	1743A	AR single dirham (Qal'a Nay) (about 3.14g) (Tye 306) The mint name on #1743 and 1743A appears atop the obverse field. Qal'a Nay was a fortress located to the west of Ghazna. The weights of both the single and double dirhams are quite accurate. Both types are always undated.	RRR	
1734.2	AE jital, Ghor horseman type, holding sword pointing upwards (Tye 218-225) Minted at Sibi, Takinabad, Bust, Herat and probably Shafurqan.	C	1744	AR broad dirham (Ghazna, Farwan and Kurraman)	RR	
1734.3	AE jital, Ghor falconer type, as #1734.1 but horseman holds a falcon on his outstretched arm (Tye 216-217)	R	1745.1	AR small dirham, without mint name but almost certainly struck at Ghazna (Tye 307) Citing the caliph al-Nasir. Same style as his father's type #1721.	RRR	
<b><u>Elephant types:</u></b>			1745.2	AR small dirham, citing the caliph al-Mustansir, thus struck after 623 (Tye 308) Without mint name, possibly struck at Herat.	RRR	
1735.1	AE jital, elephant type, without rider, facing left or right (Tye 228-231) Minted mainly at Kurzuwan (left or right) and Shafurqan (left), also without mint name (left).	S	1745B	AR hexagram dirham (3.45g), style as #1720 of his father Muhammad, clearly dated 618, mint not inscribed but probably Ghazna	RRR	
1735.2	AE jital, elephant-rider type, left (Shafurqan, Tye 232, and Kurzuwan, Tye 227) <i>(Items #1736-1738B are now listed after #1741.)</i>	R	1745C	AR ½ hexagram dirham (1.73g), from the same dies as #1745B Types 1745B and 1745C are struck from the same dies, with just <i>al-sultan / al-mu'azzam</i> in the obverse center, lacking further titles or names of any ruler. The reverse die is the same as that used four years earlier for types 1720 & 1720A.	RRR	
<b><u>Rajput horses and/or bulls:</u></b>			1745B	Although Muhammad, the father of Mangubarni, died in 617, it seems possible that this was still a posthumous issue of Muhammad. However, the term <i>al-mu'azzam</i> instead of <i>al-a'zam</i> strongly supports the attribution to Mangubarni.	RRR	
A1739	AE jital, Rajput horseman type, with title <i>sikandar al-thani</i> (Qunduz only, Tye 233) The title means "the second Alexander".	R	A1746	BI broad dirham (very debased, almost pure copper), Marw mint	RRR	
1739.1	AE jital, Rajput horseman facing right (Balkh, Qunduz & Bamiyan, Tye 234-236) Small size, 16-18mm.	C	1746	AE jital, inscriptional types (Tye 313, 314, 319-321) Always without mint name. Tye has tentatively assigned his #313 & 319 to Ghazna, 314 to Kurraman).	S	
1739.2	AE jital, Rajput horseman facing left (without mint, Tye 237, assigned to Bamiyan) Medium size, typically 19-20mm. No marginal legend on obverse, <i>takish</i> below the horse.	C	1747	AE jital, similar, legends in square (Bust??) (Tye—) Style, metal and color similar to type #1732 of his father.	RR	
1739.3	AE jital, Rajput horseman left (Qunduz, Tye-238) Horseman in circle, with part of royal legend in margin around the obverse, no text below the horse.	S	1748	AE jital, Ghor horseman type (Taliqan mint, Tye 309)	R	
1739.4	AE jital, Rajput horseman facing left (Tye 239-240) Large size, about 22-23mm. Both sides either in square or circle. Without mint, but probably struck at Qunduz.	C	1749	AE jital, Arabic legend on obverse, Rajput horseman reverse with Nagari text above (Tye 317)	S	
1740	AE large jital, Rajput bull on obverse, horseman on reverse, relatively broad flans (Qunduz, Tye 243)	C	1749H	AE jital, Rajput bull & horseman, mint name on bull's body, trace of text on reverse (Kurraman, Tye 316)	R	
1740A	AE jital, Rajput bull & horseman, Sanskrit legends but Arabic 'ala on horse's rump (Tye 241)	R	1750	AE jital, Rajput bull & horseman type, Nagari legends only (Tye 318) Tentatively assigned by Tye to a mint at Nandana in Sind. Although not especially rare, it is only distinguishable from common jitals of Delhi and elsewhere by the Nagari inscription above the bull, not always easily legible.	S	
1741	AE jital, Rajput bull type, mint written on bull's body (Kurraman & Peshawar, Tye 291-297) Many variations, some additional mints (tentatively identified), some with symbols or ornaments instead of mint name.	C	1750K	AE jital, as #1750 but mint name Kurraman engraved on the horse's rump (Tye—)	RR	
<b><u>Miscellaneous types:</u></b>			S	A1751	AE jital, Rajput bull obverse, Arabic text reverse, (Kurraman & Peshawar, also without mint name, Tye 315)	RR
1736	AE jital, obverse lion in square, reverse has legend only in circle (Juzjan region?, Tye 244)	S	B1751	AE jital, obverse usually in pointed quatrefoil, reverse in circle, Sijistan type (Tye 310) The reverse cites Muhammad and is almost identical to the reverse of the very common Saffarid issue of Taj al-Din Harb (#1427.2).	R	
1737	AE jital, similar, but obverse square diagonally quartered, filled with floral design instead of lion, without inscription (Kurzuwan, Tye 272) Type-273 is a coarse variation of this type.	R	C1751	AE jital, Dawar type with central inner circles on both sides, Tulak mint (Tye 311-312)	RR	
1738	AE jital, mint in central circle ( <i>kurzu // wan</i> ), split between the two sides (Tye 270)	C	D1751	AE jital, coarse bull obverse, two-line Arabic inscription <i>jatal al-dunya / wa'l-din mangubarni</i> reverse (Tye—, Zeno-92138)	RRR	
1738B	AE jital, obverse with inner circle, reverse with inner square (Kurzuwan, Tye 271) Mint on obverse, dated, either Rabi' I 609 or Jumada II 610, on reverse.	S	1751	AE large fals, Georgian issue from late in the reign, struck on thick roundish flans of widely varying diameter and weight	R	
1741M	AE jital, miscellaneous types from undetermined mints (Tye 242, 289-290, 298-305) Some variants are quite rare.	C	1752	AE multiple fals, Georgian type, as last but struck on large irregularly shaped flans with multiple impressions of the dies Many examples of types #1751 & 1752 are found countermarked with symbols of Queen Rusudan of Georgia (same rarity).	RR	
<b>Mangubarni, 617-628 / 1220-1231 (Jalal al-Din, b. Muhammad)</b>						
1742	AV dinar, normally struck in fine gold Ghazna is the only mint occasionally available.	RR				
1743	AR double dirham (Qal'a Nay) (about 6.28g)	RRR				

## AMIR OF BALKH

Balkh briefly enjoyed a moment of independence after the collapse of Khwarizmiyan rule in 617/1220, apparently between the first and second Mongol invasions. This amir is known only from his coins, as he does not seem to be mentioned directly in any of the contemporary chronicles, unless he is the 'Imad al-Din (or his son) mentioned by 'Ata Malik Juvayni as governor of Balkh.

All coins are minted at Balkh.

### Abu'l-Mujahid Muhammad (al-Husayni), fl. 617-618 / 1220-1221

1753.1 AE broad dirham (32-36mm), struck at Balkh only in 617<sup>456</sup> R

1753.2 AE broad dirham, similar, but with the word *shawar* in the obverse center R

The meaning of the word or name tentatively interpreted as *shawar* remains unknown.

## AMIR OF WAKHSH

A local "dynasty" in Wakhsh (now located in Tajikistan), apparently known only from their coins. Their titulature suggests a Qarakhanid connection.

Only gold dinars are known for this dynasty, all struck at Wakhsh. They are usually somewhat weakly struck but seldom found worn.

Kochnev considered the amirs Abu Bakr and his son 'Arabshah to be somehow related to the Qarakhanids, and Zeno has followed suit.

### Abu Bakr Qaratuz ('Imad al-Din) fl. 590s-609 / 1200±-1212

A1754.1 AV dinar, as independent ruler with title *khaqan* (Kochnev 1154-1155) RRR

The patronymic on this type and #B1754 and is normally written in stylized and unreadable fashion, as though it was considered shameful to admit one's father's name.

A1754.2 AV dinar, similar, but citing unidentified vassal named Muhammad b. Dawlatshah, with Abu Bakr's patronymic clearly written RRR

Kochnev has read the surname, normally indistinct on the coins, as *bin Yaghrush*, which is very clear on some examples of #B1754. On some other examples, it resembles *Qaratuz*, without *bin*, as though Qaratuz was Abu Bakr's Turkish name. If indeed Qaratuz is correct, it is usually very poorly engraved, sometimes looking like *nasr*.

B1754 AV dinar, citing the Bamiyan Ghorid Sam b. Muhammad RRR

One variety, with mint name above the obverse, gives Abu Bakr's full name as *al-khaqan al-a'zam 'imad al-din ulugh (fatih?) tamghaj khan abu bakr bin yaghrush* (Zeno-87458). Mint name atop obverse field. This piece proves that Abu Bakr and Tamghaj Khan are the same person.

C1754 AV dinar, citing the Khwarizmshah 'Ala al-Din Muhammad b. Takish (Zeno-65268) RRR

Abu Bakr is cited merely as *'imad al-dunya wa'l-din tamghaj khan* beneath the full kalima.

This type was incorrectly described in the 2<sup>nd</sup> edition.

### 'Arabshah b. Abi Bakr, fl. 610s / 1210s (Jalal al-Dunya wa'l-Din)

D1754 AV dinar, citing the Khwarizmshah 'Ala al-Din Muhammad b. Takish RRR

'Arabshah takes the title *al-khaqan al-mu'azzam* at least on some of his coins.

From some time in the mid-610s until 617, Wakhsh fell under sole control of the Khwarizmshah Muhammad b. Takish. Dinars struck at Wakhsh in the sole name of Muhammad are reckoned as ordinary Khwarizmshah dinars (type #1712).

## Abu'l-'Abbas Muhammad b. Ahmad, fl. 618-621 / 1221-1224

E1754 AV dinar R

The identity of this ruler is unknown. The name is perhaps a somewhat incorrect reference to the caliph al-Nasir Ahmad, in which case the type would likely have been an issue of the Mongols after their first invasion of the region. Coins of this type are normally dated 618, usually citing the month of Shawwal, but a specimen dated 26 Ramadan 621 was recently discovered.

## GHORID (MAIN LINE) (SHANSABANID)

Thomas, Edward, *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, London 1871 (reprint: Delhi 1967).

Tye, Robert & Monica, *Jitals*, Isle of South Uist, 1995.

Wright, H. Nelson, *The Coinage and Metrology of the Sultans of Delhi*, Delhi 1936 (for the Indian issues primarily). Later reprints exist.

Rajgor, Dilip, *Standard Catalogue of Sultanate Coins of India*, Bombay, 1991, now replaced by Goron & Goenka.

Goron & Goenka (cited after #1799R) for Ghorid coins of eastern mints, especially in Bengal.

A major study of the Ghorid coinage (main line) had been undertaken by Wm. F. Spengler as a proposed doctoral dissertation at the University of Wisconsin. It is regrettable that Spengler never completed this work prior to his death in 2005, though his contributions to numismatic research have been so vast that one cannot honestly criticize him for having never found time to complete his Ghorid work. Spengler contributed substantially to the sections on the Khwarizmshahs and Ghorids in this *Checklist*. Fortunately, his collection of Ghorid coins has now been acquired by Richard Accola, who has submitted excellent commentary for the updating of my Ghorid section, and will hopefully soon publish his studies of Ghorid coinage. As expected, Accola has realized the immense complexity of Ghorid coinage, but his meticulous analysis has convinced me that his final publication will be magnificent.

*The Ghorids emerged from the mountainous regions east of Herat to found a large but short-lived kingdom centered at the city of Ghazni in modern Afghanistan. They adopted Seljuq, Ghaznavid, and Indian prototypes for their coinage, which was local in nature, with each mint or group of contiguous mints producing their own characteristic types for regional usage. Beginning in 596 they also adopted additional prototypes, such as the bull's-eye type of Fatimid origin and the square-in-circle type from the Muwahhidun gold coinage.*

*The production of gold and silver coinage increased markedly after Mu'izz al-Din Muhammad's conquest of northern India in 588/1192.*

Principal mints for the Ghorids are noted after each type. Average quality of strike and preservation is similar to comparable and later coins of the Khwarizmshahs. Gold and silver coins are rarely fully struck, typically 10-25% flat, whereas the jitals and other copper coins are normally more carefully struck, though not always well centered.

Early Ghorid coinage consists of drastically debased gold dinars, probably about 10-20% gold, the rest mostly silver (M1754, T1754, W1754), thus sustaining the trend of the Seljuqs and Qarakhanids.

This type appears to have been replaced by fine gold (believed to be about 80% fine) in the year 573 at Firuzkuh, subsequently spreading to additional mints within the western provinces. Simultaneously, relatively broad silver coins were struck at Firuzkuh (and probably additional mints) containing a few percent gold, though post-596 issues of Ghazna and probably also Herat are believed to be pure silver with little or no trace of gold.

Similar denominations and fineness were subsequently maintained for issues of the Khwarizmshah successors.

The heavily debased gold coins and the silver coins that perhaps contain a minuscule percentage of gold are often newly gilt and sold as nearly "pure" gold coins at outrageous prices.

Ghorid jitals have been well catalogued by Robert Tye, whose numbers I have mentioned in the descriptions. Many have been found in huge hoards and are thus highly abundant, but not necessarily easy to locate on the market.<sup>457</sup>

<sup>457</sup> Despite their abundance, many Ghorid, Khwarizmshah and other jitals are difficult to find for sale. This is largely due to their cheap prices, which discourage dealers (including myself) from offering them on price lists, websites, or auctions. Fortunately, there remain a few dealers willing to handle them despite the labor intensity. Amongst these are Robert Tye, Bob

<sup>456</sup> Schwarz has read the date as 619 (SNAT #857-860), but 617 seems more likely, as Mongol issues are known dated 618.

<b>‘Ala al-Din al-Husayn, 1<sup>st</sup> reign, 544-546 / 1149-1151 (Abu ‘Ali, b. al-Husayn)</b>		
With title <i>al-malik</i> , no overlord. Al-Husayn is known in most of the chronicles as Jahansuz, “world-burner”.		
M1754	AV base dinar (estimated about 10% gold), Firuzkuh & Herat mints known	RRR
Some dinars bear the name Sayf al-Din al-Husayn, perhaps the same person as ‘Ala al-Din al-Husayn, more likely a misinterpreted version of the name of his son Muhammad (cf. #T1754).		
<b>‘Ala al-Din al-Husayn, 2<sup>nd</sup> reign, 548-555 / 1153-1160</b>		
With title <i>al-sultan</i> , sometimes with the overlord Sanjar.		
N1754	AR dirham, size & fabric of late Ghaznavid dirhams, known dated 549 & 550	RRR
O1754	BI jital, at least 2 varieties (unknown to Tye)	RR?
Bull left on obverse, sometimes with <i>muhammad rasul Allah</i> above, royal inscription on reverse. Without overlord.		
<b>Sayf al-Din Muhammad b. al-Husayn, 556-558 / 1161-1163</b>		
T1754.1	AV very base dinar, without title Abu’l-Fath, mints of Firuzkuh	RRR
T1754.2	AV base dinar, similar, but with title Abu’l-Fath, believed struck at Herat, always very poorly made	RRR
U1754	AR “dinar?”, as #T1754.2, mint unknown	RRR
<b>Ghiyath al-Din<sup>458</sup> Muhammad b. Sam, 558-599 / 1163-1203</b>		
Sayf al-Din Muhammad was at first succeeded by the older of the two sons of Sam, both of whom were named Muhammad. The elder initially adopted the <i>laqab</i> Shams al-Dunya wa’l-Din, but at some time prior to 575 altered that title to Ghiyath al-Dunya wa’l-Din. His formal protocol was <i>al-sultan al-mu’azzam</i> .		
A few years after his accession in 558, Shams al-Din named his younger brother Muhammad governor at Tiginabad (north of Qandahar). The younger Muhammad chose or was assigned the <i>laqab</i> Shihab al-Dunya wa’l-Din, but he changed that to Mu’izz al-Dunya wa’l-Din, probably upon or shortly prior to his appointment as <i>sultan</i> in Ghazna in 567 or 568, together with the superior protocol <i>al-sultan al-a’zam</i> . This lopsided pair of protocols can be regarded as a protocol reversal.		
From 568 until the death of Ghiyath al-Din in 599, most Ghori gold and silver coins cite both Muhammad’s, with the earliest issues retaining the reversed protocol. No later than 576 (confirmed by a coin in a private collection), these protocols were changed to the normal arrangement, with Ghiyath as <i>al-sultan al-a’zam</i> (“supreme sultan”) and Mu’izz as <i>al-sultan al-mu’azzam</i> (“splendid sultan”), a form that would appear on the vast majority of their coins thereafter.		
Items #W1754-B1759 cite this Muhammad b. Sam, with his own titles, but without his brother, the other Muhammad. Coins citing both of the Muhammad brothers commence with #T1759 below.		
W1754	AV heavily debased dinar (believed to be about 10-20% gold), legends only	R
Struck at Firuzkuh, Taliqan (with distinctive honeycomb pattern), and Herat, at least until the early 570s (examples at Tübingen and in private collections).		
1754	AV fine gold dinar (probably 80%+ gold), central circle on both sides, struck at Firuzkuh, Herat, Dawar and Nishapur from 573 onwards	RR
A1755	AR to electrum dirham ( <i>aka</i> dinar), title <i>Ghiyath al-Din</i> , easily confused with #W1754	RR
Struck principally at Firuzkuh (lobated square within circle / inner circle) and Herat (inner circle both sides) in the early 590s, usually so crudely that the mint name is illegible. Accurate organization of fine gold, debased gold and silver coins of this reign requires further research.		
1755	AR dirham, with title <i>Shams al-Din</i>	RR
With very fine stylized characteristic calligraphy.		
1755A	AR dirham, calligraphy as #1755 but with title <i>Ghiyath al-Din</i> , struck at Firuzkuh & Taliqan	RR
R1756	AE fals (or broad jital), elephant-rider type, Shafurqan, possibly dated (Tye 139)	R
S1756	AE fals (or broad jital), elephant without rider, Kurzuwan, known dated 59x (Tye 140)	R
1756	AE jital, elephant-rider type, without mint name but perhaps struck at Kurzuwan (Tye 134)	S
1757	AE jital, elephant right, without rider (Tye 132-133, 145)	S
Minted at Marw (Tye 145) (tentative reading <sup>459</sup> ), Shafurqan (written as Ashfurqan with initial <i>alif</i> ), and Kurzuwan.		
1758	AE jital, horseman type, Taliqan mint or without mint name (Tye 130-131, 135)	S
Some examples without mint name may have been struck elsewhere.		
A1759	AE jital, bull type, with ruler titled Shams al-Din, Kurraman mint (rarely clear) (Tye 138 & 174)	R
B1759	AE jital, short text in hexagram both sides (Tye 189)	R
<b>Mu’izz al-Din Muhammad b. Sam, 567-602 / 1171-1206</b>		
The original title of this Muhammad b. Sam was Shihab al-Din, changed to Mu’izz al-Din at his conquest of Ghazna about 568.		
T1759	AV dinar, fine gold, with his title Shihab al-Din, mint & date undetermined <sup>460</sup>	RRR
This is Muhammad b. Sam’s only confirmed issue with the <i>laqab</i> Shihab al-Din. It also cites his elder brother, Ghiyath al-Din Muhammad b. Sam.		
1759	AV dinar, fine gold, central circle with single margins, somewhat coarse Kufic writing, principally Ghazna mint (before 596)	R
Virtually all gold and silver coins of Mu’izz al-Din struck 599 and earlier cite his brother Ghiyath al-Din, who was technically the supreme chief of the Ghorids. Mints other than Ghazna are significantly rarer.		
1760	AV dinar, fine gold, “bull’s-eye” type (three concentric circles of legend) (Ghazna, 596-597)	RR
Issues of 596 and some of 597 bear the month as well as year, as do the corresponding silver dirhams, #1770.		
1761	AV dinar, fine gold, square-in-circle type, citing his brother Ghiyath al-Din (Ghazna, 598 & 599)	R
Coins of this type and #1762 vary in weight from less than four to more than 20 grams, with some of the heaviest examples magnificently struck, presumably for presentation purposes. In 1996, three gorgeous examples weighing about 45 grams each appeared in the market.		
1762	AV dinar, fine gold, square-in-circle type, Mu’izz al-Din alone (Ghazna)	R
This and the silver coin of the same type (#1768) were struck during the short solo reign of Mu’izz al-Din (599-602) after the death of Ghiyath al-Din in 599, thereafter posthumously until 605, possibly also in 606. During the year 606 the name of Taj al-Din Yildiz was added to the obverse or reverse margin and are listed under Yildiz (#1790). Weight variation similar to #1761.		
1763	AV dinar, fine gold, central circle type, <i>naskhi</i> script, Mu’izz al-Din alone (western mints)	R
Most commonly struck at Herat, known dated 599 & 601. Also known from Firuzkuh and Dawar, both dated 599 (RR), but nearly all known specimens lack a legible date.		
1764.1	AV stater, Lakshmi obverse, naming Mu’izz al-Din in Nagari legends on reverse, Kanauj type	C
Broad flan, about 20mm, struck on somewhat debased gold (Deyell 252).		
1764.2	AV stater, as #1764.1 but Bayana type	C
Narrow flan, about 16-18mm, different calligraphic style but also struck on somewhat debased gold (Deyell 253). Both variants of #1764 were derived from the standard Hindu prototypes, such as common staters of Gangaya Deva and Govinda Chandra (Deyell #119b & 145-147, respectively).		

Reis, Scott Semans, Frank Robinson, and I apologize to those whose names I’ve omitted.

<sup>458</sup> Known as Shams al-Din on his earliest coins.

<sup>459</sup> Tye conjectured the mint of Farwan, but only the first three letters are engraved, which would be the full inscription of *marw*.

<sup>460</sup> D. Sourdel, *Inventaire...*, #1264.

	The actual denominational name is unknown, and I have used the ancient Greek term "stater" following Mitchiner. Both types have an average weight of 4.1-4.2g.				
1765	AV tanka (11.1g), horseman type, struck at Gauda in Bengal (Goron B1), Mu'izz al-Din alone, Arabic inscriptions Known dated Ramadan 601. The fractional denominations are undated. None bear a mint name.	RRR	1775	AE jital, Ghur horseman type (Dawar) (Tye—)	R
A1766	AV ½ tanka (5.55g), horseman type, similar to #1765 (Rajgor 105)	RRR	1775L	AE jital, inscriptions only, dated 596 and 598 in reverse margin (Tye 136) Assigned by Tye to his brother Ghiyath al-Din, even though the name is clearly Mu'izz al-Din. Without mint name.	RR
1766	AV ¼ tanka (2.3g), horseman type, Nagari legends (Goron B3) This and the following type, though ostensibly minted in Bengal, are normally found in northern Pakistan, more than 1000 miles west. Perhaps they were struck in Bengal & carried back towards Ghazna as booty. Goron cites this denomination as "fractional tanka of 20 rati", allegedly too light for a proper quarter tanka. It is slightly heavy to be regarded as 1/5 tanka.	RR	1775M	AE jital, inscriptions only, undated, citing both brothers Muhammad, Farwan mint (Tye 137)	R
1767	AV ¼ tanka (2.7g), horseman type, Arabic inscriptions (Goron B2)	RR	1776	AE jital, Lahore style horseman type, horseman faces left, several variants (Tye 181-182)	S
S1768	BI dirham or fractional dirham, without mint or date, very narrow flan, with caliph al-Mustadi, who ruled 566-575 The obverse cites the caliph and Abu'l-Fath ( <i>i.e.</i> , Ghiyath al-Din), the reverse Mu'izz al-Din as <i>shahanshah-i ghazi abu'l-muzaffar muhammad bin sam</i> . Stylistically of the Ghazna mint.	RR	1777	AE jital, Lahore style inscriptional type, <i>muhammad bin sam</i> only on reverse (Tye 179)	C
U1768	BI dirham, Ghazna style, central circle types, caliph al-Mustadi, therefore no later than 575, also citing Ghiyath al-Din, with reversed protocol	RR	1777A	AE jital, Lahore style inscriptional type, <i>abu'l-muzaffar muhammad bin sam</i> on reverse (Tye 180)	C
1768.1	BI dirham, Ghazna types, central circle type, circa 576-581, sometimes dated (580 & 581), citing Ghiyath al-Din as well, without title Debased silver, average estimate undetermined, perhaps around 30-40% pure. Rare with legible date. Accola has pointed out that whereas gold coins switch to the standard protocol no later than 576, the billon & silver coins retained the reversed protocol until the mid-580s!	S	1778	AE jital, Rajput horseman type, horseman faces right (Lahore) (Tye 183) The Rajput horseman is much more stylized than the Lahore horseman of #1776.	S
1768.2	AR dirham, Ghazna, central circle type, dated from the late 580s until 596, fine silver, broad flans, citing Ghiyath al-Din, with standard protocol Broad flan, believed to be relatively fine silver, size adopted by type #1770 and later issues. Individual specimens vary greatly in actual weight. Known dated 588-596. (#1769, AR dirham of Herat, is now recognized as just a trifling variant of #1773.)	S	1779	AE jital, Rajput bull type with extra marginal inscriptions on one or both sides, struck at Kurraman (Tye 175)	C
1770	AR dirham, "bull's-eye" type as #1760 (Ghazna, 596-597, often with month)	S	1779L	AE jital, Kurraman style bull /4 or 5 line Arabic inscriptions (Tye 177-178) (Former #1780, horseman type jital of Herat, is #1734.1 or 1734.2 of the Khwarizmshahs.)	C
1771	AR dirham, square-in-circle type, citing Ghiyath al-Din, as #1761 (Ghazna, 597-599 only) Struck from 97-98% silver, as are #1172-1173.	S	1781	AE jital, Rajput bull & horseman type with Nagari inscriptions only (Lahore, Delhi & Budaon) (Tye 184-187)	A
1772	AR dirham, square-in-circle type, Mu'izz al-Din alone, as #1762 (Ghazna, 599-606) Coins dated after 602 are posthumous issues struck by order of Taj al-Din Yildiz but in the sole name of Mu'izz al-Din.	C	1782	AE falus, various types struck in India, always with very short inscriptions (Tye 188, 190-192) Always without mint name, but likely struck at Delhi as they are similar to Delhi Sultanate coppers over the next several decades.	C
1773	AR dirham, central circle type, Mu'izz al-Din alone, as #1763 (Herat, 599 only) Mint name at top of reverse field, date in margin. The marginal legend gives the denomination as <i>dinar</i> , perhaps because the silver and gold coins were struck from the same pair of dies.	R	<b>Mahmud b. Muhammad, 602-609 / 1206-1212 (Ghiyath al-Din, more rarely Shihab al-Din)</b>		
1773M	AR tanka (12.6g), horseman type as #1765-67, known dated Ramadan 601 (Goron B4) This type and #1773N were struck in Bengal.	RRR	1783.1	AV broad dinar, fine gold, square-in-circle type, title Ghiyath al-Din (Firuzkuh, known dated 605)	RR
1773N	AR 1/12 tanka (0.9g), <i>abu'l-muzaffar</i> on obverse, <i>muhammad shah</i> on reverse, undated (Goron B5)	RRR	1783.2	AV broad dinar, fine gold, central circle type, with title Shihab al-Din (Dawar 602)	RR
1774	AE jital, Taliqan horseman type, western style (Tye 173) This type, as well as #1777 and 1777A, and some varieties of #1779 and 1782 cite the title Mu'izz al-Din or Abu'l-Muzaffar, thus securely assigned to Mu'izz al-Din Muhammad. The remaining jitals listed here under Mu'izz al-Din cite only <i>muhammad bin sam</i> in either	C	1783.3	AV broad dinar, fine gold, central circle type, with title Ghiyath al-Din (Firuzkuh, date off flan, Dawar 608 & Herat, date uncertain <sup>461</sup> )	RR
			1784	AR broad dirham, reverse within lobated square, obverse either in lobated square or in plain inner circle Known from Firuzkuh, perhaps other mints as well. Each mint has at least one distinctive calligraphic style and cartouche. Some examples may contain a tiny percentage of gold.	RR
			1785	AE jital, horseman type (Tye 141-143) Struck at Herat, Taliqan and Dawar, also mintless.	R
			1785A	AE jital, horseman type, falcon on rider's right hand, without mint name (Tye 144)	RR
			1786	AE jital, elephant-rider type (Juzjan area) (Tye 147-148, 151) Without mint name, perhaps struck at Kurzuwan & Shafurqan, as suggested by Tye.	R
			1787	AE jital, elephant without rider, Marw (or Farwan with just the first three letters), also mintless from the Juzjan region (Tye 145-146)	RR
			1787A	AE jital, elephant without rider, reverse with floral pattern within central square and ruler's name in margin (Tye 150)	RR

<sup>461</sup> The first letter of the date is *alif*, thus the date is either 602 or 604, with 602 more likely due to local history.

1788	AE jital, hexagram type, Taliqan mint (Tye 188) Square in inner circle, with <i>mahmud</i> in center / hexagram, with <i>bin muhammad</i> in center.	RR	1799A	AE jital, square-in-circle type, short inscriptions only (Tye 202-203) Inscribed ' <i>abduhu al-malik</i> on obverse, <i>al-sultan al-shahid</i> on reverse, each within a plain square (Tye 202) or lobated square (Tye 203) on both sides.	RR
1789	AE jital, Lahore horseman type (Tye 149)	S	1799B	AE jital, plain circle type, short inscriptions only (Tye 204) Inscribed ' <i>abduhu yildiz</i> on obverse, <i>mu'izz al-dunya wa'l-din</i> on reverse.	RR
<b>Taj al-Din Yildiz (Ghorid successor), 602-612 / 1206-1215</b> Yildiz was not a Ghorid, but had been a high-ranking <i>mamluk</i> under Mu'izz al-Din who claimed the Ghazna region after his master's death in 602.			1799C	AE jital, square-in-circle type, Kurzuwan mint (Tye—) Design as #1737 of Muhammad Khwarizmshah (Tye 272), but clearly in name of Taj al-Din Yildiz.	RR
1790	AV dinar, fine gold, square-in-circle type in name of deceased Mu'izz al-Din with Taj al-Din's name added in the obverse or reverse margin (606-610) With mint name Ghazna and date in margin, often illegible.	R	<b>Qutb al-Din Abu'l-Harith Aybak, 602-606 / 1206-1210</b> Governor at Delhi for the Ghorid Muhammad b. Sam and later for his son Mahmud, who seized Ghazna from Yildiz briefly in 606 together with his ally Qubacha.		
1791.1	AV dinar, fine gold, central circle, Kufic script, mint of Ghazna, in name of deceased Mu'izz al-Din, with Taj al-Din cited in margin	RR	1799G	AV dinar, without mint name, dated 606 <sup>463</sup> Citing the Ghorid Mahmud b. Muhammad in the reverse field, Qubacha in obverse margin, undoubtedly struck only at Ghazna. No other coins are known citing Aybak by name or title.	RRR
1791.2	AV dinar, fine gold, central circle, <i>naskhi</i> inscription (struck at al-Dawar 608) The mint name Dawar always appears without the article ( <i>dawar</i> ) on the jitals, normally with the article ( <i>al-dawar</i> ) on the gold and silver (for all Khwarizmian and Ghorid coins). A somewhat similar type has recently been reported for Firuzkuh dated 609.	RRR	<b>Rukn al-Din 'Ali Mardan, 606-610 / 1210-1213</b>		
1792	AV dinar, fine gold, inner circle obverse as #1791, reverse just <i>al-sultan al-mu'izz</i> in central double square (similar to Rajgor #766), dated 610-611 <sup>462</sup>	RR	1799P	AV ¼ tanka, horseman type, Arabic legends (Goron B7), undated (2.3g±)	RRR
1793	AV dinar (heavily debased gold), inner circle obverse with Muhammad b. Sam entitled <i>al-sultan al-shahid</i> ("the martyred sultan"), plain circle reverse citing Yildiz (Ghazna 612 only) Yildiz's titles on this type are <i>al-malik al-mu'azzam al-sultan al-sharq taj al-dunya wa'l-din</i> (Zeno-73687). Kanauf style & fabric, as #1713 of the Khwarizmshah Muhammad, but very different arrangement of inscriptions. (The former #A1794 proved to be identical to #1793, hence omitted.)	R	1799Q	AR tanka, horseman type, Arabic legends (Goron B8 & B9), with month of Ramadan but undeciphered year	RR
1794	AR dirham, square-in-circle type, text arrangement as #1790 above (Ghazna 606-610)	S	1799R	AR 1/16 tanka, <i>abu'l-muzaffar</i> on obverse, ' <i>ali mardan</i> on reverse (Goron B10) (0.6g)	RRR
1795	AR dirham, square-in-circle obverse, double square-in-circle reverse as #1792 above (Ghazna 610-611)	R	<i>Later successors of Mu'izz al-Din ruled only in India until 964/1558, where they were known as the Sultans of Delhi. Their coins lie outside the scope of this checklist, but are catalogued in detail by S. Goron &amp; J.P. Goenka, The coins of the Indian Sultanates, New Delhi, 2001.</i>		
1795F	AR dirham, inner circle both sides, mint of Firuzkuh, possibly dated 605 Tiny dots & circles fill the open spaces in the fields, both sides.	RRR	<b>GHORID OF BAMMIYAN</b> Five mints are known, Balkh, Bamiyan, Farwan, Warwarliz and Tirmidh, though the mint name is seldom visible on the silver coins and generally omitted on the copper. Except for the jitals, most coins are carelessly struck and rarely found in attractive grade, very rarely fully struck. Dated types are seldom found with readable dates. As the Ghorid of Bamiyan silver and gold coinage has never been adequately researched, the listings here are tentative. It seems likely that each mint followed a distinctive sequence of types and subtypes, with the probability that coins struck without legible mint name should eventually be ascribed to specific mints. The necessary research remains to be done.		
1796	AE jital, Herat horseman type but without mint name (Tye 198) Types #1796, A1797 and B1797 are all from the Zamin-Dawar region in south-central Afghanistan. All bear the horseman obverse, sometimes with a mint name above or below. The reverse cites ' <i>abduhu</i> ("his slave") at the top, then in 3 lines, <i>al-malik al-mu'azzam taj al-dunya wa'l-din yildiz</i> . All are made from a mixture of copper and lead.	S	<b>Fakhr al-Din Mas'ud (b. Husayn), 540-558 / 1145-1163<sup>464</sup></b>		
A1797	AE jital horseman type, with horseman usually holding spear (Tye 195-197) Mints of Dawar and Bust or without mint. One mintless variant of Tye 196 portrays a falcon below the horse.	RR	1800	AR dinar (typically 90% silver, the rest copper or some other base metal) The alloy of this type is silver, probably without any gold at all, usually 23-26mm. Broad thin flan. This and the following type normally bear the title <i>malik al-sharq</i> , "king of the east", and cite the caliph al-Mustanjid (555-566). Known from the mint of Bamiyan.	R
B1797	AE jital, horseman type, with horseman holding falcon (Tye 193-194) Mint of Takinabad (near Qandahar) or without mint.	RR	1801	BI "dinar" or "dirham" (typically 40-70% silver, often with considerable lead)	R
1797	AE jital, Rajput horseman type, without mint name but almost certainly struck at Lahore (Tye 201)	S			
1798	AE jital, Ghazna style (inscriptions only) (Tye 199) Cites the deceased Mu'izz al-Din as <i>al-sultan al-a'zam</i> on obverse, Taj al-Din Yildiz as <i>al-malik al-mu'azzam</i> and ' <i>abduhu</i> on reverse.	C			
1799	AE jital, Kurraman bull type (probably struck at Kurraman, also with significant lead content) (Tye 200)	C			

<sup>462</sup> A unique specimen bears *al-sultan al-mu'izz* in double circle instead of double square, dated 611, probably also struck at Ghazna.

<sup>463</sup> Sourdell 1450-1458. These pieces were recently (2010) recovered for the Kabul museum, apparently all nine of them!

<sup>464</sup> These are the dates provided by Bosworth. Accola has submitted evidence that Mas'ud's actual reign was more like 545-563 / 1150-1168, with Shams al-Din Muhammad succeeding in 563/1168. Unfortunately, dated coins of Fakhr al-Din Mas'ud are nonexistent.

<b>Shams al-Din Muhammad (b. Mas'ud<sup>465</sup>), 558-588 / 1163-1192</b>			
R1802.1	AV dinar, reasonably fine gold, similar with title <i>malik al-a'zam</i> , mint of Bamiyan Known dated 581, mint name above obverse field (Zeno-1883).	RRR	
R1802.2	AV dinar, similar, but with title <i>al-sultan al-a'zam</i> , mint of Balkh The central Ghorid sultan Ghiyath al-Din Muhammad bestowed the title of <i>sultan</i> on Shams al-Din in 586, so presumably struck late in his reign, circa 586-588.	RRR	
1802.1	AR dirham (or base dinar), title <i>al-malik al-a'zam</i> , known from Bamiyan mint (Zeno-38276)	RR?	
1802.2	AR dirham (or base dinar), title <i>al-sultan</i> , many variants Sometimes struck in debased silver. Inscribed either <i>al-sultan al-mu'azzam</i> or <i>al-sultan al-a'zam</i> sometimes followed by <i>abu'l-muzaffar</i> . Reported from the mints of Bamiyan & Farwan.	R	
A1803	BI dirham or jital, with title <i>malik al-sharq</i> , "king of the east" (Tye 152), mint unknown	RR	
E1803	AE broad <i>qahiri</i> dirham (35-36mm), Qarakhanid style, struck at Balkh in 587	RRR	
<b>Baha' al-Din Sam (b. Muhammad), 588-602 / 1192-1206 (al-Sultan al-A'zam Abu'l-Mu'ayyid)</b>			
1803	AV dinar, fine gold Known from Bamiyan and Balkh, dated between 595 & 602. Recently discovered from Warwarliz, undated.	RR	
1804.1	AR/BI dirham, central circle type Probably mint of Bamiyan, known die-linked to a coin dated 597.	S	
1804.2	AR/BI dirham, central lobated square within circle, marginal legend around Probably struck at Bamiyan, known dated 599.	S	
1804.3	AR/BI dirham, plain double square within circle, marginal legend around Mint of Farwan, known dated 597 (Tye 135, but not a jital).	R	
1804.4	AR/BI dirham, plain circle, without marginal inscription, without mint or date The various subtypes of #1804 were struck in varying degrees of debasement of the silver, usually with plenty of copper and perhaps as much as 10-20% lead. The regal titulature is <i>al-sultan al-a'zam abu'l-mu'ayyad</i> , except for some examples of #1804.4, where Sam is also entitled <i>sultan al-sharq</i> , perhaps an earlier type. The listing of #1804-subtypes here is incomplete. (Tye 154, but not a jital).	R	
1805.1	BI jital, inscriptional types, titles on obverse, <i>sam bin muhammad</i> on reverse (Tye 155-159) Normally without mint name (Tye 155-156), but also with Balkh atop obverse (Tye 157), Warwalij ( <i>sic</i> ) above reverse (Tye 158) and Tirmidh above reverse (Tye 159 <sup>466</sup> ).	S	
1805.2	BI jital, horseman right, without mint (Tye 160)	R	
1805.3	BI jital, elephant-rider right, without mint (Tye 161) <sup>467</sup>	RR	
<b>Jalal al-Din 'Ali, 602-611 / 1206-1215, (Abu'l-Muzaffar, b. Sam)</b>			
V1806	AV dinar, as independent ruler Known dated 602 (mint name undetermined) and 603 (Walwalij, <i>sic</i> ), then later dated 608, also with undetermined mint.	RR	
1806	AV dinar, citing the Khwarizmshah Muhammad as suzerain Most, if not all specimens, struck at Walwalij, dated 605. <sup>468</sup>	RR	
1807	BI dirham (various degrees of debasement), citing only Jalal al-Din (as <i>al-sultan al-a'zam</i> ) (Tye 165)	RR	
1808	AE jital, inscriptions only, citing 'Ala al-Din of Khwarizm as overlord (Tye 172)	S	
A1809	AE jital, Rajput bull & horseman type, Muhammad b. Sam legend in Sanskrit, Arabic <i>jalal</i> on horse's rump (Tye 169)	R	
B1809	AE jital, inscriptions only, with obverse margin, no overlord, mint of Warwalij ( <i>sic</i> ) (Tye 170) This might be a poorly made version of the debased dirham, perhaps type #1804.1.	RR	
C1809	AE jital, as #B1809 but without mint name, obverse in square-in-circle (Tye 171)	RR	
1809	AE jital, Rajput horseman left on obverse, text only on reverse, in name of Jalal al-Din alone (Tye 166-168) This type is frequently misattributed to Jalal al-Din Mangubarni, the Khwarizmshah. An unconfirmed subtype reportedly shows the mint name Bamiyan (Tye—).	R	
<b>SULTANS OF SIND</b>			
<i>Successors to the Ghorids in Sind.</i>			
<b>Nasir al-Din Qubacha, circa 600-626 / 1203-1228</b>			
1810	AE jital, Rajput bull & horseman type (Tye 206)	C	
1811	AE jital, Arabic obverse, Rajput horseman reverse (Tye 205)	C	
<b>Shalif Beg (or Sharif Beg), after 621 / 1223</b>			
1812	AE jital, Rajput bull-and-horseman type (Tye 322) With Sanskrit inscription <i>sri shalapha бага</i> above the bull. The relationship between Shalif Beg (presumably a bastardization of Sharaf Beg or Sharif Beg) and Qubacha is unknown.	R	
<b>QARLUGHID</b>			
<i>Originally an officer in the service of Jalal al-Din Mangubarni, al-Hasan Qarlugh founded a short-lived dynasty in Ghazna and Sind.</i>			
<b>al-Hasan Qarlugh, 621-647 / 1224-1249</b>			
1813.1	AR tanka (about 11g), citing the caliph al-Zahir (622-623), always undated	RRR	
1813.2	AR tanka, citing caliph al-Mustansir (623-640), Hasan with title <i>sayf / al-dunya wa'l-din</i> atop the obverse field, usually undated but known with year 636 <sup>469</sup>	R	
1813.3	AR tanka, similar, but title <i>al-malik</i> added Specimens with legible date are RR. Hasan received the title <i>al-malik</i> sometime before 633, as coins of this type dated 633 have been published.	R	
1814	AE jital, Rajput bull and horseman type (Tye 346)	C	
1815	AE jital, Arabic obverse, Rajput horseman reverse (Tye 345)	S	
1816	AE jital, bull obverse, Arabic reverse, 'adl in center of bull's body (Kurraman) (Tye 344)	RR	
<i>This type was incorrectly described as a Ghazna issue in the first edition. There are no known Ghazna jitals for this reign.</i>			
<b>Nasir al-Din Muhammad Qubacha, 647-658 / 1249-1259</b>			
1817	AE jital, Arabic obverse, Sanskrit reverse (Tye 348)	RRR	
1818	AE jital, Arabic inscriptions only (Tye 349-350)	R	

<sup>465</sup> Not to be confused with coins of the main-line Muhammad b. Sam, whose earliest coins bear the title Shams al-Din.

<sup>466</sup> Tye tentatively assigned type 159 to Farwan, but with the discovery of many more examples, the mint is clearly Tirmidh, quite close to Balkh.

<sup>467</sup> Tye has assigned some Sanskrit types of Muhammad b. Sam and Prithvi Raja Deva to Baha al-Din, but this has not been confirmed (Tye 162-164).

<sup>468</sup> As independent ruler 'Ali is entitled *al-sultan al-a'zam*, but as vassal under the Khwarizmshah Muhammad, he is given the lesser title *al-sultan al-mu'azzam*, with the higher title reserved for the Khwarizmshah.

<sup>469</sup> In theory, coins of this type, without the additional title *al-malik*, should be dated no later than 633. So why 636? Engraver's error for 626?

1819 AE jital, horse & Arabic legend on obverse, Nagari inscription on reverse (Tye 347)

Tye lists a number of miscellaneous, mostly anonymous, jitals that have not been identified to a specific ruler or dynasty. Most were probably struck during or just after the Mongol invasion, some perhaps under Qarlughid authority. All are rare (Tye 351-362).

### THE ATABEGS & CONTEMPORARIES

The term atabeg denotes the tutor assigned to a Seljuq royal prince while he was still a child. Many of these atabegs assumed effective power over their protégé, who might then remain little more than a figurehead after coming of age. Several of these atabegs eventually went on to found their own dynasties, sometimes retaining a Seljuq figurehead as nominal overlord but most eventually dispensing with that formality. In addition, a few local Seljuq governors founded independent kingdoms as well, even though they were not atabegs and never had a prince of the blood under their tutelage.

#### ARTUQID (often written *Artukid* or *Urtukid*)

In addition to the usual museum catalogs (especially useful are Paris and London), see the following:

Lane-Poole, Stanley, *Coins of the Urtuki Turkumans* (= The International Numismata Orientalia, Part II), London 1875 (reprint, Bologna 1965).

Ghalib Edhem, Ismail, *Catalogue des monnaies turcomanes*, Constantinople, 1894 (reprint: Bologna 1965). Also includes the Zangid and Begteginid coins.

Ilich, Lutz, *Geschichte der Artuqidherrschaft von Mardin zwischen Mamluken und Mongolen 1260-1410 AD*, Münster 1984 (dissertation), the only significant study for the post-1260 series.

Spengler, Wm. F., and W.G. Sayles, *Turkoman Figural Bronze Coins and their Iconography. Volume One: The Artuqids*, Lodi 1992, now the most important catalog of the copper figural types.

The principal branch of the Artuqids ruled from Mardin for nearly three centuries. Their first series of coinage, from 1122-1260, consists principally of large bronze coinage known as dirhams, usually pictorial, supplemented from 1218 to 1260 with silver dirhams, most of which are stylistically identical to the Ayyubid dirhams of Halab. There is no gold coinage. Although pictorial coins continued to be struck until the late 1250s, smaller and lighter copper coins were struck from about 1240-1260 (usually undated), conventionally known as the fals. Subordinate branches of the Artuqids ruled at Khartabirt until 1203 and at Amid & Hisn Kayfa until 1232, striking only pictorial copper coins.

Another Artuqid branch ruled briefly at Halab 1118-1124 and struck a few extremely rare fractional dirhams. As for Artuq himself, he was appointed governor of Jerusalem by the Seljuq Tutush in 1086 until his death in 1091. His son Il-Ghazi I struck a few silver coins at Halab (#A1820), but the regular copper dirham issues began under the next generation, his great grandson Qara Arslan at Amid & Hisn Kayfa, his grandson Timurtash at Mardin.

Only a few true Artuqid coins were produced during the middle period (1260-1347), virtually all in copper. Other coins struck during these years cite only the Ilkhan ruler and are thus considered regular Ilkhan coinage.

The later period (1347-1410) was characterized by a standard silver coinage of akçes and occasional half akçes, together with periodic copper coins, sometimes pictorial, other times purely inscriptional. All copper coinage of this period is rare, whereas some of the silver coinage has become very common, due to large hoards marketed since the 1960s.<sup>470</sup>

Most rulers have more than one pictorial type. These are listed as subtypes, following the excellent work of Spengler & Sayles,

with dates of issue, when known. For pictorial types, by tradition, the figural side is regarded as the obverse.

Most coins of the Amid & Hisn Kayfa branch of the Artuqids lack any mention of the mint name, but must have been struck at Amid or al-Hisn (the modern Diyarbakir and Hasankef, respectively). The Khartabirt coins were presumably struck at that city, though none of them mentions the place of minting. The Mardin coppers were struck at Mardin (not cited on the earlier types, but commonly cited from the 590s onwards). The silver coins prior to 637 were minted at Dunaysir (modern Düneysir, often misconstrued in the older literature as Kayfa). Later silver was produced at Mardin & Amid.

The pictorial and other early bronzes were usually carefully struck, though surviving specimens are frequently corroded, damaged or worn. The early silver, through the 630s, was also struck with care; that of the 640s & 650s is also tolerably attractive. The later silver, from the late 740s onwards, is usually weakly struck and rarely found with full inscriptions and margins.

The pictorial bronze is more avidly collected than any other Islamic series. As a result, well-struck and well-preserved specimens are strongly sought after and command substantial premiums over average pieces of the same rarity.

Silver or silver-alloy cast forgeries of many pictorial Artuqid coins were manufactured from the 18<sup>th</sup> to the early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. They were probably intended for sale to tourists or collectors. Nowadays, they have little numismatic value other than as curiosities.

NOTE: SS numbers refer to Spengler & Sayles, cited above.

#### ARTUQID (HALAB)

##### Il-Ghazi I (Najm al-Din, b. Artuq), 511-516 / 1118-1122

A1820 AR fractional dirham RRR

##### Balak-Ghazi (Nur al-Dawla), 516-518 / 1122-1124

B1820 AR fractional dirham RRR

#### ARTUQID (AMID & HISN KAYFA)

##### Qara Arslan, 539-570 / 1144-1174

##### (Fakhr al-Din, b. Da'ud b. Sukman b. Artuq)

1820.1 AE dirham, facing bust of Christ (Christ Pantocrator), showing the book of Gospels in his left hand, undated (SS1) RR

This is the earliest large copper coin of the Artuqids to bear the denomination *dirham*, which also appears on type #1828.2, thus confirming that that the denomination of the large copper was *dirham*, not *fals*.

1820.2 AE dirham, enthroned bust of Christ facing, undated, with nine Arabic letters scattered to left & right of the head of Christ (SS2.1) RR

These nine letters represent the *abjad* numerals 1 through 9. The purpose of these numbers is unknown.

1820.2A AE dirham, same design but with the actual numerals 1 through 9 scattered to left and right of the head of Christ (SS2.2) RR

The nine numbers are variously arranged on different dies, both for this type and for the dragon types #1820.2B and 1820.2C. This is the earliest use of Arabic ciphers on a regular circulating Islamic coin.

1820.2B AE dirham, same type, also with numerals 1-9, but countermarked two entwined dragons within a circle (SS2.3) RR

1820.2C AE dirham, same type, same numerals, but with the countermark design of 2 dragons incorporated into the obverse die, to the lower left (SS2.4) RRR

1820.3 AE dirham, winged Victory walking r., holding round or square votive tablet inscribed VOT XXX, surrounded by a crudely engraved inscription in Latin, undated (SS3) RR

The round tablet variant is much rarer. The obverse design was borrowed from coinage of Constantine the Great (AD 306-337). Cf. RIC-244.

1820.4 AE dirham, slightly left-facing figure holding globe and scepter, dated 556 (SS4) R

<sup>470</sup> This is a common phenomenon for coin types in all metals that were not considered artistically interesting. They were regarded as not worth the effort of marketing, then melted down for their contents.



- 1820.5 AE dirham, crowned and bearded facing bust on obverse, bare-headed and clean-shaven facing bust on reverse, dated 559 (SS5) RRR
- 1820.6 AE dirham, long-haired male head facing, dated 560 (SS6) S  
Kalima and name of caliph al-Mustanjid around the male head on obverse, date on reverse, together with the ruler's ancestry, *qara arslan bin da'ud bin sukman bin artuq*, who are also cited on the next two types (SS7 and SS8).
- 1820.7 AE dirham, long-haired male bust facing, dated 562 (SS7) R  
Date on obverse, divided to the left and right of the male bust.
- 1820.8 AE dirham, similar to #1820.7 but with small winged figures added to right of bust and entire date to left of bust, dated 570 (SS8) RRR

**Muhammad, 570-581 / 1174-1185  
(Nur al-Din, b. Qara Arslan)**

- 1821.1 AE dirham, winged angel facing, dated 571 (SS9) R  
Normally found very carelessly struck.
- 1821.2 AE dirham, enthroned figure under canopy, with two winged angels above, dated 576 (SS10) RR
- 1821.3 AE dirham, Seleukid style diademed head left, dated 578 (SS11) R

**Sukman II, 581-597 / 1185-1201  
(Qutb al-Din, al-Malik al-Mas'ud, b. Muhammad)**

- 1822.1 AE dirham, Sasanian-style bust left, with crown of Shahpur I, dated 581 (SS12) RR  
Well-struck examples are extremely rare.
- 1822.2 AE dirham, two male busts addosed, dated 584 (SS13) R  
Normally found with considerable weakness of strike. This is the first issue of Amid & Hisn Kayfa to cite an overlord, *al-malik al-nasir yusuf bin ayyub* (Saladin).
- 1822.3 AE dirham, slightly right-facing bust, holding globe and scepter, dated 594, no overlord (SS14) S

**Mahmud (Nasir al-Din), 597-619 / 1201-1222**

- 1823.1 AE dirham, double-headed eagle with wings spread, plain circle reverse S  
Two varieties, one struck at al-Hisn in 610 (SS15, citing the Ayyubid Abu Bakr as overlord), the other at Amid in 614 (SS16, citing the Rum Seljuq Kayka'us I as overlord). Both have dates in numerals, the earliest occurrences of a numeral date on properly Islamic coins. However, a Norman Sicilian copper follaro of William I is known dated 533 in Arabic numerals.<sup>471</sup>
- 1823.2 AE dirham, lion-rider facing right, dated 615 either in numerals or in words (SS17) R  
Citing the Ayyubid al-Kamil Muhammad as overlord.
- 1823.3 AE dirham, double-headed eagle in fancy quatrefoil, hexagram reverse, dated 617 (SS18) RR  
Citing the Ayyubid al-Kamil Muhammad as overlord.

**Mawdud, 619-629 / 1222-1232  
(Rukn al-Din, b. Mahmud)**

- 1824.1 AE dirham, similar to #1823.3 but obverse and reverse enclosures are a circle within a square within a circle, legends of Mawdud (SS19) S  
Struck at Amid in 621, date in numerals, al-Kamil Muhammad as overlord.
- 1824.2 AE fals (2.5-4.0g), inscriptional types, known dated 624 in words and 625 in numerals (SS20) R  
Citing the Rum Seljuq Kayqubad as overlord.

**ARTUQID (KHARTABIRT)**

**Abu Bakr I (b. Qara Arslan), 581-600 / 1185-1203,**

Khartabirt is the modern town Harput, whose name was officially changed in 1937 to Elâzığ, which was derived from the name of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman sultan Abdul Aziz.

None of his coins cite an overlord.

- 1825.1 AE dirham, dragon-rider left, dragon with knotted tail, dated 582 & 585 (SS21) RRR
- 1825.2 AE dirham, bare head left / inscription in circle of dots, dated 583-590 (SS22) RR  
Not all intermediate dates are known.
- 1825.3 AE dirham, Roman style bust facing left / inscription in square, dated 592 only (SS23) RRR

**ARTUQID (MARDIN)**

Many of the large copper dirhams of this dynasty, as well as similar dirhams of the Zangids and Ayyubids, are found overstruck on earlier types. Silver coins of type #1831 & 1832 were struck at Dunaysir, #1834 & 1835 at Mardin, then at both Mardin & Amid during the 8<sup>th</sup>/14<sup>th</sup> century and early 9<sup>th</sup>/15<sup>th</sup>. All copper coins were presumably struck at Mardin, though the mint name is frequently omitted, especially on the earlier issues.

All copper dirhams of the rulers Timurtash up to and including Yuluq Arslan were presumably struck at Mardin, but always without mint name, which first appears on type #1830.2.

**EARLY PERIOD (516-658 / 1122-1260)**

**Timurtash, 516-547 / 1122-1152  
(Husam al-Din, al-Malik al-'Adil, b. Il-Ghazi I b. Artuq)**

- 1826.1 AE dirham, facing bust of Christ as on #1820.1, in the name of the local governor Sher Barik, without mint name & undated (SS24) RRR  
The attribution to Timurtash is conjectural, as this type is technically an issue of Sher Barik, who was perhaps governor under Timurtash at or near Mayyafariqin.
- 1826.2 AE dirham, late Roman style bust right with pseudo-Latin inscription around, dated 542-543 (SS25) R  
The date and the mint name Mardin are both usually too stylized to be legible.
- 1826.3 AE dirham, Seleukid style diademed bust right, undated (SS26) S  
Some examples successfully achieve the superb portrait style of the Seleukid prototype.

**Alpi, 547-572 / 1152-1176  
(Najm al-Din al-Malik al-Mas'ud, Abu'l-Muzaffar, b. Timurtash)**

- 1827.1 AE dirham, countermarked *najm al-din* (S) or *najm al-din malik diyar bakr* (RR) on the Seleucid style bust type #1826.3, usually on the neck, more rarely on the cheek S  
Listed by Spengler & Sayles as a variant of type SS26. The term *diyar bakr* refers to the section of al-Jazira originally occupied by the Bakr tribe from Arabia in the Umayyad period, now the modern name of the city of Amid, spelled Diyarbakır.
- 1827.2 AE dirham, similar, but the countermark *najm al-din* incorporated into the obverse die (SS27) R
- 1827.3 AE dirham, two long-haired busts facing on obverse, Virgin Mary crowning the Byzantine emperor on reverse, undated (SS28) C  
The obverse busts are believed to represent the Gemini, Castor & Pollux, not a Seleukid ruler and prince, as I had previously stated.
- 1827.4 AE dirham, draped bust facing slightly left on obverse, facing bust wearing Sasanian crown on reverse, dated 558-559 (SS29) C
- 1827.5 AE dirham, two facing male busts obverse, facing curly-haired female bust reverse, undated (SS30) C  
Two varieties, one citing caliph al-Mustanjid, the other citing al-Mustadi, of which the al-Mustadi is slightly scarcer.

<sup>471</sup> There exists a Buwayhid presentation medallion of AH359 with the date in numerals. Also, an Artuqid copper dirham struck in the 540s or early 550s bear all nine numerals, but not as a date (#1820.2A).

## II-Ghazi II, 572-580 / 1176-1184

### (Qutb al-Din, b. Alpi)

- 1828.1 AE dirham, diademed head in square, normally gazing upwards, undated (SS31) C
- 1828.2 AE dirham, large & small draped busts facing, known from all dates 577-580 (SS32) C
- The bottom three lines of the reverse text are *hadha al-dirham ma'lun man yu'ayyaruhu*, "cursed is he who abuses this dirham". The last three words also appear on type #1821.3 of al-Hisn, dated 578.

### Yuluq Arslan (Husam al-Din), 580-597 / 1184-1201

- 1829.1 AE dirham, diademed bust facing, dated 581-586 (SS33) C
- Citing Salah al-Din Yusuf (Saladin) as overlord. This is the first coin of Mardin to cite an Ayyubid overlord. A purely Ayyubid silver dirham dated 581 was struck at Mardin, without the name of the Artuqid ruler, Ayyubid type #788. The years 581-583 are common, 584 & 585 scarce, 586 very rare.
- 1829.2 AE dirham, large bust facing left on right hand side, small bust facing forward on left side, undated (SS34) C
- Citing Salah al-Din Yusuf (Saladin) as overlord, thus struck circa 586-589, though always undated.
- 1829.3 AE dirham, four figures in a "lamentation" scene, dated 589-590, several variants of reverse legend (SS35) C
- Sayles has argued persuasively that the scene represents an astrological event whose consequences would have been corroborated by the death of Saladin in 589, thus indeed a lamentation scene. This type usually has 5 lines of text within the central circle on the reverse, including the name of the Ayyubid al-'Adil Abu Bakr. One variant (equal rarity) has only 3 lines in central circle and without citing an Ayyubid overlord. All Artuqid coins beginning with #1829.4 of the early period cite an Ayyubid overlord, except for types #1838.3, 1830.10, 1830.11 and 1831.2, which instead cite a Rum Seljuq ruler as overlord (dated 623-627 and 632-637). Some minor copper fulus of type #1833 omit the overlord, as well as a rare silver dirham dated 645 (#1834.3).
- 1829.4 AE dirham, seated figure holding sword behind head in right hand, severed head in left hand, several variants, all dated 596 (SS36) C
- Commonly known as the "headcutter" or "headhunter" type. Citing two Ayyubid overlords, al-Afdal 'Ali & al-Zahir Ghazi.

### Artuq Arslan, 597-637 / 1201-1239

#### (Nasir al-Din al-Mansur)

Although all subtypes under #1830 were struck at Mardin, the mint name appears only on types #1830.2, 1830.3 (year 606 only), 1830.10 and 1830.11.

- 1830.1 AE dirham, facing draped bust, dated 598-599 (SS37) C
- Some issues dated 598 cite no overlord (SS37.1), others of 598 and all of 599 cite the Ayyubid al-Zahir Ghazi as overlord (SS37.2 & 37.3, respectively).
- 1830.2 AE dirham, Centaur (facing left or right) shooting arrow at dragon emerging from its tail, dated 599 only (SS38.1 left, SS38.2 right) S
- Except for #1826.2, this is the first type of this series to bear the mint name Mardin. Citing the Ayyubid Abu Bakr as overlord.
- 1830.3 AE dirham, leopard-rider left, two variants with distinctive reverse inscriptions, dated 606 (C) and 626 (R), respectively (SS39 & 45) C
- Type SS39 cites the Ayyubid overlord al-'Adil Abu Bakr in the reverse margin, type SS45 cites al-Kamil Muhammad in the same location.
- 1830.4 AE dirham, bust facing slightly left, dated 611 on reverse (SS40) C
- This common type is often found on relatively tiny flans, occasionally as narrow as 20mm, though average specimens are typically 23-27mm.

- 1830.5 AE dirham, non-pictorial, obverse and reverse in octogram, dated 615 (SS41) R
- Usually coarsely struck, therefore very rare with legible date.
- 1830.6 AE dirham, similar to #1830.4 but dated 618 on obverse and with distinctive style (SS42) R
- These two types can easily be distinguished, even when date missing, as #1830.4 cites the Ayyubid overlord al-'Adil Abu Bakr, #1830.6 cites al-Kamil Muhammad.
- 1830.7 AE dirham, first-century Roman style head right, dated 620, citing al-Kamil Muhammad (SS43) S
- 1830.8 AE dirham, round-faced male bust facing, dated 623 (SS44), citing the Rum Seljuq overlord Kayqubad I R
- 1830.9 AE dirham, seated figure on square-backed throne, as vassal of Ayyubid al-Kamil Muhammad, dated 628 (SS46) S
- 1830.10 AE dirham, coarse roundish head facing, dated 632-634 (SS47), as vassal of the Rum Seljuq, Kayqubad I S
- 1830.11 AE dirham, seated figure generally as #1830.9 but as vassal of the next Rum Seljuq, Kaykhusraw II, dated 634, 635 & 637 (SS48) R
- 1831.1 AR dirham, hexagram type, Ayyubid style with the Ayyubid al-Kamil Muhammad as overlord, dated 615-624 & 627-632 C
- Dates 615-624 are of fine Ayyubid style (RR), later dates are of somewhat degenerate style (C). Struck only at Dunaysir (a short distance south of Mardin).
- 1831.2 AR dirham, plain circle type, 624-626 & reportedly also 632-634 R
- Stylistically similar to the Sivas dirhams of Kayqubad I (Rum Seljuq), who is cited as overlord on this type.
- 1831.3 AR dirham, plain circle type, style as #1831.2 but citing the Ayyubid al-Kamil Muhammad as overlord, 627 only RRR
- 1831.4 AR dirham, plain circle type, style as #1831.2 but citing the Rum Seljuq overlord Kaykhusraw II, 634-636 RRR
- 1832 AR ½ dirham, hexagram type only (as #1831.1) R

### Ghazi I, 637-658 / 1239-1260 (Najm al-Din al-Sa'id)

- A1833 AE dirham, crude facing bust, dated 654-655 (SS49) R
- 1833 AE fals, inscriptions only, many subtypes C
- 1834.1 AR dirham, plain inner circle type, citing the Ayyubid al-Salih Ayyub, dated 642 only RR
- Format probably inspired by the contemporary dodekalobe type of Dimashq (#824).
- 1834.2 AR dirham, hexagram type, first series, as vassal of the Ayyubid al-Salih Ayyub, 642-644 S
- 1834.3 AR dirham, hexagram type, 2<sup>nd</sup> series, without any overlord, dated 645 only R
- 1834.4 AR dirham, hexagram type, 3<sup>rd</sup> series, citing the Ayyubid ruler al-Nasir Yusuf & the caliph al-Musta'sim, 646-656 C
- All silver coins of Ghazi I were struck at Mardin. The dirham weight standard began at around 2.90g for #1834.1, then gradually withered to below 2.70g for #1834.5.
- 1834.5 AR dirham, hexagram type, 4<sup>th</sup> series, citing al-Nasir Yusuf but without the caliph, 656-658 S
- 1835 AR ½ dirham, hexagram type only, inscriptions as on #1834.4 (more rarely, #1834.5, R) S

### MIDDLE PERIOD (658-748 / 1260-1347)

From about 661 until 741 normal Ilkhan coins, almost always dated, were struck at Mardin, sometimes in large quantities that are very common nowadays. In addition, some very rare gold coins were occasionally struck at Mardin by the Ilkhans, as were copper coins of various types, some common. The few types that actually cite the Artuqid ruler are listed below.

**Qara Arslan, 658-693 / 1260-1294**  
(Fakhr al-Din al-Muzaffar)

- 1836.1 AE fals, inscriptional types S  
Several types, some citing an Ilkhan overlord. An independent type of 688-690 (both sides in hexafoil) was misattributed by Balog to the Mamluk ruler Hajji I (his #316, *Mamluks*)
- 1836.2 AE fals, sunface in square, usually dated 693, without overlord (SS50) S  
The year 673 is probably a typo for 693, despite its clarity.
- 1837 AR dirham, struck 658 at Mardin, citing Hulagu (Ilkhan) and the Qa'an, hexagram type RR
- 1837A AR dirham, struck 664 at Mardin, citing Hulagu and the Qa'an, fields within circle RRR  
Identical to Hulagu's dirham type #2122.2 in style & layout, except for the addition of *al-malik al-muzaffar*, the *laqab* of Qara Arslan, below the obverse field.

**Ghazi II, 693-712 / 1294-1312**  
(Najm al-Din, Abu'l-Fath al-Malik al-Mansur)

- 1838.1 AE fals, round sunface in double circle, dated 698, but the date is rarely visible (SS51) S  
Presumably without overlord, unless the title *al-sultan al-a'zam* refers to the Ilkhan Ghazan Mahmud, rather than himself.
- 1838.2 AE fals, reform type citing Ghazan Mahmud as overlord, sometimes dated 703 (SS—) R

**LATE PERIOD (748-811 / 1347-1408)**

**al-Salih Salih I, 712-765 / 1312-1364**

The akçes of al-Salih Salih I & his successors typically weigh between 1.15g and 1.40g.

The akçes of all 5 rulers only bear their *laqab* and never their personal name, always preceded by the word *al-malik*, e.g., *al-malik al-salih*, *al-malik al-mansur*, etc.

The silver coins of this period were poorly struck and are usually found harshly worn, usually without legible mint, date or both.

- 1839 AR akçe C  
Struck from 748/1347 onwards. Earlier silver coinage of Mardin, from 661 until 741, bears only the name of the reigning Ilkhan, and is therefore classified as Ilkhan (for exceptions in silver, see #1837 and 1837A).  
Dates on this and later Artuqid silver can be very misleading. Ilisch has shown that this type was first struck at Mardin with genuine dates 748-751 and at Amid in 757. Later issues of al-Salih Salih were invariably backdated, either 741, 742, or 748 (both mints), but were struck in about 758 and again 761-764. For coins of 759-760, see the Mamluk type #948.  
This type (#1839) can be divided into two subtypes, one with obverse in octagon (#1839.1, somewhat scarce), the other with obverse in hexafoil (#1839.2, closely copied from type #2231 of Sati Beg).
- 1840 AE double fals, two lions addosed (26-29mm) (SS53) RR
- 1841.1 AE fals, lion & sun left (SS52) R
- 1841.2 AE fals, two lions as #1840 but large sun between (18-20mm) (SS54) RRR
- 1841.3 AE fals, double-headed eagle (SS55) RR
- al-Mansur Ahmad, 765-769 / 1364-1368**
- 1842.1 AR akçe, octagon obverse R
- 1842.2 AR akçe, hexafoil obverse S  
Nearly all known akçes of al-Mansur Ahmad bear the frozen year 748, usually illegible. Type #1842.1 is also known dated 764 (*sic*) and the mint name Mardin (RR).  
No copper coins are known for al-Mansur Ahmad.
- al-Muzaffar Da'ud, 769-778 / 1368-1376**
- 1843.1 AR akçe, octagon obverse S
- 1843.2 AR akçe, hexafoil obverse S  
Both types are found with the frozen date 748 or the current year.
- 1844 AE fals, range of types undetermined, some pictorial R

**al-Zahir 'Isa, 778-809 / 1376-1406**

When legible, the date is always an actual year, for all four subtypes. There are numerous minor variations in arrangement of the legends.

- 1845.1 AR akçe, plain hexafoil obverse, inner circle reverse S
- 1845.2 AR akçe, plain hexafoil obverse, octagon reverse S
- 1845.3 AR akçe, pointed hexafoil obverse, hexagon reverse S
- 1845.4 AR akçe, octogram obverse, usually with plain circle reverse S
- 1845A AR ½ akçe, hexafoil obverse (0.5-0.6g) RR
- 1846 AE fals, several types, some pictorial R

**al-Salih Salih II, 809-811 / 1406-1408**

- 1847 AR akçe, hexafoil type only, coarsely engraved RRR

**ZANGID OF SYRIA**

Spengler & Sayles, *Turkoman Figural Bronze Coins and their Iconography. Volume Two: The Zangids*, Lodi, Wisconsin, 1996 (for all branches of the Zangids, copper coins only). There is still no proper study of the silver and gold Zangid coinage.

*'Imad al-Din Zangi was a military commander in the service of the Seljuqs, from whom he acquired the title of atabeg. His descendants ruled in various regions, of which al-Mawsil was the core territory. Zangi and his son Nur al-Din are best known for their defense against the Crusaders.*

*Like the contemporary Artuqid coinage, most of the Zangid copper coins are pictorial and intended as a dirham, except in Syria, where the usual coin was apparently a fals, as stated on the coins themselves. Silver and billon coinage is rare, as are most of the gold dinars.*

All copper coins of the Syrian branch were struck at Aleppo (Halab) and Damascus (except #A1848 & 1848). The silver was struck exclusively at Halab, the gold at al-Qahira & al-Iskandariya.

NOTE: SS numbers refer to Spengler & Sayles, cited above.

**Qasim al-Dawla Aqsunqur, 479-489 / 1086-1096**

- E1848 BI dirham, possibly struck at Halab, undated RRR  
Citing the Seljuq ruler Barkiyaruq, thus struck no earlier than 486. All known specimens lack the mint name.  
Aqsunqur's relationship to the Zangids is uncertain.

**'Imad al-Din Zangi, 521-541 / 1127-1146**

Appointed governor of al-Mawsil in 521/1127, and to Halab in 523/1129. After his death in 541, the Syrian regions passed to Nur al-Din Mahmud, al-Mawsil to Sayf al-Din Ghazi I.

- A1848 AV dinar, mint of al-Mawsil RRR  
As vassal of the Seljuqs Mas'ud and Sanjar and atabeg to the Seljuq scion Alp Arslan.
- B1848 AR or billon fractional dirham RRR  
Mint undetermined, but presumably somewhere in north central or northeastern Syria, perhaps Halab.
- 1848 AE fals, Ba'albakk mint only, usually undated but known with date tentatively read as 534 RRR  
For another fals tentatively assigned to Zangi, see Zeno-1755.

**Nur al-Din Mahmud, 541-569 / 1146-1174**

- 1849 AV dinar, mints of al-Qahira & al-Iskandariya RR  
Struck by order of Saladin as Nur al-Din's vassal at Cairo & Alexandria, but without the name of Saladin (al-Nasir Yusuf I), dated 567-569. Design similar to the previous Fatimid dinars of al-'Adid.
- 1849A BI dirham aswad, thin flan, Syrian style RRR  
Probably struck at Halab and always undated and carelessly manufactured. Struck only during Mahmud's early years, circa 541-548.
- 1849D BI dirham aswad, globular style, struck at al-Qahira RRR

1850	AE fals, Byzantine type but with Arabic legends (standing figures, Halab mint, SS73)	C	1857	BI dirham (inscriptions only), without overlord	R
	The mint name never appears on the coin, but has been adduced by provenance. There are many minor variations of this type, as well as some blundered imitations, perhaps struck by the Crusaders. Carefully struck examples in attractive condition are rare.		1858	AE dirham, facing bust with two angels above, without overlord (SS59, dated 555-565 with all years known)	C
1851	AE fals, Arabic type (Dimashq mint, SS74)	C	<b>Sayf al-Din Ghazi II, 564-576 / 1169-1180</b> <b>(b. Mawdud b. Zangi)</b>		
	Known dated 558, 561 and 564, but date is rarely legible. Clearly dated specimens are rare.		1859	AV dinar, without overlord	RR
	<b>al-Salih Isma'il, 569-577 / 1174-1181</b>		1860	BI dirham (inscriptions only), without overlord	RR
1852	AR dirham, normally dated (commencing in 571)	R	1861.1	AE dirham, pictorial type as #1858, also without overlord (SS60, dated 565-576, probably all years known)	C
	This and the ½ dirham were carefully struck from fine silver on round flans. Both this denomination and the ½ dirham were struck only at Halab.			When the date is unclear, types #1858 and 1861.1 can be distinguished by the reverse margin, <i>mawdud</i> to right, <i>bin zangi</i> above, <i>bin aqsunqur</i> to left for #1858 of Mawdud, <i>bin zangi</i> to right, <i>ghazi bin</i> above, <i>mawdud</i> to left for #1861.1.	
1853	AR ½ dirham, always undated	R	1861.2	AE dirham, helmeted head left, without overlord (SS61)	S
1854.1	AE fals, fourth century Roman style bust right, struck only at Halab in 571 (SS76)	R		Dated 575 only, mints of al-Jazira (S) and Nasibin (R). Two variations, with or without the caliph al-Mustadi.	
1854.2	AE fals, inscriptions only, several types	C	<b>'Izz al-Din Mas'ud I, 576-589 / 1180-1193</b> <b>(b. Mawdud b. Zangi)</b>		
	Struck 569-571 at Dimashq (SS75) and 571-576 at Halab (SS77). Scarce with a clearly legible date.		1862	AV dinar, without overlord	R
	<b>al-'Adil Zangi (of Sinjar), in Aleppo only, 577-579 / 1181-1183</b>			From this reign onwards (including all Lu'lu'id issues), all gold coins were struck solely at al-Mawsil.	
1855	AE fals	RR	1863.1	AE dirham, helmeted head as on #1861.2, without overlord, struck at al-Jazira 577 only (SS62)	S
	When the date is visible, it is always 578. This type has often been misattributed to the Ayyubid ruler, al-'Adil Abu Bakr I. Spengler & Sayles omit the type, but refer to its existence in a footnote on page 79.		1863.2	AE dirham, seated figure holding large crescent ("watermelon-eater"), struck at al-Mawsil, all three years 585-587 (SS63)	S
<b>ZANGID (AL-MAWSIL)</b>				Citing the Ayyubid ruler al-Nasir Yusuf (Saladin) as overlord.	
	Except for some issues of the first two rulers, Mawdud and Ghazi II, all gold coins were struck at al-Mawsil (Mosul). Aside from their normal issues of al-Mawsil, these two rulers also struck dinars at al-Bawazij, Daquqa, Irbil, Shahrazur and Tikrit, all extremely rare. Likewise, copper was normally produced at al-Mawsil as well, but a few relatively common types were struck at Nasibin and al-Jazira, as noted in the descriptions below.		<b>Nur al-Din Arslanshah I, 589-607 / 1193-1211</b>		
	The billon dirhams were presumably struck solely at al-Mawsil, but they seldom show the mint name, and are apparently always undated; they were struck from dies far larger than the average flan. They vary widely in size and weight, and do not correspond to any fixed denominations. None are reported after Ghazi II (d.572), though restored after 631, during the reign of Badr al-Din Lu'lu'.		1864.1	AV dinar, without overlord	S
	Many Zangid gold and copper coins were carefully struck, whereas the billon was indifferently manufactured. Well-preserved and attractive copper coins of all Zangid branches are especially desirable.		1864.2	AV dinar, as last but with overlord Abu Bakr b. Ayyub (dated 603 & later)	S
	Many, if not most Zangid coins of all branches except Syria (and the earlier coppers of al-Mawsil) bear an overlord, usually Ayyubid, occasionally Seljuq (Great Seljuq on some early issues, Seljuq of Rum on a few later pieces). Due to lack of research, these varieties are not always noted in the descriptions of the gold and billon coins.		1865	AE dirham, facing bust in beaded square frame, without overlord, Nasibin 594 only (SS64)	R
	Zangid coppers, pictorial and otherwise, are usually dated and usually cite the mint name. Many examples, especially after about year 585, are overstruck on earlier Zangid types.		<b>'Izz al-Din Mas'ud II, 607-615 / 1211-1218</b>		
	For coins of the earlier Zangid governor of al-Mawsil, 'Imad al-Din Zangi (521-541), see #A1848.			All gold and copper coins of this ruler cite the Ayyubid overlord, al-'Adil Abu Bakr.	
	<b>Sayf al-Din Ghazi I (b. Zangi), 541-544 / 1146-1149</b>		1866	AV dinar	S
A1856	AV dinar, citing the Great Seljuq rulers Sanjar, Mas'ud and Alp Arslan	RRR	1867	AE dirham, diademed bust left, al-Mawsil 607-608 (SS65)	S
	Ghazi I was technically vassal under the local Great Seljuq amir, Alp Arslan b. Mahmud b. Muhammad, who was a local governor under the western Seljuq Mas'ud, who in turn formally recognized the Great Seljuq king Sanjar as his suzerain.			Typically poorly struck from poorly engraved dies, unlike most other pictorial bronzes of the Turkoman dynasties. The design was likely derived from type #1880.2 of Sinjar 596-600.	
B1856	BI dirham (inscriptions only), same overlords (possibly without Alp Arslan), no mint or date	RRR	<b>Arslanshah II, 615-616 / 1218-1219</b>		
	Presumably struck at al-Mawsil (in a private collection in Belgium). This type is possibly an issue of his father Zangi, as only the title <i>atabeg</i> is inscribed, without personal name or title. Citing the caliph al-Muqtafi (530-555 / 1136-1160).		1868	AV dinar, dated 615 only	RR
	<b>Qutb al-Din Mawdud (b. Zangi), 544-564 / 1149-1169</b>			There is no known copper coinage for this reign. His dinars cite the Ayyubid overlords, al-Ashraf Musa & al-Kamil Muhammad.	
1856	AV dinar, without overlord	RR	<b>Nasir al-Din Mahmud, 616-631 / 1219-1233</b>		
				All gold and copper coins of this ruler cite the Ayyubid overlords, al-Ashraf Musa & al-Kamil Muhammad.	
			1869	AV dinar, dated 617-631	C
			1870.1	AE dirham, pictorial type of #1858 revived, struck at al-Mawsil 620 (SS66)	S
			1870.2	AE dirham, seated figure holding crescent, struck at al-Mawsil 627 (SS67)	S
				This is the only Zangid or Artuqid copper dirham that is normally found in excellent condition, due to a large hoard found during or before the 1950s, allegedly somewhere in northern Iraq, perhaps at al-Mawsil itself.	

## LU'LU'ID

Jafar, Yahya, "Dinars and history of Badr al-Din Lu'lu' of Mosul", *ONS Newsletter #201*, pp. 30-41 (for gold only)

NOTE: SS numbers refer to Spengler & Sayles, cited for the Zangids.

*Successors to the Zangids at Mosul (al-Mawsil). Badr al-Din Lu'lu' was originally an Armenian slave acquired by the Zangid ruler Arslanshah I of Mosul, then regent after the latter's death in 607/1211, finally independent ruler after Mahmud's death in 631/1233. His name never appeared on the Zangid coinage before his independence.*

*The Lu'lu'ids have generally been conflated with the Zangids of Mosul in most published references.*

Nearly all coinage was struck at al-Mawsil, except when otherwise noted. Lu'lu' id coppers, especially type #1874.1, were usually overstruck on earlier types. The gold dinars were struck somewhat carelessly on broad flans, typically 28-30mm, weighing between less than 4g and to 8g on more.

### Badr al-Din Lu'lu', 631-657 / 1233-1258 (al-Malik al-Rahim Abu'l-Fada'il)

- 1871.1 AV dinar (dated 633-634) R? Citing the Ayyubid overlords al-Ashraf Musa & al-Kamil Muhammad. S
- 1871.2 AV dinar (dated 634-635) S Citing the Ayyubid overlord al-Kamil Muhammad, without al-Ashraf Musa. C
- 1871.3 AV dinar (dated 635-638) C Without overlord, as independent ruler for first period. Jafar has regarded the 638 issue as "probably a mint error". C
- 1871.4 AV dinar (dated 637-643) C Citing the Rum Seljuq overlord Kaykhusraw II. S
- 1871.5 AV dinar (dated 643-645) S Without overlord, as independent ruler for second period. For the year 648, see #1871.8. R?
- 1871.6 AV dinar (dated 646) R? Citing the Ayyubid overlord, al-Nasir Yusuf, first period. R?
- 1871.7 AV dinar (dated 647) R? Citing the Ayyubid overlord, al-Salih Ayyub, who died in this year. R?
- 1871.8 AV dinar (dated 648) R? Without overlord, as independent ruler for third term, perhaps due to the collapse of Ayyubid rule in Egypt. Identical in design and inscription to type #1871.5. The dates given for the dinars of Lu'lu' types #1871.5-1871.8 have now been confirmed in Jafar's article, but the rarity of these subtypes remains undetermined. C
- 1871.9 AV dinar (dated 649-656) C Citing the Ayyubid overlord, al-Nasir Yusuf, second period. C
- 1871M AV dinar, with additional title *al-malik al-rahim*, citing the Great Mongol overlord, Möngke, dated 656-657 S
- 1872 AR dirham, hexagram type without overlord (al-Jazira 649-650) RR
- 1872A AR dirham, hexagram type, with Möngke cited as overlord, Sinjar 657 RRR
- 1873.1 BI dirham, al-Mawsil mint only, citing the Rum Seljuq Kaykhusraw II and the caliph al-Mustansir (SS69.1) R Both #1873.1 and 1873.2 were struck with widely variable weights, though some were perhaps intended as half dirhams.
- 1873.2 BI dirham, as #1873.1 but caliph al-Musta'sim (SS69.2) RR
- 1874.1 AE dirham, head left in square, al-Mawsil 631 only (SS68) C Citing the Ayyubid overlords al-Kamil and al-Ashraf. This common type was probably struck for a decade or longer, but with frozen year 631 only. It is the most common of all the Zangid or Artuqid pictorial copper dirhams.
- 1874.2 AE dirham?, seated figure holding crescent, without overlord, al-Mawsil 654-655 (SS71) S Denomination not cited.
- 1875 AE fals, inscriptional type, before the Mongol invasion, al-Jazira 649 only (SS70) RR Citing the Ayyubid overlord al-Nasir Yusuf II. This type and #1876 are inscribed *fals* for the denomination.
- 1876 AE fals, struck as vassal of the Mongols, al-Mawsil 656-657<sup>472</sup> (SS72) S This is one of the earliest types to have inscriptions in Persian as well as Arabic, the former *padshah-e ruy-i zamin*, "emperor over the face of the earth", likely a title of Chinese origin. The type is often found overstruck, especially on #1874.1.

### Rukn al-Din Isma'il, 657-660 / 1258-1261 (al-Malik al-Salih)

- 1877.1 AV dinar, with the Mongol Möngke as overlord, dated 657-659 RR
- 1877.2 AV dinar, as independent ruler citing only Isma'il and the Aleppan caliph al-Mustansir, dated 659. RRR
- 1877.3 AV dinar, with the Mamluk Baybars as overlord, dated 659-660 RR Also citing the caliph al-Mustansir, the nominal caliph at Aleppo. Dinars struck at al-Mawsil in 661 and later are regular issues of the Ilkhan ruler Hulagu.
- 1878 AR dirham, several types RRR

## ZANGID (SINJAR)

All coins struck at Sinjar, except some dated 577-582, which were struck at Nasibin. Copper coinage only. See also #1855.

### 'Imad al-Din Zangi (b. Mawdud), 565-594 / 1169-1197

- 1879.1 AE dirham, inscriptions only, Nasibin mint, known dated 577 & 579-582, circle / square (SS78) S Denomination stated as *dirham*.
- 1879.2 AE dirham, double-headed eagle, Sinjar mint, known dated most years 581-592 (SS79) C Rare with clearly legible date, also called *dirham*.

### Quth al-Din Muhammad (b. Zangi), 594-616 / 1197-1219

- 1880.1 AE dirham, inscriptions only, square / square, Sinjar 594-595 (SS80) S Citing the Ayyubid overlords al-'Aziz 'Uthman & al-'Adil Abu Bakr.
- 1880.2 AE dirham, bust left, holding scepter behind, Sinjar 596, 598-600, without overlord (SS81) C Year 596 by far the most common.

- 1880.3 AE dirham, helmeted feminine bust right, Sinjar 600-602, citing the Ayyubid Abu Bakr I as overlord (SS82) R
- 1880.4 AE dirham, double-headed eagle, Sinjar 606-607, citing the Ayyubid Abu Bakr I (SS83) R

### Fath al-Din 'Umar (b. Muhammad), 616-617 / 1219-1220

- 1881 AE dirham, bare head right, Sinjar 616-617 (SS84) RRR Citing the Ayyubid overlord al-Ashraf Musa b. Abi Bakr.

## ZANGID (AL-JAZIRA)

All coins struck at al-Jazira (Jazira Ibn 'Umar, the modern Cizre in far southeastern Turkey). Copper coinage only, either pictorial or with the dynastic tamgha.

### Mu'izz al-Din Sanjarshah b. Ghazi, 576-605 / 1180-1208

- 1882 AE dirham (approximately 8-15g), facing bust, without mint name, dated 584-586 (SS85) S Citing the Ayyubid al-Nasir Yusuf I (Saladin) as overlord.
- A1883 AE *wuqiya* (approximately 35g), tamgha in obverse center, without overlord, al-Jazira 600-602 (SS86) R

<sup>472</sup> Spengler & Sayles also cite the year 658, but this remains unconfirmed.

**al-Mu‘azzam Mahmud b. Sanjarshah, 605-648 / 1208-1251**

- 1883.1 AE dirham, crowned facing bust behind huge crescent, al-Jazira 606-611 (SS87) S  
 Citing the Ayyubid overlord al-‘Adil Abu Bakr. Both subtypes of #1883 cite the overlord within the central inscription.
- 1883.2 AE dirham, as #1883.1 but with Ayyubid overlords al-Kamil Muhammad & al-Ashraf Musa (SS88) R
- 1884 AE dirham, citing al-Zahir as heir, style as #A1883 (SS89) S  
 Struck only at al-Jazira dated 639, citing the Rum Seljuq ruler Kaykhusraw II as overlord. Average weight about 9-10g.

**ZANGID (SHAHRAZUR)**

Coins struck at Shahrazur and Salduz, the latter mint extremely rare.<sup>473</sup> Gold coinage only, usually poorly struck and rarely well preserved, but readily identified by both the inscriptions, even when only partially legible, and the double rope-like circles between the reverse field and margin. Both rulers use the laqab *atabeg* on their coinage.

Both types are rarer with clearly legible date and mint.

**‘Imad al-Din Zangi b. Arslanshah, fl. circa 616-632 / 1219-1234**

- 1885 AV dinar RR  
**Nur al-Din II-Arslan Shah b. Zangi, fl. circa 632-649 / 1234-1251**
- 1886 AV dinar RR

**BEGTEGINID (AT IRBIL)**

See the entries for the Artuqids above. Unfortunately, the gold coinage has never been adequately studied.

Almost all coins were struck at Irbil. Some extremely rare gold was struck at Shahrazur & Tikrit, and one rare type of copper was struck at Harran. Begteginid dinars are usually very poorly struck on broad but very thin planchets; the coppers are generally well struck but not always well preserved.

**Muzaffar al-Din Kökburi b. ‘Ali, 563-630 / 1168-1233**

- 1887.1 AV dinar, without overlord, struck 599-606 R
- 1887.2 AV dinar, with the Ayyubid overlord Abu Bakr I, dated 608-615 R  
 Shahrazur 615 in New York Auction XXIII, lot 426.
- 1887.3 AV dinar, citing two Ayyubid rulers, al-Kamil Muhammad and al-Ashraf Musa, dated 615 only RRR
- 1887.4 AV dinar, with the Rum Seljuq overlord Kayqubad I, dated 616 only RRR
- 1887.5 AV dinar, with the Ayyubid overlord al-Kamil Muhammad, dated 616-621 R  
 A dinar of Tikrit 621 has been reported.
- 1887.6 AV dinar, second series without overlord, currently known dated 625-628 RR?  
 The precise dating of these five subtypes is tentative. Additional subtypes may exist.
- 1888.1 AE dirham, enthroned facing figure / square-in-circle (Irbil) R  
 Undated, citing the Ayyubid overlord al-Nasir Yusuf I (Saladin), probably struck circa 583-586. Average weight about 10g.
- 1888.2 AE dirham, curly-haired bust right, struck at Irbil in 587 only (BMC#654) RR
- 1888.3 AE dirham, lion-rider left (rarely right), no overlord, many dates between 590 and 614 known (Irbil) S  
 Some examples also cite the caliphal heir ‘Uddat al-Dunya wa’l-Din Abu Nasr (probably about equal rarity). Rare with clear date.

- 1888.4 AE dirham or fals, seated figure in mihrab niche / hexagram reverse, Harran 583 only RR  
 Citing Muzaffar al-Din Kökburi on the obverse (often illegible), the Ayyubid overlord al-Nasir Yusuf I (Saladin) within the hexagram on the reverse, mint & date in the segments outside the hexagram. Unusually small for this series, with average weight about 3.5g.

**INALID (AT AMID)**

*Until recently, it was assumed that the Inalids struck no coins of their own. For countermarked Byzantine coins assigned to Jamal al-Din Mahmud of this dynasty, see #1948 & 1952.*

No coins are known with legible mint name, but in all likelihood Amid (modern Diyarbakır) was the only Inalid mint. All are very crudely manufactured.

**Sa‘d al-Dawla Ilaldi, 503-536 / 1109-1142**

- A1889 BI dirham aswad RRR  
**Jamal al-Din Mahmud, 536-579 / 1141-1183**
- B1889 AE fals, citing him only as *jamal* RRR  
 Bust of Christ with *jamal* to right / jeweled cross inscribed *IC XC / NI KA* (blundered).<sup>474</sup>

**BEGTIMURID (AT AHLAT)**

*Also known as the Shah-Arman, or “kings of the Armenians,” Sökmenid or the Shahs of Ahlat, the Begtimurids were a minor Turkoman dynasty centered upon Ahlat, a city on the north shore of Lake Van that was formerly an Armenian center. See also “Byzantine countermarks” for additional types (#1963A).*

Although the mint name is never cited on the coin (except on the countermarked Byzantine folles, stamped *ahlat*), all are presumed to have been struck at Ahlat.

**Sayf al-Din Begtimur, 579-589 / 1183-1193**

- 1889 AE fals or dirham, cow over suckling calf R  
 Despite considerable variation in size and weight (about 4-9g), there is only one denomination, whose name is not known. The type is sometimes described as a horse with head lowered towards wolf attacking it from beneath. The date appears in the upper right section of the obverse margin, usually off flan or illegible; the year 582 is the least rare.

**SALDUQID (AT ERZURUM)**

*A minor Turkoman dynasty centered at Erzurum, originally vassals of the Western Iranian branch of the Great Seljuqs, but independent after about 540/1145. Copper coinage only.*

All Salduqid coins lack the mint name but were likely struck at their capital Erzurum. Coins of the first three rulers are generally found poorly struck, whereas coins of the last two were usually well made, but not always well preserved.

The names and dates of the first three rulers remain questionable.<sup>475</sup> Hennequin 1958-1964 may also include some Salduqid issues.

**Diya’ al-Din Ghazi, fl. 510-526 / 1116-1132**

- A1890 AE fals (or dirham), citing the western Seljuq overlord Mahmud II RRR  
 Derived from a Byzantine prototype, the Virgin and Christ-child.

**Nasir al-Dawla Ghazi, circa 526-540 / 1132-1145**

- B1890 AE fals (or dirham), standing figure RRR

**Diya’ al-Din Ayyub, rival claimant, circa 540-543 / 1145-1148**

- C1890 AE fals (or dirham), St. George slaying the dragon, crudely engraved RRR  
 The attribution of this type is tentative.

<sup>473</sup> For Salduz 61x, Peus auction 378, lot 1393. On some coins Zangi is cited as vassal under the Begteginid Kökburi. Cited overlords and existing dates have not been researched.

<sup>474</sup> Sotheby’s, Oct 1989, lot 466.

<sup>475</sup> Examples of the first 3 reigns are in the Tübingen collection.

**'Izz al-Din Salduq b. 'Ali, 523-563 / 1129-1168**  
 1890 AE fals (or dirham?), standing figures, right figure (St. Demetrius?) passing the patriarchal cross to the royal figure  
 R Citing the western Seljuq overlord, Mas'ud.

**Muhammad b. Salduq, 563-587 / 1168-1191 (Nasir al-Din, Qizil Arslan)**  
 1891 AE fals, mounted archer shooting arrow at small animal (gazelle?)  
 R Citing the western Seljuq overlord Tughril III. Dated coins of this reign use the *abjad* system, as explained by Richard Plant, *Arabic Coins and How to Read Them*, pp. 102-103. The date is on the obverse (pictorial side), above the bow and arrow, following the word *sana*, is normally the equivalent of 575.

### MENKUJAKID (AT ERZINCAN & DIVRIGI)

*A minor Turkoman dynasty, with branches at Erzincan and Divrigi. Copper coinage only.*

Only the Erzincan branch placed the mint name on the coin, invariably Erzincan (when included in the legends, *i.e.*, types #1892.2-1892.4). The coins are usually rather well struck, but rarely well preserved. Types 1892.2 and 1893 have the denomination dirham included in the coin inscriptions.

**Fakhr al-Din Bahramshah (b. Da'ud), at Erzincan, circa 563-622 / 1167-1225**  
 1892.1 AE dirham, facing crowned bust, holding mace & undetermined object (in place of globus cruciger) / plain text in circle, without mint, dated 563  
 RR  
 1892.2 AE dirham, inscriptions in circle on both sides, Erzincan 570  
 RR  
 1892.3 AE dirham?, head left in hexagon / plain text in square, Erzincan 579  
 R  
 1892.4 AE dirham?, Arabic *ta'ala* in fancy circle, Erzincan 600  
 RRR  
 Artuk #1189, date previously misread as 616, but corrected in the Yapi Kredi exhibition catalog (cited under beyliks).

**Sayf al-Din Shahinshah (b. Sulayman b. Ishaq), at Divrigi, fl. 573 / 1177-1178**  
 1893 AE dirham, inscriptions only (Zeno-54030)  
 RR Citing the Rum Seljuq Qilij Arslan II as overlord. Primitive calligraphy.

**Sulayman b. Ishaq, d. 576 / 1181**  
 1894 AE fals, ornamental cross on obverse, with 4 Latin letters around the cross / text only  
 RRR Citing the Khaqanid ruler of Adharbayjan, Akhsatan I (circa 555-593), with title Jamal al-Dunya wa'l-Din, presumably as overlord. See Zeno-23199 for further discussion.

**al-Husayn b. Sulayman**  
 Dates unknown, late 6<sup>th</sup>/12<sup>th</sup> century.  
 1894A AE fals, Armenian cross  
 RRR

### BURSUQID

*Founded by Aqsunqur, who had been a mamluk of the Seljuq officer Bursuq, the Bursuqids were centered at first at Mosul in northern Iraq, later at Rahba in eastern Syria. See also #E1707 for dinars of a probable member of this family.*

The mints of these coins have not been determined. Aqsunqur's coins were probably struck at Rahba (though no known specimen shows the mint name), whereas those of 'Izz al-Din Mas'ud probably somewhere in Adharbayjan.

Coins are carelessly struck and never fully legible.

**Aqsunqur, at Rahba, circa 509-511 / 1115-1117**  
 It is unlikely that this Aqsunqur was the same person as Qasim al-Dawla Aqsunqur, who ruled at Halab 479-489 (type #1848).  
 A1895 BI dirham, citing Seljuq overlord  
 RRR

**'Izz al-Din Mas'ud b. Aqsunqur, at Rahba, 510s-520s / 1110s-1120s**  
 1895 BI dirham  
 RRR Mas'ud also held territories in Adharbayjan, where these coins were presumably struck, to judge by their style.

### AMIRS OF ADHARBAYJAN

*After the death of the Seljuq ruler Malikshah I in 485/1092 the region of Adharbayjan (modern Azerbaijan) became effectively independent. Before the emergence of the Ildegizids circa 545/1150, a number of unrelated individuals effectively controlled portions of Adharbayjan, albeit nominally as theoretical governors who recognized the Seljuqs.*

**al-Ispahbudh Sharaf al-Muluk, fl. 496 / 1103**  
 1895K BI dirham, mint of Ushna  
 RRR As vassal of the Seljuq Barkiyaruq. Sharaf al-Muluk is known in the sources as Sabawa b. Khumartegin.

**Mu'ayyad al-Din Kuntughdi, fl. 513+ / 1119+**  
 1895L BI dirham, citing the western Seljuq Mahmud  
 RRR

**Bik-Arslan b. Palang-Eri, fl. 542-551 / 1149-1156**  
 1895M AE dirham, citing the western Seljuq Mas'ud  
 RRR

**Khassbeg, fl. 541-548 / 1148-1155**  
 1895N BI dirham, citing the western Seljuq Mas'ud  
 RRR A few specimens of this and the following type reveal the mint name Urmiya, dated in the 540s.

1895O BI dirham, as last but citing the western Seljuq Malikshah II  
 RRR

### AHMADILI (AT MARAGHA)

*An indigenous dynasty, probably of mixed Arab and Turkish origin, independent after about 510/1116. Their coins have not previously been published.*

Except for #T1896, all examples were presumably minted at Maragha in southwestern Adharbayjan, the section now part of Iran, although no known specimen shows the mint name. All are weakly struck, really ugly, to be honest, with perhaps 20-30% of the type discernible on a "good" specimen, the most weakly manufactured Islamic coins I have ever seen.

Virtually all known coins of Arslan Aba & Kurpa Arslan derive from a hoard of several kilos that appeared in the Tehran market in the early 1970s. Perhaps two thirds of the coins in the hoard were totally illegible, while many others were very ghastly struck and therefore unidentifiable. Only the type of Qara Sunqur was reasonably well struck, and is not from the Tehran hoard.

**Qara Sunqur, fl. circa 530 / 1136**  
 T1896 AE dirham, Ardabil mint, probably dated  
 RRR Citing the Seljuq rulers Mas'ud & Sanjar, plus the caliph al-Muqtafi.

**Arslan Aba, circa 530-before 584 / 1136-before 1188**  
 1896 AE fals  
 RR Citing the Seljuq suzerain Arslan (556-571).

**Kurpa Arslan, 584-604 / 1188-1207**  
 1897 AE fals  
 RR

### ILDEGIZID (IN ADHARBAYJAN) (ELDIGÜZ)

For references, see Kouymjian under Khaqanids. Due to finds since the late 1960s, Kouymjian's well-organized listings are now outdated, but no further research has yet been published.

*Ildegizid was originally an atabeg in Seljuq service, but gained autonomy in Adharbayjan circa 545/1150. Ildegizid coinage consists mainly of large copper coins, carelessly manufactured and only partially legible. The copper presumably came from mines in the Ahar region.*

The only recorded mints for copper coins are Ardabil and Janza (= Ganja), and Salmas for the early billon coins, but few specimens

show the mint name. Dates are rarely encountered, especially after the reign of Shams al-Din Ildegiz. All reigns have a large variety of different designs for the copper coinage.

Both the billon and copper coins are usually very carelessly struck, with 25% or more flatness. Few of the coins are attractive. Serious collectors may require two or more specimens in order to read most of the inscriptions. Well-struck and aesthetically pleasing specimens hardly exist for any metal.

### Shams al-Din Ildegiz, 531-571 / 1137-1175

- 1898.1 BI dirham, citing the Seljuq overlord Mas'ud b. Muhammad R  
 Obverse & reverse each in 4-line horizontal arrangement, citing the caliph al-Muqtafi on obverse, Ildegiz & his Seljuq overlord on the reverse.  
 Mints are Salmas & Urmiya, known dated 546. All four variants of type #1898 and #1898A vary from about 3 to 10 grams, on carelessly processed globular flans.  
 Types #1898.1-1898.3 rarely show mint or date.
- 1898.2 BI dirham, citing the Seljuq Sulaymanshah RRR  
 Mint & date undetermined. Legend arrangement as #1898.1.
- 1898.3 BI dirham, citing the Seljuq Muhammad in the marginal inscription RR  
 Mints of Salmas & Urmiya, known dated 549. Legend arrangement as #1898.1.
- 1898.4 BI dirham, without overlord, mint of Urmiya R  
 Inscribed *duriba / bi-urmiya* on the obverse, *shams al-din / ildegiz* on the reverse, with the 2<sup>nd</sup> line inverted on both sides. Without marginal inscriptions or additions within the field, thus always undated.<sup>476</sup>
- 1898A BI dirham, Fatimid style with circular margins RR  
 Two or three circular margins on either side, with *zafar* in obverse center, *fath* in reverse center. Citing the Seljuq ruler Arslan, but not recorded with legible mint or date.
- 1899.1 AE fals (or dirham), Seljuq overlord Mas'ud S  
 All subtypes of #1899 vary in weight between about 6 and 16 grams, with considerable variation within each subtype.
- 1899.2 AE fals (or dirham), Seljuq overlord Muhammad R
- 1899.3 AE fals (or dirham), Seljuq overlord Arslan R
- 1899.4 AE fals (or dirham), Seljuq overlord Tughril III RR
- ### Pahlawan Muhammad (b. Ildegiz), 571-582 / 1175-1186
- 1900.1 AE fals (or dirham), with Seljuq overlord Tughril III & caliph al-Mustadi R  
 The ruler cited as *al-malik al-a'zam atabeg muhammad*. When visible, the mint name on all coppers of this ruler is Ardabil.
- 1900.2 AE fals, citing Tughril III and caliph al-Nasir R  
 Name and titles as #1900.1.
- 1900A AE fals, with title *jahan pahlawan muhammad*, citing Tughril III and the caliph al-Nasir S
- ### Qizil Arslan 'Uthman, 582-587 / 1186-1191, (Nasir al-Din, b. Ildegiz)
- 1901 AE fals RR  
 Coins struck before circa Rajab 584 bear the name of the Seljuq overlord Tughril III. Thereafter, they bear the name of Sanjar b. Sulaymanshah, a Seljuq prince set upon the throne by Qizil Arslan as nominal overlord in order to legitimize his own position as atabeg. Relative rarity of the two types remains undetermined.
- 1901A AE fals, countermarked *qizil arslan* on worn or barely identified earlier fals (Zeno-60175) RRR  
 (A pale gold dinar assigned to the Ildegizid rebel Amir al-Amiran 'Umar, 582-583, with overlord Tughril III, has been reassigned to Amir Amiran b. Aydughdi, now type #1921L.<sup>477</sup>)
- ### Abu Bakr b. Muhammad, 587-607 / 1191-1211
- A1902 AV dinar (pale gold), always poorly struck RRR

- 1902.1 AE fals (no overlord), with title *jahan pahlavan* and usually with caliph al-Nasir S
- 1902.2 AE fals (no overlord), with caliph al-Nasir, usually with title *sultan* or *atabeg* or both S  
 Since the title *jahan pahlavan* is known from his predecessor Qizil Arslan but not from his successor Uzbek, it has been suggested that type #1902.1 is earlier than #1902.2.  
 A few coins of these two subtypes bear the mint name Ardabil; and even fewer bear legible dates.  
 All coins of Abu Bakr and Uzbek lack a Seljuq or other overlord.
- 1902A AE fals, countermarked *atabeg abu bakr* or just *abu bakr* on coins of earlier rulers RR
- ### Uzbek b. Muhammad, 607-622 / 1211-1225
- 1903 AE fals, with caliph al-Nasir R  
 Normally with title *atabek a'zam*, many varieties.
- ### Qizil Arslan II, 622-626 / 1225-1229
- 1903Q AE fals, with title *al-sultan al-mu'azzam*, citing the caliph al-Mustansir (Zeno-25345) RRR
- ### ILDEGIZID VASSALS
- Neither the mint places of these coins nor the dates of their issuers have been established.  
 Additional minor vassals are undoubtedly known, and I should presume that more will eventually be discovered.
- ### Malik Mangli, as vassal of Pahlawan Muhammad, ca. 570s / 1175s-1180s
- M1904 AE fals<sup>478</sup> RRR
- ### Ilqafshit b. Satmaz, as vassal of Uzbek, early 7<sup>th</sup>/13<sup>th</sup> century
- 1904 AE fals RRR
- ### "Badkin" b. Muhammad, ca. 600 / 1200
- "Badkin" (proposed reading of the name) was an unknown vassal of Abu Bakr b. Muhammad, who is cited on reverse.<sup>479</sup>
- 1905 AE fals R
- ### SULAMID (MALIKS OF DARBAND)
- For references, see Kouymjian under Khaqanids, as well as a number of illustrations on [www.zeno.ru](http://www.zeno.ru).  
 Rather crudely struck coins, invariably without mint or date, from dies far larger than the planchets.
- ### Muzaffar b. Muhammad, circa 530-555+ / 1136-1160+
- 1906 AE fals R  
 Several types, all without overlord, but citing the caliph, either al-Mustanjid or al-Mustadi.
- ### Bikbars, 566-585 / 1171-1189
- 1907 AE fals R
- ### 'Abd al-Malik b. Bikbars, ca. 585-600 / 1189-1203
- 1907E AE fals (or dirham), with title *al-malik al-'adil* RR  
 Coarsely struck, on squarish planchets, citing the caliph al-Nasir li-din Allah (misspelled). Cf. Zeno-63296.
- ### MALIKS OF JIBAL
- Precise location unknown.*
- ### Aytughmish, 600-608 / 1204-1212
- 1907J AV dinar (1.5-2.5g), without mint or date RRR

<sup>478</sup> Zeno-6777 (poor quality specimen), with the overlord cited as *jahan pahlawan* and the reverse virtually illegible.

<sup>479</sup> The obverse bears the ruler's name in a double circle, with a marginal inscription around, still undeciphered as only a few letters are visible on individual specimens.

<sup>476</sup> A few examples do have marginal legends, but none is known that reveals either mint or date. Cf. Zeno-45140.

<sup>477</sup> Published by A.V. Akopyan & F. Mosanef, *ONS Newsletter* #198.



Some specimens cite the Ildegizid ruler Abu Bakr as overlord.  
All are rather poorly struck on slightly pale gold, at some undetermined mint in west central Iran.

## KHAQANID (SHIRVANSHAHS, 2<sup>nd</sup> dynasty)

Kouymjian, D.K., *A Numismatic History of Southeastern Caucasia and Adharbayjan based on the Islamic Coinage of the 5<sup>th</sup>/11<sup>th</sup> to the 7<sup>th</sup>/13<sup>th</sup> Centuries*, Ph.D. diss., Columbia Univ., 1969.

Rajabli, Ali, *Numizmatika Azerbaidzhana*, Baku, 1997. In this important study, the dynastic sequence and chronology has been revised from Kouymjian's earlier results.

M.A. Seyfeddini, "Monetnye klady, najdënnyye v Azerbaidzhane v 1968-1971 gg.", *Numizmatika i Epigrafika*, v. 14 (1984), p. 126.

Zeno is gradually building a useful site for Mazyadids and Khaqanids, filed on the site as Shirvanshah.

*The so-called Khaqanids are sometimes divided into two dynasties, the Mazyadids (until either 455/1063 or 514/1120) and the subsequent Khaqanids or Shirvanshahs.<sup>480</sup> Rajabli's recent research suggests there was just one dynastic line, and that either name can be used for all.*

*Both the billon and copper coins of this dynasty were mostly struck on irregularly shaped flans of widely varying size, weight, and thickness. They cannot be categorized into separate denominations.*

*The dates of reign are approximate, as the surviving chronicles are inconsistent. I have included Rajabli's newest suggestions together with Kouymjian's dating when appropriate. After circa 582, the Shirvan region seems generally to have been divided between several rival rulers.*

Except for a few of the earliest issues, Khaqanid coins do not bear the name of a mint, save for a single type of Minuchihr III dated 555, and are usually undated. Few coins were carefully struck, and most exhibit considerable weakness. Dies were invariably much larger than the average planchet, so that large portions of the design are typically off flan. Many of the 5<sup>th</sup>/11<sup>th</sup> and early 6<sup>th</sup>/12<sup>th</sup> century coins bear intricate ornamental designs. Because of the poor quality of production, many specimens cannot be assigned to a specific ruler, except by design or die-link.

Actual denominational names are unknown. For convenience I have therefore termed billon issues "dirham" and copper coins "fals". Except for the first two rulers, there are no proper silver coins. There is no Khaqanid gold coinage.

The rarity of these coins is tentative, due to the abundance of some types in museum and private collections in parts of the former Soviet Union, especially in Azerbaijan. It cannot be predicted just how much of this coinage may eventually become available to collectors.

### Muhammad b. Ahmad (Abu'l-Hasan), 371-381 / 981-991

1907Z AR dirham RRR  
Known from Shirvan (date missing) and Shamiran dated (37)2.  
Both cite an unidentified Abu'l-Harith Asad.

### Yazid II b. Ahmad (Abu Nasr), 381-418 / 991-1027,

A1908 AR dirham RR?  
Some examples are known from the mint of Yazidiya, perhaps the same Yazidiya found as a mint name on 'Abbasid fulus (#313K). Others are from the mint of Qabala, but usually off flan.

(This type now incorporates former #E1491, listed as Mazyadid in the 2<sup>nd</sup> edition.)

### Minuchihr I b. Yazid, 418-425 / 1027-1034

B1908 BI dirham RRR  
'Ali b. Yazid (Abu Mansur), 425-435 / 1034-1044

C1908 BI dirham RR?

### Salar b. Yazid (Abu Harith), 441-455 / 1049-1063

D1908 BI dirham RR?  
Salar's kunya can also be interpreted as Abu Harb.

### Fariburz b. Salar, 455-487 or 489 / 1063-1094 or 1096

1908 AR or BI dirham, various sizes RR  
Coins of these first six rulers were generally struck in somewhat silvery billon, occasionally relatively good silver. There seems to be considerable variation in the fineness and weight of each type.

### Minuchihr II b. Fariburz, 487 or 489-511 / 1094 or 1096-1117

A1909 BI dirham, various sizes RRR  
No coins are known of the next ruler, Afridun b. Fariburz (circa 511-514). Minuchihr's date of death is uncertain.

### Minuchihr III b. Afridun, circa 514-555 / 1120-1160

1909 BI (or AE) dirham, various sizes RRR  
Some examples cite the Great Seljuq ruler Sanjar as overlord.

### Akhsatan I b. Minuchihr III, circa 555-593 / 1160-1197 or slightly later

1910 AE fals RR

### Afridun II b. Minuchihr III, attested at some time between 583 / 1187 and 600 / 1203

A1911 AE fals RRR

### Fariburz II b. Afridun II, fl. at some time between 583 / 1187 and 600 / 1203

1911 AE fals RR  
Rajabli dates this ruler to 1200-1209.

### Shahanshah b. Minuchihr III, circa 575-600 / 1180-1203

A1912 AE fals RRR  
Rajabli dates this ruler to 1197-1204.

During the last three reigns, copper fulus were struck on irregular planchets, similar to contemporary issues of Georgia, commonly formed by spilling molten copper on a flat surface, often with hilarious results (cf. Zeno-37386, "cow's head" and 98432, "fish").

### Gershasp b. Farrukhzad, circa 600-630 / 1203-1233

1912 AE fals, various sizes, often odd-shaped S  
Rajabli dates this ruler to 1204-1225.

### Fariburz III b. Gershasp, circa 622-641 / 1225-1243

Possibly as late as 653/1255.

1913 AE fals, various sizes R

### Akhsatan III b. Fariburz III, circa 653-665 / 1255-1266

1914 AE fals, citing Mōngke by name as overlord, various shapes and sizes RRR  
Usually undated, but known dated (6)53 (Zeno-73030).

1914A AE fals, citing the Great Mongol overlord as just Qa'an al-'Adil (without his name), various shapes and sizes (cf. Zeno-23368) R?

Relatively easy to identify, as Akhsatan is named on the obverse, the reverse has just *qa'an / al-'adil* separated by the double-trident tamgha of the Great Mongols, which Badarch assigns to Mōngke..

### Anonymous, under Mongol supremacy

Probably struck at some time during the second quarter of the 7<sup>th</sup>/13<sup>th</sup> century.

A1915 AE fals, mint of Shirwan, citing the Mongol Great Qa'an by his title *qa'an* only RRR

Several other rulers are attested for this dynasty, for whom no coins are known.

## PISHKINID (AT AHAR)

For references, see Kouymjian under Khaqanids, where they are termed Bishkinids (*sic*).

*A minor dynasty at Ahar in Adharbayjan, at first vassals of the Ildegizids, later of the Khwarizmshahs. Some early scholars called them either the "Nushtekinids" or the "Maliks of Ahar".*

<sup>480</sup> "Khaqan" is of Mongolian and Turkic origin and means "khan of khans", "king of kings", or "emperor", applied to a branch of the Shirvanshahs not as an ancestral name, but from their adopted titulature.

Ahar, about 50 miles northeast of Tabriz, was known for its copper mines, still in operation as the Soungoun Ahar mint.

Only broad thick copper coins are known, typically about 32mm in diameter and weighing 13-17 grams. The royal side is regarded as the obverse, with the mint, date and caliph on the reverse, along with the kalima. There is a large tamgha to the right on the obverse. All coins have the top two lines of the obverse citing the overlord, the remaining lines citing the Pishkinid name and titles.

**Pishkin II, fl. circa 591-601+ / 1195-1205+**

- 1915 AE dirham R  
Earlier publications usually transcribed this name incorrectly as Nushtekin or something similar. His title is *malik al-umara*, and his overlord is the Ildegizid king Abu Bakr b. Muhammad, entitled *al-sultan al-a'zam*. Known dated 597.

**Mahmud b. Pishkin (Nusrat al-Din),  
circa 608-623 / 1212-1226**

- 1916 AE dirham, as *malik al-umara* and vassal of the Ildegizid Uzbek called *atabek al-a'zam* C  
Known dated 612 & 613, though most specimens lack a clear date. His title *nusrat al-din* always appears on these coins.
- 1917 AE dirham, as vassal of the Khwarizmshah Mangubarni S  
Known dated 622 & 623, though most specimens lack clear date. Mahmud's overlord is called Mangubarni, written as *al-sultan al-a'zam mangubarni bin al-sultan muhammad*, often with the second *al-sultan* omitted. Mahmud is called *al-malik al-'adil mahmud bin pishkin* on this type, without *nusrat al-din*.  
Some very rare coppers have been very tentatively assigned to Pishkin I (examples at Tübingen, description unavailable).

**ASSASSINS (AT ALAMUT) (BATINID)**

Miles, George C., "Coins of the Assassins of Alamut," *Orient Louvaniensia*, vol. 3 (1972), pp. 155-162.

Vardanyan, Aram & Husayn Hamdan, "Ismaili coins from the Alamut period," in: P. Willey, *Eagle's Nest: Ismaili Castles in Iran and Syria*, London, 2005, pp. 288 – 307.

Listed on Zeno as *Rulers of Alamut*, under *Fatimids and related dynasties*.

Many examples, including a few additional subtypes not described here, have been published in auction and sale catalogs since the early 1980s.

*An Isma'ili sect with castles in various parts of Syria and Iran. Their center was in the Alborz mountains north of Qazwin, at a place called Alamut, called Kursi al-Daylam on the coins ("throne of Daylam"). Their chief at Alamut was known as "the old man of the mountain". Their fame arose from their practice of terrorizing their neighbors by sending out hit squads allegedly high on hashish. They were known as the hashish-eaters, hashshashiyun, from which the English word assassin is derived. However, it is hard to conceive of anyone high on hashish having the energy to commit any act of violence, other than, as in modern times, raiding the refrigerator.*

Gold coins were minted at "Kursi al-Daylam" (unless otherwise noted), silver coins at Maymana. All are generally rather well struck, though frequently on flans smaller than the dies, so that parts of the marginal legends are not always visible.

**Muhammad I b. Buzurgumid, 532-557 / 1138-1162**

- 1918 AV ¼ dinar, always dated, with his person name *muhammad bin buzurgumid*, dated circa 538-555 RR  
Also citing the title *al-mustafa li-din Allah nizar*.
- 1918A AV ¼ dinar, known dated 557 RRR  
Cited only as *al-mustafa li-din Allah nizar*, without his personal name (Zeno-85953). This type can also be assigned to the following ruler, al-Hasan II.

**temp. al-Hasan II, 557-561 / 1162-1166**

- 1919 AV ¼ dinar, anonymous, always dated RRR  
Cited only as *al-mustafa li-din Allah nizar*.

**temp. Nur al-Din Muhammad II (b. al-Hasan),  
561-607 / 1166-1210**

Always anonymous, usually entitled either *al-mustafa* or *al-mustafa li-din Allah*.

- A1920 AV dinar (approximately 3g) RRR  
B1920 AV fractional dinar (approximately 0.5-1.0g) RRR  
K1920 AR dirham, struck at Jabal Karim in 591 RRR  
The ruler is indicated by the name *al-mustafa* only, above the Shi'ite kalima ending in '*ali wali Allah*'. Qur'anic inscriptions only on reverse, Surat 112 in center, Verse 9:33 in margin.
- L1920 AR fractional dirham (approximately 0.9g), with title *al-sultan al-mu'azzam* RRR

**Jalal al-Din al-Hasan III, 607-618 / 1210-1221**

- C1920 AV dinar (sometimes debased) RR  
Usually with his *kunya* Abu'l-Fath.

**'Ala al-Din Muhammad III, 618-653 / 1221-1254**

- D1920 AV dinar (variable weight, 3-5g) RRR  
1920 AV ¼ dinar (variable weight, about 0.8-1.3g) RR  
When dated, the year on this type is always 651. Always without mint name.
- 1921 AR dirham, central circle with margin inscriptions (Maymana mint), known dated 618-619 RRR  
The issue of 618 bears the mint name Baldat al-Iqbal ("city of prosperity"), 619 has Maymana. This type bears purely Sunni inscriptions, and the royal inscriptions resemble those of the Khwarizmshah ruler Muhammad.

- 1921G AR dirham, style as #1921, mint of Daylaman, 651 RRR  
Obverse has *muhammad bin al-hasan* in center, date written out in margin. Reverse has *al-mawla al-a'zam* in center, the mint formula in margin (Zeno-20236).

- 1921A AR fractional dirham, with title *mawlana* and short inscriptions, no margins RR

- 1921B AR fractional dirham, two lions on obverse (tails intertwined), *muhammad bin al-hasan* on reverse RRR

- 1921C AR fractional dirham, bird right formed out of the words *al-sultan al-mu'azzam* obverse, ruler's name *muhammad bin al-hasan* on reverse, without the kalima RRR

- 1921D AR fractional dirham, bird right with words *muhammad bin hasan* above, kalima reverse RRR

Types 1921A-1921D always lack mint & date. They were probably struck late in the reign and intended as donatives. Their weight varies between about 0.7g and 2.0g.

A copper coin of about 4.0g is reported, allegedly in the name of Muhammad III, mint perhaps Qil'at al-Mawla, dated AH615. A better specimen needed before being listed here.

**WARNING:** High quality pressure-cast forgeries of #1921A have appeared on the market since about 2000. Clever distributors have been "doctored" both genuine and fake examples so that they can barely be distinguished, unless placed under a microscope.

**ATABEGS OF KHUZESTAN**

See articles by Akopyan & Mosanef in *ONS Newsletter* No. 199 (2009) and No. 202 (2010)

*A minor dynasty in Khuzestan, vassals of the Great Seljuqs, from roughly 550-591/1155-1194, surviving largely because of the complex rivalry between the Ildegizids, the Salghurids and the 'Abbasid caliphate.*

**Hisam al-Din Aydughdi, circa 550-570 / 1155-1175**

Also known as Shamlā b. Tashtuqan.

- 1921K AV pale dinar, mint & date unknown RRR  
Citing the rival Seljuq brothers, Arslan b. Tughril II & Muhammad b. Tughril II.

**Amiran b. Shamlā, 570-591 / 1175-1195**

- 1921L AV pale dinar, mint & date unknown RRR  
Citing the Seljuq Tughril III. He is also called Amiran b. Aydughdi, and it is conceivable that Shamlā and Aydughdi refer to the same person.

## ATABEGS OF BURUJIRD

Akopyan, A., and F. Mosanef, "Coins of Aq Qush, Atabek of Burujird," *ONS Newsletter*, #201 (2009), pp. 46-47. This article includes only types #Q1922 and R1922.

*A minor clan of rulers at Burujird and occasionally also at Hamadan, during the 6<sup>th</sup>/12<sup>th</sup> century. Only dinars of one member are known to exist, of Aq Qush, "white bird".*

Only type #Q1922 reveals the mint name Burujird.

### Nasir al-Din Aq-Qush, circa 550-560 / 1155-1165

- Q1922 AV dinar, somewhat debased gold, citing caliph al-Muqtadi and the Seljuqs Sanjar (d. 552) and Muhammad (548-555) RRR
- R1922 AV dinar, similar, citing caliph al-Mustanjid and the Seljuq Sulayman (555-556) RRR
- S1922 AV dinar, similar, citing caliph al-Mustanjid and the Seljuq Arslan (556-571) (Zeno-80192) RRR

## ATABEGS OF FARS

*The first three atabegs were not dynastically related. The later atabegs of Fars constitute the Salghurid dynasty (q.v.).*

Coarsely struck dinars, struck mainly at Shiraz, occasionally at Fasa, though mint and/or date are usually off flan, especially for Mankubars and Boz-Aba. All bear the name of at least one Seljuq overlord.

### Saljuqshah, fl. 517-524 / 1123-1130

- 1922 AV dinar RRR
- Unlike the following two atabegs, Saljuqshah was probably a scion of the Seljuq royal family.

### Mankubars, circa 524-533 / 1130-1139

- 1923 AV dinar RR

### Boz-Aba, circa 533-543 / 1139-1148

- 1924 AV dinar R

## SALGHURID

No useful catalog of Salghurid coinage has yet been prepared.

*A Turkoman dynasty derived from the Salghur (or Salur) clan, originally in the service of the Great Seljuqs. In 543/1148, after the death of the atabeg Boz-Aba, Sunqur established himself as effectively independent ruler at Shiraz, which remained the capital city of the Salghurid dynasty until the death of Abish bint Sa'd in 684/1285.*

Most gold coins of this dynasty (except Queen Abish) bear the dynastic tamgha, a three-pronged trident-like object. The mint name, when visible, is always Shiraz, except for a few rare silver coins of Queen Abish minted at Kazirun and Ta'us (= Abarqub). The first three rulers were technically vassals under the western Seljuqs, or under subordinate western Seljuqs nominally assigned to Fars. The Seljuq names appear in the field on coins of Sunqur, but in the outer margins on those of his successors, thus very rarely legible on the later issues.<sup>481</sup> All of the rulers except Abish bint Sa'd bore the same *laqab* Muzaffar al-Din.

Coins of the first four rulers issued before the Mongol invasion are always poorly struck, rarely with legible mints and dates, on flans of increasingly debased gold, and from dies substantially broader than the planchets. Gold dinars of Queen Abish were sharply struck on fine gold. The silver coins of Abu Bakr and Muhammad, as well as all metals of Queen Abish, are generally neatly struck, comparable to contemporary Ilkhan coins.

Dinars of the first four rulers bear the dynastic tamgha, at the top, left, right or center of either the obverse or reverse central field.

### Sunqur, 543-556 / 1148-1161

Sometimes with the *laqab* Qutb al-Din.

- 1925 AV dinar R

Many variations of overlord, layout and titulature. His earliest issues cite both the western Seljuq and their nominal suzerain Sanjar, who died in 552.

### Zangi, 556-570 / 1161-1175

- 1926 AV dinar S

### Takla, 570-590 / 1175-1194

- 1927 AV dinar R

### Tughril b. Sunqur, ca. 570-599 / 1175-1203

- 1927G AV dinar, pale gold, mint & date unknown RRR

With the dynastic tamgha. On the obverse, the name Tughril appears at the top, what is probably *bin sunqur* at the bottom, the Seljuq Tughril<sup>482</sup> b. Arslan in the center. The reverse names Atabeg Pahlawan Muhammad an the caliph al-Mustadi. It was probably struck in 575, the year of both Muhammad's conquest of Shiraz and the death of al-Mustadi.

- 1927H AV dinar, pale gold, mint & date unknown RRR

Same design as the previous two rulers, *tughril / atabeg / (tamgha)* on obverse, citing the caliph al-Nasir on the reverse.

### Abu Bakr, 628-658 / 1231-1260

- A1928 AV dinar, heavily debased gold, as independent ruler (undated, probably before the 650s) RRR

- B1928 AR dirham, as vassal of the Great Khan Möngke RR

- C1928 PB fals, struck at al-Bahrayn (8-14g) RRR

Salghurid tamgha / *atabeg abu bakr*.

### Muhammad b. Sa'd, 658-661 / 1260-1263

- E1928 AR dirham, citing Möngke & Hulagu RRR

### Abish bint Sa'd, Queen, 663-684 / 1265-1285

All of Abish's coins cite an Ilkhan overlord, successively Hulagu, Abaqa, Ahmad, and Arghun for the silver, but only Abaqa, Ahmad, and Arghun on her gold, and only Abaqa on her copper coinage (others may well exist).

- 1928.1 AV dinar (large module, about 3g to 9g), citing Abaqa as overlord R

- 1928.2 AV dinar, similar, but citing Ahmad RRR

- 1928.3 AV dinar, similar, but citing Arghun (in Uighur only), known dated 683 RRR

- 1929.1 AR dirham, Arabic inscriptions only, citing Hulagu as overlord RRR

- 1929.1A AR dirham, Arabic inscriptions only, citing Abaqa as overlord, pre-reform style RR

The obverse has the inscription *qa'an al-a'zam / abaqa / al-malik al-mu'azzam*, the reverse has the kalima with *abish bint sa'd* below. Known dated 673, but date normally off flan. Types 1929.1 and 1929.1A normally weigh 2.8-2.9g.

- 1929.2 AR dirham, Uighur inscriptions on obverse (as on Abaqa's post-reform dirhams), Arabic on reverse, citing Abaqa RR

- 1929.3 AR dirham, as #1929.2 but citing Ahmad in Uighur only, known dated 683 or undated RR

- 1929.3A AR dirham, Arabic inscriptions only citing Ahmad, 2 variants, mint of Shiraz, unknown with legible date RRR

- 1929.4 AR dirham, as #1929.2 but citing Arghun, with reverse field in quatrefoil, known dated 684 R

- 1929.5 AR dirham, as #1929.2, citing Arghun, with reverse field in square, known dated 686 (*sic*) R

Coins of types #1929.2-1929.5 (except #1929.3A) closely resemble contemporary post-reform Ilkhan dirhams except for the addition of the name *abish bint sa'd* beneath the *kalima* below the reverse field. All have mint & date in the reverse margin,

<sup>481</sup> Some coins of Sunqur cite an unidentified Muhammad b. Tughril, perhaps the son of the western Seljuq Tughril II, who ruled 1132-1134 at Isfahan.

<sup>482</sup> The final *lam* of *tughril* is omitted, perhaps an engravers' error, confusing part of the Salghurid tamgha with the letter *lam*. It has also been read as *zafar*, but that seems unlikely. Tughril's coins were published by Akopyan and Mosanef in *ONS Newsletter* No. 204 (2010).

except for a rare variant of #1929.4 which has Qur'an 61:13 in lieu of mint & date.

These four later types follow the contemporary Ilkhan 2.4-2.5g weight.

- 1929A AR ½ dirham (1.25-1.5g), post-reform style of Abaqa, similar to #1929.2 RR
- 1930 AR dirham, Arabic inscriptions only, but with Chinese character *bao* sideways in the obverse field, citing Abaqa as overlord RR
- Probably struck at Shiraz, but always without mint and date. According to the Ilkhan historian Vassaf, the Mongol governor Inkiyanu, assigned as co-ruler alongside Abish, was recalled and sent back to the court of Qubilai Qa'an, perhaps as far as China, for the indiscretion of having placed "a secret symbol" in the Chinese script on the coinage of Shiraz!
- 1931 AE fals, Arabic inscriptions only, as vassal of Abaqa R
- 1931A AE fals, obverse in Uighur, citing Ahmad, reverse in Arabic with only the name *abish bint sa'd* RRR
- 1932 AE fals, with Chinese *bao* as on #1930, as vassal of Abaqa (normally dated 665) RRR

### ATABEGS OF YAZD

**'Ala al-Dawla, 670-684 / 1272-1285**

- 1933 AE fals RR
- Known only dated Muharram 684, as vassal of Arghun.

**Yusufshah (b. 'Ala al-Dawla), 684-696 / 1285-1297**

All cite the Ilkhan overlord, Arghun unless otherwise noted.

- T1934 AV dinar, struck only at Yazd RRR
- Known dated Rajab 683 (*sic*)<sup>483</sup> and year 686 without month.
- V1934 AV dinar, as vassal of Baydu RRR
- Known only without legible mint and date, though undoubtedly struck at Yazd in 694.
- Y1934 AR dirham, standing 5-line Uighur legend on the obverse, reverse similar to #1934 but in plain square, dated AH683 RRR
- 1934 AR dirham, mint of Yazd, Arabic legends both sides, known dated 684 & 685 R
- It is likely that all known specimens cite the Ilkhan Arghun as overlord; specimens allegedly lacking Arghun's name almost certainly have his name off flan. Calligraphically similar to contemporary Mamluk dirhams.
- 1934A AR fractional dirham, same as #1934 but struck on small, often irregular flans (Zeno-66976, 1.34g) RRR

### QUTLUGHKHANID (ATABEGS OF KIRMAN)

*A dynasty of Qara-Khitay origin, first in administrative service for the Khwarizmshah Muhammad, thereafter as local rulers serving the Mongols. It was under the Mongols that Buraq Hajib, founder of the dynasty (no coins), was brought to power in Kirman.*

When visible, the mint name is invariably Kirman (except #A1935). All coins except those of Qutb al-Din Muhammad and some rare dinars and dirhams of Muzaffar al-Din (#A1939 & 1939) mention an Ilkhan overlord. Coins of Qutb al-Din Muhammad and his widow Qutlugh Turkan (#A1935, 1935 and 1935A) have all inscriptions in Arabic. Types of Suyurghatmish (#A1936 through 1936) follow contemporary Ilkhan coins, with a purely Arabic obverse citing the ruler of this dynasty, and a mixed Uighur and Arabic reverse citing the Ilkhan and his formulae, as do some issues of Padishah Khatun and Shah Jahan (details currently not available). Finally, all coins of the last ruler, Shah Sultan, are purely in Arabic, both as independent ruler and as vassal under Ghazan Mahmud (#A1939-1940).

Gold coins do not adhere to a fixed weight but average about 7g, with individual pieces varying from about 4.5 to 9g. Silver coins conform to contemporary Ilkhan standards. No copper coins have been attested.

**Qutb al-Din Muhammad (b. Tainku),  
650-655 / 1252-1257**

- A1935 AV dinar RRR
- Ruler cited as 'Abd Allah bin Muhammad, without overlord. Struck at Bardasir in 650.

**Qutlugh Turkan, Queen, 655-681 / 1257-1282,  
(‘Umdat al-Dunya wa’l-Din)**

The queen was the surviving widow of Qutb al-Din Muhammad.

- 1935 AV dinar, always dated 677, vassal of Abaqa R
- 1935A AR dirham, vassal of Abaqa RRR

**Suyurghatmish, 681-693 / 1282-1294,  
(Jalal al-Dunya wa’l-Din)**

- A1936 AV dinar, vassal of Ahmad RRR
- B1936 AV dinar, vassal of Arghun, known dated 684 RR
- C1936 AV dinar, vassal of Gaykhatu RRR
- 1936 AR dirham, vassal of Arghun RR

**Padishah Khatun, Queen, 693-694 / 1294-1295**

- A1937 AV dinar, vassal of Gaykhatu RRR
- 1937 AR dirham, vassal of Gaykhatu RR

**Shah Jahan, 1<sup>st</sup> reign, 694 / 1295**

Both gold & silver struck as vassal of the ephemeral Ilkhan, Baydu, Kirman mint, AH694. Coins from his second reign (702-706) are ordinary Ilkhan issues.

- T1938 AV dinar<sup>484</sup> RRR
- 1938 AR dirham RRR

Between Shah Jahan's 1st reign and the accession of Shah Sultan, dirhams were struck in the sole name of the Ilkhan Ghazan, likely for no longer than a few months. The square-in-circle obverse has the name Ghazan in both Arabic and Uighur, the reverse is identical to type #1738, except that the name *shah jahan* is replaced by *darb kirman* (Zeno-49454).

**Muzaffar al-Din Shah Sultan, 694-702 / 1295-1303**

The ruler's titles on this type are *muzaffar al-dunya wa'l-din abu'l-harith shah sultan*.

- A1939 AV dinar, as independent ruler (696-697) RRR
- This type has occasionally been incorrectly assigned to Hajjaj Sultan, son of Qutb al-Din Muhammad, who was never the ruler in Kirman.
- 1939 AR dirham, as independent ruler, undated RRR
- 1940 AR dirham, as vassal of Ghazan Mahmud, the Ilkhan, always undated (presumed struck 694-696) R

Coins of this type have a lion, seemingly derived from the dirhams of the Mamluk ruler, Baybars I, below the obverse field either above or below the bottom line of text.

After the rebellion of 696-697, distinctively Qutlughkhanid coinage was replaced by ordinary Ilkhan types at Kirman, beginning in 698, although Shah Sultan retained his throne until his death in 702. The last ruler of the dynasty, Shah Jahan during his second reign, when only purely Ilkhan coins were struck, was compelled by Uljaytu to abdicate in 706.

### ATABEGS OF SHABANKARA (FADLUYID)

*An obscure atabeg dynasty centered at Shabankara in eastern Fars, vassals of the Ilkhans, also known as the Fadluyids.*

**Jalal al-Din Tayyibshah, ruled about 13 years,  
circa 660s-670s / 1260s-1270s**

- G1941 AV dinar, citing Abaqa as overlord<sup>485</sup> RRR

<sup>484</sup> T1938 & C1936 reported in ICA#9, lots 3473 & 3471, respectively.

<sup>485</sup> Private collection, Dubai. Struck at Ij, dated 677. The history of this dynasty is preserved in the first chapter of Mu'in al-Din's *Muntakhab al-Tawarikh-i Mu'ini*.

<sup>483</sup> Peus sale 378, lot 1398.

### Baha' al-Din Isma'il b. Muhammad, fl. circa 680 / 1282

H1941 AV dinar, always without mint or date, citing Abaqa RRR

## QALHATI AMIRS (KINGS OF HORMUZ)

Codrington, H.W., "Coins of Some Kings of Hormuz", *Numismatic Chronicle*, 4<sup>th</sup> ser., v.14, 1914, pp.156-167. Now very obsolete due to many more recent discoveries.

See also Rabino, as noted under the Safavids, also very outdated.

*A dynasty of Omani Arab origin that ruled for several centuries at Hormuz and Jarun. Coins of Nusrat Shah cite overlords (#1941), all later coins are independent issues.*

Except for #1941, coins of this dynasty are normally struck from dies considerably larger than the flan. The 9<sup>th</sup>/15<sup>th</sup> century anonymous issues usually show the date and the mint name Jarun, but later named issues are so carelessly struck that the date is frequently off flan. The larins are deplorably struck and rarely attributable to a specific ruler (thus assigned to #1946X).

### Sayf al-Din Nusrat Shah, circa 677-689 / 1278-1290

1941.1 AV heavy dinar, dated 678 RRR

Citing the Ilkhan Abaqa and the Qutlughkhanid Qutlugh Turkan. Without lion. With the mint name Hormuz.

1941.2 AV heavy dinar, dated 681 RRR

Citing the Ilkhan Ahmad and the Qutlughkhanid Suyurghatmish, with lion beneath the reverse field, and with the mint name. <sup>486</sup>

1941.3 AV heavy dinar, dated 683 RRR

Without an Ilkhan overlord, but citing the Qutlughkhanid ruler Suyurghatmish. Also without lion and mint name.

All three subtypes bear the term *Qa'an*, a reference to the Great Mongol Khan (Qubilai). Varying weight, normally 5g-8g.

### temp. Turanshah II, circa 840-860 / 1437-1456

1942 AV ½ dinar (approximately 1.28g), mint of Jarun, date in the early 840s R

Obverse inscription *duriba jaruni*, reverse *fi sana* + date in numerals.

A hoard of approximately 126 pieces surfaced in New York in the 1960s, only to reappear in 1996 in the Turath collection sale (Auction Leu 64, Zürich, 27 March 1996, p. 90). The weight standard is about 1.28g, but individual specimens may vary considerably in weight.

### temp. Mas'ud, 860-871 / 1456-1466

A1943 AV fractional dinar, approximately 1.40g, Jarun mint RRR

Obverse *'adliyat sultan*, reverse mint & date.

C1943 AV fractional dinar, approximately 1.70g, Jarun mint RRR

Obverse *al-sultan al-a'zam*, reverse mint & date.

B1943 AV ½ fractional dinar, approximately 0.85g, Jarun mint RRR

Obverse *al-sultan al-a'zam*, as #C1943, reverse mint & date.

The weights of types #A1943 through C1943 vary considerably, but not enough specimens have been examined to determine the actual standard.

### temp. Salghurshah I, 882-913 / 1477-1507

K1943 AV fractional dinar, circa 1g, mint uncertain RRR

Known dated 890, written backwards (Tübingen 2006-9-1, 0.93g) and 895 (Zeno-53639). Mint of Jarun clear on the 895 issue.

### Turanshah III, 919-928 / 1512-1521

From this reign onwards, all Qalhati coins cite the ruler.

1943 AV dinar (square / circle) RR

Known dated 922, possibly with mint name Jarun.

Dinars of this and subsequent reigns follow a standard of about 2.55 grams, unless otherwise indicated. Gold coins of this and later reigns cite the name of the ruler and the date, occasionally the mint name, though it may be presumed that the mint was always located at the town of Jarun, on the mainland coast facing the island of Hormuz.

1943A AV "dinar", Jarun mint, debased gold, about 1.50g RR  
Known dated 926 & 930<sup>487</sup>. Obverse as #1943, but the reverse has mint & date around a central flower. The denominational relationship between #1943 and 1943A is unknown.

1943D AR "dirham", Jarun mint, anonymous, circa 1.15g RRR  
Known dated 923, thus probably equivalent to the contemporary Safavid ¼ pul (#2579). Obverse bears mint & date within circle, reverse has *kalima* within square.

### Muhammad, 928-941 / 1521-1534

1944.1 AV dinar RR

1944.2 AV dinar, coarsely countermarked with his name on full dinars of Turanshah III (#1943) RRR

Countermarked *'ad-i sultan muhammad shah*.

### Salghurshah II, 941-948 / 1534-1541

A1945 AV dinar, known dated 943 RRR

B1945 AR "dirham", circa 1.85-1.90g RRR

### Turanshah IV, 948-971 / 1541-1564

1945 AV dinar, known dated 948 RR

1945A AR larin RR

The larin is a hairpin-shaped silver coin, consisting of a length of silver wire bent in half, then stamped either with regular coin dies or special dies made for the larin. The Qalhati larins were generally exported to India, where they were often folded once again and occasionally restamped.

1945B AR "dirham" (approximately 1.85-1.90g) RRR  
The correct name of this denomination is unknown.

### Farrukhshah, 972-1010 / 1565-1601

1946 AR larin RRR

### Unassigned, 10<sup>th</sup>/16<sup>th</sup> C.,

1946X AR larin (circa 5.1g), with partial inscriptions, ruler's name undetermined R

Distinguished from Safavid and other larins by their pseudo-*Kufic* calligraphy, as opposed to the elaborate *naskhi* calligraphy on the contemporary Safavid issues.

## AMIR OF KISH

*A minor ruler of undetermined dynastic origin at Kish (aka Qus), an island in the Persian Gulf, now the duty free shopping center of modern Iran!*

### Ghiyath al-Din, circa 600 / 1200±

1946F AV dinar, without mint or date RR

## COUNTERMARKED BYZANTINE COINS

Lowick, N.M., Bendall, S., & Whitting, P.D., *The Mardin Hoard*, London 1977. The types listed here bear the MH numbers from this book. Several uncertain MH types are not listed here.

*From approximately 1145 until 1200, large numbers of Byzantine folles were countermarked by Islamic rulers in the Jazira. Undertypes are primarily Byzantine folles struck between the reigns of Basil II (969-1025) and Alexius I (1081-1118) though a smattering of earlier hosts are known, as early as Justin I (518-527). The listing here follows Lowick's classification, giving the countermark first, then the probable attribution, finally his catalog number.*

*Several of the following countermarks are also known on Islamic coin types, principally copper dirhams of the Artuqids and Zangids. These are much rarer than pieces countermarked on Byzantine undertypes.*

See also #1901A for countermark *qizil arslan*.

NOTE: MH numbers refer to the Mardin Hoard publication, cited above.

<sup>486</sup> A variant dated 681 is said to cite the Ilkhan Abaqa, but this remains unconfirmed.

<sup>487</sup> The year 930 is very clear and the more common of the two known dates, suggesting that Turanshah III may have ruled after 928, at least until 930.

- 1947 AE follis, *atabeg*, Zangid of Mosul, either Mawdud (544-565 / 1149-1170) or Ghazi II (565-57 / 1169-1180) (MH-1) S
- 1947A AE dirham, same countermark on an Islamic copper dirham of the Artuqid or Zangids (MH-1) RR
- 1948 AE follis, *jamal*, Inalid of Amid, Jamal al-Din Mahmud (536-579 / 1141-1183) (MH-3) R  
See #B1889 for a struck copper fals inscribed with his name.
- 1949 AE follis, *jamal al-din mahmud*, same ruler as last (MH-4) RR
- 1950 AE follis, *sa'd*, unassigned (MH-6) RRR
- 1951 AE follis, *sayf*, Begtimurid, Sayf al-Din Begtimur (579-589 / 1183-1193) (MH-7 & 8) RR  
MH-7 has the word *sayf* in Kufic, MH-8 in Naskhi script.
- 1952 AE follis, *shams*, probably Jamal al-Din Mahmud of the Inalids (see #1948-49), one of whose titles was Shams al-Muluk (MH-9) R
- 1953 AE follis, *'adl*, unassigned, possibly Artuqid (MH-10 & 11) S  
MH-11 differs, as there is a triplet of pellets below the word *'adl*.
- 1954 AE follis, *'adl 'izz*, Dubaysid, 'Izz al-Din Abu Bakr (541-551 / 1146-1156), at al-Jazira (now Cizre) (MH-12) S
- 1955 AE follis, *'izz*, same issuer as last (MH-13) S
- 1956 AE follis, *'imad*, Zangid of Sinjar, 'Imad al-Din Zangi (565-594 / 1169-1197) (MH-14) RR
- 1957 AE follis, *fakhr*, Artuqid of Amid and Hisn Kayfa, Fakhr al-Din Qara Arslan (539-562 / 1144-1167) (MH-15) RR
- 1958 AE follis, *lillah*, uncertain, perhaps Artuqid (MH-16, 17 & 18) C  
This is the most plentiful of all the countermarks and occurs in several variants, often quite stylized.  
Type MH-16 has *lillah* in an oval, MH-17 in a rectangle, MH-18 has a shortened and uncertain *lillah*, either normal (MH-18a) or retrograde (MH-18b).
- 1959 AE follis, *mahmud*, Inalid, Jamal al-Din Mahmud (536-579 / 1141-1183) (MH-19) RR
- 1960 AE follis, *malik al-umara*, uncertain (MH-20) RRR
- 1961 AE follis, *najm*, Artuqid of Mardin, Najm al-Din Alpi (547-572 / 1152-1176) (MH-21 & 22) C
- 1962 AE follis, *badr*, Begtimurid, Badr al-Din Aqsunqur (589-594 / 1193-1197) (MH-23) RR
- 1962D AE follis, independent letters *d l a*, assigned to the Begtimurids of Ahlat (late 12<sup>th</sup> century) (MH-24) RR
- 1962S AE follis, independent letters *s l a*, tentatively assigned to the Begtimurid Sökmen II (522-581 / 1128-1185) (MH-25) RRR
- 1963 AE follis, tamgha of the Zangids, Zangid of Sinjar, 'Imad al-Din Zangi (565-594 / 1169-1197) (MH-26) RR
- 1963A AE follis, *akhlai*, the main city of the Begtimurids, anonymous, dates of use undetermined, probably 590s-600s<sup>488</sup> RRR
- 1963G AE follis, *gim* in the Armenian alphabet, tentatively assigned by Lowick to the Artuqids of Hisn Kayfa, but very uncertain (MH-27) RR  
The Armenian letter is very clearly engraved.

## GREAT MONGOLS (CHINGIZID)

Davidovich, E.A., *Denezhnoe khozyajstvo srednej Azii v XIII veke*, Moscow 1972, an excellent overview, now obsolete as the result of new finds.

Nyamaa Badarch, *The Coins of Mongol Empire and Clan Tamgha of Khans (XIII-XIV)*, Ulaanbaatar 2005 (in both Mongolian and English). Badarch Nyamaa has published here an important analysis to assign the various tamghas on Great Mongol, Chaghatayid and Golden Horde coins to specific individuals.<sup>489</sup>

Hartill, David, *Cast Chinese Coins*, Victoria BC, 2005, for Chinese style cast coins issued by the Mongols, mainly in China, where they ruled as the Yuan Dynasty. These are not catalogued here.

For the Mongol coins of Georgia (and all other Georgian coins from ancient to modern times), Kirk Bennett is currently assembling an important general catalog, expected about 2013 or 2014.

*The Great Mongols, Chingiz Khan (Genghis Khan) and his descendants, were not Muslims, but struck Islamic style coinage in the Muslim lands they conquered. They had no indigenous coinage, though some earlier Mongol rulers had produced Chinese-style cash in parts of northern China they had occupied (Liao dynasty). As a general rule, they adopted the local currencies in each conquered area, changing only the inscriptions to suit the new political order, but striking coins that sufficiently resembled previous coinage both in design and metal content, in anticipation that they would be acceptable for local circulation.*

*Most early Mongol Islamic coinage is anonymous, except for the mention of the caliph al-Nasir, whose name was retained on many Mongol coins for many decades after his death, just as the name of al-Musta'sim was retained for nearly 200 years after his death on Rasulid coinage in the Yemen. Each mint or group of adjacent mints maintained its own types and standards. Only the gold coinage is frequently dated, often mentioning the mint name as well. The silver and copper coinage is usually undated, and some types are only conjecturally assigned to the Mongols. The listings here are not complete, and new discoveries occur astonishingly often.*

Mints are noted under individual types, when appropriate. Most types were not carefully struck and are typically found with considerable weakness or wear. In general, fully struck examples are extremely uncommon and command a substantial premium (exceptions noted under individual listings).

Gold dinars were struck throughout Central Asia, together with a few locations in Khorasan, Jurjan and Ghazna, with at least 25 mints attested within those regions. Silver full dirhams were struck in both eastern Khorasan (especially Ghazna, Balkh & Herat), and in the Transcaucasian regions of the northwest (especially Tiflis and Tabriz), along with half dirhams from the Transcaucasian region. Silver-washed broad copper dirhams were struck throughout Transoxiana & northeastern Khorasan, resembling late Qarakhanid copper dirhams in fabric, calligraphy, size and weight. Base metal jitals were struck only in eastern Khorasan, Sijistan and Sind, and often contain considerable amounts of lead or zinc in addition to copper.

The broad AE dirhams of Transoxiana and Khorasanian mints, typically 32-40+mm in diameter, were originally lightly silvered, but are seldom found with more than a small trace of the original silvering. They usually bear mint and date, often repeated in both obverse and reverse margins.

**NOTE:** Tye numbers refer to Robert Tye's reference, *Jitals*.

### Chingiz Khan, 603-624 / 1206-1227

His personal name was Temüjin, which never appears on his coinage. He received the title Chingiz Khan (anglicized as Genghis Khan) in 1206, then about 40 years old.

Most coins of this reign are anonymous, typically with the title *khaqan* (inherited from the Qarakhanids) or *qa'an*. Types inscribed with the name of Chingiz Khan are #1964 (gold), #1967 (silver), and #A1968 (billon).

Many of the anonymous types listed under this reign continued to be minted after the death of Chingiz Khan.

<sup>489</sup> Due to my rush to complete the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition I have regrettably not made reference to Badarch Nyamaa's significant analysis of the first and second period Chaghatayid coinage.

<sup>488</sup> Private collection, Tallahassee, Florida. Type unknown to Lowick.

<p>1964 AV dinar, with the titular name Chingiz Khan (Genghis Khan)</p> <p>Reported mints include Bukhara, Balkh and Ghazna, the latter entirely from a hoard of circa 150-200 dinars that entered the market about 1996. The Ghazna dinars are dated 618, all from the same dies, so that the date can be confirmed even when illegible.<sup>490</sup> Issues from other mints are undated.<sup>491</sup> For an important group of types #1964-D1967, see SARC auction 10, lots 755-805.</p>	RR	<p>letters of <i>kurraman</i>. The symbol and location of mint name distinguishes the silver dirham from the jitals of similar design (types #1970 &amp; 1970A).</p> <p>1967B AR dirham (fine silver), mint of Nimruz, also without name of ruler RRR</p> <p>Probably struck in the 640s or 650s, as it is known die-linked to Möngeke type #1977A (SICA-9:1531).</p>
<p>1965 AV dinar, anonymous, with title <i>khaqan</i></p> <p>Dinars with the title <i>khaqan</i> are believed to have been struck during the lifetime of Chingiz Khan, though in all likelihood some were struck after his death, given the paucity of research to date. Normally without mint and date, but a few have the mint name in the obverse or reverse field. If dated, the date appears in the marginal legends, almost always off flan or badly blundered.</p>	RR	<p>1967Q AR dirham (fine silver), with title <i>qa'an al-a'zam</i>, mint of Dihistan (Zeno-90888), undated RRR</p> <p>1967S AR dirham (fine silver), without mint or date RRR</p> <p>Kalima / name of caliph al-Nasir, with Shireetei tamgha (sun on stand) beneath reverse (Zeno-78023).</p>
<p>1966 AV dinar, anonymous, with title <i>qa'an</i>, struck by Chingiz Khan and his successors until the 650s/1250s</p> <p>Many mints are known, none especially common, which Dihistan and Bukhara are perhaps the least rare. Many coins cite the 'Abbasid caliph, either al-Nasir posthumously, or infrequently, the then current caliph. The mint name is usually atop the obverse or reverse field. Even when engraved in the margin, the date is almost never visible.</p>	R	<p>A1968 BI broad "dirham", obverse &amp; reverse in square, with the name of Chingiz Khan, lightly silver-washed (Marw, dated 618 when visible) RRR</p> <p>The obverse is inscribed <i>bi-farman / al-khaqan al-a'zam / chingiz khan / al-'adil</i>, with the mint &amp; date around, kalima &amp; the four Rashidun on the reverse. Always very weakly struck.</p> <p>1968 AE broad <i>khani</i> dirham, anonymous, mainly from the mint of Balkh, dated 618 or 619 (when visible, which is uncommon) R?</p> <p>At least two distinct types. Similar coins of Samarqand have been subsumed under type #B1979. Khani dirhams of this type struck at Otrar have recently been discovered (RR?). The denominational name <i>khani</i> appears atop the obverse or reverse margin. Similar for types #1968A &amp; 1968C.</p>
<p>A1967 AV dinar, anonymous, without any Mongol title, naming only the caliph al-Nasir, many varieties, some probably struck after the death of Chingiz</p> <p>Normally with the kalima on one side, the name of the caliph on the opposite side. Rarely dated and usually without mint name. Many variants are extremely barbarous and barely legible. On some varieties, the caliph is entitled <i>al-imam al-a'zam</i>, "the supreme Imam". Some issues of Samarqand have the field legends on one side enclosed within an ornamented square. Examples of type #A1967 were struck after the death of al-Nasir, perhaps as late as the 650s. Unfortunately, examples with legible dates are extremely rare.</p>	R	<p>1968A AE broad <i>khaqani</i> dirham, mint of Balkh, probably dated 619, style identical to #1968 RRR</p> <p>1968C AE broad <i>mangukhani</i> dirham, struck at Bukhara and Khujanda, probably elsewhere as well R</p> <p>Known dated from the 620s to the 650s.</p> <p>1968T AE broad dirham, apparently without any denominational name, Tirmidh 618 (Zeno-3057) RRR</p>
<p>B1967 AV dinar, totally anonymous without even the caliph, with mint name (normally Bukhara or Samarqand), probably always undated</p>	RR	<p>1969 AE jital, Ghazna type, without mint or date (Tye 329) C</p> <p>Anonymous, with title <i>al-khaqan / al-'adil / al-a'zam</i> on obverse, the 'Abbasid caliph al-Nasir on reverse. This and other jitals of the period probably contain a small amount of silver and may also have had a very light silver wash. This type is the only coin that is reasonably common and can be securely assigned to the lifetime of Genghis Khan.<sup>493</sup></p>
<p>C1967 AV dinar, type as B1967 but without any mint name, almost always undated</p> <p>Types #1965-C1967 are usually poorly struck, only partially legible, the marginal inscriptions often completely illegible. The mint name may be in the field (often legible) or in the obverse or reverse margin. If dated, the date appears in the margin and thus rarely legible. A Bukhara example of type #B1967 has the mint name repeated in four separate locations, perhaps to countervail the shoddy manufacturing (SARC auction 10, lot 786).<sup>492</sup></p>	R	<p>This type is believed to have been struck 618-619 / 1221, during the Mongol chase of Mangubarni to the Indus River, when a Mongol military base was established at or near Ghazna.</p> <p>1970 AE jital, as #1969A but with mint name Kurraman below titles on obverse (Tye 330.1) RR</p>
<p>D1967 AV dinar, similar to C1967 but severely blundered inscriptions, even the kalima rarely legible</p> <p>Sometimes completely illegible. Most examples are found in Xinjiang province of China. One variety bears the mint name al-Urdu al-A'zam clearly engraved on the obverse, but severely blundered text in the obverse margin and the entire reverse.</p>	R	<p>1970A AE jital, without mint and date, style of Kurraman (Tye 330.2) RR</p> <p>Anonymous, obverse <i>'adl / al-khaqan / al-mu'azzam</i>, without mint name. Reverse cites the caliph al-Nasir.</p>
<p>1967 AR dirham (fine silver), Ghazna type with name <i>Chingiz Khan</i> but without mint name</p> <p>Derived from type #1721 of the Khwarizmshah Muhammad, which is also assigned to Ghazna. This and the Ghazna 618 version of type #1964 are the most available coins that cite Chingiz Khan by name. But both types are extremely popular and fetch astounding prices these days.</p>	R	<p>1970B AE jital, bull left / name &amp; title of caliph al-Nasir, mint of Kurraman (Tye 326) RR</p> <p>Arrangement and calligraphy as #1741 of the Khwarizmshah Muhammad, with mint name on the bull's body. (Type 1971 has been relocated just before type #1973.1.)</p>
<p>1967A AR dirham (fine silver), similar fabric, mint name Kurraman, without name of ruler (Tye 328)</p> <p>Text <i>'adl / khaqan / mu'azzam</i> on obverse, name of caliph with mint name below on reverse, cross-like symbol above first two</p>	RR	<p>A1972 AE jital, name of caliph in square with excurvate sides on obverse, mints of Shafurqan and Qunduz (Tye 325) S</p> <p>Mint name in marginal inscription around the obverse, which bears only the name of the caliph al-Nasir. The reverse bears only the kalima. Some examples of Qunduz bear the date as "eight", almost certainly equivalent to 618. Other versions of #A1972 and all of B1972 are undated, probably struck circa 618 until the early 620s, thus during Chingiz Khan's lifetime.</p>

<sup>490</sup> See Zeno-1488 for another example of Ghazna in his name, but struck from a different pair of dies. The mint name is clear, but the date off flan.

<sup>491</sup> See Zeno-69223 for a lovely example with mint off flan, with the obverse field legend *chingiz / khan al-'adil / al-a'zam*, kalima in the reverse field, possibly minted at Samarqand, to judge by style.

<sup>492</sup> At least two mixed hoards, totaling several hundred gold coins and primarily of types #C1967 and D1967, were reported in Xinjiang in the early 2000s, including many coins that had been cut down or clipped. Some of these were shown to me in Urumqi in 2005.

<sup>493</sup> This type was extremely rare until a large hoard, estimated to contain about 2600 pieces, surfaced in the Kabul market about 1968 and was widely dispersed by the end of the 1970s. Several additional small hoards, or larger hoards containing a small percentage of this type, have subsequently been found and marketed.

- B1972 AE jital, same arrangement as #A1972, mint of Badakhshan RR  
Without obverse marginal inscription, mint name above kalima in the reverse field, the caliph al-Nasir on the reverse (Tye—).
- 1972 AE jital, bow-and-arrow motif within hexafoil (Qunduz mint, usually dated “8” for 618) (Tye 334) S  
In Middle Eastern and Armenian chronicles of the time, the Mongols were generally known as “the nation of archers”.
- A1973 AE jital, Sijistan type (Nimruz mint) R  
*Zarb-i / nimruz* on reverse, always undated. Three different obverse inscription, all of similar rarity: (1) *qa'an / al-'adil* (2) *qa'an / al-'adil / padshah* (3) *qa'an / al-'adil / al-a'zam*. Unlisted by Tye, as they have only recently been discovered.
- B1973 AE jital, 'adl on obverse, *khaqan* on reverse (Tye 332-333) RR  
Assigned by Tye to the Ghazna mint. Possibly struck after Chingiz's death. Two varieties, one with text in square on both sides (Tye 332) and one with text in octogram both sides (Tye 333).
- C1973 AE jital, *khaqan padshah-i jahan* (“the Khaqan, king of the world”) on obverse, *muhammad rasul Allah* on reverse (Tye—) RR  
Without mint, but assigned by style and metal to Nimruz in Sijistan. Probably posthumous. See also #19780 for a related type inscribed *qa'an*.
- temp. Malik of Kurzuwan,  
Rabi' II-Jumada I 618 / June-July 1221**
- 1971 AE jital, mint of Kurzuwan (Tye 324) S  
Anonymous, with *al-mulk* (or *al-malik*) in center, dated Rabi' II or Jumada I 618. Formerly considered an issue of Chingiz Khan, the type is now regarded as having been struck by the local ruler (*malik*) of Kurzuwan while under siege by the Mongols. It is thus one of very few identifiable “siege coins” of the Islamic world.
- temp. Ögedei, 624-639 / 1227-1241**
- All coins assigned to this ruler are anonymous, always without the name Ögedei.
- 1973.1 AR dirham, bow type of northwestern Iran, with mint name R  
Kalima obverse, mint above bow on reverse, mint name normally followed by '*amaraha Allah*, “may God protect it”, a remarkably ironic statement just after the Mongol invasions. Occasionally found overstruck on Rum Seljuq dirhams, especially the lion & sun type (#1218). Tabriz is the most common mint, though at least a dozen mints are known. Sometimes dated in the obverse or reverse margin (usually 636-639), rarely visible on the flan. Many minor variations, some posthumously dated as late as 641 or 642, when this type was superseded by the archer type (#1976).
- 1973.2 AR dirham, bow type but without mint name, usually undated, several varieties R  
Mint locations unknown, perhaps northwestern Iran & Khorasan.
- 1973G AR dirham, inscriptions only, struck only at Samarqand in 634 RRR  
Persian inscription in center, first part obverse, 2<sup>nd</sup> part reverse, which translates as “he who steals in Samarqand or its environs is a criminal”.
- 1973L AR dirham, bow type struck at Marw, with Ögedei's tamgha on the obverse, between *sikka* and the mint name, bow at the top, probably 630s RRR
- 1973M AR dirham, bow type struck at Marw, without tamgha R  
Now believed to have been struck posthumously in the 640s-650s, possibly during the late 630s as well; apparently always undated.
- A1974 AR ½ dirham, similar (about 1.4g) RRR  
*(The type formerly listed as 1974 has now been subsumed under types A1979-D1979.)*
- E1974 AR dirham, inner circle around field both sides, mint of Qara Qorum (Karakorum), dated 635 RRR  
*Allah* in field, mint name in Uighur below / *al-imam al-islam* in field, mint name in Arabic above, tentatively assigned to Ögedei (Zeno-22777).
- K1974 AR dirham, inner circle / plain circle, mint of Imil, several years (Zeno-47175) RR  
On obverse, *tengri kuchundur* (Mongolian for “by the power of the eternal God”, in the Arabic script) and the tamgha of Ögedei in obverse center, date in the margin. The reverse has just *al-imam al-a'zam* with the mint name above. Always with barely legible date, interpreted as 630, 635 & 643.
- Mas'ud al-Khwarizmi, governor in Karakorum,  
fl. 638-667 / 1240-1269**
- 1975 AE broad fals C  
Struck at Kashghar and dated 650 (also read as 660 or 675, but these alternatives are questionable), though mint and date seldom show on the coin, but were likely struck for many years after 650 with frozen date. A large hoard reached the numismatic market during the 1990s, containing at least 2000 examples, now widely dispersed. Because they were usually very crudely struck, coins with clearly legible mint and date are very rare.
- temp. Töregene (aka Turakina),  
queen and regent, 639-644 / 1241-1246**
- No coins of this ruler bear Töregene's name. They are assigned to her reign by date, even when they continued to be struck posthumously.
- 1976 AR dirham (about 2.8g), mounted archer type (normally facing left, infrequently right) R  
More than a dozen different mints, of which Tiflis is by far the most frequently seen, though Nakhjawan, Ganja and Tabriz are not especially rare. The archer is usually portrayed hunting a hare or some other small game animal. Anonymous, with title “chief of the great Mongol nation” (*ulugh mughul ulus bik* in Arabic script) on the obverse above the archer. Sometimes overstruck on Ayyubid or Rum Seljuq coins.<sup>494</sup> Known dated 642-643, plus one version of Tabriz dated 645.  
Many examples of this type lack a mint name, usually undated and often without the obverse inscription, many variants (R).<sup>495</sup>
- 1976A AR ½ dirham (about 1.4g), obverse design as #1976 but the reverse usually has the *shahada* in circle, without mint or date RR
- 1976B AR ½ dirham (about 1.4g), similar to the dirham but the archer is standing (not riding), shooting a bird RRR  
Known only from Tabriz dated 642.  
For later anonymous types from northwestern Iran, first introduced at Tabriz in 643, see #2132 ff.
- Güyük, 644-647 / 1246-1249**
- Güyük is also cited as overlord on some rare silver coins of the Christian kingdom of Georgia (not listed here).
- 1976F AR dirham, anonymous but with his tamgha RR  
With his Khoolboo Ongi tamgha (two circles connected by a line), sometimes mint of Qara Qorum (in Uighur). Several varieties illustrated on Zeno.
- 1976G AE broad dirham, with his name in central area, believed to have been struck at Samarqand<sup>496</sup> RRR
- Möngke, 649-657 / 1251-1259**
- For additional coins in various metals citing Möngke, see Lu'lu'id types #1871M & 1877.1, Golden Horde #2018-2019 and some Ilkhan coinage of Hulagu, beginning with #2121.
- S1977 AV dinar, eastern style (no mint name), citing only Möngke RRR  
Inscriptions *möngke qa'an al-a'zam / al-mulku lillah al-wahid al-qahhar* with no marginal text. Zeno-38504.  
For a similar coin in silver, without mint name but dated 662 or 664, see Zeno-73771.

<sup>494</sup> A Khilat mint example at Tübingen is overstruck on type #2173 of the Qa'an al-'Adil type, style of Tabriz 643.

<sup>495</sup> For a general study, see the article by Aram Vardanyan, “Some additions ... “Ulugh Mangyl...”, *ONS Newsletter 190*, pp. 7-20 (2007).

<sup>496</sup> Formerly listed as #B1977.



T1977	AV dinar, eastern style (usually no mint name), citing only Möngke, kalima on reverse	RR	1978F	AE/PB jital (Tye 129e1)	R
	Obverse inscription <i>al-khaqan / al-a'zam / möngke</i> or something similar, sometimes citing <i>möngke</i> at the top. Many subtypes now illustrated at Zeno, including the mints of Marw & Shafurghan.			Obverse text <i>Allah / a'la 'abduhu / nawruz</i> , "God is the greatest, Nawruz is His slave"; reverse text the standard kalima in 3 lines.	
V1977	AV dinar, western mints, citing only Möngke	RRR		<b>Anonymous, Khorasan and Eastern mints, circa 630s-650s / 1230s-1250s</b>	
	Name & titles in obverse field, kalima on reverse, mint name above or below either field. Astarabad, Dihistan & Damghan only, typically 32-34mm in diameter.		1978K	AR dirham (jital style, average weight about 3.25g), undetermined eastern mint, probably struck 630s and/or 640s	R
1977	AR dirham, western style (broad, thin flans), text in Arabic only	S		Inscribed on the obverse in Persian, <i>be-qovvat-e aferidegar-e 'alam</i> , "by the power of the Creator of the world", and citing the caliph al-Mustansir (623-640) on the reverse. One of the earliest Islamic precious metal coins with legends inscribed in the Persian language (see #B1979 below). <sup>497</sup>	
	The only frequently encountered mint is Tiflis (square-in-circle type, obverse & reverse). Other mints are at least RR.		1978L	AE jital, obverse as #1978K but without ' <i>alam</i> ', mint of Kurraman	RR
1977A	AR dirham, western style, obverse text in Uighur, kalima reverse, Ganja 655 only (Zeno-55251)	RRR		<i>Fi baldat kurraman</i> replaces caliph & titles on reverse.	
1977D	AR dirham, citing the local ruler of Georgia, Da'ud b. Kiyurki (David, son of George)	RR		The following types #A1977 through X1977 are tentatively described. Further research needed.	
	Obverse cites Da'ud, reverse cites Möngke, both sides with appropriate titulature. Known dated 650-652, after which it was replaced by the purely Mongol type #1977. Many earlier Georgian types with Arabic inscriptions exist from 1150s to about 1250. These lack any Islamic ruler (except types #1751 & 1752) and are therefore omitted from this catalog.		A1977	AR dirham, eastern style on narrow thick flans (Balkh mint), several variants (about 2.80g average weight, 12-13mm)	S
A1978	AR dirham (jital style), Herat mint type (fancy Kufic calligraphy) (about 3.10g)	RR		Normally undated, but a few rare specimens of Balkh show the year 640. Formerly assigned to Töregene, but anonymous with the formula <i>qa'an al-'adil</i> on the obverse, the kalima on the reverse.	
	<i>Möngke qa'an al-'adil</i> on obverse, mint on reverse.		B1977	AR dirham, similar, but with formula <i>qa'an al-'alimin</i> , "king of the two worlds" on obverse (Balkh mint, 2.80g)	RR
B1978	AR dirham (jital style), Nimruz mint	RRR			
1978	AE fals, broad flan, Tiflis mint, generally similar to Tiflis silver dirhams of type #1977	R	C1977	AR dirham, Herat mint, sometimes with title <i>Qa'an</i> , sometimes fully anonymous (about 3.05g)	R
1978A	AE jital, three subtypes, no mint name (Tye 338-339)	R		Numerous variations. Virtually always struck on flans much smaller than the dies.	
	Tye has assigned these two subtypes to Shafurghan (uncertain) and Nimruz (likely), respectively. The Nimruz version lacks the mint name but is very similar to fine silver Nimruz type #B1978).		D1977	AR dirham, similar, but struck on broader and thinner flans (about 4.13g, 18-19mm)	R
1978B	AE jital, with mint name Shafurghan (Tye—)	R		Citing the <i>Qa'an</i> , usually with <i>zuyyida 'adluhu</i> ("may his justice increase") below the obverse. Mint of Herat. One variant is completely anonymous.	
	Known undated and dated 657, always with month (but date and month are usually unclear). From a 1996 find of about 100+ pieces, apparently previously unknown.		E1977	AR dirham, as #D1977 but with title <i>padshah jahan</i> added on the obverse, mint of Herat (average about 4.13g)	RR
1978D	BI jital, with name Shafurghan ( <i>sic</i> ) in central obverse square, dated 655 in numerals around, kalima reverse (Tye—)	RRR		Known dated xx1 (probably 641, possibly 651).	
1978E.1	AE jou, mint of Ghazna, citing <i>qa'an / möngke / al-'adil</i> on obverse, <i>jou</i> in reverse center, mint around (Tye—)	RRR	F1977	AR dirham, as D1977, but <i>qa'an al-'adil al-a'zam</i> on both obverse & reverse, no kalima, Nimruz mint	RRR
	Mint name possibly followed by date (Zeno-97679).			Types A1977-F1977 are struck from dies far broader than the flans, thus revealing only a portion of the inscriptions on each coin. All of these types and their variants are believed to have been struck from the 630s to the 650s. <sup>498</sup>	
1978E.2	AE jital, mint of Ghazna, <i>möngke qa'an al-'adil</i> on obverse, <i>bi-baldat ghazna (...?)</i> , surrounded by the date (unread) on reverse (Tye-337)	RR	X1977	AR dirham, generally as A1977-F1977, but not attributable to a specific type	R
1978C.1	AE broad dirham (38-42mm), with mint name Otrar, dated 649-658 (date often illegible)	RR		For later anonymous silver coins, see #2132-2137.	
	With epithet above obverse or reverse as <i>manku-khani</i> , "Möngke Khan's, <i>möngö-khani</i> , "Khan's silver", or just <i>khani</i> , the last is Kufic script (cf. SNAT 15b, #8).		1978N	AE jital, similar to silver A1977	RR
1978C.2	AE fractional dirham (±30mm), Otrar 656-658, type as #1978C.1 with <i>khani</i> epithet	RRR	1978O	AE jital, <i>qa'an al-'adil padshah</i> on obverse, <i>muhammad rasul Allah</i> on reverse, with <i>Allah</i> repeated at the top (Tye—)	RR
	Examples dated 659-663 should be assigned to Arigh Buqa, variant of C1979 with <i>khani</i> epithet, discernible only when the date is legible.			Style of Nimruz in Sijistan.	
	<b>Arigh Buqa (Ariqboka), 658-662 / 1260-1264, rival successor to Möngke</b>		1978P	AE jital, inscriptions only, uncertain word said to be <i>panji</i> ("fifth") on obverse, <i>fi balad kurraman</i> on reverse, mint of Kurraman (Tye 359)	R
C1979	AE broad dirham, Otrar mint, dated 659-663 (rarely legible)	RR		Tye lists four additional anonymous Kurraman mint jitals (#356, 357, 358 and 360). These are probably Mongol period, circa 620-650. All are rare.	
	Similar to type #1978C.1, with epithet <i>yarli khani</i> ("Khan's command") or <i>khani</i> . Types #1978C.2 and C1979 with the short epithet <i>khani</i> can only be distinguished when the date is legible or by die-link. See also #1978C.2.				
	The only other coins bearing Arigh Buqa's name are assigned to the Golden Horde, type #2019D.				
	<b>Nawruz, circa 670s / 1270s</b>				
	Mongol governor in Kirman and/or Sijistan.				

<sup>497</sup> Nyamaa has assigned this type to Ögedei (his coin #9) and Zeno has also filed them under Ögedei. However, the name of the caliph al-Mustansir does not necessarily imply all mintage prior to his death in 640. Cf. the Crusader imitations of the Ayyubid dirhams of Damascus (type #849.1) or the earliest Samanid coins of 'Abd al-Malik I (#1460 & 1462).

<sup>498</sup> Types #A1977-F1977 and X1977 were barely recognized until the 1990s, though unidentified specimens already existed in many collections.

**Anonymous, Central Asian mints,  
circa 617-667 / 1219-1269**

A1979.1 AE broad dirham, Bukhara mint, dated 627-667, various types, Arabic legends only R

A1979.2 AE broad dirham, similar, also Bukhara mint, with the mint name in Chinese in center of reverse (Davidovich-5), dated 660 RR

Another variety has Chinese *ke* in center, which means "tax" (same rarity). Both #A1979.1 & 1979.2 were silver-washed.

B1979 AE broad dirham, Samarqand mint, numerous subtypes, dated 617-663 or undated R

Davidovich enumerates 10 types. Her first four types are dated 617-624 and thus fall within the lifetime of Chingiz Khan. Many have the Persian inscription *be-Samarqand o navahi-ye in shahr ravan*, "current in Samarqand and the environs of this city" (RR), one of the earliest coin inscriptions in Persian. See also #1973G.

(C1979 is now listed between #1978C and 1978F)

D1979 AE broad dirham, Khujanda mint, one type only, known dated 663 and possibly 665 RRR

The above five types of anonymous broad dirhams are typically about 40-45mm in diameter and were probably originally lightly silver-washed. Variants with the denominational inscription *mangukhani* are now listed as #1968C.

Later coins of the Great Mongol khans were produced only in the Chinese territories and are universally regarded as part of the Chinese series. They are cast bronze cash of various sizes and denominations, with obverse in Chinese or Phags-Pa, reverse in either the Chinese or Phags-Pa script (or blank), assigned to the Yuan dynasty, the Chinese name for the Great Mongols (Hartill 19.1 through 19.147). Some extremely rare Yuan dynasty silver sycees and paper notes are also known. They are in no way Islamic, and are thus excluded from the Checklist.<sup>499</sup>

## CHAGHATAYID KHANS

Oliver, E.E., "The coins of the Chaghatai Mughals," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. 60 (1891), pp. 8-16 (mostly issues of Buyan Quli Khan, some misattributed).

See also Davidovich (1972) as cited under the Great Mongols, where most known types are listed and described for Chaghatayid coinage before the reform during the reign of Kibak Khan.

See also Nyamaa Badarch, listed under Great Mongols.

Zhu Yuanjie *et al.*, eds., *Xinjiang Numismatics*, Hong Kong 1991.

The first and second periods were rather comprehensively studied by Davidovich, though many more types have been discovered since her work in 1972, of which only a few are included in Badarch's 2005 publication. No useful study for the third period has yet been published, but see below:

Pavel Petrov completed his dissertation in 2007, entitled *Monetary Circulation in the Chaghatayid State* (in Russian), expected to be published as a corpus of all Chaghatayid coinage in 2011. Over 70,000 Chaghatayid coins in public and private collections were examined for his research!

Zeno now lists nearly 1000 Chaghatayid coin, all illustrated.

*The Chaghatayid kingdom was formed out of the apanage assigned to Chaghatay, son of Genghis Khan and eponymous founder of this kingdom. The Chaghatayids ruled the Central Asian portion of the Mongol Empire. After 749/1348, the western Chaghatayids, centered in Samarqand, were rulers in name only, set upon the throne to bolster one or another amir's claim to power. The eastern branch, centered in Xinjiang, retained a measure of independence, but produced virtually no coinage.*

*Until 722, all Chaghatayid coins are anonymous (except #A1987 of Khutulugh Khwaja), citing only the mint and sometimes the date. Most types cannot be assigned to specific reigns, though by convention coins are assigned by date to*

*reign, when the date is visible.<sup>500</sup> From 722 onwards, most silver types bear the name of the ruler, but copper coinage remains anonymous throughout the dynasty (with a few exceptions noted under individual rulers).*

*Until the early 1980s, Chaghatayid coins were seldom seen in the west. Subsequently, several large hoards of both pre-722 and post-722 coins have reached the market from sources in Afghanistan, Xinjiang, and the former Soviet republics in Central Asia. Copper coins have only begun appearing since about 1995.*

During the first several reigns, the principal mint was Almaligh, whose site is located in what is now the northwestern corner of Xinjiang province of China (in Huocheng County, about 50 miles west of the major city Yining), with supplementary coinage from nearby Imil and Pulad commencing in the 650s. From circa 670 until the reform of 722, more than twenty additional mints came into production for the anonymous coinage, of which Kanchik (sometimes transcribed as Kanjid, as Kendje on Zeno), Khujanda, Otrar, Samarqand, Bukhara, Shash and Taraz are the least rare.

After the reform of 722 until the death of Danishmandji in 749, Chaghatayid coins were struck mainly at the four mints of Bukhara, Otrar, Samarqand and Tirmidh. Coins of this period from other mints, notably Badakhshan and Almaligh, are substantially rarer.

During the reign of Buyan Quli Khan (749-760), who was a mere figurehead set up by the effective power-that-be, the amir Qataghan, a number of Iranian rulers struck coins in the name of Buyan Quli, even though direct Chaghatayid influence in the region was inconsequential (#A2009 ff.). Some additional mints opened in Central Asia as well, including Isbijab, Kish and Shahr-i Sabz, all of which are rare.

Most Chaghatayid coins are poorly struck and/or poorly preserved. Well-struck coins are rare, except for some early Almaligh dirhams and some 1/6 dinars after the reform of 722. Full dinars are virtually never found fully struck, typically 30% or more flat, though better during the "reign" of Buyan Quli Khan and his immediate successors. Curiously, a large proportion of Chaghatayid dinars from recent hoards are crinkled and warped, though what caused this is unknown.

In 1995 and 1996, some allegedly "Chaghatayid" gold dinars were published in Hong Kong and Singapore sale catalogs. All of these are either anonymous Mongol issues (#1965, 1966 & A1967) or coins of earlier dynasties such as the Khwarizmshahs or the Ghorids. No gold coins have yet been conclusively attributed to the Chaghatayids (see note to #1979), except for type V1979 dated 635-637.

**WARNING:** Well-struck forgeries of first period and third period silver coins have recently appeared in China. Most of these were easily recognized, though in recent years (towards 2010) a few more convincing forgeries have entered the market, some on eBay. More than twenty fakes are now illustrated on Zeno.

### FIRST PERIOD

All pre-722 dirhams of the Chaghatayids conform to a weight standard of about 2.0 grams, though occasional specimens can be significantly lighter, either as struck or later clipping.

### temp. Chaghatay, 624-639 / 1227-1241

V1979 AV dinar, mint of Almaligh dated 635 & 637, with *qa'an* above one side RRR

Both sides bear the kalima and the name of the caliph al-Nasir li-din Allah, stylistically similar to late Khwarizmshah dinars of Khwarizm. This type can also be considered a posthumous example of type #1966, struck under the authority of Ögedei, because of the uncertainty whether the Chaghatayid kingdom had actually separated from the larger Mongol empire before Ögedei's death in 639. Badarch assigns this type and #1979 to Chaghatay.

1979 AR dirham (about 2.0g) RR

The earliest reported date is 638. Coins assigned to this reign have *'al ghayat<sup>an</sup>*, "very noble (alloy)", in the reverse center, copied from late Fatimid and Ayyubid dinars of the previous century. Struck only at Almaligh in 638 & 639. This type is the "first anonymous coinage".

<sup>500</sup> At the present, I have rather naïvely attempted to assign anonymous coins struck prior to 722 to individual rulers, in part due to the fragmentary publication of the series to date. I have chosen to retain this somewhat artificial regnal typology, rather than reorganize them according to visual designs recently interpreted by Nyamaa. I have added type #1984X for all examples that cannot, for whatever reason, be assigned to a specific reign. My intention is to incorporate for the 4<sup>th</sup> edition the information published by Davidovich and Badarch, as well as Petrov's coming publication.

<sup>499</sup> For the Yuan dynasty, see David Hartill, *Cast Chinese Coins*, published 2005, listing all Chinese cast coins from circa BC650 to 1912.

	<b>temp. Qara Hulagu, 639-645 / 1241-1247</b>		A1987.5	AE jital, obverse as A1987.2, reverse as A1987.3, without mint name (Tye 341.2)	S
1980	AR dirham, Almaligh mint only	R			
	<b>temp. Yesu Mōngke, 645-650 / 1247-1252</b>			<b>Anonymous, Ghazna region, circa 690s / 1290s</b>	
1981	AR dirham, Almaligh mint only	R	G1987	AE jital, without mint or date	RRR
	<b>temp. Orqina Khatun, Queen, 650-659 / 1252-1261</b>			Inscribed ' <i>adil khan padshah</i> around the dynastic tamgha on obverse, <i>be-qovvat-e aferidegar-e 'alam</i> (as on #1978K) on the reverse. Probably struck prior to the jitals citing Khutlugh Khwaja, either by Khutlugh Khwaja himself or his predecessor Duwa Khan.	
1982	AR dirham	R			
	Dirhams of this reign were struck at Almaligh, Imil, and Pulad, all located in what is now the northwestern corner of the Xinjiang province in western China.				
	<b>temp. Alughu, 659-664 / 1261-1266</b>			<b>temp. Isan Buqa, 709-718 / 1309-1318</b>	
1983	AR dirham	R	1987	AR dirham	S
	In addition to the three mints of #1982, a fourth mint opened at Kuja (modern Kuche in Xinjiang).			Struck principally at Badakhshan & Tirmidh, usually dated. When the date is not legible, most coins of this reign can be readily distinguished from types #1985-1986 by the layout of the legends, but there is no comprehensive publication for this reign.	
	<b>temp. Baraq, 664-670 / 1266-1271</b>				
1984	AR dirham	RR		<b>THIRD PERIOD</b>	
	<b>Anonymous, circa 640s-690s / 1240s-1290s</b>			With his coinage reform in 722/1322, Kibak Khan became the first Chaghatayid to place his name on the coinage. He introduced a new denomination, the <i>dinar kebeki</i> of about 8.0 grams, together with its sixth (about 1.32g), also known as a dirham, as for the Ilkhan coinage. The origin of the weight standard is unknown. The <i>dinar kebeki</i> became a unit of account in Central Asia and Iran for more than 300 years. The <i>dinar kebeki</i> is called just <i>dinar</i> in the listings here. The term <i>kebeki</i> never appears on the coins.	
1984X	AR dirham, as the last five reigns (#1980-1984) and the next three reigns (#1985-1986, also #1987 of Isan Buqa), but without date (either undated or date off flan)	S		Silver dinars and 1/6 dinars were struck primarily at Bukhara, Otrar, Samarqand and Tirmidh. About 15 additional mints are known, operating mainly during the reign of Buyan Quli and for the later 1/6 dinars.	
	Coins of these eight reigns can be assigned to a specific ruler only when the date is legible, unless confirmed by die linkage or a type known to be dated only within a single reign. Undated, illegibly dated and miscellaneous types that cannot be assigned to a specific reign are thus collectively assigned to type #1984X. However, recent work by Badarch and others will eventually require a totally different organization of the anonymous Chaghatayid coins, which I plan to introduce in the 4 <sup>th</sup> edition of the <i>Checklist</i> .				
	Coins of these seven reigns, and of Isan Buqa (#1987) constitute the "second anonymous coinage", comprising both the first & second period assigned here to the Chaghatayids, as organized by Davidovich. The "first anonymous coinage" comprises types traditionally, though not necessarily correctly, assigned to the Great Mongols.				
	<b>SECOND PERIOD</b>			<b>Kibak Khan, 718-726 / 1318-1326</b>	
	<b>temp. Tuqa Timur, circa 670-690 / 1272-1291</b>		1988	AR dinar (average weight about 8.0-8.1g, struck 722-725 <sup>501</sup> ), in his name	S
1985	AR dirham, many subtypes, more than a dozen mints	S	T1989	AR dirham (about 1.8-2.0g), known from Urdu Bazar dated 721 and Tirmidh (date unrecorded), in his name	RR
	In general, each mint employed one or more distinctive designs.			This type retains the pre-reform denomination and weight, just at these two mints. Tirmidh switched over to the post-reform weights after the reign of Kibak Khan.	
A1986	AR dirham, Khwarizm mint, anonymous, Golden Horde style with Chaghatayid tamgha, always well struck and dated, 686-688 only	RR	1989	AR 1/6 dinar (about 1.32g), in his name	C
	<b>temp. Duwa Khan, circa 690-706 / 1291-1306</b>			Struck mainly at Bukhara 722-726; the issue of Samarqand, dated 725 only, has very different inscriptions.	
1986	AR dirham	R		<b>temp. Ilchigiday, 726-727 / 1326-1327</b>	
	Not all coins of the time of Tuqa Timur and Duwa Khan can be assigned to a specific reign, especially when undated. The coinage of these two reigns was described by Davidovich as the "third anonymous" coinage, dated circa 670-709, but I prefer to recognize them as the later years of the "second anonymous".			Ilchigiday was opposed by Duwa Timur in 726, and it is quite possible that one of the subtypes of #1990 belongs to Ilchigiday, the other to Duwa Timur, and neither to Tarmashirin. This cannot presently be determined.	
	Undated dirhams that cannot be classified as #1985, 1986 or 1987 are temporarily assigned to the generic anonymous type #1984X.		1990.1	AR dinar, Samarqand only	R
	<b>Khutlugh Khwaja, fl. 697-698 / 1298-1299</b>			All coins of this ruler are anonymous and only conjecturally assigned to Ilchigiday. They could also be early issues of Tarmashirin. This type bears the phrase, ' <i>imarat al-din maninat al-'adl</i> , "prosperity of the faith is the beneficence of justice". <sup>502</sup>	
A1987.1	AE jital, ruler's name on obverse, kalima on reverse (Tye 340)	RR	1990.2	AR dinar, Samarqand only	R
	Below the ruler's name appears the word <i>sikka</i> followed by what is presumably a mint name, but not beginning with <i>gh</i> for Ghazna (clear in Tye's drawing).			This anonymous type bears the phrase <i>la 'imara illa bi'l-'adl</i> , "there is no prosperity without justice".	
A1987.2	AE jital, ruler's name and Chaghatayid tamgha on obverse, mint on reverse (Ghazna) (Tye 341.1)	R	1991	AR 1/6 dinar, with legends as type #1990.2	RR
A1987.3	AE jital, ruler's name in Arabic on obverse, mint name (Ghazna) in center on reverse, surrounded by religious inscription (Tye 342)	RR		Struck at Samarqand and Tirmidh.	
A1987.4	AE jital, trilingual type, ' <i>adl</i> in center, surrounded by Nagari inscription on obverse, Uighur inscription on reverse (Tye 343)	RR		<b>Tarmashirin, 726-734 / 1326-1333</b>	
	It is likely that the crudely engraved Arabic word interpreted as ' <i>adl</i> is really a debased form of the mint name <i>ghazna</i> .		1992	AR dinar, anonymous ("twins" type), struck 726-732	S
				The identifying phrase on this type is <i>al-'adl wa'l-mulk tu'aman</i> , "justice and kingship are twins". Anonymous coinage was struck 726-732, coinage with the ruler's name 731-734. <sup>503</sup> Coins of	
				<sup>501</sup> A dinar of Bukhara in the Tübingen collection seems to be dated 718. If that is the correct interpretation, then the Kibaki reform might be dated to 718 rather than the commonly accepted date of 722, or perhaps more likely, 718 could be his accession year on a coin struck 722 or later.	
				<sup>502</sup> The word read as <i>manina</i> is somewhat uncertain but probable, as it makes sense in the context. No other reading has been proposed.	
				<sup>503</sup> Coins of 727 are sometimes found with retrograde '2', whence the date has been misread as 767 and the coins misattributed to various later rulers.	

	Tarmashirin were struck at Bukhara, Otrar and Tirmidh, but <i>not</i> at Samarqand. See #1990, 1991, 1996, and 1996A for contemporary issues of Samarqand.			
1993	AR dinar, with his name Struck only at Bukhara & Tirmidh, dated 733 or 734.	R		
1994.1	AR 1/6 dinar, anonymous "twins" type, as #1992	R		
1994.2	AR 1/6 dinar, anonymous, with title <i>sultan</i> but without name of ruler (Otrar only, 729-732)	S		
1995	AR 1/6 dinar, with his name (Otrar 732-734 & Tirmidh 733-734)	S		
<b>Sanjar, presumed subordinate ruler at Samarqand, 731-734 / 1330-1333</b>				
There is some question whether Sanjar was indeed a separate ruler or governor at Samarqand or just a title of Tarmashirin, whose name also appears on all coinage assigned to Sanjar. <sup>504</sup> Struck at Samarqand, Bukhara and Tirmidh, of which only Samarqand is reasonably available.				
A remarkable and elaborately engraved dinar from the Taraz mint has recently been found (Zeno-55777).				
1996	AR dinar, also citing Tarmashirin	R		
1996A	AR 1/6 dinar, similar	RR		
<b>Changshi (Jenkshi), 734-737 / 1333-1336</b>				
1997	AR dinar, struck only at Badakhshan & Tirmidh	RR		
1998	AR 1/6 dinar, Otrar only Inexplicably, it appears that the two principal cities Bukhara and Samarqand ceased minting coins 734-739, but were reopened in 740 for Yesun Timur. Dates on 734-742 coins of Otrar and Tirmidh are often blundered or irregularly engraved.	S		
<b>Yesun Timur, 737-741 / 1336-1340</b>				
1999	AR dinar Usual mints Samarqand, Bukhara and especially Tirmidh, plus some elegant issues of Almaligh dated 740.	S		
2000	AR 1/6 dinar, Otrar mint only	RR		
<b>'Ala al-Din 'Ali Sultan, fl. 741 / 1340</b>				
2000L	AR 1/6 dinar, known only from Otrar 741 Name & titles on obverse, <i>'ala al-din 'ali sultan</i> , mint, date and a tamgha resembling retrograde "SS" on reverse. The date is usually barbarously engraved.	RRR		
<b>Muhammad, 741-742 / 1340-1341</b>				
2001	AR dinar The identity of Muhammad is undetermined. He is possibly the same as Khalil below, though I find that improbable. Coins in his name were struck at Almaligh and Tirmidh. Modern forgeries of the Almaligh dinar exist (Zeno-24988).	RR		
<b>Anonymous, 742 / 1341</b>				
D2002	AR 1/6 dinar, kalima obverse, mint & date on reverse, Bukhara 742 only Presumably an issue of either Muhammad or Khalil. It bears the distinctive tamgha that is normally found only on the regular issues of Khalil.	RRR		
<b>Khalil (or Khalil Allah), 742-744 / 1341-1343</b>				
2002	AR dinar, struck mainly at Bukhara & Samarqand On some coins of Bukhara, Khalil adopted the title of <i>malik ruqab al-umam</i> , "possessor of the necks of the people". How delightful!	S		
2002Q	AR dinar, also citing Qazan ( <i>i.e.</i> , Qazan Timur) as coordinate ruler, Almaligh 743 & Badakhshan, date missing. <sup>505</sup>	RRR		
2003	AR 1/6 dinar, only from Otrar <b>Anonymous, 744 / 1343</b> In the name of <i>afdal muluk al-chingizkhaniyan</i> , "most noble of the family of Chingiz Khan" on the reverse, with an undeciphered and apparently blundered Uighur inscription filling the obverse.			RR
A2002	AR dinar, Almaligh 744 only <sup>506</sup>			RRR
<b>Qazan Timur, independent, 744-747 / 1343-1346</b>				
The name of this ruler is given variously on the coins, typically <i>Qazan Timur</i> , but often just <i>Qazan</i> in several different spellings. Qazan Timur was joint ruler with Khalil 742-744 / 1341-1343, probably only in the eastern regions.				
2004	AR dinar			S
2005	AR 1/6 dinar			R
A2006	AE fals, broad flan, with ruler's name <b>Dashmand (Shah or Khan), 747-749 / 1346-1348</b> Although Arabic and Persian histories cite his name as <i>danishmandji</i> , his coins clearly show Dashmand, followed by <i>shah</i> or <i>khan</i> or both.			RR
2006	AR dinar, mints of Bukhara, Samarqand & Tirmidh Also known from Khujand, from elegant dies (Zeno-45351).			S
A2007	AR 1/6 dinar			RRR
<b>Buyan Quli Khan, 749-760 / 1348-1359</b>				
2007	AR dinar (7.0-8.2g), normal Central Asian types This type uses a great variety of frames and text arrangements, especially at the common mints of Bukhara and Samarqand, each of which can have several different designs within a single year. The mints of Otrar and Urdu are also reasonably common, but there are more than a dozen additional mints, all of them rare.			C
2008	AR 1/6 dinar, similar types, Central Asian mints			RR
A2009	AR 12 dirhams (double dinar, struck to the Kart standard of about 8.5g), mint of Herat			R
B2009	AR 6 dirhams (dinar, approximately 4.25g), similar Types A2009 and B2009 were struck by the Kart ruler, Mu'izz al-Din Husayn, as Chaghatayid vassal and are dated 758 only. Most specimens lack the mint name, though all known "mintless" specimens are die-linked to issues bearing the mint name Herat. Their denominations derive from the late Khorasanian issues of the Ilkhans.			RR
2009	AR ¼ tanka to the Delhi standard (about 2.75g), undated, but struck circa 757-758 Struck by Amir Wali, ruler of Astarabad, in the name of Buyan Quli Khan, written, for some inexplicable reason, as <i>buyan 'ali khan</i> . The mint name is given as <i>Bazar</i> , the court mint, which was generally located at or very close to Astarabad. For the denomination, see the note to #2342.			S
2009A	AR 1/12 tanka (masha) (0.9g), similar			RR
A2010	AE dirham (square / pointed pentafoil), lightly silver-washed Struck by the Sarbadarid Yahya Karavi at Simnan and Damghan, but in the sole name of Buyan Quli Khan.			RR
2010	AR dinar to the Quhistani standard (about 5.2g) (square, sometimes lobated / pointed pentafoil) Struck at Junabadh, Kurat and Tabas, and at least one additional undeciphered mint, by the local ruler, Mulayad, but citing only his Chaghatayid overlord. The source of this standard remains uncertain, though it is perhaps a lightweight equivalent to the half tanka denomination of the Delhi Sultanate. <sup>507</sup>			R
2010A	AE fals, broad flan, Central Asian types With the ruler's name, struck principally at Bukhara.			R

<sup>504</sup> Zeno described Sanjar as the son of Tarmashirin.

<sup>505</sup> Zeno listed two examples of Almaligh 743 (#54984 & 78602), on which Qazan bears the title *sultan* but Khalil is without any title. Atop the obverse is the expression *al-mutawakkil 'ala Allah*. The Badakhshan examples are Zeno-43264, etc., possibly dated 744.

On another coin (Zeno-4865), mint off flan and dated 74x, Qazan bears the title *khaqan* and "Khalil" the title *sultan*. However, it appears more realistic that the word is not *khalil* but *jalal*, part of a *laqab* for Qazan, *sultan jalal*

*al-dunya wa'l-din*, as the word *al-dunya* is quite legible on the illustrated specimen. Therefore I regard this type as an issue of Qazan alone.

<sup>506</sup> Two varieties, one with central reverse in a circle (Zeno-30190), the other in a triangle (Zeno-29462). Zeno has listed them under Khalil Allah, but there seems to be no evidence to confirm that assignment.

<sup>507</sup> Given the paucity of examples whose weights are known, no conclusive estimate of the denomination of this type is possible at the present time.

### Shah Timur, circa 760 / 1359

- A2011 AR dinar, mainly mint of Samarqand, dated 760 RR  
Also reported for Otrar, probably also dated 760 (Zeno-37588).
- B2011 AR 1/6 dinar, mint of Khayr (pre-Timurid name of Mazar-i Sharif in Afghanistan) RRR
- C2011 AE fals, broad flan, Central Asian types, citing the ruler's name RRR

### Tughluq Timur, circa 760-765 / 1359-1364

- 2011 AR dinar RR  
In addition to Samarqand, two remarkably intricate dinars of Badakhshan are known, dated 763 & 765.<sup>508</sup>
- 2011A AR 1/6 dinar, mainly mint of Badakhshan, also Khwast (Zeno-94070, RRR) R

### Qabul Khan, fl. 767-769 / 1366-1368

- C2012 AR 1/6 dinar, mints of Badakhshan and Khwast R  
Coins of Badakhshan are known dated 767-769; Khwast, normally undated.  
Qabul Khan probably ruled only in the Badakhshan region. In the histories his name is often given as Kabulshah, as though he were associated with the city of Kabul, for which there is no evidence. Peculiarly, he is entitled *khaqan* at Badakhshan (virtually always dated, 767-769) and *sultan* at Khwast (almost never dated, occasionally dated 769). About 125 examples of his coins surfaced around 2003, apparently from two distinct hoards, one terminating in 769, the other approximately 772. Formerly extremely rare.

### 'Adil Sultan, circa 769-771 / 1368-1370

- A2012 AR 1/6 dinar, probable attribution (several subtypes known) RR  
All lack the mint name but were likely struck in Badakhshan, to judge by style and calligraphy. All are undated, but likely struck only after 769, as none were present in the first Qabul Khan hoard.<sup>509</sup>

### Suyurghatmish, 771-790 / 1370-1388

- E2012 AR 1/6 dinar, known dated 781 or undated, several varieties RRR  
Suyurghatmish was set on the throne by Timur and was permitted to strike his own coins at first. Timur added his own name as nominal subordinate ruler briefly in 774, resumed in 782. Suyurghatmish is cited as overlord on all precious metal coins of Timur struck during the years 774 and 782-790.<sup>510</sup>  
Coins of Suyurghatmish citing Timur are classified as Timurid (#2366-75), as are those bearing the name of Mahmud, successor to Suyurghatmish, all of which also cite Timur.  
This type is classified on Zeno as "Timur's early issues without his own name." under the Timurid dynasty.  
(Type #D2012 of Khwarizm has been changed to #V2366 under the Timurids, as it cites Suyurghatmish on obverse, Timur on reverse.)

### Anonymous, circa 660s-760s / 1260s-1360s

- 2012 AE broad fals, many variants S  
Typically 30-35mm broad, struck principally at Bukhara and normally undated. Struck at various times from the 660s until perhaps the middle of the following century.  
For additional types dated 667 and earlier, see #A1979-D1979.
- A2013 AE medium fals, with f-shaped tamgha in center, struck at Kashghar and dated 675 when visible S  
Sometimes found struck over type #1975. Very rare with clearly legible mint and date. The type was unknown before 1996, when a massive hoard of at least 2,000 pieces, mostly in horrid condition, entered the market.

<sup>508</sup> Zeno-54165 & 59761.

<sup>509</sup> On Zeno, 'Adil Sultan is said to have ruled 765-767 / 1364-1366, between Tughluq Timur and Qabul Khan. This alternative dating seems reasonable, despite the differences between the two hoard groups, especially because coins of Badakhshan dated 770-772 are known in the name of Bahramshah (#2017). At present, all known coins of 'Adil Sultan are either undated or date-off-flan.

<sup>510</sup> An example clearly dated 774 is in the Tübingen collection (#HH5 E5), but it is conceivable that the date is an engraver's error for 784.

- B2013 AR dinar, barbarous imitations of various third period dinars, especially of Tarmashirin and later rulers S  
Numerous types and variations, all probably emanating from the same region, together with type #C2013 (q.v.).

- C2013 AR dinar, imitating silver and gold tanka types of the Delhi Sultanate R  
The provenance of types #B2013 and C2013 is not known, but likely locations would seem to be either southern Xinjiang, or more likely, Kashmir or the mountainous regions towards Ladakh, but unlikely as far east as Tibet. I am inclined to favor Kashmir, as some examples mule the "obverse" of #C2013 is with obverses or reverses of #B2013.

## CHAGHATAYID, EASTERN BRANCH

### Isan Buqa II b. Ways Khan, 832-866 / 1429-1462

- F2013 AR tanka RRR  
Type closely modeled after a post-reform tanka of the Timurid Shahrukh (#2405), normally without mint & date (specimens in the Beijing Museum) or Kashghar 854 (Zeno-30132).<sup>511</sup>

## SHAHS OF BADAKHSHAN

Coins of this principality remain effectively unpublished, except from time to time in sale and auction catalogs, and the growing selection on Zeno.

*This obscure group of rulers, probably dynastically related, are known only from their coins and a couple of rather enigmatic citations in contemporary written records. They seem generally to have been dependents of the Chaghatayid Mongols, and from time to time, Badakhshan was either directly ruled by the Chaghatayids (late 710s, circa 730-745, at times during the 760s, perhaps other short intervals as well) or recognized the Chaghatayid ruler for political reasons.*

Only silver was struck. The early types consist of dirhams of about 2.45g and half dirhams of about 1.22g, apparently derived from contemporary Ilkhan dirhams of Arghun and maintained at that level until the reform in 722, ignoring contemporary Ilkhan weight reductions between 696 and 722. The reform coinage, introduced in the Chaghatayid kingdom in 722, consists of the dinar kebeki (about 8.0g), 1/6 dinar (1.32g) and dangi (0.32g). The dangi was ¼ of the 1/6 dinar, thus 1/24 of the dinar kebeki, and usually bears the name of the denomination, normally as a prefix to the mint name.

All coins of this state bear the mint names Badakhshan or Khwast, or lack the mint name entirely. Nearly all coins of this kingdom are crudely struck, often with considerable weakness and mushiness. Most are dated.

### 'Alishah I, before 690 / 1291

- N2013 AR dirham (weight not recorded), undated<sup>512</sup> (RRR)  
I am increasingly convinced that there are no coins of 'Alishah I, that all are of 'Alishah II. If it really is a specific subtype of 'Alishah II it is still extremely rare. Cf. Zeno-30357 for an example somewhat like the specimen I originally assigned to 'Alishah I.

### Dawlatshah (b. 'Alishah), fl. 690-693 / 1291-1294

- 2013 AR dirham (about 2.45g), normally dated R  
2013A AR ½ dirham, undated RR

### Arghunshah, fl. 706-711 / 1306-1311

- 2014 AR dirham (about 2.45g) RRR  
Mint name given as *wilayat-e khwast*, "district of Khwast", i.e., Khwast as a subordinate region within Badakhshan province, known dated "in the month of Dhu'l-Hijja 706" (Zeno-43852, obverse in pointed pentafoil). One variety has the margin bearing the names of Abu Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthman, 'Ali, al-Hasan and al-Husayn, thus a combined Sunni & Shi'ite declaration. Another type has the mint name Badakhshan, date unclear (obverse in square).

<sup>511</sup> Copper dangis of Kashghar 850 are strictly anonymous and therefore listed as Central Asian civic copper (#C3277).

<sup>512</sup> Only known example in private collection, England. See note after #A2015 regarding the difference between this type and coins of 'Alishah II.

## Sultan Bakht, fl. circa 711-715 / 1310-1315

B2015 AR dirham (about 2.45g) RR  
With title *sikandar al-thani sultan bakht*. I had previously read the name as *yahya*, but now that many specimens are known, the name can securely be read as Bakht.<sup>513</sup> Both this and the half dirham were minted only at Badakhshan.

C2015 AR ½ dirham (1.22g), type as last RRR  
‘Alishah II, fl. 717-718 / 1316-1317

A2015 AR dirham (circa 2.45g), usually dated 717 or 718 RR  
Dirhams assigned to ‘Alishah I have square-in-circle obverse & reverse without the Chaghatayid tamgha. A somewhat similar type of ‘Alishah II has inner circle reverse, usually with the tamgha, somewhat similar to dirhams of the contemporary Chaghatayid king Isan Buqa. Another version has one side in square, the other in a pointed pentafoil, without the Chaghatayid tamgha.  
An interesting example of Khwast 718 has the date in numerals (Zeno-30355).

## Sultanshah?, dates unknown

D2015 AR dangi (0.32g) RRR  
The royal inscription of this type has not been fully read. The reading of the name as Sultanshah is very tentative.

## Anonymous, probably circa 720s-730s / 1320s-1330s

K2015 AR dangi (0.32g), mints of Badakhshan and Khwast, with the Chaghatayid tamgha on the reverse RR  
Inscribed *dangi* on obverse, *sikka* plus mint name on reverse. Several designs, always undated.

L2015 AR dangi (0.32g), mints of Badakhshan & Khwast, without the tamgha RR  
Several designs, also always undated.  
For anonymous dirhams of Badakhshan, weight about 2.35g, sometimes dated in the 710s, see #1987 of Isan Buqa.

## Shah Baha' al-Din, fl. 745-761 / 1344-1360

2015 AR dinar kebeki (about 8.0g), struck at Badakhshan and Khwast<sup>514</sup> R  
One variant of this ruler was misattributed by Lane-Poole to a putative Timurid ruler named Mu'azzam Shah (BMC-133).

2016 AR 1/6 dinar kebeki RR

2016C AR dangi (0.32g), in his name RRR  
(Former type A2017, assigned to an alleged Muhammad Shah, is just a normal 1/6 dinar of Shah Baha' al-Din dated 759, type #2016.)

## Bahramshah, fl. 769-776 / 1360s-1374

2017 AR 1/6 dinar, sometimes dated 770-772 and 776<sup>515</sup> (most are undated) R  
On some undated issues, Bahramshah is named Sultan with either *al-nasir li-din Allah* (RRR) or *al-wathiq bi-ta'yid al-Alah* (sic) (RR). On his more available coins he is either Sultan A'zam or Sultan Mu'azzam, without the additional titles.  
It seems that the Chaghatayid rulers nominally regained Khwast and Badakhshan in 761 and held it until the reign of ‘Adil Sultan (circa 769-771). In about 776, it was once again technically retrieved by the Chaghatayid Suyurghatmish, though in fact under the actual rule of Timur.

## GOLDEN HORDE (JUCHID)

Ağat, Nurettin, *Altınordu Paraları Kataloğu 1250-1502*, Istanbul 1976. Now obsolete.

C.M. Fraehn, *Die Münzen der Chane vom Ulus Dschuschis' oder von der Goldenen Horde*, St. Petersburg & Leipzig, 1832.

Retowski, O., “Genuezsko-tatarskiya monety”, *Izvestija Imp. Arkheol. Kommissii*, St. Petersburg, 1906 (for the Genoese issues). Republished

<sup>513</sup> It has been suggested that Sultan Bakht was not a separate person but possibly an epithetical name for ‘Alishah II or some other undetermined king of Badakhshan. However, the dates said to be 692 and 721 on dirhams posted on Zeno are very doubtful. Only 711 and 715 are clear.

<sup>514</sup> A dinar exists that is clearly dated 761 twice within the obverse field, once normal, once in mirrored image as “127” (Zeno-38041).

<sup>515</sup> The year 776 is perhaps 772 with a retrograde “2”.

in English translation by the Russian Numismatic Association, Akron OH, 1984

Khromov, Konstantin, a large and easy-to-use listing of more than 1,000 Juchid coins, at <http://www.hordecoins.folgate.net/index.html>.<sup>516</sup> Khromov has created a new arrangement of the Juchid coinage, based on regional rather than strictly chronological organization by ruler.<sup>517</sup> Zeno.ru has also adopted this method. For this third edition I am staying with the chronological basis.

See also Badarch, listed under Great Mongols.

Zeno.ru has listed over 3600 illustrated specimens, and is currently the most important reference for the Golden Horde. Coins are organized first by region, then mint, then ruler. Please note that the coins are arranged by *region > mint*, not by ruler.

(There is an extensive literature in Russian on this subject, but no comprehensive catalogs or overall examinations have yet been compiled.)

*The Golden Horde were derived from Juji, the eldest son of Chingiz Khan, assigned to the northeastern territories by his father. His son Batu founded the dynasty, conquering large swaths of what is now Russia and Ukraine, preparing to invade Germany & Italy when the death of the Great Mongol Ögedei called him back to Karakorum to elect Ögedei's successor. The first local coins were struck late in his reign in the region of Bulghar on the Volga River.*

*Golden Horde coinage consists only of silver and copper, except for a few extremely rare gold coins struck in the names of Jani Beg and Birdi Beg during their first invasion of the collapsing Ilkhan region (AH757-759) and anonymously during the reign of Toqtamish in 784-786 at Khwarizm. Silver coins are of fine metal, though some of the very latest issues might have been slightly debased. The copper coins are usually anonymous, often anepigraphic, and normally either crudely struck or horribly preserved. Coppers without date or ruler's name cannot normally be assigned to a specific period; most also lack a mint name, though circulation regions can frequently be determined thanks to extensive archaeological evidence preserved both under the Soviet regime and thereafter.*

*With the opening of Eastern Europe in 1990, coins of the Golden Horde began to appear in western markets in rather large quantities, at first at outlandishly inexpensive prices. However, since the mid-2000s, numismatic interest in Russia and Eastern Europe has grown to the extent that export to the West has trickled down to virtually zero, and the price differences between the common and the rare have mushroomed. Nonetheless, the rarity indications given here must be regarded as rather tentative, as it is not known just how many coins are likely to be marketed in Eastern Europe. Moreover, new hoards continue to reach the market.*

*The Golden Horde dynasty can be divided into four periods, distinguished primarily by the weights and standards of the silver dirhams.*

*Most Golden Horde silver coinage is based on a mithqal weight of about 4.68g. The standard denomination for most of the first three periods, starting under Mangu Timur, was ½ mithqal (1.56g, = 8/24 mithqal or 8 nokhod) for issues of the central area, with various other weights, higher or lower, in outlying regions, such as the Crimea, Azaq or Khwarizm. After about 766, the ½ mithqal standard was abandoned everywhere, with a periodic weight reduction of the basic dirham thereafter.*

*The weight standards are to some extent theoretical, in that actual specimens typically weigh from 3% to more than 10% below the standard. For example, I recently examined about 20 examples of type #2022.2 of Qrim 686, all undamaged and in extremely fine condition. One weighed 1.75g, the rest between 1.54 and 1.69g, except for two pieces still lighter, 1.48 and 1.49g. This is similar to the ‘Alawi weight standards in Morocco in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.*

<sup>516</sup> Sadly, most of Khromov's collection was stolen in 2006, but most of the stolen coins carefully illustrated on this website. Should you encounter any, kindly let Khromov know the source. His email and snailmail addresses are on his website.

<sup>517</sup> The coins are arranged by region, then divided by mint, then divided chronologically by ruler for each mint. To find the issues of an individual ruler, one must search through each of the 40+ mints, as on Zeno. A cross-reference by ruler would be wondrously appreciated.

The most commonly found mints are Qrim (Crimea), Khwarizm, Urdu (after circa 770), and above all, Saray (renamed Saray al-Jadida, "New Saray" from 741 onwards) and Gulistan.<sup>518</sup> Coins of Azaq, Hajji Tarkhan and Bulghar are, for some rulers, not especially scarce. More than 40 mints in all are reported within the proper lands of the Golden Horde in Russia, Ukraine and Central Asia. In addition, coins were struck in the names of the Juchid rulers during three invasions into northwestern Iran, first 758-759, again 788-792, and finally 809-813. Each of these series conforms not to the main Juchid standard but to contemporary Jalayrid or Timurid standards.

During the first three periods, most coins of the dynasty are reasonably well-made (except at Bulghar), but beginning about 780, the average quality declines rapidly, with attractively struck coins of the fourth period almost never encountered. The copper fulus have recently become available in large quantities. For the most part, copper fulus of the principal mints, such as Saray al-Jadida, Gulistan and Khwarizm were reasonably well manufactured, but most fulus of many other mints, such as Qrim, or without mint name were haphazardly struck. Unfortunately, surviving examples are mostly worn, corroded, ex-jewelry or otherwise damaged. Furthermore, recent accumulations coming out of the former Soviet Union seem to consist predominantly of below average specimens, perhaps rejects from private and museum collections.

Most Golden Horde silver and many copper coins bear a royal tamgha. Each ruler is believed to have adopted a distinctive tamgha, but in fact the same tamgha may appear on coins of multiple rulers. Conversely, some rulers used more than one tamgha. Consequently, attempts to assign anonymous coins to a specific ruler based on the tamgha have proven ineffective.

Although I have retained the name dirham for all the silver coins of the Golden Horde, recent study has discovered alternative names. For example, the dirham of Qrim before about 741 was known as the yarmaq, later pieces as the dang.

#### FIRST PERIOD (624-690)

The first period, which extends from 624 until 690, consists of purely anonymous and semi-anonymous coins, with actual rulers only occasionally cited. Each region maintained separate designs, standards and inscriptions, their coins circulating largely within the issuing region. The principal mints are Bulghar on the middle Volga, Qrim (Crimea), later Saray (lower Volga) and Khwarizm, each representing a distinctive region with its own currency. The earliest coinage was produced at Bulghar, probably in the late 640s or early 650s, followed by Qrim circa 655, Saray in 671 and Khwarizm in 678.

During this period, weight standards were very loosely followed.

#### *temp. Batu, 624-654 / 1227-1256*

N2018 AR "dinar", obverse citing the deceased caliph al-Nasir, reverse citing denomination and mint (Bulghar) RR

O2018 AR dirham, reverse *al-dunya sa'a faja' alaha ta'a* ("life is short, so pursue it obediently") instead of mint & denomination RRR

Without mint name but undoubtedly struck at Bulghar. Coins of types N2018 and O2018 vary greatly in weight, from about 0.7 to at least 1.75g.

P2018 AE pul, inscriptions as on #O2018 RR

#### *temp. Batu and/or Berke, 650s / 1250s*

Citing only the Great Mongol, Möngke, 649-657 / 1251-1259.

2018 AR dirham (variable weight, about 0.9-1.5g), mint of Bulghar R

2019 AE pul, same designs & legends as the dirham, mint of Bulghar R

Möngke's tamgha horizontal on both obverse & reverse, text above & below, *mangu qa (sic) / al-a'zam and darb / buwalghar (sic)*, usually overstruck, never nice (cf. Zeno-18653).

#### **Berke (Nusrat al-Din), 655-665 / 1257-1267**

2019D AR dirham, in the name of the Great Mongol Ariqboka (658-662 / 1260-1264), without any reference to Berke RR

Weight seems to be in the range of 0.8-1.1g. Bulghar mint.

2019G AR large dirham (about 2.15g), in his name as **Nusrat al-Dunya wa'l-Din**, Qrim mint, undated (struck circa 662-665) RR

The reverse margin bears a rather crudely written and uncertain Persian inscription that has been roughly translated as "may it be fortunate, this year of the female black cattle", but this is highly unlikely.

2019H AE fals, *nusrat al-dunya wa'l-din* on obverse, mint & tamgha on reverse (Qrim, undated) RRR

#### **Temir Toqa, ca. 655-674 / 1257-1275**

2019T AR yarmaq (dirham), Qrim mint, undated RRR

The obverse legend has *temir toqa yarmaq qrim*, the reverse legend unclear. Cf. Zeno-48111 & 9678 for further information.

#### **Anonymous, circa 670s-710s / 1270s-1310s<sup>519</sup>**

Except for D2020 and a few extremely rare varieties of F2020, these anonymous items bear no mint mark and are rarely dated. The great majority of these were struck at Bulghar, though it is not inconceivable that some were produced at other mints in the same general region, known as the Middle Volga.

Singatullina, A.Z., *Dzhuchidskie monety povolzshskikh gorodov XIII veka*, Kazan 2003 (updating her former article in *Tatarskaya Arkheologiya*, No.1, 1998, pp. 52-87).

A2020 AR dirham (most examples weigh about 1.25-1.35g), anepigraphic R

More than 50 types known. All have the tamgha on the obverse, enclosed in variously shaped borders. The reverse commonly bears a floral or geometric design, but is also known with a flower, bird, fish, lion, horse, hare, facing man, woman with child, etc.

The weights of actual specimens can vary from about 0.95g to more than 1.65g, with some specific designs associated with higher or lower standards.

E2020 AR ½ dirham (about 0.63g), similar, also anepigraphic RRR

B2020 AR 1/5 dirham (about 0.25-0.30g), similar, also anepigraphic RR

C2020 AR dirham, as #A2020 but with short Arabic inscription on reverse, weight averages 1.35g, but various types considerably lighter or heavier, as type #A2020 RR

For example, *al-sultan al-'adil* (about 1.1g).

F2020 AR 1/5 dirham (about 0.25-0.30g), similar, short Arabic inscriptions, usually abbreviated RR

D2020 AR dirham, similar, but with mint name on reverse, same weight range as #A2020 RR

Most common mint Bulghar, also known from Kerman (modern Akkerman in Ukraine) and Bilal (in Russia) (both RRR).

G2020 AR ½ dirham (about 0.63g), mint of Bulghar RRR

Additional anonymous silver types exist, listed by Singatullina.

P2020 AR dirham, Ukek mint, dated "7" (unknown meaning), with *al-'izz al-da'im wa al-sharaf al-qa'im* on reverse RR

Examples conform to either the 1.56g or the 1.80g standard, suggesting this type was produced circa 670s-690s.

T2020 AE tasuj (about 10g), obverse & reverse each in quatrefoil, tamgha and mint name Qrim on obverse (Zeno-18822) RRR

Assigned to the period of approximately 1280-1300. Known countermarked with a cross fourchée by the Genoese in the Crimea (Zeno-12847).

#### **Mangu Timur, 665-679 / 1267-1280**

2020 AR dirham (2.15g), with ruler's name Struck only at Qrim with frozen year 665. R

<sup>518</sup> Gulistan operated only from 752 to 768, but is at least as common as Saray al-Jadida during most of those years.

<sup>519</sup> The great majority of these are believed to have been struck from the 670s to the early 690s, but some are undoubtedly later, up to the resumption in 713 of coinage at Bulghar bearing the ruler's name.

2020A	AR dirham (1.56g), with ruler's name	RR	2023.3	AR dirham (1.56g, = 8 nokhod or 1/2 mithqal), Saray al-Mahrusa 710 (frozen date), mint & date within a square on reverse	S
	Struck only at Bulghar, undated or dated, 671-681 ( <i>sic</i> ). Royal inscription <i>mangu timur al-'adil</i> (or <i>al-a'zam</i> ) on obverse, various types of the reverse, but always with the tamgha. Reverse legend <i>al-hamd lillah, tawakkaltu 'ala Allah</i> , or part or all of the kalima, sometimes virtually illegible due to careless engraving. Some varieties seem to adhere to a lesser weight, perhaps circa 1.35g.			Ruler's name in Uighur instead of Arabic on obverse. Beginning with this type, the standard denomination at Saray, later Saray al-Jadida, and some other mints was fixed at 1.56g for the 2 <sup>nd</sup> and most of the 3 <sup>rd</sup> period silver coinage (with what appears to be a slight reduction to about 1.47-1.50g after 766). Some other mints maintained different standards, either heavier, as at Khwarizm, or lighter, as at Qrim and Azaq. <sup>521</sup> Some 710 pieces are also dated 708 on the obverse!	
2020B	AR dirham (1.56g), anonymous, with obverse inscription <i>al-'izz al-da'im wa al-sharaf al-qa'im</i>	RR			
	Struck at Saray, dated 671-673, and Bulghar, dated 673.				
2020C	AR dirham (1.56g), anonymous, with obverse inscription <i>al-mulk lillah al-wahid al-qahhar</i>	RR	2023.4	AR dirham (about 1.40g, = 7 nokhod), Qrim 690 or 698 (both dates frozen for several years, frequently misspelled or completely omitted)	S
	Struck at Saray in 677.			A few additional dates known 692-704, usually of different designs, all very rare. These can be regarded as several distinctive subtypes, illustrated in Zeno.	
2020N	AR 1/2 dirham (0.78g), same as #2020A but stuck on narrower flans with narrower dies	RRR	2023.5	AR dirham (1.17g, = 6 nokhod), Qrim 707 (frozen date)	R
	<b>Toda Mangu, 679-686 / 1280-1287</b>				
2021.1	AR dirham (1.80g), in his name	RR	2023A	AR dirham (2.34g, = 12 nokhod), Khwarizm, struck 690-702 with actual date (square / square)	S
	Struck at Qrim. Two variants, one dated 683 (tamgha in circle), one undated (tamgha in triangle), the latter extremely rare.				
2021.2	AR dirham (1.56g), in his name	RR	2023B	AR dirham (1.95g, = 10 nokhod), Khwarizm, reduced weight, dated 706 & 707 (square / pointed quatrefoil)	R
	Mint of Bulghar, reverse has mint within Solomon's seal. Other subtypes exist.				
2021A	AR dirham (1.56g), anonymous, <i>al-'izza lillah wa li-rasulih</i> on obverse, tamgha, date & mint on reverse	RR	2023C	AR dirham (1.56g), Ukek mint, dated 706 (frozen?) or undated, name in Uighur or Arabic	RRR
	Struck at Saray, dated 681 and 682.			Usually with long elaborate inscriptions, with the kalima & mint on reverse, but types without the kalima also exist. Ukek was located near modern Saratov in Russia.	
	<b>Töle Buqa, 686-690 / 1287-1291</b>		2023D	AR dirham (probably 1.56g), anonymous, Bulghar mint, known dated 690 & 692	RRR
2022.1	AR dirham (1.56g), anonymous	R		Also known from the even rarer mint of Bilal, dated "292" (error for 692 or 696).	
	Struck at Saray, dated 686-689, either with same obverse as #2023.1 or with the <i>kalima</i> on obverse.		2023H	AR dirham (1.56g), Majar 710, ruler's name in Phags-Pa script, <i>padshah</i> above, <i>al-'adil</i> below	RRR
2022.3	AR dirham (2.34g, = 12 nokhod), anonymous, kalima obverse, Khwarizm mint, always dated	R		The Phags-Pa script can easily be misread as the Arabic phrase <i>al-malik al-jalal</i> (Zeno-96).	
2022.4	AR dirham (weight range about 1.2g), Bulghar mint, dated 686, 688 or 690	RR	F2024	AR 1/2 dirham (1.18g), Saray, sometimes dated, early 690s, as #2023.1	RRR
2022.2	AR dirham (about 1.75g), with ruler's name in Arabic, Qrim mint & date 686 on obverse, tamgha in hexagram on reverse	RR	H2024	AR 1/2 dirham (0.78g), Saray al-Jadida 710, mint & date within circle of pellets (Zeno-10977)	RRR
2022A	AR dirham (about 1.75g), with ruler's name in Uighur on obverse, lion & mint name on reverse, Qrim mint, undated	RRR	J2024	AR 1/2 dirham (probably 0.98g), Saray, probably undated, lion & sun obverse (Zeno-27740)	RRR
	On some examples. The critter more closely resembles a wolf.			Obverse closely resembles late Rum Seljuq lion & sun dirhams struck just before and just after 700.	
	<b>SECOND PERIOD (690-758)</b>		P2024	AR 1/4 dirham (0.48g), Saray al-Jadida, similar to the full dirham #2023.2)	RRR
	The second period consists of just three rulers, from 689-758, a time of great expansion and power. All silver coins of this period bear the name of the ruler, with very few exceptions, <sup>520</sup> normally in Arabic but occasionally in Uighur, as indicated in the descriptions. Although several weight changes occurred during the reign of Toqtu, weight standards remained fixed under both Uzbek and Jani Beg. Copper coins are almost always anonymous and undated, thus unassigned to ruler, but dated types are assigned to ruler (#2024, 2026, 2030).		2024	AE pul	R
	Unless otherwise noted, all silver coins bear actual dates.			<b>Muhammad Uzbek, 712-742 / 1312-1341 (Ghiyath al-Din)</b>	
	Many dirhams of Uzbek and Jani Beg are found clipped down to lower weights, presumably for use together with lighter dirhams of the 3 <sup>rd</sup> and 4 <sup>th</sup> periods, or perhaps by shameless crooks ripping off the public.		2025	AR dirham (1.56g), mint of Saray, five design variants (see Zeno.ru)	C
	<b>Toqtu (Ghiyath al-Din), 690-712 / 1291-1312</b>			Similar coins were also struck at Mukhshi (717-718, 726, R, 1.56g) and Azaq (mainly 733, RRR, weight uncertain). Coins of Mukhshi 717 & 718 bear Uzbek's title Ghiyath al-Din.	
2023.1	AR dirham (heavy weight of 2.34g, = 12 nokhod), mint of Saray, known dated 690-694	RR	2025A	AR dirham, Bulghar (or Bulghar al-Mahrusa), various dates 713-732, possibly later	R
	Ruler's name in either Arabic or Uighur. Many variants, all with the phrase <i>al-'izza lillah wa li-rasulih</i> ("the glory is God's and the messenger's", <i>i.e.</i> , Muhammad's), often badly engraved.			Struck to a slightly lighter standard, in the range of 1.45-1.50g. Some mintless types bear only the tamgha on the obverse, the short text <i>uzbek khan</i> on the reverse, but are assigned to Bulghar by style and provenance.	
2023.2	AR dirham (1.95g, = 10 nokhod), Saray, known dated 696-699, possibly also later	RR	2025C	AR dirham (1.95g), Khwarizm, dated regularly from 714 to 739	S

<sup>520</sup> See the note before type #A2020 for anonymous coins that may have been struck during the first decades of the second period.

<sup>521</sup> According to recent works of Russian "juchidologists", the main silver denomination after Toqtu's reform in 710/1310 was named *dang* rather than *dirham*, but I have retained the term *dirham* for convenience. Zeno regards the pre-710 issues of Saray of 2.34g and the subsequent 1.95g as a double dirham, and their fractions proportionally.



2025D	AR dirham (1.36g), Bulghar 728	RR	After the death of Jani Beg in 758, Birdi Beg theoretically assumed the throne, but by 760 was challenged by other claimants, with the result that by 762 the kingdom had collapsed into contending regions for the next two decades. After 766 the standard dirham weight seems to have been slightly reduced from 1.56g to about 1.47g, <i>i.e.</i> , from 8 nokhod to 7½ nokhod. However, the mints of Azaq and Khwarizm continued to maintain their own separate weight standards, as noted in the listings. By 782 Toqtamish was able to reunite most of the empire, but after his death in 797, the empire gradually succumbed to extinction.
	Anonymous coin assigned to ruler by date (Singatullina-59). Although clearly 728, it may be a blundered date for 678 or 687. For an anonymous dirham dated 727 (error for 767), see #2045W.		
2025E	AR dirham (1.17g), Qrim 713 (square / plain circle)	RR?	
2025F	AR dirham (1.17g), Qrim 720 (triangular shield / inner circle)	C	
	Frozen date, believed to have been struck for as long as 30-40 years without change of date, design, or ruler's name. The weight standard seems to be more like 1.20-1.23g, perhaps because a mithqal slightly heavier than 4.68g was then utilized in Crimea, perhaps circa 4.80-4.90g.		
2025G	AR dirham, as 2025F with countermark <i>khan</i> , normally in circular area	C	Silver dirhams of the third period are often found clipped down considerably, probably to match the reduced weight of various fourth period dirhams. These clipped dirhams are generally worth ⅓ to ½ the price of undamaged coins, less if really ugly. For countermarks of the Crimean region applied during this period, see #2025G-2025I. From this period onwards, most of the mints also add the word <i>al-jadida</i> , "the new", to the mint name, sometimes producing examples with and without that word during the same year.
	This countermark has tentatively been assigned to 'Abd Allah Khan, who ruled 762-771, but this remains theoretical and unproven (see #2041 for 'Abd Allah's normal coins).		
2025H	AR dirham, as 2025F but countermarked with a tamgha	RR	Numerous dated copper pulis were struck, mainly at Saray al-Jadida and Gulistan, during the period of rival khans, 760-782. When anonymous, these pulis cannot, given the present state of research, be assigned to a specific reign. Thus only those coins bearing the ruler's name can be securely assigned to a reign (#2035, 2039, 2042, 2045, 2047, A2048).
2025I	AR dirham, as 2025F but countermarked on either side with the Kaffa gate, as on the Genoese coins of Kaffa	RR	Dated copper coins which for whatever reason cannot be assigned to a specific ruler, together with undated types, are included with anonymous issues lumped together as type #G2063, which represents dozens, if not hundreds, of miscellaneous types that might someday be chronologically organized.
	Date unknown. Given that the countermark is not known on the next regular series of coins struck at Qrim (dated 782 & later), it was probably applied during the 760s or 770s, for reasons that remain undetermined.		On most silver coins of the third period, the obverse bears the ruler's name between <i>al-sultan al-'adil</i> (or something similar) above and <i>khulida mulkuhu</i> below, with the mint and date on the reverse.
2026	AE pul	S	
	<b>Jani Beg (Jalal al-Din Mahmud), 742-758 / 1341-1357</b>		
A2027	AV dinar, Irbil mint only, dated 757, with the Shi'ite kalima on the reverse (Tübingen 91-16-120)	RRR	
B2027	AV dinar, Amul mint, dated 758	RRR	
	Same style as the silver #2028A, also struck by the Afrasiyabids.		
2027	AR dirham (1.56g), struck only at Saray al-Jadida ("New Saray") and nearby Gulistan	C	
	Some Saray al-Jadida dirhams of the early dates of his reign, circa 743-745, bear his name in the Uighur script, usually together with his titles <i>jalal al-din mahmud</i> in Arabic. These titles appear from time to time throughout his reign at Saray al-Jadida. Dirhams dated 749 bear the mint name as Saray al-Mahrusa. For posthumous issues dated 767 & 768, see #2045R & 2045S.		
2027A	AR dirham (1.95g), Khwarizm mint, always dated	S	
2028	AR dinar (about 2.7g), Iraqi mints (principally Baghdad)	RR	
	Struck by the Jalayrid ruler Shaykh Uways I in 758, just before his own name was placed on the coinage (759).		
2028A	AR dinar (about 3.96g), (plain circle / quatrefoil), mint of Amul, dated 758 (Zeno-96969)	RR	
	Struck by the Afrasiyabid ruler in the name of Jani Beg.		
2029	AR 4 dirhams, or ¼ tanka to the Delhi standard (approximately 2.75g), Bazar mint, undated	S	
	Struck by the local ruler, Amir Wali, in the name of Jani Beg, presumably at or near Astarabad (circa 757-758). This type was followed by #2009 in the name of the Chaghatayid ruler Buyan Quli Khan (undated, circa 758-759), then #2344 (anonymous, dated, beginning 759).		
2029A	AR 2 dirhams (plain circle / hexafoil), several Caucasian mints, also Tabriz	RRR	
	Struck during the Juchid invasion of the northwestern Ilkhan lands in 758. Most mints seem to retain Jani Beg's standard weight of 1.56g, but about 1.0g at Tiflis.		
2030.1	AE pul, Russian & Central Asian mints, anonymous	C	
	Normally anonymous, assigned to Jani Beg only when dated.		
2030.2	AE pul, with name of ruler, mint of Khwarizm	R	
2030.3	AE tasuj, lion & sun on obverse, date in numerals (Zeno-65645)	RR	
	<b><u>THIRD PERIOD (758-797)</u></b>		
	Sidorenko, V.A., "Khronologiya prevlenii Zolotoordynskikh Khanov 1357-1380 gg.", <i>Materialy po Arkheologii, Istorii i Etnographii Tavrii</i> , v.7, Simferopol 2000.		
			<b>Birdi Beg, 758-761 / 1357-1360</b>
A2031	AV dinar, probably struck only at Tabriz	RRR	
	With title <i>padshah-i jahan</i> , not found on his other coinage.		
2031.1	AR dirham (1.95g), mint of Khwarizm	S	
2031.2	AR dirham (1.56g), mints of Saray al-Jadida & Gulistan	S	
	Most issues of Saray (but not Gulistan) have his Muslim name Muhammad before Birdi Beg.		
2031.3	AR dirham (1.37g), mint of Azaq	R	
2031A	AR 2 dirhams (approximately 0.9g), Caucasian and Iranian mints, struck 758-759 at the end of the first Juchid invasion of the Ilkhanate	RRR	
2031D	AE pul, with name of ruler, mint of Khwarizm	RR	
			<b>Qulna Khan (or Qulpa Khan), 760-761 / 1359-1360</b>
2032.1	AR dirham (1.95g), mint of Khwarizm	RR	
2032.2	AR dirham (1.56g), mints of Saray al-Jadida & Gulistan	R	
2032.3	AR dirham (1.37g), mint of Azaq	RR	
2032A	AE pul, with name of ruler, mint of Khwarizm	RRR	
			<b>Nawruz Beg (or Nawruz Khan), 760-761 / 1359-1360</b>
2033.1	AR dirham (1.95g), mint of Khwarizm	R	
2033.2	AR dirham (1.56g), mints of Saray al-Jadida & Gulistan	S	
	A few examples of Saray al-Jadida bear the ruler's name as Muhammad Nawruz Beg.		
2033.3	AR dirham (1.37g), mint of Azaq	RR	
2033A	AE pul, with name of ruler, mint of Khwarizm	R	
			<b>Khizr Khan, 761-762 / 1360-1361</b>
2034.1	AR dirham (1.95g), mint of Khwarizm	R	
2034.2	AR dirham (1.56g), mints of Saray al-Jadida & Gulistan	S	
2034.3	AR dirham (1.37g), mint of Azaq	R	

2035	AE pul, with name of ruler, mints of Saray al-Jadida, Gulistan and Khwarizm	C	
	Khizr's pul of Khwarizm is rare, the other two mints common, the most common named pul of the entire dynasty.		
	From 762-781 Khwarizm became independent under the Sufids (#2063ff), seized by Timur for a few months in 781, then restored from 781-790 to the Sufids, who then struck silver coins in the name of Toqtamish (#2048), as well as anonymous gold and copper, which are also listed under Toqtamish.		
	<b>Timur Khwaja Khan, 762 / 1361</b>		
2036	AR dirham (1.56g), mint of Saray al-Jadida	RR	
2036A	AE pul (reported by J. Farr)	RRR	
	<b>Urdu Malik Khan, 762 / 1361</b>		
2037.1	AR dirham (1.56g), mint of Saray al-Jadida	RR	
2037.2	AR dirham (1.37g), mint of Azaq	RR	
	<b>Kildi Beg, 762-763 / 1361-1362</b>		
2038.1	AR dirham (1.56g), mint of Saray al-Jadida & Gulistan	R	
2038.2	AR dirham (1.37g), mint of Azaq	RR	
2039	AE pul, with name of ruler	R	
	<b>Murid Khan, 762-764 / 1361-1363</b>		
2040	AR dirham (1.56g), mint of Gulistan only	R	
	Since all silver coins of Gulistan dated 764 are in the name of Murid Khan, it has been suggested that the anonymous copper pul of this mint & date (lion left) should also be assigned to him. If this is accepted, then this issue should be type #2040A rather than just another version of G2063.		
	<b>'Abd Allah Khan, 762-771 / 1361-1370</b>		
2041	AR dirham (1.56g), mint of Saray al-Jadida	R	
2041A	AR dirham (1.37g), mint of Azaq	RR	
2041B	AR dirham (about 1.3g), mint of Yangishahr	RRR	
	Dated 765, 766 & 770; the mint is sometimes written as Yangishahr al-Mahrusa.		
2041C	AR dirham (about 0.9g), mint of Qrim	RR?	
2041D	AR dirham (about 1.46g), mint or Urdu	S	
	Usually dated 770, other dates somewhat rarer.		
2042	AE pul, with name of ruler	RR	
	<b>Khayr Pulad Khan, 764 / 1362-1363</b>		
2043	AR dirham (1.56g), mint of Saray al-Jadida	RR	
	Also known as Mir Pulad Khan. Although Arabic <i>mir</i> and <i>khayr</i> are quite different when carefully written, they can look similar when crudely engraved.		
2043A	AE pul, with name of ruler	RRR	
	<b>Pulad Khwaja Khan, 766 / 1364</b>		
A2044	AR dirham (1.56g), mint of Gulistan only	RR	
	<b>'Aziz Shaykh, 766-768 / 1364-1366</b>		
2044	AR dirham (1.56g), mints of Saray al-Jadida & Gulistan	R	
2045	AE pul, with name of ruler	RR	
	<b>"Jani Beg, deceased", 767-768 / 1365-1366</b>		
	There is no textual evidence of a second Jani Beg, and it is conceivable that the name does indeed refer to the Jani Beg who died in 758/1357. Alternatively, it could refer to an unidentified rebel against 'Abd Allah Khan who preferred to remain anonymous, or to political uncertainty after the demise of 'Aziz Shaykh, perhaps authorized by Pulad Timur himself.		
2045R	AR dirham, Gulistan al-Jadid ( <i>sic</i> ), undated (BMC 493)	RRR	
	This issue is sometimes attributed to a putative "Jani Beg II". The obverse inscription is <i>al-sultan 'aziz / al-marhum / jani beg khan / khulida mulkuhu</i> , which refers either to 'Aziz Shaykh or Jani Beg as "deceased" ( <i>marhum</i> ).		
2045S	AR dirham, without mint name, known dated 767 (possibly also 768), kalima reverse	RR	
	This type cites only Jani Beg Khan, with the obverse legend arranged in four boxes surrounding a central ornament. There is no reference to 'Aziz and no mention of <i>marhum</i> . Zeno has assigned this type to the mint of Majar, but there is never a mint name on this type (cf. Zeno-84479).		
	<b>Anonymous, 767 / 1365</b>		
2045W	AR dirham, Shahr al-Jadida al-Mahrusa 767	RRR	
	Obverse text <i>al-sultan al-'adil 727</i> , where 727 is an error for 767, only the mint name of reverse (Zeno-95017).		
	<b>Pulad Timur, fl. 767-768 / 1365-1366</b>		
	See note above #2045R.		
2045T	AR dirham, mint of Saray dated 767 & Gulistan dated 768, citing the deceased Jani Beg on obverse, Pulad Timur on reverse	RRR	
	<b>Uljay Timur Khan, fl. 768-769 / 1366-1367</b>		
I2046	AR dirham (1.56g), struck at Saray al-Jadida in 769 and Saraychuq in <i>rabi' al-awwal</i> 770	RRR	
J2046	AE fals, struck only at Saray al-Jadida and dated 768	RR	
	<b>Mubarak Khwaja Khan, fl. 768-769 / 1366-1367</b>		
L2046	AR dirham (1.46g), mint of Sighnaq only, dated 768 & 769 <sup>522</sup>	RRR	
	<b>Muhammad Bulaq Khan (Ghiyath al-Din), 771-782 / 1369-1380</b>		
2046	AR dirham (1.46g, = 7½ nokhod), mint of Urdu (dated 771-777, sometimes undated)	S	
	The mint is occasionally written Arabicized as al-Urdu. Also known from the mint of Majar al-Jadida, dated 774 (RRR).		
2046A	AR dirham (1.56g, = 8 nokhod), mint of Hajji Tarkhan, dated 782, possibly a different ruler of the same name	RR	
	<b>Urus Khan, at Sighnaq, fl. 770-779 / 1368-1378</b>		
A2047	AR dirham (1.46g), Sighnaq mint only	RR	
	Sighnaq (Sighnak) was located in what is now Kazakhstan, near modern Tyumen-Aryk on the lower Syrdarya River.		
	<b>Tulun Beg, 773 / 1371-1372</b>		
2047	AE pul, with name of ruler, struck only at Saray al-Jadida in 773	RR	
	<b>Cherkes Beg, 776-777 / 1374-1375</b>		
A2048	AE pul, with name of ruler, struck only at Hajji Tarkhan in 776 <sup>523</sup>	RR	
	<b>Qaghan Beg, fl. 777 / 1375</b>		
E2048	AR dirham (1.46g or lighter), known only from Saray al-Jadida 777 <sup>524</sup>	RRR	
	With title Ghiyath al-Din.		
	<b>Tulak, fl. 782 / 1380</b>		
M2048	AR dirham (1.46g), dated 782	RRR	
	The final letter of the name is clearly "k" and the title is <i>al-sultan al-a'zam</i> on specimens without name of mint, kalima on the reverse. <sup>525</sup>		

<sup>522</sup> Zeno-4595, clearly dated 769. István Vásáry has recently proven that Mubarak Khwaja's coinage is entirely from Sighnaq, dated 768-769. The style is derived from the contemporary coins of Khwarizm.

<sup>523</sup> This is the first issue of Hajji Tarkhan, which remained an important Juchid mint until the end of the dynasty. It is now called Astrakhan and is located along the Volga River, about 40 miles northwest of the Caspian shore.

<sup>524</sup> Zeno-4623 (two examples).

<sup>525</sup> Zeno-4636, 4637, 4639, 7465, the last one of Hajji Tarkhan, which has the full titulature *al-sultan al-'adil ghiyath al-din muhammad tulak khan*, with the mint & date filling the reverse instead of the kalima.

### Beg Qibal, probably 770s / 1370s or 780s / 1380s

02048 AR dirham (perhaps 1.17g) RRR  
Known from Saray al-Jadida, Hajji Tarkhan and without mint name, none with decipherable date.<sup>526</sup>

### Toqtamish (Nasir al-Din), 778-797 / 1376-1395

R2048 AV fractional dinar, struck only at Khwarizm RRR  
784-786

An anonymous type issued by the local Sufid ruler Sulayman, *al-mulk lillah* on obverse, mint & date on reverse.

2048 AR dirham (1.46g, = 7½ nokhod), Russian mints & Khwarizm C

Toqtamish's *laqab* is sometimes given as Jalal al-Din Mahmud or Nasir al-Din. Neither is rare. His name is occasionally written in Uighur (S), normally in Arabic.

Russian mints are Azaq, Qrim (780s only at this standard), Hajji Tarkhan, Khwarizm, Saray, Balad ("city"), and Urdu. The mint names are often accompanied by an epithet such as al-Jadida, al-Mahrusa, or al-Mu'azzam. Some types are without mint name, usually replaced by the kalima on the reverse.

Khwarizm coins are dated 781-790 only (R), always citing Toqtamish, unlike contemporary gold fractional dinars, which are always anonymous.

Individual examples of many mints actually weigh considerably less than 1.46g. There seems to have been a reduction of the standard to about 1.36g (7 nokhod) in 787 and possibly to 1.26g (6½ nokhod) at some point in the 790s. Further research needed.

2048A AR dirham (1.17g), reduced standard, Qrim 796 (frozen date?) C

2049.1 AR 2 dinars (1.98g), Caucasian mints, 788-790 R

As the Jalayrid type TB of Sultan Ahmad, both weight and design (mint & date in central circle / plain circle).

The three subtypes of #2049 were struck at mints such as Shamakhi, Baku, Shabiran, Darband, etc., during Toqtamish's invasion of the Caucasus.

2049.2 AR 2 dinars (1.80g), Caucasian mints, dated 791 RRR

As type TA of Sultan Ahmad (hexagon / plain circle), which was used in the Jalayrid regions from 785 to 788, but adopted by Toqtamish in 791, with a weight standard of 1.80g rather than the previous Jalayrid standard of 2.16g used for this design.

2049.3 AR 2 dinars (1.44g), Caucasian mints, dated 792 RR

Resembling the Jalayrid type TC, inner circle on obverse, either inner circle or hexafoil on reverse.

2050.1 AE pul, various mints, anonymous but dated within his reign S

2050.2 AE pul, in his name, no mint or date RR

2050A AE pul, Khwarizm mint, anonymous but struck by the Sufid vassal RR

### Tash Timur Khan, fl. 796 / 1394 or later

2050T AR dirham (1.17g), same style as the Qrim 796 issue of Toqtamish (#2048A) RRR

The name on the Zeno.ru specimens is clearly Tash Timur rather than Toqtamish, but was this a different ruler or an engraver's error? However, a recently discovered example with the date quite clearly 799 suggests he was a separate person following Toqtamish (Zeno-94064).

### Beg Pulad Khan, 792-794 / 1390-1392

2051 AR dirham RR

Known from Qrim Mahrusa 794 and Urdu Jadida 793. A crudely struck issue of Azaq 794 has also been attributed to Beg Pulad.

### FOURTH PERIOD (797-869)

During the fourth period, the quality of production disintegrated, with fully struck specimens virtually nonexistent. For most rulers after Pulad Khan, typically only ¼ to ½ of the inscriptions are visible, with calligraphy often so carelessly engraved that the legends are

undecipherable. The principal 4<sup>th</sup> period mints are Qrim, Bulghar<sup>527</sup> and Hajji Tarkhan, usually each with its own local weight standard.

Until about the year 814, most mints other than Bulghar maintained a standard of 1.17g (6 nokhod), thereafter reduced first to about 1.07g (5½ nokhod), then to 0.98g (5 nokhod). By the 820s the standard becomes less clear, with a wider variation amongst individual specimens of the same ruler and mint. Bulghar used a standard of 0.78g (4 nokhod) until about 820, thereafter 0.58g (3 nokhod). Clipped-down specimens of all types are commonplace.<sup>528</sup>

Although nearly all coins bear the name of a mint, from about 815 and onwards, and especially after 825, most coins are undated.

### Timur Qutlugh, 797-803 / 1395-1401

2052 AR dirham (1.17g, = 6 nokhod), mints of Qrim<sup>529</sup> & Urdu (or Urdu al-Jadid, sometimes written as Ulug al-Jadida) R

### Shadi Beg, 803-810 / 1401-1407

Some coins of Urdu & Azaq mints are dated 802, perhaps engraver's errors for 806.

2053 AR dirham (1.17g), Russian mints C

Principal mints are Saray al-Jadida, Kaffa, Urdu, Azaq and Hajji Tarkhan, each with different styles. Urdu is the only mint that is truly common. All mint names sometimes followed by *al-jadida*.

2053A AR dirham (1.17g), Khwarizm mint, dated 808-810 RR  
Khwarizm was seized from the Timurids by Shadi late in 808, and held by the Golden Horde for about 7 years, then reconquered by the Timurids.

2053B AR dirham (0.78g, = 4 nokhod), Bulghar mint S

With formula *khalada Allah mulkahu*, which appears on most coins of Bulghar during the fourth period.<sup>530</sup>

2054 AR tanka, Caucasian mints (4.5-5.0g) RR

Actually issued by the Shirvanshah Ibrahim I, but in the name of Shadi Beg, struck circa 809-812.

### Pulad Khan, 810-813 / 1407-1411

2055 AR dirham (1.17g), mints of Hajji Tarkhan & Urdu, also the rarer mints Saray al-Jadida, Kaffa & Azaq S

2055A AR dirham, Khwarizm mint (1.17g), known dated all years 810-813 R

2055B AR dirham (0.78g), Bulghar mint S

2055C AR dirham (1.17g), no mint or date, kalima on the reverse (Zeno-87968) RR

2055P AE pul, Khwarizm mint, anonymous but date 811 (bird on reverse) or 812 (quadruped on reverse) RRR

### Timur Khan, 813-814 / 1411-1412

A2056 AR dirham (0.78g), Bulghar mint RR

B2056 AR dirham (1.17g), Khwarizm mint, dated 813 RR

C2056 AR dirham (~1.07g), Kaffa, Azaq, Hajji Tarkhan & Saray RRR

<sup>527</sup> The mint of Bulghar was not in operation after AH734 under Muhammad Uzbek until 807 under Shadi Beg, except for a few copper pulis under Jani Beg and Muhammad Bulaq.

<sup>528</sup> Recent studies by Roman Reva and others in Russia have shown that some weight standards were somewhat lighter than the weights indicated here. For example, the Khwarizm dirhams of Shadi Beg and his three successors followed a weight closer to 1.12g than 1.17g. I might surmise that the difference was because the weight of the mithqal varied somewhat from region to region. This difference might represent a mithqal of about 4.68g in Saray al-Jadida, but only 4.48g at Khwarizm. A similar difference occurred at Astarabad during the late Ilkhan and Amir of Astarabad period. The Ilkhan mithqal of about 4.32g was replaced in most of Iran by a much heavier mithqal of approximately 4.78g towards the end of the 8<sup>th</sup>/14<sup>th</sup> century, then gradually reduced to about 4.61g by the end of the 9<sup>th</sup>/15<sup>th</sup> century, still in use in Iran today.

<sup>529</sup> The Qrim coins are dated 796 but undoubtedly struck later. It appears that the mint of Qrim maintained the frozen date 796 for several years, first on the dirhams naming Toqtamish, then Tash Timur, finally Timur Qutlugh.

<sup>530</sup> A recent study has indicated a weight of about 0.76g in 805-806, then 0.72g from later in 806 until about 822 (end of reign of Darwish Khan). However, I have retained the 0.78g amount for convenience, until further analysis has been undertaken.

<sup>526</sup> Zeno-4626-4628.

D2056	AR dirham (~1.07g), without mint, kalima reverse	RRR	O2058	AR dirham (usually less than 0.98g), mint of Qrim, also citing the general Edigü (Idiku), dated 822 or undated	RRR
<b>Jalal al-Din, 813-815 / 1411-1412</b>					
2056	AR dirham (1.07g), mints of Saray, Hajji Tarkhan, Urdu al-Mu'azzam	RR	P2058	AR dirham (circa 0.84-0.90g), in his own name, mint of Kaffa, Latin legend and arms of Genoa on the reverse	RRR
Some adhere to a lighter standard, either 1.02g or 0.98g. Urdu al-Mu'azzam usually dated 815.			T2058	AE pul, mint of Qrim, dated 823 in words (Zeno-94948)	RRR
2056A	AR dirham (1.17g), Khwarizm mint, known dated 813 & 815	RRR	<b>Ulugh Muhammad, as general ruler, 821-828 / 1418-1425 &amp; 832-840 / 1428-1437</b>		
This is the last Juchid coinage at Khwarizm. There also exists an anonymous copper of Khwarizm 814 that can be assigned to Jalal al-Din (Zeno-40723).			2058	AR dirham (0.98g)	S
2056B	AR dirham (0.68g), Bulghar mint	RR	The epithet <i>ulugh</i> ("tall") never appears on the coins, where the royal inscription, on obverse, is <i>al-sultan al-'adil</i> (or <i>al-a'zam muhammad khan</i> , sometimes followed by <i>khulida mulkuhu</i> . The principal mints are Hajji Tarkhan, Ordu Bazar and Saray.		
2056G	AR dirham (~1.07g, <i>i.e.</i> , about 5½ nokhod), without mint or date	RRR	2058A	AR dirham (0.58g, = 3 nokhod), mint of Bulghar	S
Both obverse & reverse have short inscriptions within a square, <i>al-sultan / al-'adil</i> on obverse, ruler's name on reverse. The weight standard is conjectural at the present. Mint unknown.			This is the last issue of the Bulghar region, save for the nearby Kazan issue of the same ruler (#2058H).		
<b>Karim Birdi Khan, 814-815 / 1412-1413</b>					
F2057	AR dirham (0.98g??), Saray mint	RRR?	2058C	AR dirham (circa 0.84-0.90g), mint of Kaffa, Latin legend and arms of Genoa on obverse, Arabic inscription & tamgha on reverse	S
G2057	AR dirham (~1.07g, = 5½ nokhod), without mint or date (style as 2056G)	RRR	<b>Ulugh Muhammad, as tsar of Kazan, 840-849 / 1437-1447</b>		
<b>Chakra Khan, fl. 816-818 / 1414-1416</b>					
A2057	AR dirham (0.98g, = 5 nokhod)	RR	2058H	AR dirham (0.58g), without mint name	R
Struck at Saray (dated 818), Hajji Tarkhan (dated 817 & 818) and Urdu-yi Mu'azzam (undated), presumably all to the same standard.			Ruler's name and title on obverse, tamgha alone on reverse. Believed to have been struck at Kazan.		
B2057	AR dirham (0.67g, = 3½ nokhod). Bulghar mint, undated	RRR	<b>Dawlat Birdi Khan, 827-840 / 1424-1437</b>		
<b>Jabbar Birdi Khan, fl. 817-819 / 1415-1417</b>					
J2057	AR dirham (weight unknown) <sup>531</sup>	RRR	2059	AR dirham (0.98g), ruler's name in central circle, mints of Hajji Tarkhan and Urdu	R
Known from Hajji Tarkhan (dated 818), Saray (undated) and Ordu-yi Mu'azzam (dated 819).			2059C	AR dirham (circa 0.84-0.90g), Latin legend and arms of Genoa on obverse, Arabic inscription & tamgha on reverse	R
<b>Sayyid Ahmad I Khan, fl. 819 / 1417</b>					
S2057	AR dirham (weight unknown)	RRR	<b>Küchük Muhammad, circa 840-871 / 1435-1466</b>		
Known from Saray (undated) and Urdu-yi Mu'azzam (dated 819).			2060	AR dirham (0.98g), mints of Hajji Tarkhan and Urdu Bazar.	R
<b>Kebek Khan, 817-820 / 1414-1417</b>					
2057	AR dirham (probably 0.98g), mint of Hajji Tarkhan	RRR	The epithet <i>küchük</i> ("short") never appears on the coinage. The ruler's name is normally <i>muhammad (khan) bin timur</i> , most often in a central circle on obverse, with his titles around. Most coins of this ruler and his successors have the Juchid tamgha in the reverse center, surrounded by the mint name in a circular marginal legend.		
2057A	AR dirham (0.67g), mint of Bulghar	RR	<b>Mahmud Khan, dates unknown (ca. 830s / 1430s)</b>		
2057G	AR dirham (~1.07g, <i>i.e.</i> , 5½ nokhod), without mint or date (style as 2056G)	RRR	On the coins of Hajji Tarkhan, his name appears as <i>mahmud khan bin muhammad khan bin timur khan</i> , but as <i>mahmud khwaja khan</i> on the coins of Urdu (undetermined at Bekbazar). It is not certain whether these two forms refer to the same individual.		
<b>Darwish Khan, 817-822+ / 1414-1419+</b>					
A2058	AR dirham (0.98g), mints of Urdu-yi Mu'azzam & Hajji Tarkhan	RRR	2061	AR dirham (approximately 0.70-0.98g), mints of Hajji Tarkhan, Bekbazar and Urdu, style as #2060	RR
B2058	AR dirham (0.67g), mint of Bulghar	R*	<b>Mustafa Khan (b. Ghiyath al-Din), fl. 847 / 1443-1444</b>		
Virtually unknown in the commercial market, but at least one large hoard has been published in Russian literature.			His full reign years undetermined.		
C2058	AR dirham (0.98g), mint of Qrim, dated 822, 823 and 824 ( <i>sic</i> )	RRR	2062	AR dirham (ca. 0.64g), mint of Hajji Tarkhan	RRR
Normally citing Idiku (Edigü) on the reverse along with the mint name. Idiku was the military general & effective leader of the Golden Horde at that time, though never formally ruling on his own. There is no explanation why Darwish's name was retained after 822.			<b>Sayyid Ahmad II Khan, fl. 837-864 / 1433-1460</b>		
<b>Qadir-Birdi Khan, circa 822-823 / 1419-1420</b>					
H2058	AR dirham (possibly 0.67g), mint of Bulghar	RR?	A2063	AR dirham (approximately 0.70-0.90g), Ordu Bazar & Bekbazar mints	R
<b>Beg Sufi, fl. 822-824 / 1419-1421</b>					
N2058	AR dirham (usually less than 0.98g), mint of Qrim, in his sole name, dated 822-824 or undated	RR	Ruler's name <i>sayyid ahmad khan</i> is always in central circle on obverse, his titles around.		
<b>Murtaza Khan, 886-904 / 1481-1499</b>					
D2063	AR dirham, Ordu Bazar mint	RRR	B2063	AR dirham (similar weight), kalima instead of mint name	RR
<b>Murtaza Khan, 886-904 / 1481-1499</b>					
Undated, probably during Murtaza's brief capture of the Giray ruler Mengli Giray I circa 1485/1486. The coins display the Giray rather than the Golden Horde tamgha.					

<sup>531</sup> Thanks to Vladimir Belyaev for provided information confirming Jabbar Birdi Khan and Sayyid Ahmad Khan. Was this ruler a "jabbering bird"?

**Anonymous, circa 640 / 1240 until the end of the dynasty**

- F2063 AR dirham, various examples derived from various inscribed dirhams, mostly struck during the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century R
- G2063 AE pul, struck from about 640/1240 until the end of the dynasty, normally undated C

These pulis exist in bewildering variety. Most lack mint name, and virtually all are undated after about 790. Many bear pictorial devices, such as animals, horsemen, floral elements, etc. Others typically bear geometric patterns, often quite attractive. Some lack inscriptions altogether (anepigraphic).

It appears that most of these anonymous coins were struck in the Crimea, with the latest issues likely overlapping the beginning of the Giray Khan period. They weigh from about 0.3g to more than 4g. They were often poorly struck and are commonly found worn, damaged or corroded.

**KHANATE OF SAQCHI (NOGHAYID)**

*A small khanate that split off from the Golden Horde, centered at the city of Saqchi, now Isaccea in Romania. The dynasty is also known as the Noghayids after the first coin-issuing ruler.*

**Noghay, d. 699 / 1300**

- H2063 AR dirham (1.35-1.5g), mint of Saqchi, undated RR

Arabic inscriptions only, with *khan al-'adil nughayan*, the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> word somewhat uncertain. The reverse has the mint name divided into two parts by a fleur-de-lys, with *al-mannatu lillah* above, divided by the tamgha.<sup>532</sup>

The style and epigraphy of both this type, #I2063 and J2063 are derived from contemporary Rum Seljuq dirhams.
  - I2063 AR dirham, bird (hawk?) left, mint of Saqchi, undated (Zeno-90639) RRR

With mint name, tamgha and *al-mannatu lillah* above the bird.
  - J2063 AR dirham, heraldic lion left, mint of Saqchi, undated (Zeno-79305), arrangement as #I2063 RRR
  - K2063.1 AE fals, with name of ruler, mint of Saqchi and undated RR?
  - K2063.2 AE fals, similar, but anonymous RR?
- Chaka (b. Noghay), 699-700 / 1300-1302**
- L2063 AR dirham, without mint or date RRR

Obverse has a horseman right, with the Greek name TEA / KAE above & to the right, the reverse a tamgha in central circle, with Greek THXEPONOΓAEEΣ in the margin (Zeno-91669).

**SUFID (IN KHWARIZM) (QONGIRAT SUFIS)**

Federov-Davidov, G.A., "Numizmatika Khorezma zolotoordynskogo perioda," *Numizmatika i Epigrafika*, v. 5 (1965), pp. 179-224.

*A local dynasty of Turkish origin that briefly assumed power from the Golden Horde at Khwarizm until driven out by Timur. All their coinage is anonymous.*

The only mint of the Sufids is Khwarizm. Most coins were carefully struck, though the copper pulis are commonly found worn or corroded, as they appear to have circulated extensively. The silver and gold are usually found in excellent condition.

Designs were changed frequently, roughly every year or two in each metal, creating numerous subtypes for each major type.

**temp. Husayn, 762-774 / 1361-1372**

- 2063 AV fractional dinar (1.15g, = ¼ mithqal) R
- 2064 AR dirham R
- T2065 AE tasuj (about 8-12g) RR

With the denomination in the legend, to be interpreted either as *tasu* or *tasug*, with hard "t".
- 2065 AE pul (about 1.8-3.5g) S

**temp. Yusuf, 774-781 / 1372-1379**

- A2066 AV fractional dinar (1.15g) RR
- 2066 AR dirham R
- 2067 AE pul S

A number of undated silver and copper types have not been assigned to a specific ruler. Some coppers bear a pictorial device.

The third Sufid ruler, Sulayman, 781-790, struck silver dirhams in the name of the Golden Horde ruler Toqtamish, together with anonymous gold and copper coins. These are all listed under Toqtamish (#2048, R2048, 2050A).

**GIRAY KHANS (QRIM)**

Retowski, O., *Die Münzen der Girei*, Moscow 1901-1905 (reprint: n.p., 1982), the standard work, and still up-to-date for much of the series.

Khromov, Konstantin, [www.hordecoins.folgat.net](http://www.hordecoins.folgat.net), all illustrated. There are also more than 500 specimens illustrated on Zeno.ru.

*The early coinage of the Giray Khans of the Crimea consisted of small silver akçes, probably following the Ottoman weight standard. The akçe was replaced circa 1660 by a heavier coin known as a beşlik, "fiver", equal to five akçes and commonly called "para", at first 1.3 grams, then gradually reduced to less than one gram by the end of the dynasty, with increasing debasement of the alloy from about 1750 onwards. A few later rulers also struck akçes, always rarer than the paras (beşlik). Under the last ruler, Shahin Giray, who accepted Russian suzerainty, a large number of denominations were introduced, modeled on contemporary Russian coinage.*

*The rarity of Giray Khan coins stated here can be very tentative and likely to change now that Russia and Ukraine have become connected to the world numismatic market. Some formally very rare akçes have recently become surprisingly common, e.g., type #2071 of Muhammad Giray I, thanks to large hoards recently marketed.*

Coins of the Giray Khans were struck at six mints, five of which, namely Qrim, Qiriq-Yer, Kaffa, Guzlu, and Ordubazar, were in operation up to and including Jani Beg Giray (d. 1032), though except possibly for the reign of Hajji Giray I, only one of these mints operated at any given time. Thereafter, beginning with the reign of Islam Giray III (#2081), all coins were struck at Baghcha-Saray (except for #2117 of the last ruler, Shahin Giray, struck only at Kaffa).

Coins of the first three reigns (#2068-2070) as well as most types of Shahin Giray, the last ruler of the dynasty, are well struck. Coins of most other reigns are haphazardly struck, with issues of the 17<sup>th</sup> and the 18<sup>th</sup> century representing the nadir of quality, especially the debased silver beşliks of the last several rulers before Shahin Giray. In general, two or more specimens are needed to piece together most of the inscription. This is not a series for those craving for lovely examples of Islamic numismatic art!

Nearly all coins bear the royal protocol on the obverse in the form *khan X giray bin Y giray khan*, but usually only a fragment of the inscription is legible after the first three reigns. For this reason, the father of each khan is noted, to assist with identification.

Of the several rulers who served multiple reigns it is normally difficult or impossible to determine which reign unless the date is clear or the coin is die-linked to a legible date. The illustrations of Retowski frequently enable the numismatist to determine the exact reign. For this reason, I have changed the catalog numbers so that a general number can be used for a specific ruler and subordinate numbers for his individual reigns. For example, I have used 2085.1, 2085.2, 2085.3 and 2085.4 for the four reigns of Selim Giray I, formerly 2085, 2087 and 2089 for the first three (the 4<sup>th</sup> reign was omitted in the 2<sup>nd</sup> edition). Coins of Selim Giray I without readable dates and not assigned to a specific reign may now be grouped under the comprehensive number 2085.

The reigns are listed in chronological order, with the result that some of the type numbers are now out of order, hopefully not too confusing.

**Hajji Giray I, 824-871 / 1420-1466**

- 2068 AR akçe (about 0.75g) C

Mints: Ordubazar, Qrim, Qiriq-Yer. Retowski has divided this series into 6 groups: (1) Qrim 845, (2) Ordubazar, undated, (3) Qiriq-Yer 858, (4) Qiriq-Yer seemingly dated 867, (5) Qrim seemingly dated 867, and (6) Qrim, blundered date versions of Group 5. The three years are frozen dates comparable to contemporary Ottoman and Isfendiyarid akçes, frequently

<sup>532</sup> The mint name is so heavily stylized as to be virtually illegible. A variant of this type lacks the fleur-de-lys, with the mint name above divided by the tamgha, the inscription *al-mannatu lillah* undivided at the top.

misspelled or blundered. The year 858 issue is by far the most common. <sup>533</sup>				
2068A	AE mangır, mint of Qiriq-Yer <sup>534</sup>	RRR		
2068K	AR akçe, about 0.90-1.20g, Latin legend and arms of Genoa on obverse, Arabic inscription & the Giray tamgha on reverse	R		
The type was struck for several decades, with numerous subtypes (see the work of Retowski in the Golden Horde bibliography). The latest issues were reduced to 0.7g or even less and bear a totally blundered Arabic inscription.				
<b>Nur Dawlat Giray (b. Hajji Giray I), several short reigns between 871 / 1466 and 884 / 1478</b>				
2069	AR akçe (0.75g), mint of Qrim only, sometimes dated 871, possible later dates reported	R		
2069A	AE mangır, without mint or date	RRR		
The reverse has three stars around the tamgha, but no inscription.				
<b>Mengli Giray I (b. Hajji Giray I), 871-920 / 1466-1514</b>				
2070	AR akçe (about 0.65g)	C		
Mints Kaffa, Qrim and Qiriq-Yer, dated nearly every year from 881 to 920, but with the possible exception of the year 900, only one mint at any given time. <sup>535</sup>				
The earliest types have the title <i>sultan al-a'zam mengli</i> without the patronymic and without <i>giray</i> (RR). Later issues lack <i>sultan al-a'zam</i> but mention the patronymic ( <i>bin hajji giray</i> ).				
<b>Muhammad Giray I (b. Mengli Giray I), 920-929 / 1514-1523</b>				
2071	AR akçe (apparent weight standard of about 0.65g)	S		
Mints of Kaffa & Qrim. Normally dated 922 or 923, of which 922 is rare. Akçes of Kaffa have the word <i>sana</i> above the date, those of Qrim lack the word <i>sana</i> altogether.				
<b>Sa'adat Giray I (b. Mengli Giray I), 929-939 / 1523-1532</b>				
2072	AR akçe, known dated 929, mint of Kaffa (0.60-0.61g)	R		
Mint name is rarely legible. Some examples seem to have been struck without a mint name.				
<b>Sahib Giray I (b. Mengli Giray I), 939-957 / 1532-1550</b>				
2073	AR akçe, Qiriq-Yer mint (0.58g)	RR?		
Known dated 941, 945 (alternatively read as 940), and 947.				
<b>Dawlat Giray I (b. Mubarak Giray, who was never named khan), 957-985 / 1550-1577</b>				
From this reign until the end of the dynasty all coins are dated with accession year, though most specimens are so poorly struck that the date is illegible, until the final ruler, Shahin Giray.				
2074	AR akçe, Qiriq-Yer mint (0.58g)	R		
Most coins of this and the next two reigns are often struck in highly debased silver, occasionally described as copper in the literature. The simultaneous usage of good silver and various levels of debasement is peculiar.				
<b>Muhammad Giray II (b. Dawlat Giray I), 985-992 / 1577-1584</b>				
2075	AR or billon akçe (0.58g)	R		
The mint name for this reign is undetermined. All examples are ghastly struck.				
<b>Islam Giray II (b. Dawlat Giray I), 992-996 / 1584-1588</b>				
2076	AR or billon akçe, Guzlu mint (0.58g)	RR		
Guzlu was a fortress near the city of Baghcha-Saray, the sole mint from 992 until 1032.				
<b>Ghazi Giray II (b. Dawlat Giray I), 996-1017 / 1588-1608</b>				
2077	AR or akçe (0.33g), Guzlu mint	S		
Debased silver was replaced by good silver, and the weight of the akçe was reduced from about 0.58g to 0.33g.				
<b>Salamat Giray I (b. Dawlat Giray I), 1017-1019 / 1608-1610</b>				
2078	AR akçe (theoretically 0.33g), Guzlu mint	R		
From better-grade specimens in the market, the actual average weight appears to have been about 0.24-0.25g.				
<b>Jani Beg Giray (b. Mubarak Giray), 1<sup>st</sup> reign, 1019-1032 / 1610-1623</b>				
Coins without legible date cannot be assigned to the first or second reign and should be classified as #2079.				
2079.1	AR akçe (0.33g), Guzlu mint	R		
<b>Muhammad Giray III (b. Sa'adat Giray), 1032-1036 / 1623-1627</b>				
From this reign onwards all Giray Khan coins were minted at Baghcha-Saray (except for #2117 or Kaffa).				
2079M	AR akçe (0.33g), Baghcha-Saray mint	RRR		
There at least two varieties of this type, one with horizontal dotted lines dividing the center on both obverse & reverse, the other with the name Muhammad located within a central circle on obverse. Both dated 1032. Retowski could not confirm any coins ascribable to this reign. Cf. Zeno.ru.				
<b>Jani Beg Giray, 2<sup>nd</sup> reign, 1036-1044 / 1627-1635</b>				
2079.2	AR akçe (0.33g) (formerly #2080), Baghcha-Saray mint	RR		
<b>'Inayat Giray (b. Ghazni Giray), 1044-1046 / 1635-1637</b>				
2080	AR akçe (0.33g), Baghcha-Saray mint	RRR		
<b>Bahadur Giray (b. Salamat Giray), 1046-1051 / 1637-1641</b>				
2080P	AR akçe (0.33g)	RRR		
<b>Muhammad Giray IV (b. Salamat Giray I), 1<sup>st</sup> reign, 1051-1054 / 1641-1644</b>				
2080S	AR akçe (0.33g)	RRR		
For an example clearly dated 1051, see Zeno-65507.				
<b>Islam Giray III (b. Salamat Giray I), 1054-1064 / 1644-1654</b>				
2081	AR akçe (0.28g)	RR		
<b>Muhammad Giray IV (b. Salamat Giray I), 2<sup>nd</sup> reign, 1064-1076 / 1654-1666</b>				
2082	AR akçe (0.28g)	RR		
2083	AR beşlik (1.40g)	R		
<b>'Adil Giray (b. Dawlat Giray, who was never khan), 1076-1082 / 1666-1671</b>				
2084	AR beşlik (1.40g)	RR		
<b>Selim Giray I (b. Bahadur Giray), 1<sup>st</sup> reign, 1082-1089 / 1671-1678</b>				
Coins without legible date cannot be assigned to the first, second, third or fourth reign and should be classified as #2085.				
Coins of rulers with multiple reigns can only be assigned to a specific reign when clearly dated or confirmed by die-link.				
2085.1	AR beşlik (theoretically about 1.40g)	RR		
The weight standard is vague, for individual specimens vary from about 1.05g to as much as 1.85g, for reasons that remain obscure.				
<b>Murad Giray (b. Mubarak Giray, who was never khan), 1089-1094 / 1678-1683</b>				
2086	AR beşlik (1.28g)	RR		

<sup>533</sup> In 2009 a massive hoard of at least 2000 akçes of Hajji Giray entered the market.

<sup>534</sup> See Dmitry Markov auction #9, 14-15 December 2000, #222j.

<sup>535</sup> Retowski has confirmed years 881-898, 900 and 911-914 for Qiriq-Yer mint, 899-904 for Kaffa and both 905-909 and 915-920 for Qrim. All are common, especially those of Kaffa, despite its short operation. Blundered dates are common.

2086A	AR akçe (about 0.26g) Recently discovered, unlisted by Retowski, several at Zeno.	RRR	<b>Qaplan Giray I, 3<sup>rd</sup> reign, 1143-1149 / 1730-1736</b>	
	<b>Selim Giray I, 2<sup>nd</sup> reign, 1095-1102 / 1684-1690</b>		2092.3	AR beşlik (formerly #2097) (0.80g) RR
2085.2	AR beşlik (formerly #2087) (1.28g)	R	2092A	AR akçe (0.18g) RRR
2085A	AR akçe (about 0.25g), known dated 1095, but possibly produced throughout his reigns with only his accessional year	RRR		Unknown with legible date and thus not securely assignable to a specific reign of Qaplan Giray, though possibly reflecting the reduced weight of the beşlik during his 3 <sup>rd</sup> reign
	A third denomination of about 0.6g is known (KM-21), though it might be merely a cut-down version of the beşlik.			<b>Fath Giray II (b. Dawlat Giray II), 1149-1150 / 1736-1737</b>
	<b>Sa'adat Giray II (b. Qrim Giray, who was never khan), 1102-1103 / 1690-1691</b>		2098	AR beşlik (0.80g) RRR
2087	AR beşlik (1.28g) This ruler's reign was given as just 1103 in the 2 <sup>nd</sup> edition, but his actual accession occurred in 1102, as confirmed by the coins. Note that #2087 was formerly used for Selim Giray I.	RRR		<b>Mengli Giray II, 2<sup>nd</sup> reign, 1150-1152 / 1737-1740</b>
2087A	AE akçe (0.26g)	RRR	2096.2	AR beşlik (formerly #A2099) (0.80g) RRR
	<b>Safa Giray (b. Safa Giray, who was never khan), 1103-1104 / 1691-1692</b>		2096A	AR akçe (0.16g), known dated 1137 for the first reign, as well as numerous blundered dates of either reign RR
2088	AR beşlik (1.28g)	RR		<b>Salamat Giray II (b. Selim Giray I), 1152-1156 / 1740-1743</b>
2088A	AR akçe (about 0.25g)	RRR	2099	AR beşlik (0.80g) RR
	<b>Selim Giray I, 3<sup>rd</sup> reign, 1104-1110 / 1692-1699</b>			<b>Selim Giray II (b. Qaplan Giray I), 1156-1161 / 1743-1748</b>
2085.3	AR beşlik (formerly #2089) (1.05g) Known coins with date are always AH1108.	R	2100	AR beşlik (0.73g) R
	<b>Dawlat Giray II (b. Selim Giray I), 1<sup>st</sup> reign, 1110-1114 / 1699-1702</b>			<b>Arslan Giray (b. Dawlat Giray II), 1<sup>st</sup> reign, 1161-1169 / 1748-1756</b>
2090.1	AR beşlik (1.05g) Although according to historical literature, Dawlat Giray II ascended the throne in Ramadan 1110, his coins are invariably dated 1111, for undetermined reasons.	R	2101	AR beşlik (0.73g) R No coins have been reported for his second reign.
2090A	AR akçe (roughly 0.20g) Akçes of this type are known dated 1111, thus within the first reign of this ruler. Later issues may exist.	RR		<b>Halim Giray (b. Sa'adat Giray III), 1169-1172 / 1756-1758</b>
	<b>Selim Giray I, 4<sup>th</sup> reign, 1114-1116 / 1702-1704</b>		2102	AR beşlik (0.73g) RR
2085.4	AR beşlik (not listed in previous <i>Checklist</i> ) (1.05g)	RR		<b>Qrim Giray (b. Dawlat Giray II), 1<sup>st</sup> reign, 1172-1178 / 1758-1764</b>
	<b>Ghazi Giray III (b. Selim Giray I), 1116-1119 / 1704-1707</b>			Coins without legible date cannot be assigned to the first or second reign and should be classified as #2103.
2091	AR beşlik (1.05g)	R	2103.1	AR beşlik??, relatively fine silver (about 1.0g) R
	<b>Qaplan Giray I (b. Selim Giray I), 1<sup>st</sup> reign, 1119-1120 / 1707-1708</b>			Coins of this type usually bear the regnal year in addition to the accessional year, normally inscribed just to the right of the mint name on the reverse, presumably in imitation of the same practice amongst the Ottomans, which had begun slightly earlier, in AH1171. These are the only Crimean coins to bear the regnal year before the last ruler, Shahin Giray. The denomination of this and the following type are uncertain, but they clearly represent a currency reform that failed to be accepted by subsequent khans, though it was briefly reinstated by Qrim Giray during his short second reign.
	Coins without legible date cannot be assigned to the first, second or third reign and should be classified as #2092, unless they can be confirmed by illustrations provided by Retowski or Zeno, etc.		2103A	AR para??, (about 0.5g), relatively fine silver, known dated 1172 RRR
2092.1	AR beşlik (1.05g)	RR	2103B	AR akçe (about 0.17g), known dated 1172 RR?
	<b>Dawlat Giray II, 2<sup>nd</sup> reign, 1121-1125 / 1708-1713</b>			<b>Selim Giray III (b. Fath Giray), 1<sup>st</sup> reign, 1178-1180 / 1764-1767</b>
2090.2	AR beşlik (1.05g) Coins without legible date cannot be assigned to the first or second reign and should be classified as #2090.	R		Coins without legible date cannot be assigned to the first or second reign and should be classified as #2104. However, Retowski suggests that first reign issues have the tamgha in the reverse center, those of the second reign at the top of the reverse.
	<b>Qaplan Giray I, 2<sup>nd</sup> reign, 1125-1128 / 1713-1716</b>		2104.1	BI beşlik (0.60g) R
2092.2	AR beşlik (formerly #2094) (1.05g)	R		From this reign onwards, all beşliks are of heavily debased billon, save for the rare issue #2105.2 of Qrim Giray.
	<b>Sa'adat Giray III (b. Selim Giray I), 1129-1137 / 1717-1724</b>			<b>Maqsud Giray (b. Salamat Giray II), 1<sup>st</sup> reign, 1181-1182 / 1767-1768</b>
2095	AR beşlik (1.05g)	R	2105	BI beşlik (0.60g) R
2095A	AR akçe (0.20g)	RRR		No coins have been assigned to his brief second reign in 1185/1771.
	<b>Mengli Giray II (b. Selim Giray I), 1<sup>st</sup> reign, 1137-1143 / 1724-1730</b>			<b>Qrim Giray, 2<sup>nd</sup> reign, 1182 / 1768-1769</b>
	Coins without legible date cannot be assigned to the first or second reign and should be classified as #2096.		2103.2	AR beşlik??, relatively fine silver (about 1.0g) (formerly #2106) RR
2096.1	AR beşlik (about 0.80g)	R		

**Dawlat Giray III (b. Arslan Giray), 1<sup>st</sup> reign,  
1182-1183 / 1769-1770**

Coins without legible date cannot be assigned to the first or second reign and should be classified as #2107.

2107.1 BI beşlik (0.60g) R

**Selim Giray III, 2<sup>nd</sup> reign, 1184-1185 / 1771-1772**

2104.2 BI beşlik (formerly #A2109) (0.60g) RR

**Qaplan Giray II (b. Selim Giray II),  
1183-1184 / 1770-1771**

2108 BI beşlik (0.60g) RR

A heavier coin weighing about 1.6g, also of billon, has been confirmed but further research is needed to determine its actual denomination (beşlik?).

**Sahib Giray II (b. Ahmad Giray, who was never khan),  
1185-1189 / 1772-1775**

2109 BI beşlik (0.60g) R

**Dawlat Giray III, 2<sup>nd</sup> reign, 1189-1191 / 1775-1777**

2107.2 BI beşlik (formerly #2110) (0.60g) RR

**Shahin Giray (b. Ahmad Giray), as Russian vassal,  
1191-1197 / 1777-1783**

Please note the rearrangement of types of this reign.

First series (regnal years 1-4):

Types #R2114-2116 appear to follow some sort of monetary reform at the commencement of his reign, with the former beşlik replaced by a para struck in heavily debased billon, often appearing to be pure copper.<sup>536</sup>

The obverse of the silver coins of the first series all have **3-line or 4-line horizontal inscriptions**, together with traditional reverses bearing the mint & date. The 5, 10 and 20 para coins may have been struck in somewhat debased silver. There appears to have been no relationship between the Crimean silver coins and their contemporary Ottoman or Russian denominations. Only the copper coins of the second series were related to their Russian equivalents.

R2114 AR 20 para (yirmilik) (about 6.3g) RRR

2114 AR 10 para (onlık) (about 3.15g) RRR

R2116 AR 5 para (beşlik) (about 1.62g) RRR

2116A AR akçe (about 0.18-0.20g) RRR

2116 BI para (about 1.40-1.50g) S

2116B BI 2 akçe (ililik) (about 0.6g) (Zeno-81489) RR?

Second series (regnal years 4-7):

The introduction of the second series coincides with a monetary reform adopted during the 4<sup>th</sup> year of his reign (~1780), and are known with regnal years 4 through 7, though not all types are known for every year. Silver coins and the monstrous copper ischal all bear a **toughra** on the obverse, together with mint & date on the reverse in the traditional format.

2111 AR 60 para (altmishlik) (about 20g) RR

2112 AR 40 para (piaster) (about 14g) RRR

2113 AR 20 para (about 7g) RRR

2115 AR 5 para (about 1.6g) RRR

2117 AE ischal (10 kopeck, about 75-85 grams), Kaffa mint only RR

All others coins of this ruler were struck at Baghcha-Saray.

2118 AE kyrmis (5 kopeck, about 45-55 grams) S

2119 AE kopeck (10-13 grams) S

2120 AE denga (½ kopeck, 4.5-6 grams) R

2120A AE polushka (½ denga, circa 2.5-2.8g)<sup>537</sup> RRR

<sup>536</sup> I am grateful to Joseph Lang for courageously sorting out this seemingly complex series into two identifiable and consistent series, as well as for carefully arranging the entire Crimean series for Krause-Mishler.

<sup>537</sup> Reported by Vladimir Belyaev (Zeno-49189).

**WARNING:** Gold coins purported to be an off-metal strike of the billon para (#2116) appeared in the market in the mid 1990s. Their epigraphy is totally wrong, so there can be little doubt that they are modern forgeries. However, several types of genuine and much heavier gold medallion coins have long been confirmed (Retowski #242-243), struck at both Kaffa & Baghcha-Saray, weighing 15-22 grams as opposed to the approximately 3 gram forgeries.

**ILKHANS (MONGOLS OF PERSIA) (HULAGUID)**

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Seyfeddini, M.A., *Monety Ilkhanov XIV Veka*, Baku 1968.

Smith, J.M., "The silver currency of Mongol Iran," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, vol. 12 (1969), pp. 16-41.

Smith, J.M., & F. Plunkett, "Gold money in Mongol Iran," *Ibid.*, vol. 11 (1968), pp. 275-297.

Kolbas, Judith G., *The Mongols in Iran: Chingiz Khan to Uljaytu, 1220-1309*, London 2006, published by Routledge and available at last.

Album, Stephen, "Studies in Ilkhanid History and Numismatics. I. A Late Ilkhanid Hoard (743/1342)," *Studia Iranica*, vol. 13 (1984), pp. 49-116, and "II. A Late Ilkhanid Hoard (741/1340)," *Ibid.*, vol. 14 (1985), pp. 43-76.

Lang, David M., *Studies in the Numismatic History of Georgia in Transcaucasia* (ANS Numismatic Notes and Monographs N° 130), New York, 1955 (for Tiflis and other Georgian mints).

Tabataba'i, Sayyid Jamal Turabi, *Islamic Coins: Ilkhanid and Gurganid periods*, Tabriz 1347/1969 (text in Persian).

Yapi Kredi Koleksiyonlari, *Ak Akçe: Mongol And Ilkhanid Coins*, ed. T. Aykut & S. Aydın, Istanbul, 1992 (bilingual in English & Turkish).

Diler, Ömer, *Ilkhans: Coinage of the Persian Mongols*, Istanbul 2006.

This is now the standard general catalog for the Ilkhan coinage, providing extensive lists of types, mints and known dates.

The arrangement and organization was never quite finished, due to Diler's early death, but his widow Emine Ömer, Garo Kurkman, and J.C. Hinrichs did an excellent job completing the publication.<sup>538</sup>

Zeno.ru currently has more than 2200 Ilkhan coins illustrated.

*The coinage of the Ilkhans (Hulaguids) can be divided into three periods, the period of local coinages (roughly 654-696 / 1256-1297), the period of uniform coinage (696-736 / 1297-1335), and the period of divided rule and coinage (736-758 / 1335-1357). All periods saw coinage in all three metals, but silver remained the basic element of the currency system throughout their sovereignty.*

*The second phase of Ghazan Mahmud's coinage reform in 697/1298 introduced a silver dinar of three mithqals (about 12.96g), together with a dirham (= 1/6 dinar) of 2.16 grams.<sup>539</sup> During the following reigns, the dirham was periodically reduced in weight, a process that was repeated many times throughout the 14<sup>th</sup> century and which can be regarded as a devaluation of the currency in terms of its value in silver. Each devaluation was accompanied by a change of design, so that coins of different weight standards can be easily distinguished by sight, even by an illiterate peasant. In addition, the fineness of the silver coinage was never manipulated, so that the public could remain confident of its purity. Several denominations were usually produced*

<sup>538</sup> Since Diler's work was incomplete at the time of his death, the published version is somewhat sophomoric, but nonetheless quite valuable. Some of the mint names are only tentatively read and identified, and many of the recorded dates are uncertain, largely because they are taken from previous works and were never verified. But all and all, it is an excellent and extremely useful work. The only serious problem is that silver coins are not separated by denomination, e.g., his type Ab-488, where for each listed mint/date combination, it does not indicate whether it is a half dirham, dirham, double dirham, or six dirhams. Nonetheless, my most sincere congratulations to Emine and her assistants for completing this immense study for publication.

<sup>539</sup> By the 640s/1240s, the Mongols had already introduced the silver dinar as a unit of account equivalent to six dirhams. The silver dinar was not represented by an actual coin until after the reform of Ghazan Mahmud.



simultaneously, with the double dirham the preferred denomination in most parts of the Ilkhanate.<sup>540</sup>

During the late period (1335-1357), rival khans were set up by various amirs, each with his agenda and his own coinage. Many local types were produced in addition to the main types. All the principal types and a large selection of the local types are included here; most unlisted types are very rare. Weights for each standard and denomination are indicated; most specimens weigh close to the standard, unless worn, corroded or damaged.

No Islamic coinage was produced at a greater number of mints than the Ilkhan coinage, with more than 250 mints thus far confirmed, and additional mints still being discovered. While a few mints such as Tabriz & Baghdad<sup>541</sup> remained prolific producers throughout the dynastic existence, most others were short-term affairs or sporadic issuers (though not necessarily rare!). Some indication of mints is provided under individual types & issuers when deemed appropriate. A full listing of the mints, their locations, and known dates for each ruler and type is in Diler's work.

The mint of Bazar requires a special note. Bazar, which means "market", *bazaar* in English, was a peripatetic mint, attached to the imperial court or a military division. The mint, including presumably much of their equipment, dies, etc., stayed with the court and traveled with the Ilkhan as part of his entourage. Subordinate governors or army generals occasionally had their own "bazar" during military actions, but struck their coins as standard types in the name of their Ilkhan suzerain. In a few cases, the term bazar was combined with an additional modifier, such as *bazar-i lashkar* ("army bazar") or *bazar-i khurasan* ("bazar of Khorasan"), etc.<sup>542</sup>

In general, Ilkhan coins were carefully struck, even more so after Ghazan Mahmud's reform in 696/1297. Poorly struck coins missing date or mint became more common again from the mid-740s to 758. Quality control varied from mint to mint, and sometimes from year to year as well. Collectors can generally expect to acquire a clear example of most common and scarce types at reasonable cost, though prices have risen substantially since the mid 2000s. The die-work is almost always of high quality, especially after Ghazan's reform, though all too often individual specimens fail to convey that excellence, due to inferior strike or preservation.

The earlier Ilkhans were frequently cited as overlords on the vassal coinages of the Qutlughkhanids, Salghurids, Atabegs of Yazd, kings of Hormuz (Qalhati Amirs), and a few others. Ghazan Mahmud suppressed all the vassal coinage as part of his great reform, probably in response to the rebellion of the Qutlughkhanid ruler of Kirman, Shah Sultan, in 696. Vassal coinages are listed under the appropriate vassal dynasty.

The curious exception is Anatolia ruled by the Rum Seljuqs, defeated by the Mongols prior to Hulagu's accession. Unlike other conquered dynasties, the Rum Seljuqs were not required to cite their Great Mongol or Ilkhan suzerain until a brief joint issue under Kayqubad III, where mints in central and eastern Anatolia added the name of Ghazan Mahmud to Kayqubad III in 697-698, purely Ilkhan legends without the Seljuq thereafter. Only in western Anatolia, where Ilkhan power had vanished, were coins struck in the name of the Rum Seljuq alone.

The immensity of the Ilkhan coinage is mindboggling. Given the many denominations, mints, dates, varieties and significant subvariants, at least 20,000 versions are currently known, with dozens upon dozens still discovered annually. Perhaps an internet catalog might prove feasible, as publishing a multivolume traditional printed corpus would surely be financially challenging.

### 1<sup>ST</sup> PERIOD: LOCAL COINAGE

During this period (656-696) the administration of Ilkhan coinage had not yet been centralized. Individual or regional groups of mints each

<sup>540</sup> In general, central Iran, Iraq, the Caucasus and eastern Anatolia preferred the double dirham, central and western Anatolia the single dirham, Khorasan the sextuple dirham, which was also known as the dinar.

<sup>541</sup> Since its opening in AH146, the mint of Baghdad was known as *Madinat al-Salam* ("city of peace") on the coinage until the Mongol conquest in 656. Commencing late that same year, the mint was always inscribed on the Ilkhan coins as Baghdad, occasionally together with the epithet *Madinat al-Salam*, or more rarely, *Dar al-Salam*.

<sup>542</sup> The practice was not an Ilkhan innovation. The Sasanians maintained a military court mint, signed BBA on the coins, but the practice died out after the Umayyad coinage reform until revived by the Ilkhans nearly 600 years later. Thereafter, the tradition survived intermittently in Iran until the Qajar ruler Fath 'Ali Shah (1797-1834), except that the name of the court mint was periodically changed, e.g., *urdu* or *urdu-yi humayun* under the Timurids, *khazana* under the Safavids, and *rekab* under the Zands and Qajars.

maintained a distinctive coinage, principally in silver, occasionally adhering to local standards of weight & fineness, almost always derived from previous coinage in the area.

There are three basic types of gold coinage. The initial type, struck from 656 until about 696 or 697, followed the ingot coinage with widely varying weights for individual specimens, adopted from the previous 'Abbasid dinars. During the reigns of Hulagu and Abaqa, miserable broad thin dinars were struck at northeastern mints, principally Astarabad and Damghan. Finally, in 675 a standard dinar of one mithqal (about 4.32g) was introduced, at first only at Tabriz, later as several other mints, including Hamadan and Baghdad, always with the Uighur obverse (and the ruler's name in Arabic after 682). The mithqal dinars bear the Mongolian word *arigu* at the end of the Uighur inscriptions, interpreted as "pure" by Badarch, found at all issues of Tabriz and occasionally at other mints.

Most dirhams were struck to a standard of 2.88g before 678, and 2.52g thereafter (until 697), though several regions maintained their own local standards, especially in the northeast. Copper was a local affair, with a great variety of different types and standards.

*Types #2121-2131 and 2138-2274 all bear the name of the ruler, save for a few subvarieties of 2152-2154. Types 2132-2137 are anonymous.*

### Hulagu, 654-663 / 1256-1265

The first coinage bearing the name of Hulagu is dated 656, following the Ilkhan conquest of Baghdad, also citing the Great Mongol ruler Mōngke until about 659. Earlier coinage citing only Mōngke is listed under the Great Mongols, anonymous coinage either under the Great Mongols or the Qa'an al-'Adil series (types #2132 ff.).

#### 2121.1 AV dinar, citing Mōngke as overlord RR

Struck at Baghdad and al-Mawsil, possibly also at al-Basra. An ingot-style coinage, with random weights, typically between 4 and 8 grams.

The political text is usually *qa'an al-a'zam mōngke khan hulagu khan*, sometimes with the name Hulagu preceded by *il Khan al-mu'azzam*, same on silver.

#### 2121.2 AV dinar, in the sole name of Hulagu RR

Ingot style, struck at Baghdad and possibly also at al-Mawsil. The standard inscription is *qa'an al-a'zam hulagu il Khan al-mu'azzam*, same on silver.

#### 2122.1 AR dirham, citing Mōngke, struck at mints in Iraq and the Jazira (approximately 2.9g) C

Struck principally at Baghdad, al-Mawsil & Irbil. Many examples of types #2121-2123 cite part or all of the Qur'an Verse 3:26 in the obverse or reverse margin, occasionally in both margins, in which case the mint & date are omitted. See the note to #2277.1.

#### 2122.2 AR dirham, without Mōngke (circa 2.9g) C

All varieties of types #2121 and 2122 have the obverse & reverse fields within an inner circle, surrounded by a marginal legend. The arrangement of the field legend varies.

Dirhams of Hulagu were struck posthumously at most mints, as late as 679 at Mardin. Other mints began naming Abaqa between 664 and 678, of which Baghdad was the first.<sup>543</sup> It is not known why the change did not take place simultaneously at all mints, or for that matter, why Hulagu's name was retained posthumously on so much of the western regional coinage. The common mints are Baghdad, al-Jazira, al-Mawsil, Irbil, Urmiya (sometimes misread as al-Hilla) and especially Mardin, by far the most plentiful. All bear Qur'an Verse 3:26 in either the obverse or reverse margin, with the mint/date text in the opposite margin. Occasionally, both margins bear Qur'an 3:26, leaving no place available for the mint or date!

Many coins of this type (and the similar half dirham) bear the word *khariz*, "protected", beneath the obverse field.<sup>544</sup>

The weight standard is somewhat variable, and seems to differ from mint to mint, e.g., about 2.9g for Baghdad and al-Mawsil, 3.05 for Irbil, but only 2.8g for Mardin (reduced to roughly 2.55g after about 673). Further research essential!

Types #2121.1 & 2122.1 cite the Great Mongol Mōngke as overlord by his name, whereas #2121.2, 2122.2 and most of the fractionals cite the Great Mongol overlord anonymously merely as *Qa'an*. Mōngke is occasionally cited after his death in 657/1259.

<sup>543</sup> According to Diler & the collection in Tübingen, the last posthumous issues in the name of Hulagu are dated 664 at Baghdad, 674 at al-Jazira, 675 at al-Mawsil, 677 at Urmiya, 678 at Irbil, and 679 at Mardin.

<sup>544</sup> Thanks to Ö. Diler for this information.

2122A	AR dirham, obverse & reverse fields in hexagram, Sinjar mint (approximately 2.4g)	RRR	2128.1	AR dirham, obverse in Uighur script, reverse in Arabic, to standard of about 2.88g, dated 674-677	RR
2123	AR ½ dirham, similar to #2122.2, frequently without mint name (approximately 1.45g)	S		Reverse has kalima in square. Known only for Tabriz.	
	Varieties assigned to Baghdad normally lack the mint name, whereas coins of other locations usually bear the mint name.		2128.2	AR dirham, similar, but weight reduced to 2.52g, dated 678-681	C
2123A	AR ⅓ dirham, no mint name (approximately 0.95g)	RR		Struck mainly at Tabriz (the only common mint) and Hamadan, but also at other mints in central Iran. This was the first attempt at a uniform silver coinage for all of Iran, though not extended to Iraq until after the death of Ahmad, and never to Khorasan.	
	Probably struck only at Baghdad with a triangular central design on both sides, apparently indicating the denomination.			Although Abaqa died in 680, his name was maintained on the coinage at Tabriz & elsewhere until his successor was formally enthroned after the turn of the year 681. His dirham of Tabriz dated 681 is almost as common as the years 678-680.	
2123B	AR ¼ dirham, no mint name (approximately 0.7g)	RR	2128.3	AR dirham, Arabic obverse <i>qa'an al-'adil</i> (or something similar) with name Abaqa below in the Uighur script, mint unknown	R
	Probably struck only at Baghdad; the central design is a square, both sides, appropriate for the quarter.			Kalima reverse. Struck somewhere in Khorasan province.	
2124	AR dirham, struck during the occupation of Syria at Damascus and Hamah in 658	RR	2129	AR ½ dirham, similar (1.26g)	RR
	On this remarkable type, Hulagu is described as "the conqueror of the coast ( <i>al-basita</i> ) by the grace of his brother Möngke, the Great Qa'an". The coast refers to the Mediterranean, which of course he never quite reached! The weight standard is the canonical dirham of 2.97g, but weights of individual specimens vary considerably, as was typical of contemporary Ayyubid and Mamluk dirhams.		A2130	AR dirham, Uighur obverse, various cartouches on obverse & reverse, northeastern mints	S
2124A	AR fractional dirham, similar	RRR		Principal mints are Isfarayin, Khabushan, Nishapur & Sabzawar. The coins are readily distinguished from the Tabriz types by their thick narrow flans. Struck to a standard of about 2.78-2.80g.	
	Weights range from 0.8 to about 1.5 grams. Struck either from full-dirham dies or from special dies for the fraction with shorter inscriptions.		B2130	AR ½ dirham, similar (about 1.4g)	R
2124B	AR dirham, Rum Seljuq style, struck only at Harran in 659 (about 2.85g)	RRR	C2130	AR dirham, lion on reverse, Tus mint only (approximately 2.78-2.80g)	RR
2125.1	AE fals, seated man with crescent (al-Mawsil)	R	2130	AR dirham, similar to #2128 but with Christian inscriptions on reverse, struck at Tiflis in Georgia (2.5-2.8g with considerable variation)	R
2125.2	AE fals, hare jumping over moon (Irbil)	R		Reverse inscribed in Arabic, <i>bism al-ab wa'l-ibn wa ruh al-quds, alah wahid</i> , "in the name of the father, the son, and the holy spirit, one God." Cross follows the word <i>wahid</i> . Similar types were used during the next several reigns.	
2125.6	AE fals, head in square, facing left (Sinjar & al-Mawsil, both dated 662)	RR	2131.1	AE fals, head in square (al-Mawsil)	R
	Derived from type #1874.1 of Badr al-Din Lu'lu'.		2131.2	AE fals, seated figure holding crescent (al-Mawsil)	S
2125.3	AE fals, other pictorial types	R	2131.3	AE fals, three hares chasing each other in a circle (Irbil)	R
2125.4	AE fals, non-pictorial, various mints	S	2131.6	AE fals, double-headed spread eagle within central circle, 2 marginal legends around (Irbil 678)	RR
2125.5	AE fals, sunface, struck at Halab (undated)	RR	2131.4	AE fals, other pictorial types, probably several different mints	RR
	Two principal subtypes, one with reverse in plain circle (RR), the other with reverse in square (RRR), both with a short inscription, <i>malik al-ard hulagu</i> , "king of the earth, Hulagu". How modest!		2131.5	AE fals, non-pictorial types, several mints	S
	For anonymous issues struck during this reign, see #2132 ff.		2131J	AE jital, <i>abaqa padshah-i jahan</i> on obverse, <i>muhammad rasul Allah</i> on reverse (Tye—)	RRR
				Types #2131J and 2131K are without date or mint name, but by style are clearly from Sijistan.	
			2131K	AE jital, <i>abaqa padshah al-a'zam</i> on obverse, <i>muhammad rasul Allah</i> on reverse (Tye—)	RRR
				For anonymous silver and copper issues struck during this reign, see #2132 ff.	
				<b>Anonymous Qa'an al-'Adil types struck from before the time of Hulagu through Abaqa</b>	
				Distinguishing the various Qa'an al-'Adil types will remain difficult until an appropriate catalog or website is completed.	
			G2132	AV dinar, at least two subtypes, random weight	RRR
				Currently known for Marw, date off flan, and Nishapur 675. The Marw dinars resemble silver type #2136, style of the 670s, whereas the Nishapur dinars resemble #2126.3 of Abaqa, but much more carefully struck.	
			2132	AR dirham (2.88g), hexagram / square, 21-23mm, known dated 643, then almost every year 650-670	C
				<i>Qa'an al-'adil</i> or <i>qa'an al-'adil al-a'zam</i> within the obverse hexagon, <i>kalima</i> within the reverse square, date & mint in the reverse margin. Dirhams of 643 are usually very well struck, later dates increasingly crude.	
				This type was struck mainly at Tabriz. Other mints are very rare. Some dates between 644 and 649 have been reported, but never confirmed; 643 was probably a frozen year until 649.	

2133	AR dirham, hexafoil type of Tabriz, Rum Seljuq style, struck 671-675	S	A few examples of this type have the name of the ruler only in Uighur or in both Uighur and Arabic on the obverse.	
	Obverse center in hexafoil and <i>naskhi</i> calligraphy very similar to coins of Kaykhusraw III (#1232). Also struck in a few other mints of the Jibal and Adharbayjan, notably Kashan and Hamadan, only Tabriz is relatively common., but rare with legible date & mint.			
2134	AR kaaniki dirham, hexagram / pointed quatrefoil, first phase, dated 660-662	R		
	Struck in Georgia at Tiflis, mint & date in reverse margin. The obverse of this type and #2135 have just <i>qa'an al-'adil</i> within the obverse hexagram, as on #2132 but more ornately engraved.			
2135	AR kaaniki dirham, same design, second phase, always without mint name, date normally with month and year inscribed below <i>la ilah illa</i> in reverse field, dated 663-678	S		
	Always without mint name, but ostensibly struck only at Tiflis. Reverse margin without inscription. Date in words, but because of the narrow space, one or more digits may be in diwani script. The dates are usually decipherable, but not always.			
2136	AR dirham (approximately 2.75g), with name <i>Qa'an al-'Adil</i> , hexagram type as #2132 but eastern fabric, normally undated	S		
	Struck on thick narrow flans, typically 18-19mm, with various arrangements of the reverse text. Struck at Marw, Damghan, Isfarrayin and Jurjan in northeastern Iran. Some Damghan types have <i>qa'an al-'adil al-a'zam</i> within the hexagram. Individual weight varies considerably, from approximately 2.4g to 3.1g. See #2152B for similar types citing Arghun by name on obverse.			
2136A	AR dirham, as last, but with Shi'ite reverse, struck only at Astarabad	S		
	Usually undated, but known dated 682 & 683. The weight is approximately 2.75g with considerable variation as #2136.			
2136M	AR dirham, plain circle / square, bow below <i>qa'an al-'adil</i> on obverse	R		
	Marw mint, infrequently dated. The weight varies from 1.2g to more than 2.8g. It is possible that they were intended as full & half dirhams (more research needed). A variant lacks the bow, which is replaced by the mint name.			
2137	AR ½ dirham (1.3-1.5g), Marw, similar to #2136	S		
2137A	AR ½ dirham (1.3-1.5g), square / plain circle	RR		
	Mint name / <i>kalima</i> , struck only at Tus.			
2137L	AR ¼ dirham (about 0.7g), Tabriz mint	RR		
	<i>Qa'an al-'adil</i> on obverse, <i>darb-i tabriz</i> on reverse.			
2137R	AE fals, sometimes with mint, usually undated, struck circa 650s-670s / 1250s-1270s, many different types	S		
	The most common type is stylistically similar to #2133 of Tabriz.			
<b>Ahmad Tekudar, 681-683 / 1282-1284</b>				
2138	AV dinar	RRR		
	Probably struck only at Tabriz.			
2139	AR dirham, Uighur obverse, northwestern and central Iranian mints, ruler's name in Uighur only, dated 681-682	S		
	Only the mint of Tabriz is relatively common.			
2140	AR dirham, similar, but <i>ahmad</i> added in Arabic beneath the obverse, dated 682-683, mainly Tabriz	R		
2139M	AR dirham, similar, but <i>al-sultan ahmad</i> in the middle line on obverse, Mardin 682 and Urumi, date off flan	RRR		
2141.1	AR dirham, similar, but Christian inscriptions on reverse (as #2130), with cross on reverse, struck at Tiflis in Georgia	RR		
2141.2	AR dirham, as last but with star instead of cross on the reverse	RR		
2142	AR dirham, purely Arabic inscriptions, including the ruler's name, mints in the Jazira and Iraq	R		
2142A	AR ½ dirham, similar to #2142	RR		
2143	AE fals, several types, many pictorial, Uighur or Arabic inscription (or mixed)	R		
2143A	AE fals, seated figure holding crescent (al-Mawsil)	RR		
2143B	AE fals, Byzantine bust, probably Sinjar mint	RRR		
2143C	AE fals, mounted hunter with falcon, running dog below, possibly mint of Sinjar	RRR		
<b>Arghun, 683-690 / 1284-1291</b>				
	Although Arghun was ousted from the throne in 690, he was recognized at some eastern mints until 693 and at Mardin until 695. Thus far, only silver coins are known dated after 690.			
2144	AV dinar, Uighur obverse as #2146, mithqal weight	S	Tabriz & Baghdad are the only reasonably common mints. Individual specimens vary from about 3.8g to more than 4.5g.	
2144A	AV dinar, as #2144 but with hawk & sun added below obverse (as silver #2148), Hamadan, Yazd & Kashan mints, dated 688	RR		
2144B	AV heavy dinar (typically 5-10g), various mints, mainly Shiraz	RR		
2145	AR dirham, <b>Arabic text only</b> , struck at mints in Iraq, struck at al-Jazira & al-Mawsil	R	With Arabic inscriptions on obverse, <i>qa'an al-a'zam arghun ilkhan al-mu'azzam</i> (arghun in Arabic at al-Jazira, in Uighur at al-Mawsil). Probably dated only 683, possibly also 684.	
2145B	AR dirham, obverse generally as #2146 but with mint & date around the <b>Uighur center</b> , Baghdad only, dated 683	RR		
2146	AR dirham (2.52g), <b>standard Uighur</b> inscription, with name Arghun repeated below obverse in Arabic, kalima in 3 lines on reverse (plain circle /square)	A	Struck at most mints in Iraq, the Jazira, western & central Iran 683-687, then at a few mints in 688, in Baghdad & Isfahan until 690, and at Mardin until 694 ( <i>sic</i> ). Mint & date are always in the reverse margin. Some issues of 687, especially of Tabriz & Isfahan, have the reverse square divided into three horizontal sections, with the mint name repeated in the lower section (S). Also struck from 684-687 at several mints in northeastern Iran, normally with mint repeated within the obverse field. This was the only attempt to introduce the western style to the east before the second reform in 697 by Ghazan Mahmud. Of some 30+ mints, most common are Tabriz, Baghdad, Mardin and Hamadan, but Kashan, Khabushan and al-Mawsil are not especially rare.	
2146A	AR dirham, as #2146 but reverse has <b>5-line</b> lengthy kalima ending in <i>sala Allah 'alayhi / wa 'ali alihi wa salam</i> , Mardin 689 only	S		
2146B	AR dirham, as #2146 but the Arabic name <i>arghun qan</i> appears on reverse with <i>al-manna lillah</i> , all within central hexafoil	RRR	The obverse is standard Uighur legend, the reverse resembles Rum Seljuq coins of Qilij Arslan IV. Known only from Ganja 685 (Zeno-30848).	
2147	AR ½ dirham, similar to #2146	R	Struck at Tabriz, Kashan, and same 3 eastern mints as #2147A	
2147A	AR ¼ dirham, similar, eastern mints only	RR	Struck at Nishapur, Khabushan, and Jurjan.	
2148	AR dirham, as #2146 but with <b>hawk &amp; sun</b> below obverse field, Sunni reverse, struck 687-691	S	At least ten mints recorded, of which Tabriz & Kashan are least rare. The reverse invariably lacks the square separating the <i>kalima</i> from the surrounding mint & date inscription.	
2148A	AR ½ dirham, type as last, Tabriz only	RRR		
2148G	AR dirham, similar to #2148 but <b>two hawks</b> below obverse field, Hamadan 688 only	R		

2148H	AR dirham, similar to #2148G but <b>two sunfaces</b> instead of two hawks, also Hamadan 688 only	RR	2156.1	AR dirham, pictorial type of northeastern Iran, with <b>lion right</b> on reverse (Tus mint, undated)	R
2149.1	AR dirham, Arabic inscriptions, <b>Shi'ite reverse</b> (Astarabad mint only), dated 684-686 or undated The obverse employs various designs (hexagram, inner circle, whirling circle, etc.) with Arabic inscription <i>qa'an arghun</i> or something similar. Struck on thick narrow flans, typically 17-18mm in diameter. The weight varies from about 2.2g to more than 3.2g, with its theoretical average approximately 2.75g.	S	2156.2	AR dirham, similar, but with <b>hare</b> on obverse (Tus 688)	RR
2149.2	AR dirham, Uighur inscription with <b>hawk &amp; sun below, Shi'ite reverse</b> (Astarabad mint only), dated 691-693 or undated Citing both Arghun & Ghazan in Arabic on obverse. Size and weight as #2149.1. One variety has the hawk without the sun (SARC auction 11, lot 628). During the pre-reform coinage, the use of Sunni, Shi'ite and Christian legends does not imply conversions by the ruler, but rather reflects the preferences of the local population in the city where the coins were minted. This practice changed under Ghazan Mahmud, Uljaytu and Abu Sa'id, but resurfaced afterwards, especially under the Timurids and the Aq Qoyunlu.	S	2156.3	AR dirham, similar, <b>sunface</b> obverse (Nishapur mint)	R
2150	AR 1/6 dirham, usually mint of Tabriz, often with pictorial device The pictorial types include eagle-and-sun and hare motifs, and because the type was presumably struck for presentation purposes, the weight follows the standard imprecisely.	RR	2156.4	AR dirham, similar, <b>eagle</b> obverse (Nishapur)	R
2151.1	AR dirham, Georgian issues (mint of Tiflis) with Christian legends on reverse (as #2130), <b>cross in circle</b> in center of reverse Christian legend written circularly around the cross. Struck at Tiflis in Rabi' I 683 only (Qatar #2130).	RRR	2156.5	AR dirham, similar, <b>bow</b> on obverse (Marw)	R?
2151.2	AR dirham, Georgian issue, <b>cross at bottom</b> of reverse field legend, after <i>wahid</i> The following issues #2152-2156 are local issues from numerous mints in northeastern Iran. The weight standards of these issues remain conjectural.	S	2156.6	AR dirham, similar, <b>dog</b> wearing chain leash on obverse, walking right (Khabushan 691)	RR
2152	AR dirham, <b>non-pictorial</b> local types of mints in <b>northeastern Iran</b> (struck 684-693), Uighur inscriptions on obverse (with <i>Arghun</i> above or below, in Arabic), Sunni reverses At some mints, such as Jurjan, this type continued to be struck as late as 693, three years after Arghun was deposed. Principal mints are Damghan, Jurjan, Nishapur, Khabushan, and Jajerm. There are many different styles (over 12 separate subtypes just at Jurjan!). Although there is considerable variation in weight, the basic standard of the dirham seems to be about 2.75g. It appears that most eastern mints that had issued type #2146 at the 2.52g standard from 684-687 subsequently reinstated the 2.75g standard for types #2152 or #2155. Further research needed for adequate resolution of these weights.	C	2156.7	AR dirham, similar, <b>bird</b> on reverse (Abivard or Bavard, known dated 688) The Abivard type has peacock left with head turned back, Bavard version has pigeon (or similar bird) left, head forward. The two mint names are alternative spellings for the same city.	RR
2152A	AR dirham, similar to #2152 but without the name of Arghun in Arabic Undetermined Khorasanian mint(s).	R	2156.8	AR dirham, similar, <b>two lions</b> on obverse, facing away from each other (Tus 689-690)	RR
2152B	AR dirham, <b>short Arabic</b> obverse, usually within hexagram, Khorasanian mints, style as the anonymous type #2136, but citing <i>arghun</i> Several versions of the obverse inscription, <i>arghun a'zam</i> , <i>padshah arghun</i> , etc. From Damghan and other mints.	S	2156.9	AR dirham, similar, <b>Chinese style lion</b> within circle, Uighur text around, <i>arghun</i> above lion (Bazar-i Urdu, undated)	RRR
2153	AR 1/2 dirham, similar to #2152, 2152A or 2152B, non-pictorial Most half and quarter dirhams of this series were struck from smaller dies prepared for the fractions.	S	2156.10	AR dirham, similar, <b>humped bull</b> left, with date in words below bull, finest calligraphy and very well struck, known from Tus 685 These pictorial types (#2156.1-2156.10 and 2156A) were struck circa 685-691 at mints in eastern Khorasan only. Most adhere to a standard of about 2.30-2.35g. All are carelessly struck. Additional subtypes of #2156 shall undoubtedly be discovered.	RRR
2154	AR 1/4 dirham, similar, non-pictorial	RR	2156A	AR 1/2 dirham, pictorial types Most are similar to the full dirham #2156.1 (lion). <sup>545</sup>	RR
2155	AR dirham, similar, but naming <b>Ghazan</b> as viceroy, Sunni reverse (northeastern Iran, 687-693) Mainly minted at Nishapur and Isfarayin.	S	2157	AE fals, many types, some pictorial	S
2155A	AR dirham, style as #2146 with Arghun named in Uighur (3 <sup>rd</sup> line) and <b>Qazan</b> (for Ghazan) in Arabic, both on obverse Mardin 695 only (Zeno-34959).	RRR	2157A	AE 'adliya, with denomination cited on coin, struck at Shiraz & Abu Ishaq Also from a mint tentatively read as Babak in Kirman province. The 'adliya of this and the following three rulers was struck on thin squarish flans, weighing between about 1.3 and 1.8g. Later issues are heavier, typically 3g to 5g.	RR
			2157B	AE fals, seated figure holding crescent (al-Mawsil) <b>Gaykhatu, 690-694 / 1291-1295</b> Gaykhatu is cited only by his imperial name <i>Irenjin Turji</i> , unless otherwise indicated. <sup>546</sup>	RR
			2158.1	AV dinar The only common mint is Tabriz, formerly extremely rare, but available in large numbers since a large hoard was discovered in the mid-1980s (at least 1500 examples, including at least 500 of Gaykhatu and 250 of Baydu).	C
			2158.2	AV dinar, with name <b>Gaykhatu</b> in Arabic below the Uighur obverse field Principal mints are Ta'us (= Abarquh) and Yazd, though most specimens lack the mint name.	RR
			2158F	AV fractional dinar, mint of Shiraz, name as <i>Irenjin Turji</i> , about 1.1g (Zeno-19194) The mint name is in tiny letters between the 3 <sup>rd</sup> and 4 <sup>th</sup> Uighur lines on the obverse. Date unknown, possibly undated.	RRR
			2159.1	AR dirham, Uighur obverse, at Tabriz and most mints except in the northeast, name of ruler given in Arabic as <b>Irenjin Turji</b> .	C
			2159.2	AR dirham, as last but name of ruler given in Arabic as <b>Gaykhatu</b> (Shiraz 690 only) Normally, if not always, with a small hawk, sun behind, at lower right of obverse, just right of the ruler's name.	RR
			<p><sup>545</sup> Also known for the dog type (as #2156.6), mint of Khabushan (Zeno-20239), bow type of Marw (Rasmussen), eagle type of Nishapur (Rasmussen). Others undoubtedly exist.</p> <p><sup>546</sup> The only occasionally available gold coin of Gaykhatu on which he is called by his person name Gaykhatu rather than Irenjin Turji (or Durji) is a vassal coin of the Qutlughkhanid ruler Padishah Khatun (#1937). See also #2159.2 for silver.</p>		

- 2159.3 AR dirham, name *Irenjin Turji*, with **lion** below obverse (Shiraz 692 & 693 only) RRR
- 2160 AR dirham, similar, but **Christian inscriptions** on reverse, struck at Tiflis in Georgia (as #2130) R
- 2161 AR dirham, local types of **northeastern Iran**, obverse & reverse entirely in Arabic R
- 2162 AR ½ dirham, similar, mainly mint of Jurjan RR
- 2163 AE fals, many varieties, mostly inscriptional R
- 2163A AE 'adliya, with denomination cited on coin, struck at Shiraz & Abu Ishaq RR
- 2163B AE fals, seated figure holding crescent (al-Mawsil) RRR

### Baydu, 694 / 1295

Baydu ruled less than six months, but his coins of Tabriz mint, gold more than silver, are no longer particularly rare.<sup>547</sup>

- 2164 AV dinar, normally Tabriz mint S  
Also known is Shiraz, as *dar al-mulk shiraz* (RRR).
- 2165 AR dirham, usual Uighur type, dated 694 S  
All mints other than Tabriz (R with clear mint & date) are extremely rare (Hamadan and probably a few additional mints).
- 2165C AR dirham, Christian type of Georgia, as #2130 but in the name of Baydu RRR
- 2166 AE fals RR
- 2166A AE 'adliya, with denomination cited on coin, struck at Shiraz & Abu Ishaq RRR

### Ghazan<sup>548</sup> Mahmud, 694-703 / 1295-1304, Pre-reform coinage (694-696)

- 2167 AV dinar RR  
Reported for the mints of Isfahan and Tabriz, of which Tabriz was found in modest quantity in 2003. Additional mints likely exist.
- 2168 AR dirham (694-697), obverse in Arabic, numerous subtypes, all purely inscriptional (2.52g) S  
Obverse legend begins with title, either *padshah-i jahan*, *padshah-i islam* or *sultan-i islam*. Western mints are Tabriz, Kashan, Baghdad, Mawsil & Mardin.  
Eastern mints include Jajerm, Khabushan, Kabudjameh and Nishapur, all of them very rare.
- 2168A AR ½ dirham, similar (1.26g) RRR
- 2168C AR dirham, obverse in Uighur & Arabic with **hawk & sun**, reverse in square, Astarabad mint only (known dated 697) RR
- 2168L AR dirham, **lion** left, with *ghazan* and the mint name *tus* inscribed above, kalima on reverse RRR
- 2168N AR dirham, Christian type of Georgia, as #2130 but in the name of Baydu, struck 694-698 R

Several subtypes. Some examples have the initials of the Bagratid ruler of Georgia, Wakhtang III, in the Georgian script.

For convenience, all copper coins of Ghazan Mahmud are listed at the end of the post-reform series, despite the fact that the reform never applied to copper coins.

## 2<sup>ND</sup> PERIOD: POST-REFORM COINAGE

(After the two-phase reform of 696-697 / 1297-1298)

During this period, a novel innovation was promulgated within the Ilkhanate. Geometric or other readily discernible designs were introduced to create distinctive coin types that carried monetary information. In other words, coin designs were created in order to allow even a totally illiterate person to recognize the value of the coin. Similar but more restricted attempts had been undertaken by the Ayyubids and their Turkoman contemporaries, the earlier Ilkhans, and the Khwarizmshahs, but without the systematization begun under the later Ilkhans. In later times, after the death of Abu Sa'id in 736/1335, visually distinctive coin types were also used to indicate political as well as monetary information. Both traditions were maintained to a greater or lesser extent throughout all later Iranian and related coinage, until the reign of Fath 'Ali Shah in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century.

From this reign until about the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, all Ilkhan silver coins were of essentially pure silver, with a few minor exceptions from time to time. Russian researchers have determined that the silver content generally ranged from 96 to more than 99% pure, reckoned as "pure silver" due to the primitive refining technology then available. This high degree of purity appears to have been retained for all Iranian coins until the early Qajar period, i.e., for more than 500 years, until the 1830s or 1840s, when a silver alloy of approximately 90% fineness was adopted, allegedly in order to produce coins that would better resist circulatory wear and tear, and would match the fineness of contemporary American and European silver coins. Pre-reform Ilkhan silver coins were typically 75-80% pure, possibly an approximate imitation of contemporary Mamluk practice.

For the post-reform coinage of **Ghazan Mahmud**, the common mints include Ahlat, Amul, Astarabad, Baghdad, Bazar, Damghan, Erzincan, Erzurum, Gümüsbazar, Hilla, Irbil, Isfahan, Jajerm, Kashan, Lu'lu'a, Mardin, Mawsil, Sabzawar, Samsun, Saveh, Shiraz, Sinop, Sivas, Tabriz, Tiflis, Wasit & Yazd.

For **Uljaytu**: Ahlat, Amul, Baghdad, Bazar, Damghan, Erzincan, Erzurum, Hamadan, Hilla, Irbil, Isfahan, Jajerm, Jurjan, Kashan, Kayseri, Mardin, Mawsil, Nakhjawan, Nishapur, Samasur, Samsun, Saveh, Shiraz, Sivas, Sultaniya, Tabriz, Tus & Yazd.

For **Abu Sa'id**: Abu Ishaq (= Kazirun), Ahlat, Amasya, Amul, Anguriya, Ardabil, Baghdad, Barda', Basra (usually without the particle *al-*), Bayburt, Bazar, Damghan, Erzincan, Erzurum, (Ma'dan) Gümüsbazar, Hamadan, Hilla, Isfahan, Isfarayin, Jajerm, Jurjan, Kashan, Kayseri, Kazirun, Kirman, Lahijan, Lu'lu'a, Ma'dan, Maragha, Mardin, Mawsil, Nakhjawan, Niksar ("Bikbik"), Nishapur, Qazwin, Rayy, Sabzawar, Samsun, Saveh, Shabankara, Shiraz, Shushtar, Sinjar, Sivas, Sultaniya, Tabriz, Tiflis, Tokat, Wasit & Yazd.

Not all mints omitted from this list are rare. In his work on Ilkhan coinage (cited above), Diler has provided a list of all known mints for the Ilkhan coinage. For each mint he indicates a list of known dates and metals for each ruler, but the citations for silver coins do not indicated the denomination.

**Regional or local types:** There are many local types during the principal reigns of the post-reform period. Most of these are local Anatolian types (#2175, B2191 & D2221), of which at least fifty are described and illustrated by Diler. There are also some Iranian and Caucasian local types, not listed here, all at least rare. Many local types of all regions are relatively minor variants of the regular types and are therefore not listed here as separate types, for example, minor variants of Sulayman's types B and C.

**Weight standards:** All regular coinage of the second period adheres to royal standards that are quite carefully followed.

### Weight standards for the 2<sup>nd</sup> period:

Time of Ghazan Mahmud			
696	2.52g	dirham	#2169
697-704 ( <i>sic</i> )	12.96g	6 dirhams	#2171
	4.32g	2 dirhams	#2172
	2.16g	dirham	#2173
	1.08g	½ dirham	#2174
	0.54g	¼ dirham	#2174F

<sup>547</sup> When this hoard surfaced, the sellers at first consigned a single specimen to a Swiss numismatic auction, where it fetched about \$8,000, a price they idiotically tried to maintain as a legitimate value! It is estimated that the hoard contained at least 200-300 examples of the Baydu dinar. Within months, the price tumbled below \$300, but has risen to the \$450-500 range for decent specimens, largely due to the recent surge in the price of gold bullion.

<sup>548</sup> Ghazan's name is sometimes written as Qazan, with *qaf* instead of *ghayn* on some pre-reform issues and some copper coins of all periods.

Time of Uljaytu			
704-713	12.96g	6 dirhams	A, B
	4.32g	2 dirhams	"
	2.16g	dirham	"
	1.08g	½ dirham	"
713-717 ( <i>sic</i> )	0.54g	¼ dirham	"
	11.88g	6 dirhams	C
	3.96g	2 dirhams	"
	1.98g	dirham	"

Time of Abu Sa'id			
716-719	11.88g	6 dirhams	A, B
	3.96g	2 dirhams	"
	1.98g	dirham	"
718-729	10.80g	6 dirhams	C, D, E, F
	3.60g	2 dirhams	"
	1.80g	dirham	"
	0.90g	½ dirham	"
729-734	9.72g	6 dirhams	G
	3.24g	2 dirhams	"
	1.62g	dirham	"
734-737 (khani 33-36)	0.81g	½ dirham	"
	8.64g	6 dirhams	H
	2.88g	2 dirhams	"
	1.44g	dirham	"
	0.72g	½ dirham	"

Not all types are known for all denominations within a specific currency period. Some types are known from at least one year following the death of the named ruler. There are also several incorrect dates, as well as local types or variants for which the above denominations may not apply.

For Abu Sa'id, half dirhams are confirmed for types D, E, G and H, but may exist for others as well. Some quarter dirhams have been reported for Abu Sa'id, but not confirmed.

In general, separate dies were cut for the half, one, two and six dirham silver coins, to help facilitate their distinction.

### Ghazan Mahmud, 694-703 / 1295-1304, Post-reform coinage (696-703)

#### First phase (696):

**Y2169 AV dinar (inner circle / plain circle) RRR**  
Obverse has field in Uighur (no Chinese), with the ruler's name Ghazan in Arabic below (without *mahmud*) and outer margin in Arabic. Reverse has field in circle.  
Mint possibly Tabriz, none known with legible date.

**2169 AR dirham, struck to standard of about 2.52g RRR**  
The first phase is known only in silver from the mints of Baghdad and Tabriz. The design type of the first phase silver coinage is identical to the 2<sup>nd</sup> phase, comprising a trilingual obverse in Mongolian (in the Uighur script), Chinese (in Phags-Pa script), and Arabic. The two phases differ only in weight, the first phase retaining the standard introduced by Abaqa in 678 (2.52g for the dirham), the second phase lighter (2.16g).  
All coins #2169-2174 bear the trilingual obverse.

#### Second phase (697-704 [*sic*]):

**V2170 AV presentation dinar (about 12.96g), type as #2170 but weight of three mithqals, Baghdad 701 RRR**

**2170 AV dinar (plain circle / pointed pentafoil) S**  
Most gold coins of this and all subsequent Ilkhan reigns were struck at rather random weights from less than 3 to nearly 10 grams, with weights of surviving specimens clustering around 4.3 and 8.6 grams, *i.e.*, one and two mithqals. These are sometimes, but inaccurately, described as single and double dinars.<sup>549</sup>  
Gold dinars and silver double dirhams of the second phase were often dated on both sides. Mismatched obverse and reverse dates are not uncommon, confirming that acceptable dies were kept in use even if the date was obsolete.  
The dinars of the Shiraz mint are especially attractive, with elegant calligraphy and ornamentation. It is also the most common mint for Ghazan Mahmud's gold coinage.

<sup>549</sup> The gold and silver dinars are unrelated. For the former, the dinar was a generic term referring to any gold coin. For the latter, the dinar was a fixed unit equivalent to six dirhams. There was also a third unit known as a currency dinar, a notional unit of account, which was probably a fixed unit equivalent to the reform silver dinar of Ghazan Mahmud (12.96g), remaining constant even as the weight of coined silver dinars fell.

**2170A AV ½ dinar (2.16g), inscribed *nisf* below obverse RRR**  
Known only from Baghdad, date missing.

**2171 AR dinar (= 6 dirhams) (12.96g) RR**  
This type is the earliest silver dinar struck by Ilkhans, presumably for presentation or ceremonial purposes during this reign (struck only at mints in Iraq). The silver dinar of 6 dirhams became a circulating denomination from 710/1310 onwards.  
Known from Baghdad & Wasit, usually found ex-mount. There also exists a variant struck at a mint tentatively read as Jalalabad, possibly located in what is now the Eastern Azerbaijan region in Iran, dated 8 Ramadan 700.<sup>550</sup>

**2172 AR 2 dirhams (4.32g) C**  
**2173 AR dirham (2.16g) A**

For this and later Ilkhan rulers, many Anatolian mints have the date entirely or partially in diwani numerals, as on earlier Rum Seljuq coins (see the introduction). With rare exceptions, the date was written out in words at Iranian and Iraqi mints.

**2173A AR dirham (normally 2.16g), Anatolian imitations of type #2173, without legible mint C**  
Normally without legible date, but occasionally dated 699. Some variants may have been struck as much as a decade later.

**2174 AR ½ dirham (1.08g) R**

**2174F AR ¼ dirham (0.54g), confirmed for Amul & Bazar RRR**

**2175 AR dirham, local types struck at western Anatolian mints, various designs R**  
Konya is the only frequently encountered mint. The calligraphy is reminiscent of dirhams of the Seljuqs of Rum. Both obverse & reverse have Arabic inscriptions (no Mongolian or Phags-Pa Chinese text, unlike #2173A).  
For coins citing Ghazan Mahmud together with the Rum Seljuq ruler Kayqubad III, see #T1235 & 1235.3.

**2176 AE fals, many types, some with pictorial devices S**  
The only aspect of the reform applied to the copper coinage was the form of the royal titlature, occasionally shortened due to lack of space or to provide room for a pictorial image. Each mint maintained its own local design.

**2176A AE 'adliya, with denomination cited on the coin, struck at Shiraz & Abu Ishaq R**  
Ruler entitled merely *shahanshah ghazan*.

### Uljaytu, 703-716 / 1304-1316

His full titlature is *al-sultan al-a'zam malik ruqab al-umam ghiyath al-dunya wa'l-din khudabanda muhammad*.

The classification into types for the coins of this and subsequent reigns was first carried out by Lane-Poole in the British Museum catalogs, and was further refined by J.M. Smith. However, the designations by letter used here for the coin types of the Ilkhans and later dynasties are my own.

**2177 AV dinar, type A (plain square obverse / pointed pentafoil reverse, used 704-709) R**

The reverse design of type A (gold & silver) is identical to the post-reform reverse of Ghazan and retains the same Sunni legends with few exceptions. While the mint may be on either side (occasionally on both), the date is almost always on the obverse, having been replaced by the names of the Rashidun in the reverse margin.

**2177A AV "½ dinar" (2.0-3.0g), type A, struck from special dies intended for much smaller coins, but without the denominational word *nisf* RR**

Like the full dinar coins, these may vary greatly in weight.

**2178 6 dirhams (dinar, 12.96g), type A RR**

Issues of Baghdad and Wasit bear lengthy outer inscriptions, Qur'an 24:55 on the obverse, Qur'an 48:29 on reverse. The inner marginal inscription on the reverse names the four Rashidun with their epithets.

**2179 AR 2 dirhams (4.32g), type A S**

<sup>550</sup> In the Tarom district north of Zanjan there was a palace or administration center known as Jalalabad established by the Kangarids circa 343/954, about 100 miles east of Tabriz. Could this be the same Jalalabad?

2180	AR 1 dirham (2.16g), type A		
	Type A coins of this denomination were struck primarily at Anatolian mints, of which Samsun is most common. See also #2180A for variant types.		
2180A	AR 1 dirham (2.16g), variations of type A, southern Anatolian mints only, many variations	R	
	Struck principally at Antalya, Burghlu and Falakabad. Coins of this type differ from #2180 by the use of a distinctive cartouche on either obverse or reverse. Strictly speaking, these are early Beylik issues, on which the Beylik nominally proclaimed Uljaytu as their suzerain, perhaps for political reasons, more likely to maintain popular styles and legends.		
2181	AR ½ dirham (1.08g), type A	RR	
2181F	AR ¼ dirham (0.54g), type A, Amul mint	RRR	
2182	AV dinar, type B (quatrefoil / inner circle), dated 709-713	S	
	Types B and C have Shi'ite inscriptions on the reverse, reflecting Uljaytu's conversion to Shi'ism in 709.		
	For nearly all examples of types B and C, Uljaytu adopted the additional title of <i>malik ruqab al-umam</i> , "possessor of the necks of the people", seemingly inappropriate for a surprisingly enlightened king.		
2183	AR 6 dirhams (dinar, 12.96g), type B	S	
	Beginning with this type, the silver dinar became a circulating coin until beyond the end of the Ilkhanate, but largely restricted to mints in Khorasan, and to a lesser extent in the regions of Fars, Kirman and Mazandaran. With a few sporadic and normally very rare exceptions, the 6-dirham denomination was no longer struck at mints within western and central Iran, the Caucasus, Iraq, the Jazira or Anatolia.		
2183A	AR 6 dirhams (dinar, 12.96g), variant of type B with extra outer marginal legends on obverse or reverse or both sides	RR	
	With Qur'an 9:33-34 in outer obverse margin, the names and epithets of the 12 Shi'ite Imams in the outer reverse margin. Known struck at Baghdad and Tabriz.		
2184	AR 2 dirhams (4.32g), type B	A	
2185	AR 1 dirham (2.16g), type B	C	
2185C	AR ½ dirham (1.08g), type B	RR	
A2186	AR 2 dirhams (3.96g), type C* (ornamented hexafoil obverse, hexafoil reverse as on type C), Sultaniya mint only, always dated 713	RR	
	A commemorative type issued in conjunction with the dedication of the new capital of Sultaniya. See note to #2190A & 2190B.		
2186	AV dinar, type C (heptafoil obverse / hexafoil reverse), used 713-717, Shi'ite reverse	C	
	Coins dated 717 were struck posthumously, as Uljaytu's death was concealed until Abu Sa'id could return to the capital for his public enthronement.		
2187	AR 6 dirhams (dinar, 11.88g), type C	C	
	Type C of Uljaytu was the first silver coinage reduced in weight, for all denominations.		
2187A	AR 6 dirhams (dinar), type C but with extra marginal legend added on obverse & central reverse inscription expanded.	R	
	The obverse outer margin is Qur'an 48:29, in which the actions of a good Muslim are described. The reverse margin bears the names of the Shi'ite Imams together with their epithets. Carefully struck examples on full broad planchets are much rarer. Struck at several mints between the Mazandaran and Khorasan regions. Mulings of types #2187 and 2187A also exist (R).		
2187B	AR 6 dirhams (dinar), type C, similar to #2187A, but very carefully struck and with Qur'an 9:112 in the obverse margin, Baghdad 716 only	RRR	
2188	AR 2 dirhams (3.96g), type C	A	
2189	AR 1 dirham (1.98g), type C	C	
2189A	AR ½ dirham (0.99g), type C	R	
2190	AE fals, die-struck, many varieties, some pictorial	C	
2190A	AE fals, cast fabric with center hole, struck only at Sultaniya in 713, portraying a scorpion	RRR	
C	2190B AE fals, as last but no center hole, Sultaniya mint only, several varieties	RRR	
	Types #2190A and 2190B resemble contemporary Yuan dynasty Chinese cash, except that instead of a square hole, they are either unholed or have a hole shaped like an eight-pointed star. These coins, along with #A2186, commemorate the dedication of Sultaniya (near Zanjan) as the new Ilkhan capital in 713.		
R	2190N AE 'adliya, struck at mints in Fars province	R	
	Typical weight in the 3g-5g range. The denomination is always cited on the coin.		
RR	2190T AE broad fals, non-pictorial, struck primarily at Tabriz & Sultaniya (13-18g)	RR	
	Most examples have the design & arrangement of silver type B, often struck on irregular flans, typically 35-40mm diameter.		
S	A2191 AR dirham, blundered versions of types A, B and C, Anatolian imitations, various types, sometimes with different borders of the fields	C	
	Some examples have now been assigned to specific Beylik states. Type #A2191 refers generically to all unassigned types, of which the great majority are Anatolian.		
S	B2191 AR dirham, local Anatolian types, significantly distinctive from type A, B and C	S	
	Diler lists over 30 local Anatolian types, though sometimes minor varieties are listed as separate types. Most of these local types should eventually be assigned to the beyliks.		
	<b>Abu Sa'id, 716-736 / 1316-1335</b>		
	The silver coinage of Abu Sa'id is very complex. Types A through H each exhibit considerable variation, generally not described here. With at least 150 mints active during this reign for silver coinage, there are innumerable minor variants, stylistic differences, etc., in what is perhaps the most extensive and complex Islamic coinage of any single ruler. Additional local types are listed here as #2219X & D2221.		
	T2191 AV mithqal, special type (plain circle both sides), with name & mint on obverse, kalima and the denominational name <i>mithqali</i> ( <i>sic</i> ) on reverse, Shiraz mint, undated	RRR	
	Weight theoretically about 4.32g, but this is still unconfirmed.		
	U2191 AV ½ mithqal (2.16g) (plain circle both sides), ruler, name & <i>nim mithqal</i> on obverse, kalima only on reverse, Kashan mint <sup>551</sup>	RRR	
	2191 AV dinar, type A (hexafoil / square), struck 716-717	R	
	Type A was used only at about a dozen Anatolian mints (silver only, usually very crudely struck), and at Shiraz and Abu Ishaq in southern Iran (silver & gold, normally well struck).		
	2192 AR 2 dirhams (3.96g), type A, mints of Shiraz and Abu Ishaq only	R	
	2193 AR 1 dirham (1.98g), type A, Anatolian mints only	R	
	2194 AV dinar, type B (pointed octagon / pointed hexagon), struck 717-719	S	
	2195 AR 6 dirhams (dinar, 11.88g), type B	R	
	2196 AR 2 dirhams (3.96g), type B	C	
	On coins of Isfahan, Kashan, Saveh and a few other central Iranian mints, the ruler is given his additional title <i>ilkhān al-mu'azzam</i> (R).		
	2197 AR 1 dirham (1.98g), type B	R	
	Struck mainly at Anatolian mints, sometimes with the mint name on the reverse.		
	2198 AV dinar, type C, known as the "mihrab" type (lobated square / mihrab-shaped design), struck 719-721, at some mints until 723	S	
	The mihrab-style design on type C reverse is formed from the Arabic word <i>fasayakfikahum</i> ("he will suffice ye against them"), arranged to resemble a mihrab, from the Qur'an 2:137.		
	<sup>551</sup> There is also a similar coin of Yazd, undated and without denomination, but as the weight is unknown, it cannot yet be assigned a denominational name (Diler-547).		

2198A	AV dinar, type C as last, but with <i>surkh-i tabriz</i> beneath reverse, "red gold of Tabriz", known struck at Tabriz in 719 only	RR		2212	AV dinar, type G (looped octagon / plain octofoil type), struck 729-734 <sup>554</sup>	C
2199	AR 6 dirhams (dinar, 10.80g), type C	S		2212M	AV mithqal (4.32g), type G, Shiraz 732 only With denomination <i>mithqali</i> below obverse field. <sup>555</sup>	RRR
2199A	AR 6 dirhams (dinar), as type C but with Qur'anic legends 48:29 in obverse & 48:4 in reverse outer margins	RRR		2213	AR 6 dirhams (dinar, 9.72g), type G	C
	Presentation type known from Baghdad 719 and Pol-i Aras 720, beautifully struck on relatively thin broad flan.			2213A	AR 6 dirhams (dinar, 9.72g), as type G but with obverse in hexagon, Damghan 730 only	RR
2200.1	AR 2 dirhams (3.60g), type C, mint in obverse margin, sometimes repeated at top or bottom of the obverse field	A		2214	AR 2 dirhams (3.24g), type G The obverse of this type has a number of variants, especially the location of the mint name, most commonly in the margin, but occasionally somewhere in the obverse field. Most of these variants are common, such as the Tabriz issue with the mint in both the margin & field and several issues with the mint name between the 2 <sup>nd</sup> and 3 <sup>rd</sup> lines of the obverse field text rather than below the 3 <sup>rd</sup> line (mainly Tabriz).	A
	Type C was first used at Bazar, the court mint, in 718, then introduced generally in the following year. Anomalous use of this type continued until 728. All coins dated 724 or later are rare.			2214A	AR 2 dirhams (3.24g), type G-var, plain circle reverse, mint repeated interlinearly on reverse Principally Qaysariya (Kayseri) 729.	R
2200.2	AR 2 dirhams (3.60g), type C, mint interlinearly within obverse field, mainly Tabriz 721-723	C		2215	AR 1 dirham (1.62g), type G	C
2201.1	AR 1 dirham (1.80g), type C, as #2200.1	S		2215A	AR ½ dirham (0.81g), type G	RR
2201.2	AR 1 dirham (1.80g), type C, as #2200.2	RR		2216	AV dinar, type H (bilingual type, consisting of plain circle obverse & reverse), struck 734-736 but normally dated in the Khani calendar. The name of the ruler, Abu Sa'id, is written in the Uighur script, with the rest of the text in Arabic. The reverse bears the extended kalima in the spiraled Kufic script, as found on occasional coin issues over the succeeding 200 years, and on architectural monuments from then to the present. The date is given in the Khani calendar, a solar calendar invented by the Ilkhans and based on year one commencing in 701 Hijri. Thus year 33 corresponds to 734/735, 34 to 735/736, 35 to 736/737, etc. The spiraled Kufic reverse was used on post-Abu Sa'id types dated during the years 736 and 737, of Arpa (#2221.1), Musa (#2223), as well as early types of Muhammad (#2226) and Taghay Timur (#A2240), reflecting the unchanged denominational value 734-737 within the Tabrizi region and at the adjacent city of Rayy.	S
2201A	AR ½ dirham (0.90g), type C, as #2201.1	confirmed?				
2202	AV dinar, type D (lightly pointed pentagon / plain circle), struck 722-724	C		2217	AR 6 dirhams (dinar, 8.64g), type H Some Khorasanian mints of this type have the Hijri date instead of the Khani year, both the correct date of 736 and the incorrect date of 733, presumably an engraver's error (both S).	C
	Gold and silver coins of this type dated 722, mostly silver, have often been erroneously published in the literature as 726. The mint name is almost always placed interlinearly on the reverse.			2218.1	AR 2 dirhams (2.88g), type H, Khani or Hijri date only Most are dated Khani 33 (A), but also Khani 34 (S), with some local issues as late as Khani 37 (= 738/739). Posthumous Hijri dates of 737 and 738 are found at a few Anatolian mints (RR).	A
2203	AR 6 dirhams (dinar, 10.80g), type D Struck principally at mints in Fars province, also at a limited number of mints in western Khorasan & Mazandaran.	S		2218.2	AR 2 dirhams (2.88g), type H, Khani year on obverse, Hijri date on reverse Struck only at Baghdad, Hilla and Basra, 33/734, 33/735 & 34/735. All three mints also struck normal type #2218.1 dated Khani 33 without Hijri year (also Khani 34 from Baghdad).	S
2204	AR 2 dirhams (3.60g), type D	A		2219	AR 1 dirham (1.44g), type H	S
2205	AR 1 dirham (1.80g), type D	S		2219A	AR ½ dirham (0.72g), type H	RR
2205A	AR ½ dirham (0.90g), type D	RR		2219X	AR various denominations, local Iranian, Iraqi, and Caucasian types different from types A through H and not listed here as specific types All local types are at least scarce, most rare to extremely rare. They follow various weight standards. Diler listed some of them, buy several more are known, mostly from Iranian mints.	—
2206	AR 2 dirhams (3.60g), type E (lobated triangle / plain square), struck 723-728 Struck at only four <sup>552</sup> mints (Pol-i Aras <sup>553</sup> , Erzurum, Lahijan, and Kayseri), type E was probably a proposed type rejected at nearly all mints in favor of type F. Only Pol-i Aras (called <i>Tel Larus</i> by Lane-Poole) is occasionally available. No gold coins of type E have been reported.	R		2220	AE fals, various weights and types, many pictorial Only the mints of Tabriz, Baghdad, Hamadan, Mardin and Sultaniya are relatively common, dozens more known.	C
2207	AR 1 dirham (1.80g), type E, Kayseri 728	RRR		2220A	AE 'adliya, mints in Fars province Weight range undetermined.	R
2208	AV dinar, type F (inner circle / plain square), struck 723-728 Type F was not adopted at mints in Khorasan and Mazandaran, due to unrest in those province during between 723 and 729.	C				
2208A	AV ½ mithqal (2.16g), type F-var Standard type F obverse with shorter royal inscription, reverse without central square and with denomination <i>nim mithqal</i> .	RR				
2209	AR 6 dirhams (dinar, 10.80g), type F Unlike other coins of the 6 dirham denomination, type F was used only at mints in Fars province, possibly also at Kirman. One of the 7 or 8 known mints has been misread at Tabriz, but is actually Nayriz, a city in Fars province, written identically to Tabriz when without the dots.	R				
2210	AR 2 dirhams (3.60g), type F	A				
2210A	AR 2 dirhams, similar, but with <i>qull Allahumma malik al-mulk</i> "say, our God, possessor of kingship", on reverse margin Sultaniya 727, Urdubad 726, plus a few additional mints circa 726-728. A few variants are known with different short religious inscriptions added to reverse margin (RR).	R				
2211	AR 1 dirham (1.80g), type F	S				
2211A	AR ½ dirham (0.92g), type F	RR				
A2212	AR 2 dirhams (3.60g), type F-var (inner circle / plain circle with the mint inscribed interlinearly within the kalima), Baghdad 729 only	RR				

<sup>552</sup> J.-C. Hinrichs has reported a fifth mint, Isfahan.

<sup>553</sup> Pol-i Aras, "Araxes Bridge", was an epithetical name for Nakhjawan. Some coins of Abu Sa'id bear both names.

<sup>554</sup> An blundered example has recently been found, perhaps a dozen or more specimens, all from the same dies. It has incorrectly been marketed as Bayburt mint, dated 733, but in fact the mint, date and the names of the four Rashidun are totally meaningless, typical of Anatolian imitations in silver. These examples are "no date, no mint", probably central Anatolian contemporary imitations, very rare in gold (New York sale XXIII, lot 452).

<sup>555</sup> Sotheby's, 2 Oct 1986, lot 932, misattributed & assigned to the Injuuids.



- 2220H AE fals, special issue struck circa 719-725, plain text, Tabriz mint only  
 Four clear denominations, with relatively accurate weight, one unit (approximately 1.45g), two units (2.80g), four units (5.60g) and eight units (11.20g). Weights here are approximate. Examples with full mint & date are rare.  
 These are often found counterstamped with a symbol of unknown significance, probably of Georgian origin (also R).
- A2221 AR 2 dirhams, various types, countermarked *Abu Sa'id* on various hosts, mainly of same ruler
- B2221 AR 2 dirhams, various types, blundered versions derived from types B, C, D, G and H, Anatolian imitations  
 Produced mainly in the emerging Beylik territories in western Anatolia, though some varieties are from the Caucasian areas and some from regions tentatively regarded as within western and southern Iran, now listed as type #D2221 (*q.v.*). Weights frequently do not correspond to the underlying types.
- C2221 AR dirham (about 1.5g) (plain square / lobated diamond), mints of Kastamonu & Borlu  
 Known dated 723-728, but the mint and date are often blundered. Issued by the Candaroğlulari, types ILH-CAN-C through ILH-CAN-F of Ender. One variety has the obverse in a lobated square (mint & date blundered).
- D2221 AR dirham (various weights), local Anatolian types different from #B2221 and C2221.

### 3<sup>RD</sup> PERIOD: RIVAL KHANS

*During the third period, several amirs and tribal alliances squabbled over power, each recognizing one or another Hulaguid scion as nominal khan. Changes in type and weight standard became increasingly frequent. The silver coinage consisted largely of double dirhams, except in Khorasan, Fars and the Jurjan region, where the dinar (= 6 dirhams) was favored. There were many local types, often omitted here, as the types are but poorly researched to date. Of the local types omitted here, most, but not all, are rare. Copper issues become less plentiful, though a few local types are common, especially of the Tabriz mint. Gold coinage largely disappears, presumably produced mainly for specialized payments rather than everyday circulation.*

#### Weight standards for the 3<sup>rd</sup> period silver coinage:

The first chart applies to the years 736-741, during which time a single currency circulated within the entire Ilkhan empire (with some local standards at peripheral mints, as usual). The second chart shows the four different monetary zones from 741 until the end of Ilkhan rule in 758 (see footnote #556 for details).

Time of Arpa Ga'un			
736	2.88g	2 dirhams	all types
Time of Musa Khan			
736-737	2.88g	2 dirhams	all types
Time of Muhammad Khan			
737	2.88g	2 dirhams	A, FA, FB
	1.44g	dirham	A
737-739	7.56g	6 dirhams	B
	2.52g	2 dirhams	B
	1.26g	dirham	B
Time of Sati Beg			
739-740	2.16g	2 dirhams	all types
	1.08g	dirham	"
	0.54g	½ dirham	"
Time of Taghay Timur			
737-739	7.56g	6 dirhams	KA, RyA
	2.52g	2 dirhams	"
739-740	6.48g	6 dirhams	A, IA, KB, KC, RA
	2.16g	2 dirhams	"
	1.08g	1 dirham	"
741	5.40g	6 dirhams	KD
	1.80g	2 dirhams	"
741 & later	4.32g	6 dirhams	AA, IB, KF, etc.
	1.44g	2 dirhams	"
	0.72g	1 dirham	"

Time of Jihan Timur			
740-741	1.80g 0.90g	2 dirhams dirham	all types "
Time of Sulayman			
739-740	2.16g	2 dirhams	A, FA, SA
740-741	5.40g	6 dirhams	B
	1.80g	2 dirhams	"
	0.90g	dirham	"
741 & later	4.32g	6 dirhams	C, etc.
	1.44g	2 dirhams	"
	0.72g	dirham	"

By the end of the year 741, the Ilkhan region had divided into five currency zones, known as Tabrizi, Baghdadi, Nishapuri, Shirazi, and central Anatolia, each with its own currency.<sup>556</sup> This division remained intact until the 2<sup>nd</sup> conquest by Timur in 795/796. The borders remained largely fixed, though some regions, such as the section between Qazwin, Rayy and Isfahan, occasionally changed their association after 758.

There were also a number of minor local currency zones, principally in portions of the Jazira and the Jibal, not mentioned here. The following table shows the various regions until just after 758, including the coins of subsequent dynasties, noted in this table. Later currency rates are charted here under the Muzaffarid and Jalayrid dynasties.

Tabriz currency zone			
741-750	4.32g 1.44g 0.72g	6 dirhams 2 dirhams dirham	
750-752	3.78g 1.26g	6 dirhams 2 dirhams	
752-758	3.24g 1.08g	6 dirhams 2 dirhams	
	0.54g	dirham	
759-761	2.70g 0.90g	6 dirhams 2 dirhams	Jalayrid "

*Thereafter, Jalayrid coins.*

Baghdad currency zone			
741-746	4.32g 1.44g 0.72g	6 dirhams 2 dirhams dirham	
746-752	3.78g 1.26g	6 dirhams 2 dirhams	Jalayrid "
754	1.08g	2 dirhams	"
755-762	2.70g 0.90g	6 dirhams 2 dirhams	"

*Thereafter, Jalayrid coins.*

Nishapur currency zone			
742-785	4.32g 1.44g 0.72g	6 dirhams (dinar) 2 dirhams dirham	

*Mostly Ilkhan until 752, thereafter mostly Sarbadar & Walid. The dinar weight seems to have gradually declined from about 4.25g to around 4.10g after the 750s. Some local Sarbadar, Walid and other minor dynastic issues corresponded to other currencies, such as the tanka of the Delhi Sultanate.*

Shiraz currency zone			
741-745	4.32g 1.44g	6 dirhams (dinar) 2 dirhams (½ dinar)	
747-749	3.78g 1.26g	dinar ½ dinar	Injuyid "
750-752	3.60g	dinar	"
753	3.24g	dinar	"
755-759	2.88g	dinar	"

*Thereafter, Muzaffarid coins.*

Central Anatolia currency zone			
742 until 767	1.80g	2 dirhams or akçe	

<sup>556</sup> The existence of three separate currency zones, Tabrizi, Baghdadi and Nishapuri was mentioned in a report by the contemporary al-'Umari that was written in 740 or 741 and preserved in the 14 volume historic work of al-Qalqashandi, *Subh al-A'sha*, completed in 814/1412. The actual name of the fourth zone is unknown, but I call it Shiraz, as that was the most productive city in the region. The Anatolia district consists of central and eastern Anatolia, together with the northern parts of the Jazira, which retained a uniform currency until 767, thus after the Ilkhanate extinction. For further information see my article published in 1977, cited here under the Atabegs of Lur Buzurg.

This Anatolian standard was retained principally by the Eretnids, with rapid weight reduction after 767. Local states in the western and coastal districts of Anatolia maintained altogether different monetary systems, perhaps derived from southeastern European currencies.

#### Arpa Ga'un (Mahmud), 736 / 1335-1336

- M2221 AV dinar, Bazar 736 RRR
- 2221 AR 2 dirhams (2.88g), type **A** (plain circle obverse & reverse, ruler's name in Arabic), always dated 736, Bazar & Tabriz least rare RR
- The reverse is identical to the reverse of Abu Sa'id type H (#2218). This reverse continued to be used by Musa (#2223), Muhammad (#2226) and Taghay Timur (#A2240), to indicate that all five types shared a common weight standard and were universally acceptable within the entire Ilkhan territory where type #2218 of Abu Sa'id was in general circulation. This was the last interchangeable design, as the empire became politically fractured by the start of 737, whereafter local designs and regional currencies predominated, though still adhering to a universal weight standard until 740 or 741.
- 2221D AR 2 dirhams (2.88g) (inner circle / circle within hexagram), local type **R** (mint of Aksaray) RRR
- 2221E AR 2 dirhams (2.88g), local type **FA** of Fars (generally as type A but ruler's name in Uighur) RRR  
Struck only at Shiraz and Shabankara.
- 2221F AR 2 dirhams (2.88g), local type **FB** of Fars (square-in-circle, name in Arabic / reverse as #2221.1), Shiraz 736 RRR
- 2222 AE fals RRR

#### Musa Khan, 736-737 / 1336-1337

- T2223 AV dinar, type **A** (plain circle obverse & reverse), Tabriz 736 RRR
- 2223 AR 2 dirhams (2.88g), type **A**, dated 736 only RR  
The reverse is identical to the reverse of Abu Sa'id type H. The obverse is just like #2221.1 but with the name Musa Khan (in Arabic).
- T2224 AV dinar, type **JA** (*sic*), from Baghdad dated 737, style as #2224.3 RRR  
Includes the name of Adam (Arabic *adam*) together with the four pre-Islamic prophets noted under type #2224.3.
- 2224.1 AR 2 dirhams (2.88g), local type **FA** of Fars (fancy hexafoil / square), dated 736 RRR  
Struck at Shiraz and Abu Ishaq.
- 2224.2 AR 2 dirhams (2.88g), type **IA** of Baghdad (inner circle obverse & reverse, ruler's name in Uighur) RRR  
Pre-Islamic prophets cited, as on #2224.3.
- 2224.3 AR 2 dirhams (2.88g), type **JA** of Saveh (inner circle obverse & reverse, ruler's name in Arabic or Uighur) RRR  
In addition to Muhammad and the four Rashidun, types #2224.2 & 2224.3 cite the four pre-Islamic prophets, Nuh (= Noah), Ibrahim (= Abraham), Musa (= Moses) and 'Isa (= Jesus).
- 2225 AE fals, usually mint of Tabriz R

#### Muhammad Khan, 736-738 / 1336-1338

The ruler's name is always in Arabic on all types.

- U2226 AV ½ dinar, *sultan muhammad* on obverse, the denomination (*nim dinar*) on reverse, Yazd mint RRR  
This type has previously been assigned to the Muzaffarid ruler Muhammad, but that seems highly unlikely. Cf. #U2191 of Abu Sa'id.
- V2226 AV dinar, type **A** (plain circle obverse & reverse, as type H of Abu Sa'id, struck in 737 only) RRR
- 2226 AR 2 dirhams (2.88g), type **A**, almost always dated 737, occasionally 738 S
- 2226A AR dirham (1.44g), type **A**, dated 737 RR
- 2227 AV dinar, type **B** (looped hexafoil / 16-foil), dated 738 RR.

The reverse frame is normally 16-foil, but the number of arcs may vary (on all denominations of type B).

- 2228 AR 6 dirhams (dinar, 7.56g), type **B** R
- 2229 AR 2 dirhams (2.52g), type **B** C  
Occasionally dated 739 (R).
- A2230 AR 1 dirham, (1.26g) type **B** R
- V2230 AV dinar, other types, different from types A or B RRR
- 2230.1 AR 2 dirhams, Fars province local type **FA** (inner circle / fancy lobated square, 2.88g), dated 737 only RR
- 2230.2 AR 2 dirhams (2.52g), type **FB** (plain circle / plain square), also dated 737 only RR  
Both subtypes of #2230 were struck at Shabankara & Abu Ishaq (= Kazirun), FA at Shiraz, FB at Shaykh Kabir (= Shiraz).
- 2230J AR 2 dirhams, type **JzA** (inner circle both sides), design and arrangement as #2224.3 of Musa Khan RRR  
Struck at al-Jazira in 737. Mint & pre-Islamic prophets in obverse margin, date & the Rashidun in reverse margin.
- A2231 AE fals, numerous types S

#### Sati Beg, Queen, 739 / 1338-1339

- K2231 AV dinar, several types RRR
- 2231 AR 2 dirhams (2.16g), type **A** (plain hexafoil / circle within pointed quatrefoil, used 739) C  
Only the first half of the kalima, *la ilah illa Allah*, is within the inner circle, *muhammad rasul Allah* within the quatrefoil corners. The names of the four Rashidun lie in the four segments outside the quatrefoil.  
Sati Beg was dethroned and forced to marry Sulayman Khan late in 739, but some Jaziran mints continued to strike type A coins in her name as late as 743. Her title is usually the masculine *al-sultan al-'adil*, more rarely the correct feminine *al-sultana al-'adila*.
- 2232.1 AR 2 dirhams (2.16g), type **IA** (similar, but plain quatrefoil, full kalima within central circle, names of Rashidun in the quatrefoil corners, no inscription outside the quatrefoil), struck at Iraqi & Jaziran mints only, with title *al-sultan al-'adil* R  
For Jaziran and east Anatolian mints (mainly Arzen, Erzurum and Hisn, of which only Hisn is common), issues dated 739 normally follow the weight standard of 2.16g, those of 739-740 weigh 1.80g and those dated 741-743 follow an obscure standard of what appears to be approximately 1.53g. Note that 739 coins of these mints can be either of the first or second standard.  
All other mints applied only the standard of 2.16g, even for coins dated 740.
- 2232.2 AR 2 dirhams (2.16g), type **IA**, as #2232.1 but *al-sultan al-a'zam* R  
Types #2232.1 and 2232.2 were struck normally only in 739, but occasionally in 740, presumably at the very beginning of that year. All retain the masculine grammar.  
This design was adopted as the standard design at Mardin and Amid by the Artuqids of Mardin, and at some other Jaziran mints for nearly a century, always inscribed with the name of the local ruler of the time.

- A2233 AR 1 dirham (1.08g), type **A** RR
- C2233 AR ½ dirham (0.54g), type **A**, Baghdad mint RRR
- B2233 AR 2 dirhams, type **HA** (pointed hexafoil / looped hexagon), Hamadan 739 only RR  
Design as type A of Taghay Timur, except that the obverse is enclosed within a pointed hexafoil instead of a heptagon.
- D2233.1 AE fals, sunface type of Mardin S
- D2233.2 AE fals, other types RR

#### Taghay Timur, 737-754 / 1336-1353

- K2233 AV dinar, various types, Iranian mints RR  
Beginning in this reign and continuing until the first Timurid conquest circa 788/1386, gold types were usually distinct from contemporary silver types, first by the late Ilkhan, thereafter by the Muzaffarids, Jalayrids and others. However, due to their rarity and the paucity of publication, the sequence of gold types remains undetermined.

L2233	AV dinar, design as type IB (#2237 in silver), Baghdad mint	RR	N2240	AR 6 dirhams (3.78g), type <b>UB</b> (plain quatrefoil / plain lobated square), region of Lur Buzurg, dated 750	RR
M2233	AV dinar, design as type KB, known for Astarabad 739 and Saveh 739 <sup>557</sup>	RRR	2240	AR 6 dirhams (7.56g), first Khorasan type <b>KA</b> (looped hexafoil / fancy octofoil, ruler's name in Arabic, Sunni reverse), used 738-739	R
N2233	AV dinar, design as type KB, known for Damghan 741 (Tübingen 97-6-46)	RRR		Types #2240 and 2240A were struck at mints throughout Khorasan. For similar issues of Amul, see #2240L-2240N, as coins of Amul were struck to a lighter standard.	
2233	AR 6 dirhams (6.48g), type <b>A</b> (plain heptagon / hexagon, looped at the corners), struck 739-740	R		The reverse octofoil usually has the alternate arcs pointed.	
	Type A was struck at many mints throughout Iran, but not in the northeast (Khorasan and adjacent provinces), which employed different designs and monetary weights (#2240 ff). The date in words appears beneath the ruler's titles within the heptagon.			Types KA-KN were a series of 14 types struck sequentially at more than 15 mints in Khorasan and Mazandaran over a period of just 16 years, 738-754. The initial standard of the dinar (6 dirhams) was 7.56g, reduced in three stages by 742 to 4.32g (one mithqal), which was retained thereafter in Khorasan. <sup>560</sup>	
	Only the double dirham of type A is common. The 6-dirham type was struck at mints in Fars and Kirman provinces.				
2234	AR 2 dirhams (2.16g), type <b>A</b>	C	2240A	AR 2 dirhams (2.52g), type <b>KA</b>	RR
	Known dated 739-740 but only the year 739 is common.		2240B	AR 2 dirhams (4.32g), type <b>KA</b> , mithqal standard, <b>Sunni</b> reverse, Amul 738 only	S
2234H	AR 2 dirhams (2.16g), type <b>HA</b> , as type A but reverse in pointed hexafoil instead of plain hexagon, Hamadan 739	RR		This type may not have been produced until the introduction of the 4.32g weight standard in 742, but pseudo-dated 738 for some unknown political reason. However, I consider it more likely that Amul adopted the 4.32g standard as early as 739 and struck the coins for several years with a frozen date. Coins of the 6.48g standard were struck at Amul & dated 738 & 739. There are no known coins of Amul struck to the 5.40g standard of 741.	
2234I	AR 2 dirhams (2.16g), type <b>HB</b> , as type HA but the date is written outside the heptagon rather than in the field, also Hamadan 739	RRR	2240C	AR 6 dirhams (4.32g), type <b>KA</b> , mithqal standard, <b>Shi'ite</b> reverse with the names of the 12 Imams added to the reverse field	S
2235	AR 2 dirhams (2.16g), type <b>RA</b> (as type A, but the obverse is in a hexagon)	C		Struck at Amul & Jurjan dated 738, and at Amul 743-746. This type was most likely introduced after the local types of Amul (#M2246-P2246), which are all dated 742 only. It is not known why so many examples of this type bore the frozen date 738, much more common than 743-746.	
	The crucial distinction between types A and RA (heptagon in Iran versus hexagon in Anatolia) has been overlooked by previous writers. <sup>558</sup> Type RA was produced only at Anatolian mints, dated 739, except for a few rare examples are dated 740-743.			The probable order for 6-dirham coin types struck at Amul, #1 in the name of Muhammad Khan, #2-6 of Taghay Timur:	
A2236	AR 1 dirham (1.08g), type <b>RA</b>	RR			
2236	AR 2 dirhams (2.16g), first Iraqi type <b>IA</b> (design exactly as Sati Beg type IA but in the name of Taghay Timur), struck in 739 only	R			
	All three Iraqi types were struck at in central & southern Iraq, but type IB was also struck at Irbil, Tustar (= Shushtar in Khuzestan), and "Sultaniya", an unknown location probably in Iraq.				
2237	AR 6 dirhams (4.32g), second Iraqi type <b>IB</b> (pointed hexafoil / plain circle), used 741-744	S			
2238	AR 2 dirhams (1.44g), type <b>IB</b>	A			
	A hoard rumored to have contained 50,000 coins (more likely between 10,000 and 15,000), nearly all of this type, was found in the mid 1980s, allegedly in Damascus. <sup>559</sup> Well struck examples with clear mint & date are uncommon.				
A2239	AR 1 dirham (0.72g), type <b>IB</b>	RR	2240D	AR 2 dirhams (1.44g), as #2240C, Shi'ite reverse	R
2239	AR 2 dirhams (1.44g), third Iraqi type <b>IC</b> (circle notched at three equidistant points / plain or concave square), used 744-745	S	2240E	AR 1 dirham (0.72g), Shi'ite reverse, similar	RR
	Ruler's name & titles entirely in Uighur. This type was followed by Sulayman's type C2260 at some point during the year 745.		2240L	AR 6 dirhams (6.48g), as #2240 but mint of Amul, Sunni reverse, struck to standard of type KB, dated 738	RR
A2240	AR 2 dirhams (2.88g), type <b>RyA</b> (circle inscribed within a pointed hexafoil / reverse as type H of Abu Sa'id), struck at Rayy in 737 only	RRR	2240M	AR 2 dirhams (2.16g), as #2240A but mint of Amul, Sunni reverse, dated 739 ( <i>sic</i> )	RR
	This is the only coin dated 737 in the name of Taghay Timur.		2240N	AR 1 dirham (1.08g), as last, also Amul mint and Sunni reverse, dated 739 ( <i>sic</i> )	RRR
B2240	AR 2 dirhams (1.80g), type <b>HA</b> (as Sulayman's type B, inner circle / ornamented square, but in the name of Taghay Timur), Hamadan 741 only	R	2241	AR 6 dirhams (6.48g), second Khorasan type <b>KB</b> (looped hexafoil / octofoil with points in outer segments, ruler's name in Uighur), used 739-740	C
M2240	AR 6 dirhams (3.78g), type <b>UA</b> (pointed quatrefoil / fancy lobated square), region of Lur Buzurg, dated 748 or undated	RR	2242	AR 2 dirhams (2.16g), type <b>KB</b>	R
	Types UA & UB are normally without mint, though the mint of Bandez, a town not from Aydhaj, is known for both (RRR). They are assigned to Lur Buzurg due to hoard evidence and similarity to type UA of Anushiravan.		A2243	AR 1 dirham (1.08g), type <b>KB</b>	RR
			B2243	AR 6 dirhams (6.48g), third Khorasan type <b>KC</b> (obverse as KB, reverse in plain circle)	RRR
				Known only from Nishapur in 739 and Sabzawar in 740.	

	TYPE	WEIGHT	DATES ON COINS	ACTUAL DATES STRUCK	RELIGIOUS TEXT
1	#2228	7.56g	738	738	Sunni
2	#2240L	6.48g	"738-739"	739	Sunni
3	#2240B	4.32g	"738"	740-741	Sunni
4	#P2246	4.32g	742	742	Shi'ite
5	#M2246	4.32g	742	742	Shi'ite
6	#2240C	4.32g	"738", 743-746	742-746	Shi'ite

Types #M2246-P2246 are the local types struck at Amul in 742. The assumption that #P2246 preceded #M2246 is tentative.

<sup>557</sup> Tübingen 92-2-105, 4.19g (Astarabad), NY sale 23, lot 464, 7.06g (Saveh, with hard 's' in mint name). Saveh is the mint furthest to the west that employed a Khorasanian type, known only for type KD in both gold and silver.

<sup>558</sup> Also missed by Diler.

<sup>559</sup> More likely, the hoard contained only 10,000-15,000 coins, unless a large portion of the hoard was melted down, or sold to an "investor".

<sup>560</sup> The Khorasanian series was interrupted briefly within much of the region by a series of five types in the name of Sulayman (#A2259-2259S), struck 743-745. Thus there were 19 types in all, within a span of just 16 years!

Most of the 19 types dated after 744 were struck at only one or a few mints. Some types were simultaneously produced in different regions, as from time to time, the entire area between Amul and Nishapur was divided into several hostile states.

2243	AR 6 dirhams, (5.40g) fourth Khorasan type <b>KD</b> (double entwined trefoil / simple octofoil), dated 741 only	C	P2246	AR 6 dirhams (4.32g), type <b>AB</b> (hexafoil inscribed within a circle / 16-foil), Amul 742 only	RR
2244	AR 2 dirhams (1.80g), type <b>KD</b>	R		One of the most beautifully engraved Islamic coins of all times. Shi'ite reverse as #M2246, but with the 12 <sup>th</sup> Imam cited as <i>Muhammad al-Hujja</i> .	
A2245	AR 6 dirhams, fifth Khorasan type <b>KE</b> (plain quatrefoil / inner circle with Qur'an 3:25 in outer margin)	RR?	R2246	AR 6 dirhams (circa 3.78g), type <b>RnA</b> (highlighted pointed hexafoil / quatrefoil, pointed alternatively inward & outward), Ruyan mint, 745 only <sup>562</sup>	RRR
	Struck only at Sabzawar, 74x (full date not determined), weight unknown.		S2246	AR 6 dirhams (circa 3.60g), type <b>RnB</b> (looped hexafoil / octofoil), Ruyan 750 only	R
H2245	AR ¼ tanka (about 2.75g), type <b>KE</b> but with the names of the 12 Shi'ite Imams instead of the Qur'anic inscription in outer margin <sup>561</sup>	RRR	X2246	AR, various denominations, local types from various Iranian and Anatolian mints, at least a dozen different local types (all at least R)	
2245	AR 6 dirhams (4.32g), sixth Khorasan type <b>KF</b> (looped quatrefoil / plain circle), struck 742-744	C	2246	AE fals, many types, mostly from Khorasan	S
	Some fifteen mints for 742, Bazar only for 743 & 744. Many of the Khorasanian mints struck coins dated 743-745 in the name of Sulayman (types #A2259-2259S).			Khorasanian fulus are normally pictorial, other areas normally purely inscriptional with geometric patterns.	
2245D	AR 6 dirhams (circa 3.85g), type <b>KF</b> but reverse in plain highlighted square, 744 only	RR	<b>Jihan Timur, 740-741 / 1339-1340</b>		
	Struck at Astarabad and Shahrstan, also Bazar (Zeno-42825). Reduced weight similar to some issues of Sulayman's type #2259B, but this reduced weight was quickly abandoned.		2247	AR 2 dirhams (1.80g), type <b>A</b> (ornate pentafoil / ornate quatrefoil), mints in Iraq, the Jazira, and eastern Anatolia	S
A2246	AR 6 dirhams (4.32g), seventh Khorasan type <b>KG</b> (hexagram / plain circle, mint on both sides), Damghan 744 only	RRR		At least 11 different mints known, but only al-Jazira is known dated 741. Jihan Timur was a nominal ruler set upon the throne by Shaykh Hasan Buzurg, founder of the Jalayrid dynasty. The Erzincan mint used a slightly differently arranged design for the same type (RR), Khilat has the mint name at the bottom of the obverse field rather than in the surrounding margin.	
B2246	AR 6 dirhams (4.32g), eighth Khorasan type <b>KH</b> (plain inner circle, with outer margin legend interrupted by four annulets / plain octofoil or dodekafoil), dated 746	RR		No gold coins reported for this reign.	
	Struck at Damghan and Bazar only.		A2248	AR 1 dirham (0.90g), type <b>A</b>	RRR
	From this type (KH) until the last Khorasanian type (KN), the actual weight standard of the 6 dirhams denomination seems to have been lowered to about 4.25g or slightly less.		B2248	AR 1 dirham (1.08g), type <b>SA</b> (hexagon / looped hexagon), used only at Samsun	RR
C2246	AR 6 dirhams (4.32g), ninth Khorasan type <b>KI</b> (Uighur inscription in hexafoil with alternate arcs pointed / lobated square), about ten mints, dated 746-747	S		Type is identical to RA of Taghay Timur except for the name. Known dated 740-742.	
D2246	AR 6 dirhams (4.32g), tenth Khorasan type <b>KJ</b> (plain square / inner circle as obverse of B2246), dated 747-748	R	C2248	AR 2 dirhams (1.80g), type <b>IA</b> (hexafoil / dodekafoil), al-Basra mint (Diler-761)	RRR
E2246.1	AR 6 dirhams (4.32g), 11 <sup>th</sup> Khorasan type <b>KK</b> (vertically elongated octofoil / plain circle, no annulets), Bazar and Dihistan 750 only	RR		Design derived from type B of Muhammad Khan (#2229). All known specimens have date off flan. This type may have also been struck at other Iraqi mints.	
E2246.2	AR 6 dirhams (4.32g), as #2246.1 but reverse in plain square, also Bazar 750 only	RR	<b>Sulayman, 739-746 / 1339-1346</b>		
F2246	AR 6 dirhams (4.32g), 12 <sup>th</sup> Khorasan type <b>KL</b> (lobated square / spiraled Kufic kalima in plain square), 752 only	RR	F2248	AV dinar, various types, usually distinct from contemporary silver types	RR
	The "square" is without a border, but rather the shape of the kalima inscription.		W2248	AR 6 dirhams (theoretically 6.48g), type <b>A</b> (looped ornamented hexagon / inner circle)	RRR
G2246	AR 4 dirhams (or ¼ tanka to Delhi standard) (circa 2.75g), 13 <sup>th</sup> Khorasan type <b>KM</b> (looped octagon / plain octofoil), 752 only	R		Known only from Firuzan and dated 740 (Zeno-1491), weighing 5.2g, thus corresponding to the weight of #2243 (type KD of Taghay Timur, always dated 741). It could also be a 5 dirham coin (5 x 1.08g = 5.40g) based on the Khorasan coinage of 740. The 6-dirhams has on the reverse a double inner circle, but the 2-dirhams normally has a single inner circle.	
	For the denomination of #G2246, see note to #2342.1. Struck at about eight mints. This type is similar to type G of Abu Sa'id.		2248	AR 2 dirhams (2.16g), type <b>A</b> , dated 739-740	RR
H2246	AR 6 dirhams (4.32g), 14 <sup>th</sup> Khorasan type <b>KN</b> (hexafoil / plain square), Bazar mint, dated 753-754, often with blundered date	S		Types A through G were restricted to the central regions that recognized Sulayman, comprising central and northwestern Iran and the Caucasus, with its capital at Tabriz. Types A through D and type G were struck at numerous mints, especially B, C and D.	
	Some examples dated 754 have the obverse in an octofoil.		2249	AR 6 dirhams (5.40g), type <b>B</b> (inner circle / ornamented square), used 740-741	R
M2246	AR 6 dirhams (4.32g), type <b>AA</b> (hexafoil / plain inner circle), Amul 742 only	R		Ruler's name in Arabic on all denominations of type B. Some mints ignored the ornamentation within the square on the reverse. The obverse margin is frequently divided by 4 annulets, sometimes by stars.	
	Full Shi'ite reverse, with 'ali wali Allah and the names of the twelve Imams.		2250	AR 2 dirhams (1.80g), type <b>B</b>	C
N2246	AR 2 dirhams (1.44g), similar	RR	2251	AR 6 dirhams (4.32g), type <b>C</b> (inner octofoil / octofoil), used 741-743	R
O2246	AR 1 dirham (0.72g), similar	RR		Only the obverse has a marginal legend outside the octofoil, which contains the mint & date in words, usually separated into four sections by stars (all denominations). The name Sulayman is normally in Uighur, occasionally in Arabic.	

<sup>561</sup> Also citing Abu Bakr, first of the Rashidun, within the inner circle.

<sup>562</sup> (Zeno-88696) Local type, weight standard apparently identical to type #2245D dated 744 and the Lur Buzurg types struck 748-750. Type #S2246 has a reduced weight standard, probably 3.60g.

2252	AR 2 dirhams (1.44g), type C	C	B2260	AR 2 dirhams (1.44g), type FA	RR
	A common variant of Tabriz has the mint in the obverse field.		C2260	AR 2 dirhams (1.44g), first Iraqi type <b>IA</b> (inner circle / mihrab as on type G), struck mainly at Baghdad, 745-746	R
2252A	AR 1 dirham (0.72g), type C	RR		The Rashidun are cited either with or without their epithets. Equal rarity.	
2253	AR 6 dirhams (4.32g), type <b>D</b> (eye-shape / plain circle), used 743-744	R	D2260	AR 2 dirhams (1.44g), type <b>IB</b> (square / inner circle), struck mainly at Baghdad in 746	RR
2254	AR 2 dirhams (1.44g), type D	A		Similar to the Jalayrid Shaykh Hasan's type A (#2295.1). On the obverse of #2295.1 the Uighur name <i>Sulayman Khan</i> has been replaced by just <i>Khan</i> , also in the Uighur script.	
	The name Sulayman is always in Uighur (all denominations).			Types IA and IB were struck under Jalayrid rule, their last issues citing an Ilkhan ruler, followed by 13 years of anonymous types.	
2254A	AR 1 dirham (0.72g), type D	RR	F2260	AR 1 dirham (1.08g), type <b>SA</b> (as type RA of Taghay Timur except for name of ruler)	RR
2254E	AR, 2 dirhams (1.44g), as type D but with reverse in octofoil	R		Struck mainly at Samsun, quite barbarous. Most specimens weigh between 0.90 and 0.95g, well below the theoretical standard. Known dated 742 & 743.	
	Struck at Avnik & Erzurum, dated 743 but struck later, likely in the 750s or 760s by local authorities (Armenian?). Most specimens weigh between 1.35g and 1.42g. The calligraphy is usually highly stylized, with numerous misspellings.			Mints of Konya and Erzurum are also reported.	
2255	AR 2 dirhams (1.44g), type <b>E</b> (quatrefoil / inner circle), used 744-745	R	G2260	AR 2 dirhams (1.26g or slightly lighter), type <b>JzA</b> (square / inner circle), struck at al-Jazira	RR
	Struck only at Tabriz, Hamadan & Maragha.			Somewhat similar to D2260 (IB) but differently arranged. Ruler's name in Uighur.	
2255A	AR 1 dirham (0.75g), type E, reported only for Sultaniya, weak date, probably for 744	RRR	I2260.1	AR 6 dirhams (4.32g), type <b>JA</b> (quatrefoil / pointed pentafoil), known from Isfahan 743 only	RRR
2256	AR 2 dirhams (1.44g), type <b>F</b> (inner circle / square), used 745-746	RR	I2260.2	AR 6 dirhams (4.32g), type <b>JB</b> , as last but reverse in plain circle, date unknown	RRR
	Distinguished from type B by the lack of annulets in the obverse margin, overall style and weight standard. Struck only at Tabriz.		J2260	AR 2 dirhams (1.44g), type <b>KhA</b> (pentagram, ruler's name in Uighur / plain circle), Khilat mint, dated 744 (Zeno-30221)	RRR
2257	AR 2 dirhams (1.44g), type <b>G</b> (pointed hexafoil with margin divided into 6 clouds / mihrab reverse), the ruler's name in Uighur, 745 only	A	X2260	AR various denominations and weights, local types not included above	S+
	Struck only at about 10 mints within the Jazira, together with Hamadan. Hisn is by far the only common mint. <sup>563</sup> The type was subsequently adopted by Anushiravan for his type A (#2261). At Hisn, this type continued to be issued with immobilized date 745 until the invasion of Timur in 796/1393. Later strikes are usually considerably blundered, struck on increasingly debased silver, but generally retaining the 1.44g weight standard.			At least half a dozen additional local silver types are known for Sulayman, mostly rare and little understood, mainly 2 dirham coins from mints in the Jazira or the Jibal.	
2257H	AR 2 dirhams (1.44g), type <b>HA</b> (octofoil / octofoil), struck only at Hamadan in 741	RR	2260	AE fals, many types, mostly pictorial	S
	Differs from type C (#2252) by the legend arrangements. Ruler's name always in Arabic.		<b>Anushiravan, 745-757 / 1344-1356</b>		
2258	AR 2 dirhams (1.44g), type <b>MA</b> , dated 741 only, designs as Sati Beg's type IA	R		Anushiravan was a puppet of the Chupanids, whose capital was at Tabriz, the most common mint for all of Anushiravan's types A through J. The Chupanids never placed their own names on the coinage (one exception, type #2774M in the name of Malik Ashraf), but used the name of a putative Ilkhan puppet ruler, first Sati Beg, then Sulayman, then Anushiravan, finally Ghazan II.	
	Struck at Mardin, Amid & al-Hattakh. This type and its successors at Mardin & Amid (see note to #2232.2) were always weakly struck and are usually found heavily worn. The type was produced until as late as 748, but always dated 741.			Anushiravan allegedly spent his 13 "ruling" years confined to a gilded birdcage, but I don't believe that.	
2259	AR 6 dirhams (4.32g), first Khorasan type <b>KA</b> (hexafoil / octofoil), dated 743	RR	A2261	AV dinar, various types	RR
	In the first edition, types #2259 through 2259C were all lumped together as #2259.			Diler indicates gold dinars of three special types used only for gold coinage (two from Tabriz, one from Qazwin), plus Tabriz dinars of types A and C.	
	Six mints produced the first 3 types, Damghan, Isfarrayin, Jajerm, Jurjan, Sabzawar and Simnan, but not all mints for each type.		U2261	AR 6 dirhams (4.32g), type A (as #2261), issuing mint unknown	RR
2259A	AR 6 dirhams (4.32g), type <b>KB</b> (quatrefoil / square), dated 743	S	2261	AR 2 dirhams (1.44g), type <b>A</b> (pointed hexafoil, with margin divided into 6 clouds / mihrab), Anushiravan's first mihrab type, identical to type G of Sulayman, dated 745-746	C
2259B	AR 6 dirhams (4.32g), type <b>KC</b> (octofoil / octofoil, similar to general type C), dated 743-745 <sup>564</sup>	S		Types A through J were used at numerous mints in northwestern Iran and the Caucasus for the double dirham, at a few Jibal mints for the six-dirham coins. Minor variants are known for most of these types.	
2259C	AR 6 dirhams (4.32g), type <b>KD</b> (square / plain circle), Damghan 743 only	RR	2262	AR 2 dirhams (1.44g), type <b>B</b> (plain circle with name in Uighur / kalima arranged in a triangle with the Rashidun cited inside), 746 only	S
2259S	AR 4 dirhams (about 2.85g), type KC, as #2259B but longer protocol, struck only at the rare mint of Shasiman in 744	RR	2263	AR 2 dirhams (1.44g), type <b>C</b> (partially looped octofoil / diamond), dated 746-748	R
A2260	AR 6 dirhams (4.32g), Fars type <b>FA</b> (octofoil / square), dated 741-742	S		On some coins, the obverse field border resembles a looped diamond, <i>i.e.</i> , the intermediate arcs are almost straight, struck principally at Kighi in eastern Anatolia and Alagiz (Elegis) in Armenia.	
	Most common mints are Yazd and Shaykh Kabir (= Shiraz).		2263A	AR 1 dirham (0.72g), type C	RR
<hr/>					
	<sup>563</sup> A large hoard of type G, nearly all of Hisn mint and in choice condition, reached the market about 1980. About 5% of the hoard were other types, mostly Iraqi and Jaziran mints, with terminal date 746. The source of the hoard is unknown. I purchased over 2,000 pieces (and still have over 400, in stock in 2010), but now believe the total quantity in the hoard was at least 3,000-4,000, possibly more.		2264.1	AR 2 dirhams (1.44g), type <b>D1</b> (plain circle with mint in marginal region / mihrab), 748 only	S
	<sup>564</sup> Type KC issues of Simnan and Damghan were struck to a lighter standard of about 3.85g.				

2264.2	AR 2 dirhams (1.44g), type <b>D2</b> (plain circle with interlinear mint / mihrab) , dated 748-750	C	2272	AR 2 dirhams (1.08g), type A (“triangle” / pointed hexafoil), bilingual, northwestern Iranian and Caucasian mints, dated 757-758	RR
	The mihrab on types 2264.1 and 2264.2 is formed from the Arabic word <i>fasayakfikahum</i> , as on Abu Sa’id’s type C, whereas the mihrab is a simple line on type A. Coins dated 750 normally bear the word <i>hijriya</i> following the date.			The “triangle” is actually the ruler’s name in Uighur, <i>sultan / gasan / han</i> , with <i>khulida mulkuhu</i> in Arabic in the center, the mint & date around. <sup>568</sup>	
2265	AR 2 dirhams (1.26g), type <b>E</b> (eye-shape / square), 750 only	S	2273	AR 6 dirhams (about 2.1g), first Jibal type <b>JA</b> (pointed pentafoil / plain hexafoil), 758 only	RR
2266	AR 2 dirhams (1.26g), type <b>F</b> (looped hexafoil / plain circle), 752 only	R		Minted only at Qumm, dated either in words or numerals. The Jibal (“mountains”) was the region of central Iran, with principal centers at Rayy, Sultaniya, Isfahan, and Hamadan. Ruler’s name in Arabic.	
	On many examples the reverse circle is surrounded by four petals, sometimes entwined with the circle.		2274	AR 6 dirhams (about 2.1g), second Jibal type <b>JB</b> (trefoil / plain circle), 758 only	RR
T2267	AR 6 dirhams (3.26g), type <b>G</b> (partially looped hexafoil / square containing spiraled Kufic kalima), mints of Rayy & Qazwin, presumably dated 753	RR		Only reported mint is Saveh.	
2267	AR 2 dirhams (1.08g), type G, dated 753	S	<b>CHUPANID</b>		
T2268	AR 6 dirhams (3.26g), type <b>H</b> (looped hexagon / circle inscribed within quatrefoil), mint of Rayy only, known dated 754	RR	<i>The Chupanids were the actual rulers operating in the names of the later Ilkhans at Tabriz, with only one numismatic issue in their own name.</i>		
2268	AR 2 dirhams (1.08g), type H, dated 754	R	<b>Malik Ashraf (Ghiyath al-Din), 745-757 or 758 / 1344-1356 or 1357</b>		
T2269	AR 6 dirhams (3.24g), type <b>I</b> (nonafoil / ornamented rectangular lozenge), mint of Rayy only	RR	2274M	AR dinar (2.16g), Kashan mint only, undated	RRR
	Tübingen specimen lacks most of the date, probably 755, as on the 2 dirhams.			Denomination uncertain. Tübingen 98-7-3.	
2269	AR 2 dirhams (1.08g), type I, dated 755	RR	<b>POST-MONGOL IRAN</b>		
2269J	AR 2 dirhams (1.08g), type <b>J</b> (concave dodekagon / plain square), several mints, dated 756 <sup>565</sup>	RRR	From the collapse of the Ilkhanate to the rise of the Safavids, roughly 1335-1500, Iran was divided amongst various dynasties of Mongol, Turkish and Persian origins. Those of the 14 <sup>th</sup> century struck a plethora of types to a great variety of weight standards. Most rulers of this period struck a central coinage in their principal cities, together with local types for numerous outlying locales. The central coinage is listed here as completely as possible—new discoveries are now relatively infrequent—whereas the local coinage is not fully listed for all rulers. One exception is the Muzaffarid king Shah Shuja’, whose local issues are listed here following my latest research (but assuredly incomplete!), over 30 types in a dozen different regions. The weight standards are tabulated for each ruler, for assistance in dating both undated coins and dated coins where the year is not preserved. The tables include the period of use for each standard, the weight in grams, the denomination using that weight, and the principal types using that weight.		
2270	AR 6 dirhams (3.60g), type <b>UA</b> (inner circle / square), struck at Lur Buzurg (= southern Luristan) & Kuhgiluya, dated 750-752	R	In 796/1393, Timur (Tamerlane) abolished most of the local standards and introduced the <i>tanka</i> , at first about 6.2 grams, reduced in three stages to about 4.78g over the succeeding century, with occasional regional variations. The <i>tanka</i> (also called <i>tenga</i> or <i>denga</i> in later times) formed the basic unit of the currency in most parts of Iran and Central Asia throughout the 15 <sup>th</sup> century, and until 1920 in Central Asia, and has recently been revived as a denomination in post-Soviet Uzbekistan. The term is of Sanskrit origin.		
	The weight range is considerable, from about 3.30g to 3.65g. The design is identical to type D of the Injuvid Abu Ishaq (#2275.4) but in the name of Anushiravan. Strictly speaking, there are issues of the Hazaraspids of Luristan, who struck anonymous coinage 751-757 (types #2291-2293), thereafter in the name of the Muzaffarids, etc. Neither the Chupanids or Anushiravan exercised any control in Luristan.		From the 740s/1340s until 907/1501, silver coinage was predominant, supplemented in some regions with modest copper coinage, and occasionally with minimal amounts of gold coinage. Prior to 796/1394, the principal silver denomination was derived from the Ilkhan silver dinar, at first valued at six dirhams, but after about 780/1380 itself the smallest denomination and the basis of the monetary system.		
2270R	AR dinar (probably 2.88g), type <b>RA</b> (trefoil / central panel, looped top & bottom), Rayy 755 only	RR	The silver <i>tanka</i> , derived from the Chaghatayid dinar <i>kebeki</i> , emerged as the principal silver denomination after 782, at first at Herat, then throughout Khorasan commencing in the late 780s, finally everywhere in Iran and Central Asia after 796. Under the Timurids, the <i>tanka</i> was normally valued according to a notional quantity of the accounting dinar, as were all Iranian gold, silver and copper coins following the Safavid expansion beginning in		
2270S	AR ½ dinar (probably 0.96g), type RA, Rayy mint, probably also dated 755	RRR			
2270X	AR, various denominations, mostly 6-dirham coins from Iranian mints, many varieties, new examples still occasionally discovered	all R+			
2271.1	AE fals, many types, light standard (approximately 1.0-3.5g), usually pictorial or geometric, principally Tabriz mint, numerous types	R			
2271.2	AE heavy fals (approximately 12g), Tabriz mint, several types, known dated 752 & 754	RR			
<b>Ghazan II, 757-758 / 1356-1357</b>					
Although already published in the 1850s, coins of type #2272 were misattributed to the Jalayrid Shaykh Hasan, as Hasan and Ghazan are usually written identically in Uighur ( <i>gasan</i> ). His other types were first discovered later, #2273 & 2274 from a group of several dozen I acquired in the 1970s (a selection now in Tübingen), A2272 and V2272 more recently. <sup>566</sup>					
A2272	AV dinar (pointed pentafoil / plain circle), ruler’s name in Arabic, Tabriz mint only <sup>567</sup>	RRR			
V2272	AR 5 dirhams (2.70g), type <b>A</b> as noted for #2272, known from Rayy 757	RRR			

<sup>565</sup> Diler An-832, who knew of this type only the mint of Bazar. This type now appears on Zeno from seven mints, Bazar, Gushtasbi, Khuy, Maragha, Serah, Sharur, and Tabriz.

<sup>566</sup> The roughly 60-70 pieces cost me 15 rial each (about US 20¢, \$1.20 in 2011 money), but one recently sold at auction for US \$1700 (SARC auction 10, lot 948, \$1955 including the buyer’s fee).

<sup>567</sup> Spink-Taisei, Auction 27, 1 June 1988, lot 360.

<sup>568</sup> Ghazan II is omitted from almost all contemporary & later chronicles. His existence was unearthed in the 1970s by Lutz Ilisch.

907/1501, when the term tanka was replaced by the shahi, then valued at 50 dinars. This monetary policy survived until 1930.<sup>569</sup>

The kingdoms in central and eastern Anatolia (Eretnids & their successors) did not follow these weight standards for their silver coinage. Their standards are described individually alongside the listings. They produced no gold coinage.

Although the gold “dinar” was a bullion issue struck at random weight until the 790s/1390s (except for the northeastern issues of the Sufids in Khwarizm and the Sarbadarids in Khorasan mints), the limited production of gold “dinars” thereafter usually followed a fixed weight standard. These include the Mehrabanid gold “tanka”, derived from contemporary issues of the Delhi Sultanate, the Qara Qoyunlu and Aq Qoyunlu “ashrafi”, derived from the Mamluk ashrafi, and the very few Timurid gold coins. As for the relationship between the silver and gold dinars, it was probably left to the market.

In the post-Ilkhan coinage, the kalima is arranged primarily in nine different formats, cited here by the K-number when appropriate.

- K1.** *la ilah illa / Allah muhammad / rasul Allah* in three lines.
- K2.** *la ilah illa Allah / muhammad rasul Allah* in two lines.
- K3.** *la ilah illa Allah / muhammad / rasul Allah*, in three lines with the first *Allah* written above *ilah*.
- K4.** As K3, the but first line written right to left in a single line.
- K5.** *la ilah illa Allah muhammad rasul Allah* forming a square with central cavity, in which the mint name is normally inscribed, sometimes with *duriba*, more rarely with the date as well, and sometimes positioned within a cartouche; the kalima is almost always in Kufic script.
- K6.** Square Kufic kalima spiraled towards the center, usually forming a square without central cavity, occasionally with *salla Allah 'alayhi* added as well.
- K7.** *la ilah illa Allah / muhammad rasul Allah / 'ali wali Allah* in three lines (Shi'ite).
- K8.** *la ilah illa / Allah muhammad / rasul Allah / salla Allah 'alayhi* in four lines.
- K9.** *la ilah illa Allah / muhammad rasul Allah / salla Allah 'alayhi* in three lines.

There are many additional forms or minor variations, usually ignored in the type descriptions here.

## INJUYID

Originally governors to the Ilkhans, the Injuyids became independent in the early 740s, establishing their capital at Shiraz. They lost Shiraz in 754 and were finally swept away by the Muzaffarid Muhammad b. al-Muzaffar in 757/1356. Their dynastic name derives from their position as overseers of the Ilkhan's personal lands in Fars. Royal lands were known in Mongolian as the *inju*, and the name was applied to the future dynasty when the founder Sharaf al-Din Mahmud was appointed by the Ilkhan Abu Sa'id to administer the royal properties in Fars province, circa 725/1325.

At least 17 mints are known, of which Shiraz, Shabankara, Yazd, Kazirun, and Isfahan are the least rare. In addition to the six principal types, there exists at least one rare local type, as noted below. Silver coins are almost always poorly made, with considerable weakness; fully struck examples are rare.

After a brief anonymous issue assigned to Mahmud, coins of the Injuyid mints of the years 741-744 are purely Ilkhan coinage, usually in the normal Ilkhan types, occasionally in a local type, such as type FA of Sulayman dated 741-742 (except for the solitary anonymous type #A2275). Beginning in 745, all coins of the Injuyid territories cite the dynastic ruler.

Weight standards for Abu Ishaq, with known dates & types:

745	4.32g	dinar (= 6 dirhams)	A
747-749	3.78g	dinar	B
750-752	3.60g	dinar	C, D
752-753	3.24g	dinar	E
755-756	2.88g	dinar	F

Individual specimens are often considerably light, by up to 10% or more, occasionally slightly overweight.

## temp. Mahmud Shah, 740-743 / 1339-1342

A2275 AR dinar (2.16g), anonymous, struck only at Shiraz and undated RRR  
By weight, this dinar was likely struck in 740 or early 741.

## Abu Ishaq, 743-757 / 1342-1356

- B2275 AV dinar (random weights in the range of 4-10g) RRR  
Design types seem always to differ from contemporary silver types; very few specimens are known. Some bear his additional title *jalah al-dunya wa'l-din*.
- 2275.1 AR dinar (4.32g), type **A** (hexafoil / plain circle), with title *al-wathiq bi-ghawth Allah* (“confident of assistance from God”), dated 745 only RR
- 2275.2 AR dinar (3.78g), type **B** (pointed quatrefoil / fancy octofoil), title *al-mutawakkil 'ala Allah* (“trusting in God”), struck 747-749 C  
Well-struck examples with clear mint & date are very scarce.
- 2275.3 AR dinar (3.60g), type **C** (diamond / octagon), title as B, 750 only R
- 2275.4 AR dinar (3.60g), type **D** (inner circle / plain square), title as B, 750-752 S
- 2275.5 AR dinar (3.24g), type **E** (pointed octofoil / pointed hexafoil), title as B, 752-753 S
- 2275.6 AR dinar (2.88g), type **F** (pointed cinquefoil / mihrab), with title *al-sultan al-a'zam*, 755-756 R  
Kashan is the least rare mint for this type, struck after Abu Ishaq lost Shiraz to the Muzaffarids in 754.
- 2275K AR dinar (3.24g), local type **KzA** (hexafoil / plain circle), struck only at Kazirun in 753 RR
- 2276 AR ½ dinar, various types & weights R

## MUZAFFARID

Album, Stephen, “Power and Legitimacy: The coinage of Mubarez al-Din Muhammad ibn al-Muzaffar at Yazd and Kirman,” *Le monde iranien et l'Islam*, vol. 2 (1974), pp. 157-171.

Originally Ilkhan governors at Yazd, the Muzaffarids emerged as independent during the collapse of Ilkhan rule after the death of Abu Sa'id, although their coins (at Yazd) continued to be struck in the name of the Ilkhans until about 742, followed by Injuyid issues 748-753, anonymous Muzaffarid issues 754-755, then in the Muzaffarid ruler's names beginning in 756.<sup>570</sup> Shah Shuja', who disgracefully obtained power by parricide in 759, was nonetheless the most illustrious of the dynasty and the patron of Iran's most renowned poet, Hafez-e Shirazi, whose tomb is still a popular tourist site in Shiraz. After the death of Shah Shuja' in 786/1384, the kingdom, already threatened by the rise of Timur, broke up into warring factions. At the culmination of the Timurid conquest in 795/1393, Timur invited all the remaining Muzaffarid princes to a dinner party, including Shah Mahmud, and had them all assassinated.

Aside from a few rare gold and some uninspiring coppers, Muzaffarid coinage consists of silver coins in a bewildering variety of types. Aside from the main series of types, struck at the capital cities of the various rulers (Shiraz for the main line, Isfahan, Yazd & Kirman for their rivals), there are dozens of local types which reflect the political autonomy of local governors, predominantly princes of the royal family. I have added the majority of these local issues to the 3rd edition of the Checklist.

Most Muzaffarid coins are theoretically dated, but the date is off flan on the majority of extant specimens. Since weight standards were carefully maintained, undated or date-missing specimens can often be approximately dated by weight.

Some 35 mints are known for the Muzaffarids, of which Shiraz, Kazirun and Yazd are most common. Also frequent are Kashan, Isfahan, Abarquh, Aydhaj, Lar, Shabankara and Kirman. A few other mints are rather “common” for specific types. As for the rare mint of

<sup>569</sup> The last coin denominated in the dinar was the 50 dinar brass coin dated SH1358 (= 1979) during the first year of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

<sup>570</sup> No coins of Yazd dated 743-747 have been confirmed.

Nayriz in Fars province, it is engraved identically to Tabriz, but can readily be distinguished by typology.

Muzaffarid coins are usually rather carelessly struck, typically off center or with considerable weakness, despite the magnificent art of the dies. Well-centered and fully struck specimens are exceptional, unknown for most types. During the chaotic conditions following the death of Shah Shuja' in 786, the quality of engraving and production declined precipitously.

Weight standard for the Muzaffarid silver coinage, used for all mints except those during their brief invasion into Adharbayjan (#2284), where the concurrent Tabrizi standard of the Jalayrids was employed:

Time of Muhammad b. al-Muzaffar			
754-756	3.24g	dinar	anonymous types
756-759	2.88g	dinar	A, JA, YB, YC
Time of Shah Shuja' (main types)			
761 <sup>571</sup>	5.40g	2 dinars	A
	2.70g	dinar	A
762-764	4.32g	2 dinars	B
	2.16g	dinar	B
765	1.80g	dinar	C
	3.96g	2 dinars	C
765-766	3.60g	2 dinars	D
767-768	3.24g	2 dinars	E
769-773	2.88g	2 dinars	F & G
771-773	1.44g	dinar	G
775-777	2.52g	2 dinars	H
777-780 (783?)	2.16g	2 dinars	I
Time of Zayn al-'Abidin, also type A of Sultan Ahmad & some issues in the name of Timur			
786-787	1.98g	2 dinars	A
Time of Zayn al-'Abidin, including issues naming Timur			
788-789	1.71g	2 dinars	B
Time of Timur's first occupation of the Muzaffarid lands, also used very briefly in 790 by Shah Mansur			
789-790	1.44g	2 dinars	various
Time of Shah Mansur, including issues of Timur and of the second reign of his rival, Zayn al-'Abidin			
791-793	1.26g	2 dinars	various
Later time of Shah Mansur, standard briefly retained by Timur after his definitive conquest in 795			
793-796	2.16g	4 dinars	various
	1.08g	2 dinars	various

### Muhammad b. al-Muzaffar, 736-759 / 1335-1358

Most coinage of the reign of Muhammad is undated, but the weight standards help us determine an approximate date. Kirman and Yazd are the only mints of the anonymous series, which was struck only after the Muzaffarid ousted the Injuyids from Shiraz in 754. For the named series, Aydhaj, Shiraz and Yazd are the most common mints.

All coins bearing the name of Muhammad b. al-Muzaffar also cite the shadow 'Abbasid caliph in Egypt, al-Mu'tadid. A few types also bear his additional title *mubariz al-haqq wa'l-din*.

Types #2277.2 and 2277Y.2 seem to adhere to a standard of 3.42g (19 nokhod), and seem to be dated after the dinars of 3.24g (18 nokhod), suggesting the standard was temporarily increased, an infrequent phenomenon.

#### Anonymous, struck before 756/1355.

Anonymous types of Muhammad bear on the obverse the first part of Qur'an Verse 3:26.<sup>572</sup>

2277.1	AR dinar (3.24g), type <b>XA</b> (plain circle / square), Kirman, known dated 754-755	R
2277.2	AR dinar (probably 3.42g), type <b>XB</b> (quatrefoil / lobated square), Kirman, dates not determined	RR

<sup>571</sup> No coinage of Shah Shuja' is known dated 759-760.

<sup>572</sup> This text also appears on many of the gold and silver coins of the first three Ilkhan rulers struck at mints in Iraq and the Jazira, probably referring to the Mongol conquest at Baghdad and elimination of the 'Abbasid caliphate in 656/1258, during the reign of the first Ilkhan ruler Hulagu. The same Qur'an Verse also appears on a few later Islamic coins, not noted here.

2277Y.1	AR dinar (3.24g), type <b>YA</b> (quatrefoil / circle within an ornamented square), Yazd and Jarun mints, known dated 754 for Yazd	RR
2277Y.2	AR dinar (probably 3.42g), type <b>YB</b> (quatrefoil / plain square), Yazd only, possibly dated 755	RRR
2278	AR 1/3 dinar (1.08g), obverse as type XB, but with triangle reverse, Kirman	RR

It seems logical that the triangle reverse actually indicates the fractional denomination as "one-third"?

#### In his name, struck 756-759/1355-1358:

2279	AR dinar (2.88g), type <b>A</b> (two entwined octofoils / inner circle), Shiraz and Kazirun, known dated 756	R
2279I	AR dinar (2.88g), type <b>JA</b> (concave octagon / legend around small central circle with pellet inside), Isfahan, undated	RR
2279K.1	AR dinar (2.88g), type <b>JB</b> (concave octagon / plain circle), Kashan, undated	RRR
2279K.2	AR dinar (probably 2.16g), type <b>JC</b> (plain circle / square, each line knotted at its center), Kashan, undated	RRR
	The weight uncertain, derived from only 1 specimen.	
2279U	AR dinar (2.88g), type <b>UA</b> (two entwined octofoils / plain circle with kalima K5, mint in center), Aydhaj & Ganduman (Lur Buzurg province), only Aydhaj occasionally available, known dated 759	S
2279Y	AR dinar (2.88g), type <b>YC</b> (hexafoil / plain circle), Yazd, probably always undated	RR
2279Z	AR dinar (2.88g), type <b>ZA</b> (plain circle / plain circle), Zaydan, known dated 756	RRR
2279X	AR dinar, miscellaneous local types	RR+

At least two partially described types reported.

No 1/3 dinar coins bearing the name of Muhammad b. al-Muzaffar have been confirmed.

2280	AE fals, in his name	RR
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### Shah Mahmud, in Isfahan, 759-776 / 1358-1374

All coins in the name of Mahmud are dated 761-762. After 762, Mahmud struck his coinage in the name of the contemporary Jalayrid ruler (see note to #2302), in exchange for military assistance. Because Isfahan lay within the Sistan monetary zone, each type follows the contemporary Shirazi standards of his brother Shah Shuja' rather than the Jalayrid standards, with new types introduced with each devaluation of the Shirazi weight. Each type employs a design different from all other Jalayrid issues, and normally different from contemporary Muzaffarid issues as well.

2281.2	AR dinar, type <b>A</b> (pointed hexafoil / mihrab design), known dated (761)	RRR
	Please note that I have switched the letters A and B for these two types, now that the date of #2281.2 has recently been determined. The type numbers remain unchanged.	
2281.1	AR dinar, type <b>B</b> (inner circle / highlighted square), known dated 762 only	RR

### Shah Shuja', 759-786 / 1358-1384

Most coins state his name with the rhyming title *al-sultan al-muta' shah shuja'*.

#### Standard types, used at mints under Shah Shuja's direct control:

A2282	AV dinar, types not recorded	RRR
B2282	AR 5 dinars (type B only, as #2282.2)	RRR
2282.1	AR 2 dinars, type <b>A</b> (fancy lobated square / 18-foil arranged as hexafoil), dated 761 only	R
2282.2	AR 2 dinars, type <b>B</b> (pointed octofoil / multifoil), struck 762-764	S

Number of arcs of reverse multifoil varies, usually 18 arcs, occasionally only 8 arcs (especially at mints in the Luristan



	region <sup>573</sup> ). Examples of Kuhgiluyeh, then under direct or subordinate Hazaraspid control, have plain circle reverse.		
2282.3	AR 2 dinars, type <b>C</b> (quatrefoil / partly pointed octofoil), dated 765 only	R	
2282.4	AR 2 dinars, type <b>D</b> (18-foil arranged as hexafoil / protuberated quatrefoil), several minor variations, used 765-766	S	
	Types A-D cite the nominal 'Abbasid caliph in Cairo, al-Mu'tadid billah, whereas types E-I refer to the caliph anonymously, the royal inscription commencing <i>amir al-mu'minin wa al-sultan...</i> This transition occurred between 766 and 767 and applies also to the local types noted below.		
	Types C and D are ornate designs on broad flans, usually boldly struck, perhaps the loveliest Muzaffarid specimens occasionally available.		
2282.5	AR 2 dinars, type <b>E</b> (fancy hexafoil / ornamented quatrefoil), 767 only	RR	
2282.6	AR 2 dinars, type <b>F</b> (plain heptafoil / fancy lobated square), 769 only	RR	
2282.7	AR 2 dinars, type <b>G</b> (plain circle with mint engraved interlinearly / highlighted square), 771-773	A	
2282.8	AR 2 dinars, type <b>H</b> (plain octofoil / hexagon with small arcs at the intersections), 775-777	C	
2282.9	AR 2 dinars, type <b>I</b> (plain octofoil / plain quatrefoil), known dated 777-779, possibly also 780	S	
	On many examples, the top & bottom arcs of the obverse octofoil are lobated. The date appears in the obverse margin, usually off the flan.		
	Surprisingly, there are no coins known of Shah Shuja' dated 781-786, both his standard and local types, save for a fals of Kirman dated 783.		
2283.1	AR dinar, type A	RR	
2283.2	AR dinar, type B, many mints	S	
2283.4	AR dinar, type D, known from Shiraz	RR	
2283.7	AR dinar, type G, known from Shiraz & Kazirun	RR	
	The single dinar was struck in relatively small quantities after 764. Other types may exist, and unlisted varieties can generically be catalogued as type #2283.		
	<u>Local types:</u>		
	The following subordinate listings for #2282 and 2283 represent the local types within the Shirazi monetary zone, mints that were controlled by various governor's, many of them secondary members of the Muzaffarid family, but always in the name of Shah Shuja'. Please note that the types of each mint or mint region are now listed in the order of denominations, not in the order of the lettered type names (AbA, IsA, LA, etc.). These original type names were assigned before I had adequate weight information. Types citing the shadow caliph al-Mu'tadid are marked with * after the obverse description.		
	The local types struck 761-766 cite the caliph al-Mu'tadid by name, those struck 766-786 by title only, <i>amir al-mu'minin</i> .		
	<b>NOTE:</b> Additional local types continue to be discovered, as well as various fractional denominations, including some known types not included here.		
2282A.1	AR 2 dinars (2.88g), type <b>AbB</b> (octofoil with 8 annulets in marginal inscriptions / uncertain), Abarquh only (date?)	RRR	
2282A.2	AR 2 dinars (2.16g), type <b>AbA</b> (inner circle with 6 annulets in margin / same on reverse), Abarquh, known dated 779	RRR	
2282I.1	AR 2 dinars (4.32g), type <b>IsA</b> (inner circle* / highlighted square), Isfahan, known dated 76x	R	
	Exactly the same design and text arrangement as type B of Shah Mansur, only the name has changed. Probably dated 762.		
2282I.2	AR 2 dinars (4.32g), type <b>IsE</b> (concave hexagon* / square containing kalima K5 with date in words in center), Isfahan, known dated 764	RRR	
	Ornate obverse, the hexagon superimposed on plain hexafoil, a theoretically gorgeous design, but the only recorded specimen is sloppily struck (SICA 9:172).		
2282I.3	AR 2 dinars (2.88g), type <b>IsC</b> (pentafoil with five annulets in margin / plain square), Isfahan (date?)	RR	
2282I.4	AR 2 dinars (2.52g), type <b>IsD</b> (octofoil, 8 annulets / ornamental square), Isfahan (date?)	RR	
2282I.5	AR 2 dinars (2.16g), type <b>IsB</b> (pointed octofoil / octofoil with alternating pointed arcs), Isfahan (date?)	R	
228II.6	AR 2 dinars (2.16g), type <b>IsF</b> (lobated square / plain circle), Isfahan, mint interlinear on reverse, always undated	RR	
228II.7	AR 2 dinars (2.16g), type <b>IsG</b> (fancy dodekagon, probably citing the caliph by name (*) / plain circle), Isfahan, mint interlinear on obverse (date?) <sup>574</sup>	RR	
2282J.1	AR 2 dinars (2.16g), type <b>JrA</b> (looped hexafoil / octogram), Jurbadiqan (date?)	RRR	
2282J.2	AR 2 dinars (2.16g), type <b>JrB</b> (pointed hexafoil / fancy lobated square), Jurbadiqan (date?)	RRR	
	(Type <b>KA</b> is known only from a single dinar, #2283K, dated 761.)		
2282K.1	AR 2 dinars (4.32g), type <b>KB</b> (inner circle with 4 annulets in margin* / square), Kashan, known dated 762	RR	
2282K.2	AR 2 dinars (2.88g), type <b>KC</b> (partly pointed hexafoil / square), Kashan, known dated 769	RR	
	One variant has the mint name repeated in the reverse field, and the lines of the square each knotted in the center (Zeno-47143).		
2282K.3	AR 2 dinars (2.52g), type <b>KD</b> (annulated octofoil / lobated square), Kashan (date?)	RRR	
2282K.4	AR 2 dinars (4.32g), type <b>KE</b> (annulated octofoil / pentagram), Kashan & Qumm, undated	R	
	A variant of Kashan mint has reverse in plain pentagon (RR).		
2282Kr.1	AR 2 dinars (2.88g), type <b>KrC</b> (quatrefoil / square), Kirman, usually dated 771 <sup>575</sup>	C	
2282Kr.2	AR 2 dinars (2.52g), type <b>KrB</b> (annulated octofoil / pentagon), Kirman (date?)	RR	
2282Kr.3	AR 2 dinars (2.16g), type <b>KrA</b> (pointed pentafoil / quatrefoil within square), Kirman, possibly dated 776	RR	
2282Kz	AR 2 dinars (2.88g), type <b>KzA</b> (fancy hexafoil / fancy lobated square), Kazirun (date?)	RR	
2282L.1	AR 2 dinars (2.52g), type <b>LA</b> (annulated octofoil / square), Lar, always undated	RR	
2282L.2	AR 2 dinars (2.16g), type <b>LB</b> (dodekafoil / quatrefoil), Lar, undated	RRR	
2282Sj	AR 2 dinars (2.16g), type <b>SjA</b> (quatrefoil with points between the arcs / normal quatrefoil), Sirjan, undated	RRR	
	Type <b>UA</b> is known only from a single dinar, #2283U, dated 761.		
2282U.1	AR 2 dinars (2.88g), type <b>UB</b> (quatrefoil, upper & lower arcs pointed / plain square with kalima K5), Aydhaj & Bazuft (Lur Buzurg province), known dated 769	R	
2282U.2	AR 2 dinars (2.16g), type <b>UC</b> (pointed hexafoil / plain square), Bandez, Ganduman & Lurdijan <sup>576</sup> in the Lur Buzurg province, known dated 779 & 780	RR	

<sup>573</sup> The region of southern Luristan (Lur Buzurg) remained under the Hazaraspids throughout the 8<sup>th</sup>/14<sup>th</sup> century and later, but struck coins in the name of whoever they chose as their theoretical overlord. They usually adopted coin designs clearly different from their overlord's principal types. When they selected the principal type, they would slightly alter the design, such as 8 arcs instead of 18 on type B of Shah Shuja'.

<sup>574</sup> If the caliph is cited by name, this type would be a single dinar of the period 762-764, corresponding to a double dinar of 4.32g.

<sup>575</sup> Formerly rare, a couple hundred examples appeared in a massive hoard mainly of type #2283.7 of at least 2000 pieces, marketed circa 2004.

	(Type <b>YA</b> is known only from a single dinar, #2283Y, probably dated 761 by weight, citing the caliph al-Mu'tadid by name.)				
2282Y.1	AR 2 dinars (3.24g), type <b>YE</b> (pointed hexafoil / fancy dodekafoil), Yazd, known dated 767	R			
2282Y.2	AR 2 dinars (2.88g), type <b>YB</b> (annulated octofoil / plain square), Yazd, known dated 773	S			
2282Y.3	AR 2 dinars (2.52g), type <b>YC</b> (ornamented pointed quatrefoil / alternately pointed octofoil), Yazd, known dated 777	RR			
2282Y.4	AR 2 dinars (2.16g), type <b>YD</b> (plain circle / plain circle), Yazd, known dated 779	R			
	Small circle in reverse center, with ornament inside. Date on obverse, mint name interlinearly on reverse.				
2282X	AR 2 dinars, various types (various standards), either without mint name or unknown with legible mint name, not yet assigned to a specific region	R			
2282XX	AR 2 dinars (4.32g) (annulated quatrefoil / ornamented octofoil), caliph al-Mu'tadid, known dated 764	RR			
	Shah Shuja' cited with additional titles <i>jalal al-dunya wa'l-din</i> , sometimes with additional title <i>abu'l-fawaris</i> . The mint name on the variant with both titles can be cautiously read as Kirman.				
2283I	AR dinar (2.16g), type IsA as #2282I.1, Isfahan (date?)	R			
2283K	AR dinar (2.70g), type <b>KA</b> (triangle / octofoil), Kashan, known dated 761	RRR			
	Obverse design has a small triangle in center, legend around arranged triangularly, all within a lobated triangle, with date in outer margin.				
2283U	AR dinar (2.70g), type <b>UA</b> (pointed quatrefoil* / fancy lobated square), Aydhaj, Ganduman & Ramuz (Lur Buzurg province), known dated 761	RRR			
2283Y	AR dinar (2.70g), type <b>YA</b> (fancy lobated square* / ornamented quatrefoil?), Yazd, date unknown but probably 761	RRR			
2284	AR dinar (1.80g), type <b>TA</b> (quatrefoil / plain circle), Adharbayjan mints, struck to the Tabrizi standard	RR			
	Struck during Shah Shuja''s invasion of Adharbayjan in 777. The least rare mint is Tabriz, also known from Astara, Maragha, Hamadan, Wastan, etc.				
2285	AE fals, in his name, struck mainly at Shiraz and Kirman, several varieties, usually undated	S			
	<b>Zayn al-'Abidin, 1<sup>st</sup> reign, 786-789 / 1384-1387</b>				
	All coins of this reign bear the rhyming title <i>al-wathiq bi-ta'yid rabb al-'alamin sultan zayn al-'abidin</i> ("confident of assistance from the Lord of the two Worlds" + his name).				
2286.1	AR 2 dinars (1.98g), type <b>A</b> (plain circle with mint interlinear / square) mainly Shiraz & Kazirun, dated 786-787	R			
2286.2	AR 2 dinars (1.71g), type <b>B</b> (plain circle / <i>muhammad</i> written in Kufic text, arranged as a diamond), dated 788	R			
2286S	AR 2 dinars, local type <b>SbA</b> , mints of Furg and Shabankara	RRR			
	Obverse as type A (Furg has <i>duriba</i> within eye-shape in center, Zeno-60953) / reverse in highlighted quatrefoil, weight unknown.				
2286G	AR 2 dinars, local type <b>GA</b> , mint of Kuhgiluya (same as type A / plain circle) (Zeno-91977, 1.6g)	RRR			
	Zeno-91777 shares the same obverse die with Zeno-91776, which is normal type A of Kuhgiluya!				
2286K	AR 2 dinars (1.71g), local type <b>KA</b> , mint of Kashan, undated	RR			
2286L	AR 2 dinars, local type <b>LA</b> , mint of Lar	RRR			
	Obverse has central square, mint at bottom, with reverse as #2286.2 (weight undetermined).				
	Between 789 and 790, the entire Muzaffarid region was occupied by the Timurids. Coins were struck at numerous mints in the name of Timur, also naming his overlord Suyurghatmish (#2367 & 2371). Thereafter, for five years, the Muzaffarids returned to power, only to be executed by Timur one evening in 795 at the dinner table.				
	<b>Zayn al-'Abidin, 2<sup>nd</sup> reign, 790-793 / 1388-1391</b>				
	All coins issued at mints controlled by Zayn al-'Abidin during his second reign are anonymous. Coins bearing his name were struck by local authorities, citing nominal alliance with Zayn al-'Abidin for theoretical protection against their own enemies.				
	<u>Anonymous:</u>				
2287	AR 2 dinars (1.26g) (inner circle / plain square), mainly Isfahan	R			
	The Isfahan type is dated, in words, in the 4 sections of the reverse margin, replacing the names of the Rashidun. Known dated 791 and 792, but most specimens are so poorly struck that the date is illegible. Other mints are very rare, and probably always undated.				
	<u>In his name:</u>				
2287A	AR 2 dinars (1.26g) (central triangle, the mint name within the triangle / plain square), mint of Kashan, undated	RR			
	This remarkable type was struck by the local potentate, Muzaffar Kashi, in order to distinguish his types from those of Zayn al-'Abidin proper, whose own coins were always anonymous, in deference to Timur (#2287). Zayn al-'Abidin never ruled in Kashan or Lar during his second reign!				
2287L	AR 2 dinars (about 1.44g), mint of Lar, undated	RRR			
	Mint in obverse central circle, with full titles of the ruler around. Reverse has K1 in square, the Rashidun around. Probably struck 790-791, to judge by the weight.				
	<b>Shah Mansur, 790-795 / 1388-1393</b>				
	The ruler's name appears as <i>al-wathiq al-ghaffur shah mansur</i> ("the trusting, the forgiving, Shah Mansur"), on all his coins.				
2288	AR 4 dinars (2.16g), 3 <sup>rd</sup> standard, typologically similar to #2289.2, known dated 794	RR			
V2289	AR 2 dinars, first standard (1.44g), (plain circle with mint name interlinear / octofoil), mints of Shiraz & Kazirun	R			
	Always weakly struck. At least one obverse die seems to have a lobated square around the inscriptions, and the mint of Kazirun used a plain square reverse. Undated but probably struck in late 790, immediately after the departure of the Timurids. After a few weeks or months, the double dinar was reduced to 1.26g, perhaps to finance Shah Mansur's military excursions.				
2289.1	AR 2 dinars, second standard (1.26g), infrequently dated, struck 790-793	S			
	The typology of this reign has not yet been established, but undated types can be distinguished by weight. Both 2289.1 and 2289.2 are always crudely struck from coarsely engraved dies, but the weights are remarkably accurate. There are just over 20 mints in all, nearly all still unpublished.				
	Only confirmed dated coins are Shiraz 792 (S) and Kazirun 793 (RR). These bear the mint name interlinear on the obverse, with what appears to be a pointed quatrefoil reverse. The common type, always undated, has mint within central square on obverse, plain square on reverse.				
2289.2	AR 2 dinars, third standard (1.08g), occasionally dated 793 or 794	R			
	Several subtypes for different mints, but still not researched. The mint normally appears in a central hexagon (occasionally an octagon) on the obverse. A variant of Kashan mint bears the extended title <i>al-ghaffur bi-haqq wa'l-dunya wa'l-din</i> .				
	<b>Sultan Ahmad, in Kirman &amp; Sirjan only, 786-795 / 1384-1393</b>				
2290	AR 2 dinars, several types	RRR			
	Ahmad's rhyming title is <i>al-wathiq bi'l-mulk al-samad</i> .				

#### ATABEGS OF LUR BUZURG (HAZARASPID)

Album, Stephen, "The Coinage of Nur-Award, Atabeg of Lur Buzurg," *ANS Museum Notes*, vol. 22 (1977), pp. 213-239.

<sup>576</sup> Lurdijan (77)9 = Zeno-10297.

Coins of type 2291 were struck exclusively at Lur Buzurg (though some bear the additional mint name Aydhaj, its principal city). Later types were struck at six mints, but only Aydhaj is relatively available. All coins of this kingdom were carelessly struck, typically somewhat off center with areas of weakness, despite the finely engraved dies.

Lur Buzurg, "Greater Luristan", corresponds to the two modern Iranian provinces of "Chaharmahal and Bakhtiari" and "Kohgiluyeh and Boyer-Ahmad", together with much of the eastern section of Khuzestan. The capital was at Aydhaj, now the town of Izeh, which I visited in 1973. Izeh is in Khuzestan province today.

Lur Kuchik, "Lesser Luristan", corresponds to the modern province of Lorestan (*sic*), its capital at Borujerd (Burujiird).

Type #2291.1 & 2292.2 use the anonymous title *al-sultan al-azam khan*, whereas no titles of any sort appear on types #2292 & 2293.

Only these few types of the 750s can be regarded as purely Hazaraspid issues. All previous and later issues, 13<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> century, were struck in the names of other dynasties (Ilkhan, Muzaffarid, Jalayrid, Timurid, etc.) and are reckoned as ordinary issues of those dynasties.

The Lur Buzurg weight standards more or less follow the standards of the Baghdad region of the Jalayrids. Individual specimens can vary considerably. The Jalayrid weight contemporary to #2291.1 was 3.78g, and to #2293 it was 2.70g (many examples of #2293 weigh in the 2.52-2.60 range, and 2.61g or even the Jalayrid 2.70g might have been the theoretical standard).

#### temp. Nur-Award, 751-757 / 1350-1356

2291.1 AR dinar (3.42g), type A (pointed or ornamented pentafoil / mihrab), mint names Aydhaj or Lur Buzurg (751-753) RR

2291.2 AR dinar (3.24g), type B (plain pentafoil / plain highlighted diamond), Aydhaj (754) RRR

2292 AR dinar (2.70g), type C (kalima in plain circle, as type F of Shaykh Hasan the Jalayrid / mint in center of kalima type K5) (756) RR

Kalima divided, half on obverse, half on reverse. Mints of Aydhaj, Bazuft, Kuhgiluya. Aydhaj also struck a few coins of the normal type F of Shaykh Hasan in 756.

2293 AR dinar (2.52g), type D, similar design but special legends, mint interlinear on reverse (757) R

Special legends are *malik al-haqq al-mubin* on obverse, *sadiq al-haqq 'ind al-amin* on reverse, each following the appropriate half of the kalima. Mints of Aydhaj, Bazuft, Ganduman, Kuhgiluya, Lurdijan and Ramuz.<sup>577</sup>

After 757, the Hazaraspids continued to strike coins in the names of other rulers: (1) Muzaffarid, 759-764, (2) Jalayrid, 766-768, (3) Muzaffarid again, 771-786, (4) Timurid, 787-790, (5) yet again Muzaffarid, circa 790-794, (6) Timurid again, 795 to before 807. Thereafter, there is no further coinage in the Lur Buzurg region. The only mint that remained in operation is Kuhgiluya, sporadically until the Safavid 'Abbas I (996-1038), but it was detached from Luristan by 807 or shortly thereafter.

## JALAYRID

Markov, A.K., *Katalog Dzhelairidskikh monet*, St. Petersburg 1897 (reprinted, London 1986).

Rabino di Borgomale, H.L., "Coins of the Jala'ir, Kara Koyunlu, Musha'sha', and Ak Koyunlu Dynasties," *Numismatic Chronicle*, 6<sup>th</sup> ser., vol. 10 (1950), pp. 94-139.

*The Jalayrids ruled in parts of Iran, Iraq and eastern Anatolia from 1335-1432, at first only in Iraq, seizing Tabriz in 758, then expanding into all of Adharbayjan and parts of eastern Anatolia. Their coinage in Iraq and the Jazira adhered to the Baghdad currency, that of Adharbayjan and eastern Anatolia to the Tabrizi currency.*

*Jalayrid coinage was also struck in the Shiraz region circa 762-776, but in no case were these coins Jalayrid issues. They were issues of Muzaffarid opponents to Shah Shuja', who recognized the Jalayrid rulers in exchange for military support.*

<sup>577</sup> Ramuz, with long *alif*, is Ramhurmuz. Back about 1972, I was in Haftgel in Khuzestan province, waiting for a bus to Ramhurmuz. The bus drove around Haftgel seeking passengers, with the conductor screaming out the window *ramuz ramuz ramuz* .... It was then that I realized that *ramuz* was the nickname for *ramhurmuz*. Zambaur listed the mint in about six different interpretations! I would bet money he never rode a bus to Ramhurmuz!

*The Jalayrids were driven out by Timur in 1393, but staged a brief recovery, mainly in southern Iraq and Khuzestan, after his Timur's death in 1405, until their ultimate demise in 1432.*

The Jalayrid Hasan Buzurg established his leadership at Baghdad early in 739, shortly after the assassination of Muhammad Khan, the Ilkhan. His first coins were struck in the names of successive Ilkhans, Taghay Timur (#2236), Jihan Timur (#2247), then Taghay Timur again (#2237-A2239), finally Sulayman (#C2260 & D2260), from 739 until 746. These were followed by purely anonymous types from 746 until 758, all regarded as Jalayrid issues, thereafter coins bearing the ruler's name.

At least 80 mints struck coins of Jalayrid types, but rarely were more than 30 or so active simultaneously. In the Baghdad currency zone, corresponding more or less to modern Iraq and Khuzestan, Baghdad is by far the most common mint, though Basra, Hilla, and Irbil are also relatively common for many types. In the Tabrizi zone (Adharbayjan & Armenia), the regional capital Tabriz is most common, though coins of Sultaniya, Urumi, Shabiran, Shamakhi, Barda', and Qazwin are not especially scarce. Finally, coins of the Shiraz zone, in effect issues of either the Muzaffarid prince Shah Mahmud or some other Muzaffarid contenders against Shah Shuja', are all quite scarce, though Shiraz, Kashan, Isfahan, and Aydhaj are the least scarce of the Shirazi types.

Most Jalayrid silver and copper coins are weakly struck, often 20-30% flat, even worse for the issues of the 9<sup>th</sup>/15<sup>th</sup> century. Well-struck examples are generally rare, with a few exceptions, such as #2295.5, 2300.2, and especially #2302.3. Nonetheless, the die work was of exceptionally fine quality, especially in the Shirazi zone, but actual specimens almost never reflect that quality.

The 9<sup>th</sup>/15<sup>th</sup> century coinage was struck only in Iraq and Khuzestan, coarsely struck with nonchalantly engraved dies.

#### Weight standards for the Baghdad currency zone:

Time of Shaykh Hasan				
746-752	3.78g	dinar		A,B,D
	1.26g	1/3 dinar <sup>578</sup>		A,B,C,D
754	3.24g	dinar		E
	1.08g	1/3 dinar		E
754-757	2.70g	dinar		F
	0.90g	1/3 dinar		F

Time of Shaykh Uways I				
758 (same as type F of Shaykh Hasan)				
759-762	2.70g	dinar		A
	0.90g	1/3 dinar		A
762-700	2.16g	dinar		B
	0.72g	1/3 dinar		B

Time of Husayn I				
776-777	1.80g	dinar		A,B
777-783	2.88g	2 dinars		C
	1.44g	dinar		C

Time of Ahmad & successors				
784-796	5.40g	5 dinars		A
	2.16g	2 dinars		A
	1.08g	dinar		A
807-835	1.70g	1/3 tanka		(all)

#### Weight standards for the Tabriz currency zone:

Time of Shaykh Uways I				
759-761	2.70g	dinar		TA
	0.90g	1/3 dinar		TA
762-774	2.16g	dinar		TB, B, TC
	0.72g	1/3 dinar		TB, B, TC

Time of Husayn I				
777	2.16g	dinar		TA
777	1.80g	dinar		A
777-779	1.62g	dinar		TB
780-783	2.88g	2 dinars		TC
	1.44g	dinar		TC

Time of Bayazid				
circa 784-785	2.52g	2 dinars		—

Time of Ahmad				
785-787	2.16g	2 dinars		TA
	1.08g	dinar		TA
788-790	1.98g	2 dinars		TB

(also used for regional issues of Toqtamish and Timur.)

<sup>578</sup> The 1/3 dinar is also termed *double dirham*.

792	1.44g	2 dinars	TC
809-811	-5.4g	tanka	TD
circa 809-811	1.80g	½ tanka	TE

**Weight standards for the Shirazi currency zone:**

Includes mints in Fars, Jibal, Luristan & Kirman provinces, struck under Muzaffarid rulers in the name of Shaykh Uways.

**Time of Shaykh Uways I**

766-767	3.60g	2 dinars	JA, SA, UA
	1.80g	dinar	UA
768-769	3.24g	2 dinars	JB, UB
77x	2.52g	2 dinars	KrA, YA
776	2.16g	2 dinars	YB

**temp. Shaykh Hasan (aka Hasan Buzurg<sup>579</sup>),  
736-757 / 1335-1356**

All coinage of Shaykh Hasan is anonymous, though types A and B bear reference to an unnamed khan, either *al-sultan al-'adil khan* or *al-sultan al-a'zam khan*. Shaykh Uways I added his name to the coin legends in 758, and all subsequent Jalayrid coinage includes the ruler's name.

- 2294 AV dinar, various types, mostly similar to silver types C-F, usually Baghdad mint RR  
Like the later Ilkhan and contemporary Mamluk gold, there was no fixed weight standard for the Jalayrid dinar, though most weights tend to cluster between 8 and 9 grams.
- 2294I AV dinar, Irbil 757 only (two intersecting trefoils / square within inner circle)<sup>580</sup> RRR
- T2295 AR 5 dinars (13.50g), type F, lovely elegant design RRR  
Struck as Madinat al-Salam Baghdad, dated 755, undoubtedly for presentation purposes (Zeno-94268).
- 2295.1 AR dinar (3.78g), type A (square looped at corners / plain circle), Basra mint only RRR  
Inscribed *al-sultan al-'adil khan* without name of any ruler, *khan* in Uighur script, the rest in Arabic. See note to type #D2260 of the Ilkhan ruler Taghay Timur.
- 2295.2 AR dinar (3.78g), type B (plain circle within 12-petal flower / inner circle), Basra mint only RRR  
Inscribed *al-sultan al-a'zam khan* without the name of any ruler, all in Arabic. This type is known dated 748 for the ½ dinar. A gold dinar, 8.45g, has been published of this type, with mint name Baghdad but no date (Spink Zürich auction 37, lot 217).  
(Type C is not known for the full dinar.)
- 2295.3 AR dinar (3.78g), type D (toughra in pentafoil / hexagon), struck 751-752 RR  
This type, along with #2296.4 and at least one variety of the gold dinar #2294, represents the earliest occurrence of the toughra on Islamic coinage. The toughra inscription of this type has not been deciphered. With very few exceptions, the toughra was never again used on Iranian coinage, but was used on a few beylik coins of the late 14<sup>th</sup> century, and regularly on Ottoman coinage from 1695 to 1924.
- 2295.4 AR dinar (3.24g), type E (three-vaaned pattern / quatrefoil looped at nodes), 754 only RRR  
The three-vaaned pattern creates a hexagonal center, with *fi sana*, the date itself in the spaces between the vanes.
- 2295.5 AR dinar (2.70g), type F (mint in center of kalima arranged in square / plain circle), 754-757 C  
This type was continued after Shaykh Hasan's death by Shaykh Uways until sometime during the year 758, when Uways struck coins in the name of the Golden Horde ruler, Jani Beg (#2028), fearful of a Golden Horde invasion into Iraq. Baghdad is the only common mint, with al-Basra, Hilla and Wasit slightly scarce. At least 15 different mints known.  
See #T2297 for coins of this design dated 758.
- 2296.1 AR ½ dinar (= 2 dirhams, 1.26g), type A, Baghdad & al-Basra, known dated 746 R

- 2296.2 AR ½ dinar (1.26g), type B, al-Basra, Baghdad and Wasit, 748 only, often undated RR
- 2296.3 AR ½ dinar (1.26g), type C (toughra in inner circle / quadripartite reverse), Baghdad, 749 only RRR
- 2296.4 AR ½ dinar (1.26g), type D, Baghdad & al-Basra, dated 751-752 RR
- 2296.5 AR ½ dinar (1.08g), type E, Baghdad, 754 only RRR
- 2296.6 AR ½ dinar (0.90g), type F, 755-757 R  
See #U2297 for coins of this design dated 758.
- 2296D AR dinar (2.70g), type LA (central hexagram / quatrefoil), struck at Wasit only RRR

**Shaykh Uways I, 757-776 / 1356-1374**

All coins of Shaykh Uways and his successors bear the ruler's name and titles, except for the anonymous types #T2297 & U2297. Types #2295.5 and 2296.6 dated 757 are assigned to Shaykh Hasan, as there was no change in text or design upon the accession of Shaykh Uways.

Anonymous types (758 only):

- T2297 AR dinar (2.70g), exactly as #2295.5 of Shaykh Hasan but dated 758 R
- U2297 AR ½ dinar (0.90g), exactly as #2296.6 of Shaykh Hasan but dated 758 RRR
- In his name (759-776, including anonymous countermarks):
- 2297 AV dinar, struck exclusively at Iraqi mints, several types, always distinct from contemporary silver types RR
- 2298.1 AR dinar (2.70g), Baghdad zone, type A (plain circle both sides), struck 759-762 R  
Also struck at Sultaniya in the Tabriz zone, dated 759.
- 2298.2 AR dinar (2.16g), Baghdad zone, type B (square / octofoil), struck from 762 until at least 773 C  
This type was briefly introduced to the Tabriz zone in 765, apparently as part of a failed attempt to unify the Jalayrid coinage throughout the kingdom.
- 2299.1 AR ½ dinar (0.90g), Baghdad zone, type A RRR
- 2299.2 AR ½ dinar (0.72g), type B, known dated 762 and probably later RR
- 2300.1 AR dinar, Tabriz zone, type TA (hexafoil / square), 761 only R
- 2300.2 AR dinar, type TB (plain circle both sides, mint in obverse center), dated 762-765 C  
The Iraqi type B (#2298.2) was briefly introduced in 765 at some Adharbayjan mints, replaced by type TC1 at the beginning of 766.
- 2300.3 AR dinar, type TC1 (trefoil design with mint in center / pentafoil), dated 766-774 C
- 2300.4 AR dinar, type TC2, as TC1 but *Allah hasbi* in obverse center and mint above reverse field, known dated 773 only R
- A2301.1 AR ½ dinar (0.90g), type TA RR
- A2301.2 AR ½ dinar (0.72g), type TB RR
- A2301.3 AR ½ dinar (0.72g), type TC R  
Type TC ½ dinar was struck almost exclusively at Lahijan and Tiflis, although the crudely struck products of the two mints are stylistically very distinct. Coins of Lahijan have a star in the center and the mint in the obverse margin, occasionally in the obverse center, as on all coins of Tiflis.
- 2301.1 AR dinar (2.16g), countermarked *Allah hasbi* ("God sufficeth me") on coins of types B, TB and TC, and on anonymous coins of the Shirvanshah Kayka'us R
- 2301.2 AR dinar (2.16g), similar, but with a mint name in place of *Allah hasbi* RR

Coins with *Allah hasbi* were most likely issued only or principally at Tabriz, the capital, which does not appear amongst the 10± city names cited in the countermarks. To judge by the undertypes, the countermarks were applied from 773 until the end of the reign.

<sup>579</sup> Shaykh Hasan was known as Hasan Buzurg, "Hasan the Great", to distinguish him from his contemporary rival, the Chupanid ruler "Hasan Kuchik, "Hasan the Little", the real power behind the Ilkhans Muhammad Shah, Sati Beg and Sulayman until he was murdered by his wife in 744/1343. Why did he marry her?

<sup>580</sup> Sotheby's, 2 Oct 1986, lot 933.

		This seems to explain the lack of coins dated 774-776 in the name of Uways. The countermark is always in a plain-circle frame.			Type A was also introduced into the Tabriz zone in the middle part of 777 (RR) in another ephemeral failed attempt to unify the coinage of the two zones.
2302.1	AR 2 dinars (3.60g), type <b>JA</b> (quatrefoil with top lobe pointed / lobated square), Jibal district, dated 766 only		S		2306.2 AR dinar (1.80g), type <b>B</b> (quatrefoil / square-in-diamond), dated 777 only RR
	Types #2302.1 & #2302.2 were struck principally at Isfahan, Kashan and Yazd. There are several other local types used in the Jibal zone, struck at Isfahan or Kashan, all rare, grouped together here as type #2302X.				2306.3 AR dinar (1.44g), type <b>C</b> (square / notched square), used 777-783 C
	Types #2302 (all subtypes), 2302L, 2302M, and most varieties of X2303 were actually issued under the authority of the Muzaffarid ruler Shah Mahmud. See the note to type #2281 for further information. The Luristan types A2303 & B2303 were likely authorized by the Hazaraspid ruler Pashang II (756-780 / 1355-1378), but in the name of Shaykh Uways.				2306E AR ½ dinar (0.60g), type A <sup>581</sup> RR
2302.2	AR 2 dinars (3.24g), type <b>JB</b> (pointed cinquefoil / plain circle), Jibal district, dated 768-769		S		2307 AR 2 dinars (2.88g), Tabriz zone, type TC (cf. #2308.3), struck 780-783 R
	Some examples have a pointed quatrefoil <i>reverse</i> (relative rarity undetermined). Struck mainly at Kashan and Qumm.				2308.1 AR 2 dinars (2.16g), Tabriz zone, type <b>TA</b> (five-vaned pattern / inverted pentagon), dated 777 only RRR
2302.3	AR 2 dinars (3.60g), Shirazi region, type <b>SA</b> (quatrefoil with top & bottom lobes pointed / ornamented lobated square), dated 766 only		R		Baghdad zone type A (1.80g) was used briefly in the Tabriz zone between types TA and TB. All three types exist dated 777.
	Struck at Shiraz & Kazirun, of which only Shiraz is occasionally available. Date usually retrograde.				2308.2 AR dinar (1.62g), type <b>TB</b> (fancy trefoil with mint in center / plain circle), 777-779 S
2302.4	AR 2 dinars (2.52g), Kirman mint, type <b>KrA</b> (four clouds, mint in center / kalima, mint repeated in center), undated		RR		The date appears in words divided between the vanes in 3 parts.
2302K	AR 2 dinars (3.60g), Khuzestan province, type <b>KhA</b> (plain square / octofoil, mint interlinearly written on both sides), known dated 772		RR		2308.3 AR dinar (1.44g), type <b>TC</b> (five-vaned pattern / quatrefoil), 779-783 <sup>582</sup> C
	Mints of Shushtar, Huwayza & 'Askar Mukram, sometimes with the month of Ramadan. With royal title <i>al-sultan al-a'zam</i> .				The date is engraved in minuscule words between the five vanes, often so wretchedly as to be utterly illegible. The mint is normally inscribed interlinearly on the reverse, with <i>khulida mulkuhu</i> in the obverse center, but this phrase is sometimes replaced by the mint name (R).
2302L	AR 2 dinars (2.52g), Yazd mint, type <b>YA</b> (octofoil / ornate hexagon, identical to Muzaffarid type H of Shah Shuja', #2282.8)		RR		2308Q AR 2 dinars, type <b>QA</b> (octogram / plain square), Qumm mint, known dated 776 RRR
	Probably dated 775 but no specimen with sufficiently clear date yet known (British Museum specimen shows 77x). Yazd issues dated 766 are of type JA (#2302.1) (RRR).				Ruler called <i>jadal al-haqq shaykh husayn</i> . This was the last coin issued by order of the rival Muzaffarid ruler Shah Mahmud, who died later in this year, 776.
2302M	AR 2 dinars (2.16g), Yazd mint, type <b>YB</b> (ornate lobated square / plain square), known dated 776		RR		2308X AR 1 dinar or 2 dinars, various local types not described here RRR
A2303.1	AR 2 dinars (3.60g), Luristan region, type <b>UA</b> (fancy lobated square / plain circle, mint on both sides), 766-767		R		A2309 AR dinar, countermarked <i>sultan husayn</i> principally on type TC coins of Shaykh Uways RR
	Types A2303.1 and A2303.2 were presumably authorized by Pashang, atabeg of Greater Luristan, in the name of Shaykh Uways. Aydhaj is the only frequent mint for both types.				B2309 AE fals, numerous local variants RR
A2303.2	AR 2 dinars (3.24g), type <b>UB</b> (fancy lobated square / plain square, mint interlinearly written on both sides), used 768-769		RR		<b>Sultan Bayazid, 784-786 / 1382-1384</b> Contender to Sultan Ahmad at Qazwin.
	All variants of types 2302, A2303 & B2303 bear the title <i>al-wathiq bi'l-malik al-dayyan</i> ("he who has trust in the Just King", i.e., God), which appears only on types struck in the Muzaffarid lands (Shirazi monetary zone).				L2309 AR 2 dinars, one type only (hexafoil / plain square), Qazwin mint, unknown with legible date RRR
B2303	AR dinar (1.80g), Luristan region, type UA		RRR		<b>Sultan Ahmad, 784-813 / 1382-1410</b> Sultan Ahmad ruled from 784 until defeated by Timur in 795, continued to claim the throne, then recovered power after Timur's death in 807.
M2303	AR akçe (probably 1.4g), Mardin, dated 76x		RRR		<i>First reign, 784-795 / 1382-1393:</i>
	Exact design unrecorded. The Artuqids recognized Jalayrid suzerainty from late in 767 until sometime in 769.				2309 AV dinar, struck exclusively at Iraqi mints RR
X2303	AR dinar or 2 dinars, miscellaneous local types (mostly in the Shirazi monetary zone) different from those described above, including at least 4 types from Isfahan		RR		An unusual example of Baghdad 803 cited Ahmad without any titles and the benediction <i>a'azza Allah insanahu</i> .
2303	AE fals, numerous local variants		S		2309A AV fractional dinar, circa 1.1g <sup>583</sup> RRR
	<b>Sultan Husayn I (Jalal al-Din), 776-784 / 1374-1382</b>				2310 AR 5 dinars (5.40g), Baghdad zone, type <b>A</b> (square / plain circle), known only from Baghdad 785 RRR
2304	AV dinar, struck exclusively at Iraqi mints		RR		Lovely strike, probably intended as a commemorative or donative.
2305	AR 2 dinars (2.88g), Baghdad zone, type C		C		2311 AR 2 dinars (2.16g), type A, struck 784-796 C
2306.1	AR dinar (1.80g), Baghdad zone, type <b>A</b> (hexafoil / plain circle, mint normally interlinear on reverse), dated 776-777		R		Type A was struck at mints in Iraq, also the Jazira and Khuzestan.
					2312 AR 1 dinar (1.08g), type A S
					<sup>581</sup> Zeno-59279.
					<sup>582</sup> When I was in Tabriz in 1965, I was shown a lot of many thousand examples of this type, and selected several dozen pieces to purchase, at the incredibly cheap price of about 20¢ each, with the intention of returning the following day to buy some more. Alas, when I returned the next day I was depressingly informed that the remainder has been melted as bullion for the neighborhood silver plate manufacturers, the seller having assumed that I was no longer interested in purchasing more.
					An example of Qazwin clearly dated 779 has recently been confirmed.
					<sup>583</sup> Known only from a unique specimen of Baghdad dated 79x.

- 2313.1 AR 2 dinars (2.16g), Tabriz zone, type **TA** (hexagon / plain circle), 785-788  
C  
Some examples of Gushtasbi, date illegible, conform to the weight of 1.44g.
- 2313.2 AR 2 dinars (1.98g), type **TB** (mint & date in central area surrounded by three clouds bearing the royal text / plain circle), dated 788 only  
RR  
With identical design of types #2369 of Timur and some variants of #2049 of Toqtamish, thus easily confused. These vary only in the Arabic inscriptions of the obverse, which are occasionally virtually illegible, due to atrocious production.
- 2313.3 AR 2 dinars (1.44g), type **TC**, dated 792 when legible  
R  
Struck in Sultan Ahmad's name by the local ruler Aghachki, almost always an awful strike. Legible dates are RR.
- 2313.4 AR 2 dinars (1.80g), type **TD** (lobated square / quatrefoil), dates undetermined  
RR
- A2314 AR dinar (1.08g), type **TA**, struck 785-788  
RR
- In his name during his exile in Egypt, 795-807 / 1392-1405:*
- P2314 AV dinar, mint of Baghdad, known dated 799 & 803  
RRR  
Obverse text *mughith amir al-mu'minin zayn Allah ahmad a'azz Allah ansarahu*, "helper for the caliph, Zayn Allah Ahmad, may God strengthen his followers".
- Second reign, 807-813 / 1405-1410:*  
Coins of this period conform to Timurid weight standards (#2314 & some local variants)
- 2314 AR 1/3 tanka (1.80g), Tabriz mint only, type **TE** (octofoil / kalima forming a square with mint in center), struck 809+  
RR  
Subsequent issues on which Qara Yusuf is cited as vassal of Sultan Ahmad are classified as Qara Qoyunlu coins (#2476).
- 2314L AR tanka, without mint name (central octofoil with circular royal inscription / hexafoil)  
R  
Types #2314L through 2314N were struck at Lahijan under the local Husaynid rulers, but in the name of the Jalayrid Sultan Ahmad. Their style is meticulously similar to Lahijan issues in the name of Timur (#2386) and the anonymous Husaynid tanka (#2347). Moreover, Lahijan-style tankas of all three rulers are found together in hoards with few other types. Both 2314L and 2314M weigh in the range of 4.4-4.7g, 2314N about 5.0-5.1g. Because all three are always undated, the chronological order of these types is unknown. These three types are believed to have been struck circa 809-811 / 1405-1407.
- 2314M AR tanka, without mint name (central quatrefoil with 4 outward loops at the corners, with royal inscription in three lines / hexafoil)  
R
- 2314N AR tanka, without mint name (central inner circle, royal inscription in 3 lines / square)  
RR
- 2315 AR 2 dirhams or 1/3 tanka (1.80g), type **A+**, Iraqi and Jazira area only  
S  
Identical design to type A (#2311) but struck on thick narrow flans, almost always poorly manufactured, virtually never with legible date. The denomination may be 1/3 of the contemporary Timurid tanka which are in the 5.40g range, as are the silver coins of the following three Jalayrid kings.
- 2315A AE fals, several local types  
RR
- Shaykh Uways II, 818-824 / 1415-1421**
- 2316 AR 1/3 tanka  
RR  
Coins of the last three rulers retain the thick dumpy fabric and the square / circle type of #2315 of Sultan Ahmad.
- Shah Muhammad, 824-827 / 1421-1424**
- 2317 AR 1/3 tanka  
RRR
- Sultan Husayn II, 827-835 / 1424-1432**
- 2318 AR 1/3 tanka  
RR

## AMIR OF TABRIZ

An anonymous type dated 758 that cannot be assigned to a specific individual.

During 758, Tabriz was ruled first by the Juchid Jani Beg, then his son Birdi Beg, then the local amir Akhi Juq, then the Jalayrid Shaykh Uways, then Akhi Juq for the second time, finally the Muzaffarid Muhammad b. al-Muzaffar, who was expelled the following year. Because the coin is anonymous, I believe this type was most likely ordered by either Akhi Juq or Shaykh Uways, as the Juchid & Muzaffarid rulers had already begun striking coinage bearing their personal names. Akhi Juq seems most likely, as he formed an alliance with Muhammad b. al-Muzaffar, but fled, for unknown reasons, prior to the arrival of the Muzaffarid troops.

### **Anonymous, 758-759 / 1357-1358**

An anonymous coin, inscribed *al-nasr min Allah / wa fath qarib*, "success is from God and victory is near", with *darb tabriz* interlinearly between the two lines.

- 2318T AR 2 dirhams (0.90g) (plain circle / plain circle), struck at Tabriz 758-759 (Zeno-32986) RR  
Another anonymous coin of Tiflis 75x, very different design, may be a different type of Akhi Juq (Zeno-91668).

## SUTAYID

There is no useful publication of Sutayid coins.

A small kingdom in the Jazira (capital at Mosul), ruled by a branch of the Uyrat Mongols known as the Sutayids. Their silver coins follow the contemporary Ilkhan standard of 1.44g for the double dirham.

Sutayid coins were minted at Mawsil (Mosul), Irbil, Sinjar and 'Aqar, all located in what is now the northern part of Iraq. They resemble Ilkhan coins in style and execution, but all are anonymous. The die-engraving is excellent, but the coins were poorly struck (except gold), typically 15-35% flat. Boldly struck silver coins are unknown.

### **temp. Ibrahimshah, 743-748 / 1342-1347**

- N2319 AV dinar, struck 743-745 RRR
- 2319.1 AR 2 dirhams (or akçe), type A (partially pointed hexafoil / plain circle), struck 743-744 S
- 2319.2 AR 2 dirhams, type B (small inner circle containing mint within octofoil / plain circle), not known with legible date RR
- 2319.3 AR 2 dirhams, type C (ornamented quatrefoil / square within pointed quatrefoil), known dated 745 RR
- 2319.4 AR 2 dirhams, type D (inner circle with mint name 'Aqar / triangle, with the name 'Ali in center), undated RRR
- 2319.5 AR 2 dirhams, type E (concave hexagon, date & mint in marginal segments / Solomon seal with Allah in center, rest of kalima around), known from Irbil, probably dated 748 RRR
- Two varieties, illustrated as Zeno-88956 and 88957.

### **temp. Undetermined ruler, fl. 749-750 / 1349-1350**

- 2319G AV dinar (plain circle / square), known only for Irbil 750, date in reverse margin RRR  
Obverse has mint name in center, the kalima around, the reverse square has text *al-sultan al-a'zam khalada Allah mulkahu*.
- 2319H AR 2 dirhams (inner circle / square), dated 749 RRR  
Obverse inner circle has same text as in the reverse square of type #2319G's, with date around. Reverse has kalima in square, ornaments in the marginal segments. Mint unknown.

## ERETNID

Perk, Haluk, & Hüsnü Öztürk, *Eremid, Burhanid and Amirate of Arzinjan (Mutahharten) Coins*, Istanbul 2008 (in Turkish & English).<sup>584</sup>

The successor state to the Ilkhanate in central Anatolia. Their independent coinage began in 742, initially at the standard of about 1.80 grams for the akçe (double dirham according to the

<sup>584</sup> Perk & Öztürk's study is a rich mine of useful information, with virtually every coin neatly illustrated. Unfortunately, the layout and arrangement is frustrating, as it is structured on a database rather than a more flexible word-processing software (e.g., Microsoft Word).

*Ilkhan tradition, but attested in contemporary sources as an akçe). The Eretnids have been regarded by some scholars as one of the Anatolian beyliks, but they were of Mongol origin and struck coins according to Ilkhan patterns.*

Over 35 mints produced coins for the Eretnids, of which the most frequently encountered are Sivas, Kayseri (Qaysariya), Erzincan, Bayburt, Ma'dan, Tokat, and Kirşehir (Qirshahr). Silver coins of Eretna tend to be rather carefully struck, but later issues are usually weakly or incompletely struck, though most coins of all rulers show little circulation wear. For all reigns the most attractive silver coins were minted at Erzincan. The coppers are mainly from Erzincan and exhibit a great variety of designs. The only reported Eretnid gold coin is questionable (see note to #T2320).

The weight standard for the Eretnid silver akçe was retained at about 1.80g from the first issues in 742 until the death of Muhammad b. Eretna in 767. Early issues of 'Ali Beg, circa 767-774 follow a standard of about 1.62g, later issues in the 1.45-1.55g range circa 774 (or earlier) until 782. Akçes of Çelebi Muhammad in 782 weigh about 1.15g. Individual specimens are often as much as 20% lighter or heavier than the theoretical standard.

#### **temp. Eretna, 736-753 / 1335-1352**

All coins of Eretna are anonymous.

T2320 AV dinar, as silver type B, known from Erzincan 750 only (Ottoman Museum, Mubarek #327)<sup>585</sup> RRR

2320.1 AR akçe, type A (hexafoil / square) S  
Dated 742-746, sometimes with outer marginal inscription on the obverse. More than 12 mints known, Erzincan more frequent.

2320.2 AR akçe, type B (hexagram / quatrefoil notched at the nodes), known from all years 746-755 (sic) C  
Coins of 746 (and a few dated 747-748) have the mint at the bottom of the obverse field (type B1, scarce). Most 747 and 748, as well as all later dates, have the mint in one of the six obverse marginal segments (type B2, common).

Many published references mistakenly assign coins of types #2320.1 and 2320.2 to the Ilkhan Sulayman. The Uighur legend on these two types reads SULTAN ATIL, i.e., *al-sultan al-'adil*, which was misinterpreted by Lane-Poole, Mubarek and others as the name Sulayman.

(Former type #2320.3 has been reassigned to Hodja 'Ali and renumbered as #H2322.)

2321 AR ½ akçe, type B (as #2320.2) RR

#### **Hodja 'Ali Shah ('Ala al-Din), circa 756-759 / 1355-1358**

H2322 AR akçe (eye-shaped cartouche / double hexafoil) R  
With the ruler's title, *al-sultan al-a'dal 'ala al-dunya wa'l-din* (thus technically **not** anonymous, since it bears his title). Known from several mints, dated 756-757 or without date. (Formerly assigned to Eretna as type #2320.3.)

#### **Muzaffar al-Din (Sultan al-Islam), unknown ruler, probably circa 757-760 / 1356-1359**

2322 AR akçe, (plain circle both sides), always undated S  
Muzaffar al-Din was probably a rival to Muhammad b. Eretna during his early years. He is known only from his coins, which are not rare, but was apparently not mentioned by any of the contemporary historians. His full title is *sultan al-islam muzaffar al-dunya wa'l-din*, but his actual name is unknown.<sup>586</sup>

#### **Muhammad b. Eretna (Ghiyath al-Din), 753-767 / 1352-1366**

V2323 AR akçe, type A (ornate octofoil / 18-foil in general shape of hexafoil) RRR  
Struck only at Sivas in 756.

2323 AR akçe, type B (plain circle / trefoil with 'ali inscribed in center), sometimes dated, 760-762 C

Many coins of this type appear to be contemporary imitations, with coarse calligraphy & blundered legends. This is the only principal type used during this reign, introduced in 760, with obverse layout exactly as #2322 (title *al-sultan al-a'zam*). Moderately rare with legible date.

2323A AR akçe, various local subtypes without mint or date RR  
2323L AR akçe, type LA, Larende mint, date in words replacing the kalima (plain circle / square), dated 761-762 RRR

#### **'Ali Beg ('Ala al-Din, b. Muhammad), 767-782 / 1366-1380**

2324.1 AR akçe (1.45-1.55g), type AA (octofoil / trefoil with 'ali inscribed in center), Amasya mint, undated RR

2324.2 AR akçe (about 1.60g), type EA (octofoil / plain square within lobated square) C

Several mints, of which only Erzincan and Bayburt are common, the others at least very rare: Çemişkezek, Erzurum, Kegonya & Kemah. Sometimes dated, usually 767 or 768 (774 also known), often with a blundered date presumably intended for 767 or 768.

2324.3 AR akçe (about 1.45-1.55g), type KA (hexafoil / octofoil extended horizontally), Kayseri mint, undated R

2324.4 AR akçe (1.45-1.55g), type SA (hexafoil both sides), sometimes dated 768 C

Struck mainly at Sivas, but also at Bayburt, Kayseri and Samsun, which are rare. Either three or all six of the arcs of the hexafoil on the obverse are pointed. Mint above or below obverse field.

2324.5 AR akçe (1.60g), type SB (square / lobated diamond), dated 776 in obverse margin S  
Struck at Sivas & Tokat, the latter mint very rare.

2324.6 AR akçe (1.60g), type SC (hexagram both sides), Sivas mint only, undated R

The middle horizontal line text on the obverse, *'ala / al-dunya wa'l-d- / -in* is written with the first and last sections outside the hexagram. From handsome dies, but poorly struck.

2324A AR akçe, countermarked *lillah* in eye-shaped frame on earlier types of same ruler S  
Countermarked on various types of this ruler, mainly type EA.

2324B AR akçe of type EA with *lillah* in eye-shaped frame added to the obverse, incorporating the countermark of #2324A S  
*Lillah* is actually the last 3 letters of *Allah* in the horizontal text *khalada Allah mulkahu*.

2324K AR ½ akçe (about 0.8g), type EA RR

2324L AR ½ akçe (about 0.75g), type SB RRR

2324M AR ½ akçe (about 0.75g), type SC RRR

#### **Çelebi Muhammad (Ghiyath al-Din), 782 / 1380-1381**

M2325 AR akçe (pelleted rectangle / square within lobated square), undated RR

Struck only at Kayseri and Sivas, also without mint name. Some mintless examples bear *Allah* within a lens incorporated within the rectangle (not as a countermark). The weight standard seems to be about 1.15g.

#### **Anonymous, 8<sup>th</sup>/14<sup>th</sup> century**

2325 AE fals, many variants R

Struck mainly at Sivas, Tokat and especially Erzincan. Coins of Erzincan are normally dated, typically with both the Hijri year and the animal cycle year, a calendar of Chinese origin. Although all coppers are anonymous, some can be assigned to a ruler by date, if you wish.

#### **QADI OF SIVAS (BURHANID)**

For reference, see Perk & Öztürk for the Eretnids.

*Successor to the Eretnids, Qadi Burhan al-Din was at first vizier to the Eretnid 'Ali Beg, then independent from 1380 until overthrown by Timur in 1399. A son succeeded briefly.*

<sup>585</sup> This piece, also published by Artuk (#2378), is so similar to the silver akçe that I would question its authenticity. It may be a cast imitation, perhaps contemporary or nearly so, intended for jewelry, or even an 18<sup>th</sup> or 19<sup>th</sup> century concoction. It was published by Mubarek in 1901 and incorrectly assigned to the Ilkhan Sulayman.

<sup>586</sup> Perk & Öztürk suggest with caution that Hodja 'Ali Shah and Muzaffar al-Din may refer to the same individual.

Burhanid coins were mainly struck at Sivas and Kayseri (Qaysariya), but Perk & Öztürk have confirmed 2 additional mints, Ma'dan & Tokat, both extremely rare. Their coinage restored the early Eretnid standard (akçe of 1.80g). As with the later Eretnid coinage, production quality was haphazard.

All coins of Burhan al-Din bear his accession date 782 below the obverse, but on nearly all specimens, the date is either blundered or reduced to meaningless squiggles.

**Burhan al-Din Ahmad, 782-800 / 1380-1398**

- 2326 AR akçe R  
 Inscribed *sanni al-'alami al-'adili al-burhani* ("resplendence of the world, of justice, of the Burhanis").
- 2326A AR akçe, as last but countermarked with a word tentatively interpreted as Arabic *baha* RRR
- 2326B AR akçe, with *baha* added to the obverse die, either in eye-shape or square border of pellets RRR

**Zayn al-'Abidin, 800-801 / 1398-1399**

- A2327 AR akçe RRR  
 With title *mawlana al-malik al-a'zam al-ashraf*, but without his personal name.

**AMIRS OF AHLAT**

*A local dynasty of undetermined origin. All their coinage is anonymous and struck at Ahlat (Khilat) or Qal'a ("fortress").*

**Anonymous, circa 750s / 1350s**

- G2327 AR akçe (inner circle / octofoil) RR

**MALIKS OF HAKKARI**

*A minor Kurdish principality in what is now the extreme southeast corner of Turkey.*

**Asad al-Din, fl. 750s / 1350s??**

- K2327 AR akçe, in his name but always without mint, always undated RRR

**BUKHTI KURDS**

Ilisch, Lutz, "Die Münzen der Buhti von Gazira," *Münstersche Numismatische Zeitung*, vol. 8 (1978), #80/81, pp. 1-5.

*The Bukhtis were a Kurdish tribe centered in the region of Cizre (Jazira) and Siirt (Si'ird), which were their only mints. Always undated.*

**Abu Bakr, early 800s / 1400s**

- P2327 AR 1/3 tanka (circa 1.6g), Jazira mint RRR  
 Presumably struck after the death of Timur in 807/1405. This Abu Bakr should not be confused with the contemporary Timurid ruler Abu Bakr b. Miranshah (type #2395).

**'Abd Allah b. 'Abd Allah, fl. 820s / 1420s**

- 2327.1 AR tanka (4.0-4.3g), type A (plain circle both sides), fine style, Jazira mint R
- 2327.2 AR light tanka (approximately 2.5-2.7g), type B (pointed hexafoil / inner square within square), crude style, Siirt mint (when visible) R
- 2327.3 AR light tanka (2.5g), type C (plain circle / inner square within square), Siirt mint RRR  
 With additional title *al-mu'ayyad bi-nasr Allah*.

**Badr al-Din (b. Sharaf al-Din), fl. circa 870s / late 1460s**

- 2328.1 AR tanka (3.6-3.7g) (hexagon / plain circle), Jazira mint R
- 2328.2 AR light tanka (square / circle), probably Siirt mint, several different weights clustered around 2.2g RR

**Anonymous, late 9<sup>th</sup>/15<sup>th</sup> century**

- 2329 AR tanka or fraction, countermarked *Jazira* on various late Ayyubid and Bukhti coins R

**SHARAF KHANS**

Severov, M.B., "O monetakh kurdsikh pravitelej bidlisa kontsa XIV-XVI v.," 4<sup>th</sup> All-Russian Numismatics Conference, Dmitrov, April 22-26, 1996. *Theses of reports*, Moscow 1996. pp.43-45. In Russian.

See also Artuk, *Istanbul Arkeoloji...*, v. 2, pp. 868-869.

*A Kurdish principality centered about Bidlis (modern Bitlis). The dates of the rulers are not known with any accuracy.*

All coins of this dynasty except #B2331 were struck at Bidlis, the dynastic capital, unless otherwise noted, always undated. All use a floriated hexagon obverse originally introduced by the Qara Qoyunlu ruler Qara Yusuf in 814 (#2478), unless otherwise indicated.

**Sharaf b. Muhammad (al-Wathiq bi'l-Samad), 1<sup>st</sup> half of 9<sup>th</sup>/15<sup>th</sup> century**

- 2330 AR tanka R

**Diya' al-Din (al-Sultan al-'Adil), probably 1<sup>st</sup> half of 9<sup>th</sup>/15<sup>th</sup> century**

- A2331 AR tanka (circa 4.5g) RR

**Malik Muhammad (al-Wathiq bi'l-Samad), probably first half of 9<sup>th</sup>/15<sup>th</sup> century**

- B2331 AR tanka RR

Struck only at Khayzan (modern Hizan). Malik Muhammad may not have been a member of the Sharaf Khan dynasty.

**Shams al-Din b. Diya' al-Din (no title), mid-9<sup>th</sup>/15<sup>th</sup> century**

- 2331 AR tanka (circa 4.5g) R

**Ibrahim b. Muhammad, fl. 865-871 / 1460-1466 (al-Wathiq bi'l-Malik al-Samad)**

- 2332 AR tanka (usually less than 4g) RR

**Shah Muhammad, fl. 900-903 / 1494-1497 (al-Malik al-'Adil)**

- 2333 AR tanka RR

**Amir Shams al-Din, probably after 900 / 1494 (al-Malik al-'Adil)**

- 2334 AR tanka (circa 2.7-3.0g) (lobated square / kalima K5 with mint in the center) RR

**SARBADAR**

Smith, J.M., *The History of the Sarbadar Dynasty 1336-1381 A.D. and its Sources*, completed as his dissertation in 1961, published in The Hague & Paris, 1970. One of the finest numismatic studies of its time, now rendered partially obsolete by subsequent discoveries.<sup>587</sup> No up-to-date catalog has subsequently been published.

*The Sarbadars ("Gallows-birds") were a small Shi'ite sect in northeastern Iran, who took control of much of the region after 1340 until swept away by Timur in 1384. Their coinage is entirely anonymous, but can be securely assigned to specific reigns by type. All but the first issue of Shams al-Din 'Ali were struck to a standard of 4.32g for the dinar of six dirhams (gradually falling to about 4.1g by the end of the dynasty), with several fractional denominations (but see note to type #2342.1). There are six types, labeled here A through F. Though Shi'ite by faith, the first three Sarbadars struck all of their coins with Sunni inscriptions (types A-D).*

The most common Sarbadar mints are generally Sabzawar, Nishapur, Jurjan and Jajerm. Also not particularly rare are Rayy, Damghan,

<sup>587</sup> Smith based his research on slightly over 100 Sarbadar and Walid coins then known to exist. Subsequently, many thousands of additional specimens have been marketed.



Isfarayin and especially Astarabad, whose Sarbadar coinage, struck only 767-773, is also very common.

Sarbadar and Walid coins are normally struck with some degree of weakness. Fully struck specimens are rare, but not impossible to find.

Sarbadar and Walid coins are easily confused. There are six types of each, and more than one denomination for some of these types. The types are described before the listings for each dynasty. To avoid confusion I have called the Sarbadar types A through F and the Walid types WA through WF.

All Sarbadar coinage is anonymous.

Type A: Mint & date in **quatrefoil** / pointed cinquefoil containing the Sunni kalima, citing the Rashidun in the margin (dated 748 only, sometimes with month of Muharram).

Type B: *Nasr min Allah wa fath qarib wa bashar al-mu'minin* ("help is from God and victory is near, good tidings to the believers") (Qur'an 61:13) within a **looped octagon** / octofoil with Sunni kalima & the Rashidun (dated 753 only).

Type C: As type B but **plain circle** obverse border (only known without date, probably struck circa 753-754).

Type D: Mint in **central circle**, surrounded by date, all in octofoil / **Sunni** kalima in spiraling Kufic script, surrounded by the Rashidun, all in plain circle (759 only).

Type E: Obverse as D / **Shi'ite** kalima (with *'ali wali Allah*) in hexafoil, names of the 12 Imams around (763-773, and also dated 759 at Damghan).

Type F: As type E but on obverse, mint in central **hexafoil**. Also with the Shi'ite reverse as type E (struck 767-769).

#### **temp. Shams al-Din 'Ali, 748-752 / 1347-1351**

2335 AR dinar (?) (about 7.3g), type A RR  
Coins of type A are always dated 748. There are several mints, Nishapur the least rare. The weight standard is unusual for Iran, perhaps based on a dinar equal to 2/3 of a Delhi tanka.

2336 AR ½ dinar (about 3.65g), type A RRR

A2337 AR 1/6 dinar (about 1.22g), type A RRR

#### **temp. Yahya Karabi, 752-757 / 1351-1356**

2337.1 AR 4 dirhams? (or ¼ tanka to Delhi standard, about 2.75g), type B RRR  
Struck only at Sabzawar, known dated 753.

2337.2 AR 4 dirhams?, type C, Simnan mint RRR  
See also type #A2010 for coins struck by Yahya but in the name of the Chaghatayid ruler, Buyan Quli Khan.

2337E AE fals, struck at Sabzawar, local type, dated 75(?)<sup>588</sup> RRR

#### **temp. Hasan Damghani, 759-763 / 1358-1362**

2338 AR 6 dirhams (or dinar) (4.3g), type D S

2339 AR 2 dirhams, type D R  
All coins assigned to this ruler are dated 759, which was likely a frozen date used throughout his four year reign.

#### **temp. 'Ali Mu'ayyad, 763-786 / 1362-1384**

T2340 AV tanka (about 11g), without mint or date RRR  
Standard kalima on obverse (without *'ali wali Allah*), reference to 'Ali b. al-Talib on reverse (*'ali wali Allah wasi rasul Allah*). Weight based on the Delhi Sultanate tanka, also adopted by the contemporary Mehrabanids.

2340 AV ½ mithqal (about 2.15g), 763-764 only R  
Struck at Sabzawar and Nishapur, the latter RR.

2341 AR 6 dirhams, several variants (4.3g), type E<sup>589</sup> C  
Struck at numerous mints 763-772, also struck at Damghan dated 759 (R). It is possible that 'Ali Mu'ayyad was involved in some sort of opposition against Hasan Damghani, but it seems also conceivable that the 759 dated coins were struck 763-765 still using an old frozen date, or a die-cutter's error.

2342.1 AR 4 dirhams? (about 2.75g), type E S  
Struck at Astarabad and Damghan only, from 769-774.

The 4 dirham denomination is perhaps rather a quarter tanka to the Delhi sultanate standard. Silver coins of this weight were first introduced into Khorasan in the name of Taghay Timur in 752 (type KM, #G2246), during the Sarbadar reign of Yahya Karabi.

2342.2 AR 4 dirhams?, type F S  
Struck at Astarabad, Jurjan and Rayy, known dated 767-769.

2342.3 AR 4 dirhams?, local type of Bistam RR  
Known dated 771 only. Mint followed by date in central area / Shi'ite kalima in central circle, the Imams in the margin.

2342.4 AR 4 dirhams?, local type of Bistam, known dated 772 or undated RR  
Mint in central circle, surrounded by coarsely engraved names of the Shi'ite Imams / Shi'ite kalima in square, ornaments in margin.

2342A AR 2 dirhams, type E (about 1.4g) RR

2342B AR 1 dirham, type F (about 0.7g) RR

2342T AE fals, various designs, dated & struck at Sabzawar circa 764-781 S

### **AMIR OF ASTARABAD (WALID)**

References same as the Sarbadars.

*The only ruler of the Shi'ite state who issued coinage was Amir Wali, who emerged in Astarabad after the fall of the Ilkhans. His coinage is anonymous, and easily confused with that of the Sarbadars. There are six types, labeled WA through WF, with the mint & date on the obverse, the kalima on the reverse. Types WA-WB have Sunni reverses, citing the four Rashidun, despite Amir Wali's Shi'ite belief, whereas types WC-WF are Shi'ite and cite the twelve Imams. All coins are struck to a mithqal standard of about 4.3g for the six dirham coin (gradually declining to about 4.1g). The so-called "4 dirham" denomination is more likely ¼ Delhi tanka.*

Most of Amir Wali's coins were struck at their capital, Astarabad. Some of the four-dirham types were struck at Damghan, Jurjan and Simnan, other denominations at Damghan, Simnan and Rayy, of which only Rayy is rare. A few additional mints are very rare.

Astarabad was lost to the Sarbadars 767-773. However, there is a very common Walid 6 dirham issue of Astarabad dated 769 (type #2343.1), despite the lack of chronicle evidence of any Walid reoccupation of Astarabad before 773. Perhaps they were actually struck circa 773-775, before the introduction of the very common type WF in 775 at Astarabad, with 769 inscribed for some unknown political reason. Known dates of types included in listings below (types 2343-2346).

(#2029, in the name of Jani Beg and classified as Golden Horde, undated but struck circa 757-758.)

(#2009, in the name of Buyan Quli Khan and listed as Chaghatayid, undated but struck circa 758-759.)

Type **WA**: Square composed of the Kufic kalima inscription, mint in center, all within plain circle / plain circle, **date on reverse**, Sunni reverse (759-760, 4-dirhams only).

Type **WB**: Obverse as WA, but **date outside square** on obverse / octofoil on Sunni reverse (761-765, 4-dirhams only).

Type **WC**: Obverse as WA / **Shi'ite** kalima in hexafoil (766 only, 4-dirhams only).

Type **WD**: Mint *and* date in **quatrefoil** (often highlighted) / Shi'ite kalima in **hexafoil** (occasionally plain circle) (769, 778-780, 786).

Type **WE**: Mint in **central circle**, date around in plain margin separated by 3 annulets / Shi'ite kalima in **hexafoil**, the 12 Imams around (774 only).

Type **WF**: Mint in **central looped quatrefoil**, date in surrounding segments / Shi'ite kalima in hexafoil or plain circle, the 12 Imams around in the margin (775-785).<sup>590</sup>

For similar coins of other types, see the previous section (Sarbadars).

<sup>588</sup> Zeno-62451, newly reported.

<sup>589</sup> A magnificent 60-dirham silver coin was struck at Sabzawar in 770, obviously a donative special issue weighing 42.17g, in the collection of the Náprstek Museum in Prague, somewhat like type E but much more elaborate and with vastly extended legends on both sides (posted as Zeno-49307).

<sup>590</sup> Issues of Astarabad always have the Shi'ite kalima in a circle, except for the year 780, which is framed in a hexafoil, as are all issues of other mints.

Issues of Damghan 780 are with the phrase *'Ali wali Allah* within the kalima. Coins of Damghan dated 781-785 are without it, but still cite the 12 Shi'ite Imams in the margin.

Other minor variations exist, e.g., Zeno-98656 of Rayy 78x.

### **temp. Amir Wali, 757-788 / 1356-1386**

- 2343.1 AR 6 dirhams, type WD, dated 769, 778, 780-781, and 786 C  
Struck primarily at Astarabad (all dates except 779 & 781, year 781 know for other mints), all other mints are rare.<sup>591</sup>
- 2343.2 AR 6 dirhams, type WF, struck 775-785 C  
Astarabad coins are dated 775 & 777, possibly also 776. Damghan becomes the primary mint from 781 onwards.
- 2344.1 AR 4 dirhams (or ¼ Delhi tanka), type WA, struck only at Astarabad 759-760 C  
For denomination, see note to #2342.1 above. Basically one type, with several clear variations, mainly struck at Astarabad.
- 2344.2 AR 4 dirhams, type WB, struck 761-765, also known dated 768 for Simnan (S) C  
Astarabad is the most common mint. Others are scarce.
- 2344.3 AR 4 dirhams, type WC, struck only at Astarabad in 766 RR  
For coins of Astarabad 767-773, see the Sarbadar section.
- 2344.4 AR 4 dirhams, type WE, struck only at Astarabad in 774 RR
- 2345.1 AR 3 dirhams, type WD, dated 769 & 780 only RR
- 2345.2 AR 3 dirhams, type WF, struck 775-777 S
- 2346 AR 2 dirhams (or ½ Delhi tanka), type WB RR

### **AFRASIYABID (AND MAR'ASHID)**

An ancient Iranian Mahdist dynasty in Mazandaran with several branches. Their coinage was all produced from 753, before the collapse of the Ilkhanate in 758, until at least 776 (1352-1374+). Due to the uncertain chronology and local possessions of the rulers, coins cannot be readily assigned to a particular ruler. All are either totally anonymous or cite the name of the Shi'ite hidden Imam, al-Mahdi Muhammad. Most are stylistically similar to contemporary Sarbadar or Walid coins, and follow the same weight standards.

Technically, upon the death of the Afrasiyabid ruler Kiya Afrasiyab in 760/1359 (ruled since 750/1349), control over Mazandaran passed to his rivals, the Mar'ashids, then led by Qawam al-Din (d. 781/1379). However, Afrasiyabid, Mar'ashid and other tribal groups battled one another for decades. At present, their coins cannot be separated into Afrasiyabid and Mar'ashid issues, although technically, coins dated up to and including 760 can be assigned to Afrasiyabids, those dated 761 or later to the Mar'ashids. Further research required.

The only two confirmed mints of the Afrasiyabids and the Mar'ashids are Amul and Sari. Most coins are reasonably well struck, comparable to contemporary Sarbadar and Walid issues.

#### **Anonymous, circa 753-776+ / 1352-1374+**

Citing the 12<sup>th</sup> Shi'ite Imam, the hidden Imam al-Mahdi Muhammad, often with the title *al-sultan*.

- A2347 AR 6 dirhams (approximately 4.2g) R
- B2347 AR 4 dirhams (approximately 2.75g), similar RR  
See note to #2342.1 for this denomination.
- D2347 AR 2 dirhams (1.32g), obverse with pellet in small circle in center RR
- C2347 AR dirham, without reference to the hidden Imam al-Mahdi (approximately 0.7g) RR  
"Types" #A2347 and B2347 can each be divided into several types of distinctive design, including 6-dirhams of Sari dated 759-760 that is typologically identical to the Sarbadar #2341, but with al-Mahdi Muhammad cited in the obverse center. Another resembles the Amir Wali type #2343.2, Amul & Sari circa 760-762, often with blundered date. Most coins of these

<sup>591</sup> For Astarabad, only 769 and 780 are common, both probably struck for several years as frozen dates, 769 circa 773-775 and 780 circa 780-785. For the years 781-785 Damghan is the only other often available mint (S), the coins always abysmally struck.

dynasties adhere only loosely to their standard, except for the "4 dirhams", type #B2347.

For similar Amul 758 coins citing the Golden Horde ruler Jani Beg, see #B2027 (gold dinar) and #2028A (silver 6 dirhams).

### **JAUNI-QURBANI**

A tribal group of Mongol origin centered in the region of Tus, their only mint city. Their coins remain unpublished.

#### **temp. 'Ali Beg, circa 773-783 / 1371-1381**

- R2347 AR ½ tanka? (about 5.7g) RRR  
Denomination uncertain, perhaps half tanka to the Delhi standard. All known coins were struck at Tus and are dated to the 10<sup>th</sup> of Jumada I 778, the day on which the die was cut (*nuqishat hadhihi al-sikka fi...*, "this die was engraved on...").

### **HUSAYNID**

A Shi'ite dynasty in the Gilan province of Iran, whose only independent coinage was struck during the reign of Rida Kiya (Reza Kiya). The Husaynid tanka is very broad and thin, and similar to other pieces struck at Lahijan bearing the names of other rulers, notably Sultan Ahmad the Jalayrid (types #2314L & 2314M, 4.6-4.7g), Timur (normally 5.8-6.0g, included within the normal post-reform tankas of this ruler), and Qara Yusuf of the Qara Qoyunlu (#O2481, normally about 2.65g, possibly a half tanka). The latter issues were probably all struck under the authority of Rida Kiya, but each is nonetheless classified under the ruler whose name appears on the coin in accordance with the general convention for attribution. Only the anonymous issues are assigned to this dynasty.

Rida Kiya operated only one mint, at Lahijan. The independent full tanka invariably lacks the mint name, but can be assigned to Lahijan on the basis of Timurid coins of similar fabric that bear the name of Lahijan, and by the quarter tanka, which bears the mint name.

#### **temp. Sayyid Rida Kiya, 798-829 / 1396-1426**

- 2347 AR tanka (3 to 4 grams) R
- 2347A AR ¼ tanka (average about 0.86g), RR  
Mint name in square / Kalima in hexagon.  
Both denominations are anonymous, assigned to Sayyid Razi Kiya because he was the known ruler at Lahijan during this time. Normally undated, though one tanka subtype is known dated 815 and 818. At least four different anonymous subtypes are known.

### **TAJASBID**

A local Daylamite dynasty centered at Kuchisfan (modern Kuchesfahan ("little Isfahan") in Gilan province. Their only recorded mint is Kuchisfan.

#### **Muhammad b. Falak al-Din, fl. 808 / 1405-1406**

- H2348 AR tanka (to Timurid standard), in his name & citing his son Falak al-Din, dated 808 or undated RRR

### **TAGHAYTIMURID**

A minor kingdom centered around Astarabad, its rulers descended from the Ilkhan ruler Taghay Timur. Only one ruler issued his own coinage.

All coins were struck at Astarabad, though on one rare issue, the mint name is given as Aqalim, "the climes" or "the countries", probably an epithet for the dynastic capital Astarabad or an epithetical name for a nearby military or administrative compound. All silver struck to the 5.7-5.8g tanka standard of Shahrukh's Astarabad tankas or marginally lighter. All 4 tanka types are now illustrated at Zeno.

#### **Pir Muhammad b. Luqman, 807-810 / 1405-1407**

- 2348 AR tanka, anonymous (pointed quatrefoil / ornamental trefoil), normally dated 808 RR
- 2349.1 AR tanka, with name of ruler (inner circle / plain square), normally dated 810 RR  
Tamgha and mint name in obverse center, marginal legend around.

- 2349.2 AR tanka, as #2349.1 with the mint name Aqalim transferred from the obverse to a central inner square on the reverse  
 This is the only issue with the mint name Aqalim. RRR All versions of type #2352 were struck with the same dies as the 12-dirhams, with the date rarely legible.
- 2349.3 AR tanka, with name of ruler (plain circle / plain square)  
 Huge tamgha dividing the entire field into four quadrants, filled with horizontal text, including the mint name. RR 2352.3 AR 6 dirhams (dinar, 4.3g), type AD, date usually off flan RR
- 2349H AR ½ tanka, as #2349.3 (Zeno-52806, 2.66g)  
 Coins of this Pir Muhammad are easily confused with those of the Timurid Pir Muhammad ruling at Balkh in 807-808 (#2393). RRR 2352A AR 3 dirhams (½ dinar, 2.15g), type AB, probably dated 758 RRR
- KART**  
*The Karts were empowered by the Mongols in the second quarter of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, but only achieved autonomy after the death of Abu Sa'id in 1335. Their own coinage commenced some ten years later, in 746/1345, with earlier issues of Herat issued by the Ilkhans. Contrary to the normal progression, their earliest coinage (746-750) bears the name of the ruler, but all subsequent coinage is anonymous, save for a single issue dated 766-768.*  
 All but a few very rare Kart coins were struck at Herat. Fully struck specimens are almost never seen, and average specimens can be as much as 30% flat. The dates are usually carelessly written, often difficult or impossible to interpret.
- Mu'izz al-Din Husayn, 732-771 / 1332-1369**  
 When named, he is cited as *mu'izz al-haqq wa'l-din*, always without *husayn*.
- Citing the ruler's name, circa 746-750 / 1345-1349 & 766-768 / 1364-1366:
- 2350 AR dinar or ½ tanka (about 5.5g), in the name of the ruler, Herat mint only RR  
 This denomination is probably derived from the contemporary Indian tanka, of which it is the half, with individual specimens varying from about 5.1g to 5.7g. Coins of this type are dated circa 746-750. There are many distinct types, but their sequence remains to be worked out.
- 2350A AR ¼ tanka (2.75g), similar, known dated 766-768 RR  
 The date is usually carelessly engraved and often undecipherable. This denomination and the anonymous type #2350D are also based on the Delhi Sultanate tanka denomination. Those of #2351.1 and later issues derive from the Ilkhan denominations, also used by the contemporary Sarbadars.
- Anonymous, circa 751-771 / 1350-1369:
- 2350D AR ½ tanka (about 5.5g), type AA (obverse bears date in words in central area), dated 753 RRR
- 2351.1 AR 12 dirhams (double dinar, 8.5-8.6g), dated 758-759 S  
 Type AB (fancy octofoil with floral design in central circle / normally in square). Most bear a date that has been traditionally interpreted as 751, with the '1' seemingly recut over a zero. However, I suspect that the 751/0 is actually a bungled attempt to engrave 759. The year 758 has not been confirmed for this type. For 12 dirham and 6 dirham issues dated 758 but in the name of the Chaghatayid ruler Buyan Quli Khan, see #A2009 & B2009. The double dinar is equal to two Sarbadarid or Walid 6-dirham coins. Many specimens are lightweight. This denomination is unrelated to the dinar kebeki of the Chaghatayid Central Asian mints.
- 2351.2 AR 12 dirhams (8.5-8.6g), dated 762-772 S  
 Type AC (lobated square / normally in plain square, not highlighted). Date often blundered or illegible.
- 2351.3 AR 12 dirhams (8.5-8.6g), known dated 771, but other dates probably exist S  
 Type AD (obverse in plain hexafoil, reverse normally with spiraled kalima).
- 2352.1 AR 6 dirhams (dinar, 4.3g), type AB, known dated 758 only. RR
- 2352.2 AR 6 dirhams (dinar, 4.3g), type AC, date usually off flan RR
- temp. Pir 'Ali, 771-784 / 1369-1382**  
 2353 AR 12 dirhams, anonymous, Herat mint, dated 773-776 S  
 This anonymous type of Pir 'Ali has the obverse within a lobated square, the reverse in a simple square, often highlighted, thus quite similar to type #2351.2. All anonymous types dated before 773 are conventionally assigned to the Husayn, even examples of type #2351.2 dated 772, the year after Husayn's death.
- 2353H AR 12 dirhams, anonymous, other mints, Tabas 777-778, Sabzawar 780 and Nishapur 781 RRR  
 These are the only known Kart coins of mints other than Herat. Various designs.
- 2353A AR tanka? (7.0g) (sunflower with 8 petals / highlighted square), dated 782 only<sup>592</sup> C  
 Date & mint in the obverse petals, versions of the kalima in both obverse & reverse centers. Usually found weakly struck. This denomination was later adopted by Timur, and came to be known as the tanka, but we do not know whether it was already entitled "tanka" under the Karts.
- 2353B AR ½ tanka? (3.5g), similar to #2353A<sup>593</sup> RRR
- MEHRABANID**  
 O. Codrington, "Further note on Musalman coins collected by Mr. G.P. Tate in Seistan," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1905, pp. 547-553 (very much obsolete).
- The Mehrabanids were local Sistani rulers of putative Saffarid ancestry. They were allowed to rule as Mongol vassals, but only proclaimed their independence and produced their own coinage in the 690s/1290s (see note to #2355), with the exception of some of the earliest cast copper coins of Nasir al-Din Muhammad (#2355B), some of which cite the Ilkhan ruler Hulagu. Their chronology is not known with great accuracy, nor are the weight standards of their coinage, except for the gold, which uses the same standard as the gold tanka of the Delhi sultanate (about 11.0 grams).*  
*Their copper coins contain a variable proportion of lead, and are sometimes nearly pure lead. No distinction is made here between those that are principally lead or copper, as the issuers probably did not care and used whatever was available.*  
*Please note that several listings have been changed from the first edition.*  
 The only Mehrabanid mint is Nimruz, now in the southwestern corner of Afghanistan but just a few miles from the borders of Iran and Pakistan. The contemporary names of the silver denominations are unknown, as is their relationship to one another. The gold and silver is normally dated in the outer margin, which is frequently off the flan. Gold and silver coins with full mint & date are surprisingly rare. The copper and lead jitals are invariably undated.
- Nasir al-Din Muhammad (b. Abi'l-Fath), 659-718 / 1261-1318**
- 2355 AR dinar (7.3g) R  
 With titles *al-malik al-mu'azzam* & *abu al-muzaffar*. Known dates are 69x<sup>594</sup> and 710-716, though because the dates are somewhat stylized and often partly off the flan, dates of the 710s have sometimes been interpreted as 720s (the *waw* after the first

<sup>592</sup> Also known dated 780, which is probably an error for 782, with *ithna* for "2" incorrectly engraved as *thama-*, followed by *-nin* in the next segment instead of the full *thamanin* (R).

<sup>593</sup> Only known specimen was in a private collection, New York.

<sup>594</sup> Perhaps Nasir al-Din Muhammad declared independence simultaneously with the Qutlughkhanid ruler Muzaffar al-Din Shah Sultan, who rebelled against the Ilkhans in 696-697. Zeno-86415 is dated either 696 or 706, more likely the former. His second independence may have been in response to Uljaytu's conversion to Shi'ism in 709.

digit is usually omitted, as it should be). Most examples also bear the month. The denomination is perhaps 2/3 of the contemporary Delhi sultanate tanka of 11.0g.

In the first edition I had mistakenly placed this type *after* the issues of his son Nusrat al-Din, hence the inverted sequence of type numbers.

2355A AE jital, undated R  
Probably contemporary to the silver, *i.e.*, circa 710-718.

2355B AE cast heavy fals, undated R  
Cast on thick flans, perhaps mixed with iron and lead, but not magnetic. Probably two separate denominations, one weighing about 22-28g, the other 12-16g. Most, if not all, appear to cite as overlord the Ilkhan Hulagu, but the decipherment of "Hulagu" is conjectural.<sup>595</sup>

On the cast fals, Muhammad is entitled *nasir al-haqq wa'l-din*, but on his silver he is *nasir al-dunya wa'l-din*.

**al-Malik b. Nasr, unknown ruler,  
probably circa 670s-680s / 1270s-1280s**

2355H AE cast heavy fals RR  
Found together with examples of #2355B that were marketed in the early 2000s. Average weight 10-12g. It is not known if al-Malik was himself a Mehrabanid.

**Nusrat al-Din Muhammad (b. Muhammad b. Abi Bakr),  
circa 718-731 / 1318-1331**

2354 AR dinar (approximately 5.3-5.5g) R  
Known dates are 723-725, usually with month. The standard appears to be equivalent to half the Delhi sultanate tanka of 11.0g, perhaps slightly less.  
With title *al-shah al-a'zam*.

2354A AE jital, undated RR  
**Qutb al-Din Muhammad I, 731-747 / 1331-1346**  
Gold and silver coins of Muhammad I bear the title *al-sultan al-'adil*, also found on his copper (#2357). All four letters of 'adil are ornately attached to one another, unlike issues of his later successor Qutb al-Din Muhammad II.<sup>596</sup>

V2356 AV ½ tanka (5.5g) RRR  
2356 AR ½ tanka (approximately 5.1-5.3g) RR  
2357 AE or PB jital (or fals) S  
Some of the copper/lead jitals bear the name Qutb al-Haqq wa'l-Din without any further names or titles. These are all tentatively assigned to Muhammad I.

**Taj al-Din, 747-751 / 1346-1350**

A2358 AR dinar (weight not determined), known dated 750 RRR  
B2358 AE jital RR

**Yamin al-Din Mahmud, 751-753 / 1350-1352**

F2358 AR dinar (±4 grams), known dated 751 RRR  
With title *al-sultan al-'adil*.  
G2358 AE or PB jital RR

**'Izz al-Haqq wa'l-Din Karman, 753-784 / 1352-1382**

2358 AV tanka (11.02g, the tanka standard of the Delhi sultanate) R  
When visible, the date is always 768, often (perhaps always) with the month Safar.  
Both gold & silver have the title *al-malik al-a'zam*, occasionally *al-malik al-'adil* on the silver coins. It is surprising that the Mehrabanids would have abandoned the higher title of *sultan* in favor of *malik*.

<sup>595</sup> If indeed the name Hulagu is correctly read, then this type might have been struck between about 659 and the 670s, perhaps posthumously well after Hulagu's death in 664, similar to contemporary dirhams of Mardin and elsewhere.

A hoard of perhaps 100-200 examples of #2355B and 2355H, previously extremely rare, reached the market circa 2000, now thoroughly distributed.

<sup>596</sup> Despite the more than 40 years between the reigns of Muhammad I and Muhammad II, the differentiation between their various types of jitals remains enigmatic. More research needed!

2359 AR dinar, heavy standard (8.0-8.5g) R  
Probably identical to the Kart 12 dirham standard (about 8.4g). Known dated 768. Unlike the boldly struck gold tankas, both types of the silver dinars are almost invariably poorly struck.

2359A AR dinar, light standard (5.4g, ½ Delhi tanka?) R  
Known dated 763-770. It appears that the two standards might have been struck simultaneously, for inexplicable reasons.

2360 AE or PB jital, at least 5 varieties, undated, with or without his title *al-malik al-'adil* or *al-malik al-a'zam* C

**Qutb al-Din Muhammad II, 784-788 / 1382-1386**

2361 AV tanka (11.0g) RR  
When visible, the date is always 782, suggesting that Muhammad may have been named king before his aging and ailing father died, or that the dates preserved in the chronicles are incorrect. With title *al-malik al-a'zam al-'adil*.

2362 AE or PB jital S  
Jitals of Qutb al-Din I and II are not easily distinguished. Normally the ruler's title on this type is *al-malik al-a'zam*.  
All coins issued during the reign of Taj al-Din Abu'l-Fath (788-806 / 1386-1404) are in the name of Timur, thus classified as Timurid RR.

**Qutb al-Din Muhammad 'Ali, 806-822 / 1404-1419**

2363 AR tanka, normally dated 810 or 812 RR  
2363A AE fals, dated 809 only RRR  
During the year 812, Nimruz fell under Timurid suzerainty.

**Anonymous, 8<sup>th</sup>/14<sup>th</sup> century**

2364 AE or PB fals, many varieties S  
Types #2364 and 2365 resemble named issues of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, rather than either earlier or later issues. For this reason they are assumed to be issues of the Mehrabanids.

2365 AE or PB jou, similar, inscribed *jou* on reverse RR  
*Jou* = "grain of barley"  
Later anonymous coppers, beginning in 795, are civic issues, catalogued under #B3190 and A3209. Later silver coins of Nimruz (after 812) bear only the names of Timurid, Shaybanid, or Safavid rulers, who were overlords to the local dynasts, and are assigned to those dynasties. The local rulers are not named. Anonymous copper fulus were struck from 795 until at least 885, usually dated (type #B3190 for Nimruz, also #N3194 for Sijistan, the latter extremely rare).

**TIMURID**

See Tabataba'i under the Ilkhans. There is not even a barely adequate treatment of this long and complex series.<sup>597</sup> The only dedicated study, volume VI of the British Museum catalogs of their Islamic coins, is totally obsolete, not surprising after more than 125 years.

Davidovich, E.A. "O standartakh chistoty i vesovykh standartakh serebryannykh monet Timura i Timuridov", *Vostochnoe istoricheskoe istochnikovedenie i spetsial'nye istoricheskie distsipliny*, v.4 (1995), pp.119-155 (in Russian). Especially important for its extensive references to contemporary documents.

*The Timurid dynasty was founded by Timur Lang, known to the west as Tamerlane, "Timur the Lame". His armies carved out*

<sup>597</sup> An alternative was once in preparation, by myself in the early 1970s as a potential doctoral thesis. By 1974, my own collection of Timurid coins (now in Tübingen) consisted of about 225 pieces, somewhat smaller than the collections of several museums that I visited, with the largest collections at the British Museum and the Iran Bastan Museum, each comprising about 300 specimens (larger collections may have existed in the Soviet Union). Later that year, a coin dealer in New York contacted me, saying that he had just purchased about 2,000 supposedly Timurid coins, and would I be willing to fly to New York to catalog these. This proved true, and after I completed the organization of these coins, he let me purchase whatever I wanted for my own collection, mostly dated between 828 and 875, and very fairly priced. I returned home with nearly 400 additions to my growing collection, but these newly found pieces severely contradicted the roughly 60% of my dissertation, which then had to be rewritten. So I took several months off from UC Berkeley to earn enough money to pay for these Timurid coins and to stay another year at the university. By the end of 1975, with ever more Timurid coins coming to my attention, I gave up and became a coin dealer. The Tübingen collection now contains more than 2,500 coins, with very little duplication.

a huge empire, from western Anatolia to the borders of China, but lacking secure means for succession, the empire was repeatedly wracked by internal squabbling. There were no clear-cut branches of the dynasty after the death of Timur in 807 (except for the lengthy period under Shahrukh, 817-850, and the shorter period under Abu Sa'id, 864-873), as various family members ruled over whatever they could grab, constantly challenging one another for supremacy.

As new lands were conquered by Timur, their traditional local currencies were retained, only the name of the former ruler was replaced by that of Timur and his nominal overlord. As a result, there was a plethora of local coinages, each of which circulated predominantly in the region of its prototype. The local silver coins of Herat, derived from the late Kart issues of Pir 'Ali dated 782, came to be known as the *tanka*. In 792/1390, its weight was reduced to about 6.2 grams. During the years 795-797, the *tanka* of 6.2g was adopted at most Timurid mints, the principal exception being Samarqand, where the old dirham seems to have been pegged at exactly 1/4 of the new *tanka*. The standard *tanka* itself was reduced in three consecutive stages, first to about 5.6g during the period 807-812, then to 5.15g in 827/828, finally to 4.78g (then equivalent to one *mithqal* in most of Iran) during the years 895-898. A few peripheral regions maintained local currencies, either briefly or continuously throughout the entire Timurid period.

There is virtually no Timurid gold coinage. Copper coinage struck until about 818 generally bore the name of the Timurid ruler, but thereafter was entirely autonomous, and therefore not easily assignable to a specific ruler. For that reason I have only regarded copper coins as Timurid if they bear the name of the Timurid ruler. The rest are subsumed under the rubric of Iranian Civic Copper (#3183-3198) or Central Asian coppers (#3274-3286), depending on the location of the mint.

Timur's coinage can be divided into three sequential series, the first citing the Chaghatayid overlord Suyurghatmish (771-790 / 1370-1388). The second series cites the Chaghatayid "successor" Mahmud (790-800 / 1388-1396), but was continued posthumously throughout the kingdom until 806/1403, together with his heir apparent Muhammad Sultan on many coins dated 803-805. The third series cites only Timur without either a Chaghatayid "overlord" or Timurid heir, struck principally, if not entirely, at mints in Iraq and the Jazira (806-807).

In the early 10<sup>th</sup>/16<sup>th</sup> century, the Timurids were driven out of all their western and northern possessions by the Safavids and Shaybanids. Under Zahir al-Din Babur they established themselves in India, which they ruled until 1274/1857 as the Mughals ("Mongols"). The only "western" mints they retained were Kabul and Qandahar, both of which adopted standard Indian types during the reign of Akbar, as well as the city of Balkh briefly in 1056/1057. For post-1605 Mughal coinage, see the century editions of SCWC.

More than 130 mints are known to have struck Timurid coins, at least eighty during the reign of Timur alone. For Timur's pre-reform coinage, mint information is given after each entry. For his post-reform coinage, the most frequently encountered mints are Herat, Qumm, Isfahan, Yazd, Shiraz, Shaykh Abu Ishaq (= Kazirun), Shabankara, Lar, Baghdad, Tabriz, Ahlat (Khilat), Erzincan (often without name, but of unmistakable style), Darband, and Astarabad, and above all Samarqand, though only for the 1/4 *tanka*. Many other mints are occasionally available in small numbers.

Tankas of Shahrukh are the most common coins of the dynasty. Numerous mints are common, notably Abarquh, Astarabad, Herat, Isfahan, Kasha, Kirman, Lar, Qazwin, Qumm, Sabzawar, Samarqand, Sari, Saveh, Shiraz, Sultaniya, Tabriz and Yazd. Most mints were either closed or lost to the Timurids soon after Shahrukh's death in 850. By the 860s, the only common mints were Astarabad, Herat and Samarqand, and to some extent Sabzawar and Sari. By the time of Sultan Husayn's reform of 895, Astarabad and Herat had become the common mints for the western rulers, Samarqand and Bukhara for the eastern. Tankas of Mashhad, Sabzawar, Damghan and Tun are also relatively available for Sultan Husayn, whose tankas are nearly as common overall as those of Shahrukh.

There is a great variety of different designs for most silver types of the Timurids, especially before Shahrukh's coinage reform in 827/1423. Unlike the Ilkhans and their immediate successors, uniform type designs were never successfully promulgated throughout the kingdom. Each mint or group of adjacent mints perpetuated their own designs, while nonetheless adhering to the common weight and fineness standard. The first two attempts to establish a uniform coinage proved largely unsuccessful and were inevitably short-lived, but the third attempt survived. The attempt by Shahrukh in 827/828 was only partially successful, that of Abu Sa'id in 864 moderately successful (only until 873), whereas the last attempt by Husayn in 896 survived until the end of his reign in 911 and was preserved by his frantic successors and later adopted by the Shaybanids.

The major exceptions were the three reverse patterns, which were maintained at most mints after their introduction. Here are the reverse patterns, but please note that there was no standardization of the reverse design prior to Shahrukh's reform in 827/828:

Reverse type **T1** has the kalima in three lines within square (K1 according to my classification as noted before #A2275), usually in Kufic calligraphy, with the names of the four Rashidun in petals around the square. At some mints, other arrangements of the kalima were used. It was introduced by Shahrukh at Herat in 827, at most of the other mints in 828.

Reverse **T2** has the kalima (usually K1) in *naskhi* calligraphy within a simple quatrefoil, with the names of the Rashidun, usually with their epithets, in the outer segments. It was introduced by Abu Sa'id in 864 (#2146.2), but virtually never used after his death in 873.

Reverse **T3** has the kalima (K1 or K2, in *naskhi* calligraphy) in a central area formed by four surrounding panels shaped like "sausages" (perhaps representing clouds, as in Chinese paintings), in which appear the names of the Rashidun, usually with their epithets. It was introduced by Sultan Husayn at Herat in 895 (#2432.3), at other mints the following year.

With few exceptions, silver coins of the Timurids were not very carefully struck. Typically about 80-90% of the type is visible, though for the coinage of Timur and the pre-reform coinage of Shahrukh (before 827), the average quality is often much worse. From the reform of 828 to the early dated coins of Sultan Husayn struck in 875, the strike is generally better, with fully struck coins not at all unusual. Post-875 coins are once again less carefully manufactured. Timurid coins circulated extensively, so that examples are often heavily worn. In light of the countermarks applied from the 870s to the 910s, it is evident that coins of Timur and Shahrukh remained in circulation at least until the end of the Timurid era, i.e., for as much as 100 years.

Although the practice of countermarking coins began during the early years of Shahrukh I, it was primarily after the reform during the reign of Abu Sa'id in 864/1470 that this practice flourished. Countermarks usually bore the name of the ruler, sometimes with mint or date, sometimes just an epithet characteristic of that ruler's coinage (e.g., *beh bud* for Sultan Husayn). There are also civic countermarks, and others that remain unassigned to any specific ruler or location. For each ruler, countermarked types are listed after the regular coin types. Some of the unassigned countermarks probably belong to rulers for whom no obvious countermark is known. These types will remain unassigned unless adequate evidence is discovered (as for *beh bud*).

Timurid countermarks are often weakly applied and not always fully legible, especially in the case of multiply countermarked coins, where the latest countermarks obscure the previous. From the time of Sultan Husayn's third reign until the 910s, coins were repeatedly countermarked, presumably as a means of financing the declining fortunes of the kingdom. Multiple countermarks are very common (as many as seven different countermarks are known on a single coin!), but no attempt has been made here to provide separate listings for each combination of countermarks. Current evidence reveals that the countermarks were used to revalue coins in terms of a standard unit of account known as the *dinar*. For example, in order to revalue a coin from the equivalent of 5 *dinars* to 6 *dinars*, the coins were called in and countermarked, with the owner paying a tax to cover the change in value, perhaps with an added seigniorage fee. The uncountermarked coins would still be accepted at the accounting 5 *dinar* value, whereas when countermarked, it would be accepted at 6 *dinars*.<sup>598</sup>

Copper coins of the Timurid period are reckoned as true Timurid issues only when the ruler's name is cited. This was true of nearly all copper coins struck until about 820. From 823 onwards, the copper

<sup>598</sup> The mechanisms of these revaluations are too complex to discuss in this *Checklist*. Much of the evidence is derived from surviving contemporary accounting documents recently examined by Russian scholars.

Measured by the value of the *dinar vis-à-vis* silver (or gold), the net effect was inflation, similar to what had been caused by coin-weight reduction during the 8<sup>th</sup>/14<sup>th</sup> century.

fulus were always anonymous, thus regarded as local civic coppers. Virtually all bear the mint name, and many are dated. Theoretically, dated fulus could be assigned to a specific ruler, but I have chosen to regard all post-820 anonymous coins as civic issues. See #3183-3196 for western & southern mints and #A3274-3286 for Central Asian mints.

Timurid coppers in the name of the ruler, struck before about 820, were generally rather well struck, though surviving examples usually show considerable wear and often much corrosion. Copper coins were not countermarked until the late 890s, thus only on civic issues (see note to #3285).

The Timurids were Sunni, but from about 851 onwards, they permitted mints in Shi'ite regions to issue Shi'ite coins, a rite granted in exchange for political acceptance of Timurid suzerainty. There were a few earliest Shi'ite issues, such as type #2398.2 of Iskandar and #2401.3 and 2407K of Shahrukh.

### Timur (Tamerlane), 771-807 / 1370-1405

Timur used only the titles *amir* and *gurkan* (*gürägän*, literally "son-in-law"), the supreme title adopted by Timur who had no legal right to be called *khan*, thus exposing his theoretical subordination to a nominal Chaghatayid overlord. The term was later used by several other Timurid rulers.

#### Pre-reform currencies, citing the nominal Chaghatayid overlord Suyurghatmish (771-790 / 1370-1388):

The pre-reform listing here is not complete. Many of the types listed here actually comprise several different local types, each in its own design. There are also a few multiple and fractional denominations, as well as some local types of various weight standards.

V2366 AV fractional dinar (about 1.15g) RRR

Known only from Khwarizm, sometimes dated 781, stylistically and monetarily following the Sufid issues of the same mint.

2366 AR 2 dinars (1.71g), with *Muhammad* in diamond on reverse, mints in Fars & Kirman, dated 788-789 RR

Timur did not occupy Shiraz until well into 789. This type was issued by the Muzaffarid Zayn al-'Abidin, perhaps hoping that Timur would retain him as governor of Fars. Timur instead replaced him with Yahya, though Zayn al-'Abidin recovered his position after Timur left Fars and returned to Central Asia in 790. The reverse is identical to #2286.2 of Zayn al-'Abidin.

2367.1 AR 2 dinars (1.44g), (mint in central circle / plain circle), mints in Fars & Kirman, dated 789-790 S

The least rare mints are Shiraz, Kirman, Abarquh and Kazirun. Fine calligraphy, but rarely so finely struck.

Types 2367.1, 2367.2, and 2369-2371 were struck during the first and rather brief Timurid occupation of western and southern Iran.

2367.2 AR 2 dinars (1.44g) (mint in central circle, margin usually divided into 4 segments / plain square), mints in Greater Luristan, dated 789-790 R

Coarse calligraphy. The only frequently available mint is Aydhaj. Some other mints occasionally used a plain circle reverse.

2368 AR 2 dinars (1.98g), local type of Greater Luristan, principally Aydhaj mint, dated 787-788 RR

So far, only the mint of Aydhaj is confirmed, but examples from other Luristan mints may exist. This type was struck by the Hazaraspid ruler, who recognized Timur in order to claim independence from his erstwhile Muzaffarid suzerain, Zayn al-'Abidin. In 789, at least six Luristan mints produced type #2367.2, during Timur's actual occupation.

2369 AR 2 dinars (1.98g), Adharbayjan type, mint in central circle with 3 or 4 panels around, known dated 788, but usually undated S

Tabriz and Hamadan are the only common mints. The design bears the names and titles of Timur and his nominal suzerain Suyurghatmish, and is stylistically identical to types struck by Sultan Ahmad the Jalayrid, Toqtamish of the Golden Horde, and an anonymous issue assigned to Ibrahim the Shirvanshah.

2370 AR 2 dinars (1.26g), west-central Iranian type, undated, but probably struck in 789 RRR

Principal mints, Alishtar and Burujird in Lesser Luristan (*i.e.*, Lur-i Kuchik, which never appears as a mint name).

2371 AR 2 dinars (various standards from 1.98 down to 1.26g), struck in mints of the central Jibal, but many subtypes at each mint, some rarer than others S

Principal mints are Isfahan, Saveh, Kashan, Qumm and Yazd, dated 788-790, some of which ruled by Muzaffarid princes who continued to recognize Timur after his departure in 790. Timurid coins struck by the Muzaffarids at some of these locations after 790 normally cite Mahmud instead of Suyurghatmish, and are thus type #2378.

2372 AR dinar kebeki (approximately 8.0 grams), struck at Astarabad, Simnan and Damghan, several subtypes, dated 788-789<sup>599</sup> R

2373 AR 4 dirhams or ¼ tanka (about 2.8g), Jurjan mint or without mint name (undated, circa 786-789) R

Examples with legible mint name are RR.

2374 AR heavy dinar or tanka (about 7.05g), usually without mint name but believed to have been struck at Herat and Sabzawar, undated R

Obverse in plain circle (occasionally hexafoil), reverse with kalima in square, laid out as either K1 or the spiraled form K6. This coin is considered the first "tanka" to have been struck west of India, though it remains unknown whether that name was already current so early in Khorasan. The earliest written references to the tanka as a denomination in the Islamic world date from the 820s.

Known with mint name Herat (RRR).

2374A AR ½ heavy dinar or tanka (about 3.5 grams), type as last RRR

2375 AR dirham (miri) (1.60g), Samarqand type, confirmed for 782-786 C

Only year 785 is common. All others are rare. Examples dated 774 (error for 784?) and 788 (seems correct) are in Tübingen.

2375A AR dirham (1.5g), struck only at Khwarizm 781-782 RRR

E2376 AE fals, citing Suyurghatmish on obverse, Timur on reverse, no additional inscriptions RRR

2389 AE fals, Samarqand type, normally dated 785 S

In the name of Timur, without his nominal overlord. Dated 785-786 only, but possibly struck for many years with frozen date 785, much more common than 786.

#### Pre-reform currencies, citing the nominal Chaghatayid overlord Mahmud (790-800 / 1388-1398, then posthumously until 806):

2376 AR 4 dinars (2.16g), Fars & Kirman provincial type, dated 795-796 R

Several subtypes, not noted here. Shiraz is the only common mint, though examples of Kirman, Lar, Abarquh and Kazirun are occasionally seen.

A few additional variants are known, usually without mint and probably always undated.

2377 AR 4 dinars (2.16g), local type of Greater Luristan (Aydhaj & other mints), mint name in center of kalima on reverse, 795 only RR

Aydhaj is the only mint that is not extremely rare.

A2378 AR 4 dinars (2.16g), Jibal type, known only from Isfahan, undated but probably struck 795-796 RR

E2378 AR 2 dinars (2.16g) (hexagon / plain circle), known from Irbil in the Jazira, undated RRR

Weight & design identical to Jalayrid type TA of Sultan Ahmad (type #2313.1). Probably struck circa 790-791. Whereas the Shirazi dinar has shrunk to just 0.54g, the Baghdadi dinar was twice as heavy, at 1.08g!

2378 AR 2 dinars (1.26 & 1.08g), as A2378, many mints in the Jibal, many subtypes, 791-796 R

Those struck before 795 are issues of various Muzaffarid princes in the name of Timur. Isfahan, Yazd, Qumm, and Kashan are the most frequently available mints.

2379 AR 2 dinars (1.08g), first Adharbayjan type, (hexafoil inscribed within hexagon / plain quatrefoil), 795 S

Only Tabriz is common for this type & the next.

<sup>599</sup> A heavy silver coin is reported for Samarqand, dated 783, weight unknown. Perhaps a different mint for this type, perhaps a new type.

2380	AR 2 dinars (1.08g), second Adharbayjan type, (plain circle both sides, mint in reverse center), 796 only	R	
2381	AR dirham (miri) (= ¼ tanka, 1.55g), Samarqand type, also used at a few other mints, 790-807	C	
	The reform tanka seems to have been set at four times the weight of this dirham, <i>aka</i> miri, though this hypothesis remains unconfirmed in contemporary literature. Full tankas were not struck at Samarqand until after Timur's death, during the reign of Khalil Sultan. This type is conventionally called <i>dirham</i> , but the actual name of this denomination is unknown, although recent evidence suggests that the denomination was known as <i>miri</i> , <i>i.e.</i> , "of the amir". This was the regular denomination only at Samarqand and Khwarizm under Timur, but was occasionally used at several other mints after the reform in 795, mainly in northwestern Iran. The weight of these "quarters" is close to one fourth the weight of the reform tanka. Of all the mints, only Samarqand is common (790-796 very common, later dates scarce).		
2381A	AR dirham (miri) (1.55g), Samarqand 807	RR	
	Timur + Mahmud + Muhammad Sultan, even though Mahmud had died in 800 and Muhammad Sultan in 805!		
2382	AR 2 dinars (1.62g?), obverse in square, mints in Iraq & southern Jazira, 795-796	RR	
	The principal mint for the type is Baghdad.		
2383	AR akçe (1.3-1.5g), Mardin & Amid mints, mint name in reverse center, several minor subtypes, all undated	S	
2383A	AR akçe (1.3-1.5g), as #2383 but countermarked <i>Allah hasbi</i> on obverse or reverse	R	
A2384	AR akçe (1.25-1.30g), Erzincan mint, with the characteristic lobated square reverse	S	
2384	AR akçe (various weights between 1.1g and at least 1.7g), Ottoman issue, Amasya mint	S	
	Struck by the Ottoman Mehmet Çelebi in the sole name of Timur, who conquered most of what is now Turkey in 804/1402.		
2385	AR akçe (about 1.2g), Isfendiyarid issue, mints of Kastamonu and Sinop (rarely clear on coin), dated 807-808 ( <i>sic</i> )	R	
	See also #T1264 for an issue of Germiyan.		
2385H	AR akçe (1.08 or 1.17g), Hajji Tarkhan mint, undated (Zeno-47615)	RRR	
	Standard obverse (as #2381), reverse with ' <i>adil</i> in central circle, mint name around. This is the only Timurid coins struck within the Golden Horde region. Although undated, it was likely struck during the political disarray after the death of Toqtamish in 797.		
2385L	AR fractional (1/10?) tanka (approximately 0.6g), without mint or date, but style of Lahijan	RR	
	For copper coins dated before the reform, see #2389 below.		
	<b><u>POST-REFORM COINAGE (circa 792-807 &amp; thereafter)</u></b>		
	<u>Post-reform coinage, citing the nominal Chaghatayid overlord Mahmud (792-803 / 1390-1401, then at some mints until 807):</u>		
	Mahmud died in 800/1398, but his name was retained on most of Timur's coinage until his death in 807.		
	The post-reform denomination (tanka) derived from the reduced weight dinar kebeki introduced at Herat in 782, further reduced to approximately 6.2g at Herat in 792, at which time it spread to other mints in Khorasan and Central Asia, and was subsequently adopted throughout the Timurid kingdom in 795-797. However, several mints continued to produce pre-reform denominations much later, as at Samarqand & Khwarizm until the 810s.		
Z2386	AR double tanka (12.5g), Dimashq mint only	RRR	
	Struck during Timur's invasion of Syria in 803. Contemporary accounts mention the production of numerous multiple tanka denominations at Damascus, called <i>balish</i> ("cushion"), varying from the double tanka to as much as 100 tankas. Only the double tanka is known to have survived. <sup>600</sup>		
2386	AR tanka (6.2g), many subtypes	C	
	Each mint or group of mints within a single province had distinctive subtypes, which changed periodically over the 15 years during which types #2386, 2386F, 2387 & 2388 were produced (792-807). <sup>601</sup> At least 100 subtypes exist, mostly unpublished, at least with an illustration. There was no attempt made to standardize the imperial coin designs until 827/828, during the reign of Shahrukh.		
	Despite the theoretical standard of 6.2g, most specimens weigh between 5.75g and 6.15g, even when minimally worn and undamaged. Perhaps Timur's administrators perceived themselves so powerful that they believed that their citizens might fear that their heads might be lopped off should they refuse to accept the underweight tankas.		
	Many varieties lack either the mint name, the date, or both.		
2386F	AR tanka, type as last but countermarked <i>hasbi Allah</i>	RR	
	This countermark occurs mainly on coins struck at mints in Armenia and eastern Anatolia. The date and issuer are unknown, but the mark is likely to have been used circa 800-802. Further research needed!		
	(#2387 & #2388 are now listed after #2390.)		
2388C	AR reduced tanka or ½ dinar kebeki (4.00-4.05g), without mint or date, believed struck in the region of modern Tajikistan	R	
2388E	AR ½ tanka, approximately 3.00-3.10g, usually in the style of A-2386 as used at Herat mint	RR	
	Known dated 792 & from undated types in the 790s, usually without mint name. Several other mints have been reported but apparently unpublished.		
2388G	AR ⅓ tanka, approximately 2.1g, mint name on obverse, several variants with reverse in square	RRR	
	Mints of Huwayza and Shushtar in Khuzestan provinces.		
2388H	AR ¼ tanka, approximately 1.4-1.5g, mint and date in central circle, known only from Aydhaj dated 797 and 798	RR	
2388I	AR ¼ tanka (about 1.5g), plain circle both sides, mint name interlinear within kalima on reverse	RRR	
	Known from Garni mint, dated 799 (in words).		
2388T	AR 1/10 tanka (about 0.58g), no mint or date	RR	
	Style of Lahijan in Gilan province. Struck on very thin broad flans, usually with much weakness.		
	(Type #2389 now listed just before #2376.)		
2389N	AE fals, citing Timur and his nominal overlord Mahmud, struck mainly at Nimruz	RRR	
2390	AE 'adliya, Fars & Kirman region mints	S	
	Individual specimens vary in weight from less than 2g to nearly 20g, but it is unclear whether these 'adliyas were struck to several different denominations or randomly at any weight. Most are without any overlord, but some cite either Mahmud or both Mahmud and Muhammad Sultan. The denomination ' <i>adliya</i> is cited on most of these coins.		
	The lightest coins are earlier, known dated AH795, whereas the heavier issues are known dated 806-808 ( <i>sic</i> ).		
	<u>Post reform coinage, citing Mahmud and the Timurid heir Muhammad Sultan, normally struck 803-805:</u>		
2387	AR tanka	R	
	As with the previous tanka types, each region had its own subtypes. Muhammad Sultan died in 805, and no new heir-apparent was appointed. This type was struck as late as 807 at some mints.		
	See #2381A for the dirham (¼ tanka) citing Muhammad Sultan.		
	<u>Post-reform coinage, without overlord, usually with title amir-i jahangushay, "world-conquering amir" (806-807):</u>		
2388	AR tanka	RR	
	Known only from Iraqi mints, principally Baghdad and Mawsil.		

<sup>600</sup> We do not know the actual shape of the larger denomination "cushions". Could the concept of such large silver coins have been derived from the contemporary Chinese sycee shapes?

<sup>601</sup> First struck at Herat in 792, extended to Jurjan and probably Damghan in 793, then to most of the empire shortly, after the conquest of Shiraz and Tabriz in 795, but never produced at Samarqand or Khwarizm.

### Khalil Sultan, 807-811 / 1405-1409

All silver coins of this ruler also include the name of his nominal overlord, Muhammad Jahangir, except the countermark.

- 2391 AR tanka, known dated 808-810 RR  
Although Khalil Sultan's coinage maintains the weight standard of Timur, actual weights of his undamaged tankas vary from about 5.7g to more than 6.6g. His actual standard is unclear.
- 2392 AR ¼ tanka (miri), dated 807-809<sup>602</sup> R
- A2393 AE fals, with name of ruler, Samarqand only, dated 808-811 RRR
- K2393 AR tanka, countermarked type, with *khalil sultan bahadur* in rectangular cartouche<sup>603</sup> RRR

### Muhammad Jahangir, alone, 811 / 1408-1409

- M2393 AR tanka, Samarqand 811 only (Zeno-92611) RRR  
Inscribed *al-mutawakkil 'ala Allah al-malik al-ka(mil?) al-sultan muhammad jahangir*, mint & date below.

### Pir Muhammad (b. Jahangir), at Balkh, 807-808 / 1405-1406

- 2393 AR tanka, dated 807 or undated R
- A2394 AE falus, Balkh mint, dated 807 or undated RRR

### Qaydu (b. Pir Muhammad b. Jahangir), vassal under Shahrukh at Balkh, 808-811 / 1406-1409

- 2394 AR ¼ tanka (miri), design similar to Timur's issue of Samarqand RRR  
All silver and copper coins of Qaydu cite Shahrukh as his overlord.
- 2394A AE falus, Balkh mint only, undated RRR  
Mint & date on obverse, only the name 'Ali repeated four times within a square on the reverse.

### Abu Bakr (b. Miranshah), at Tabriz, 807-809 / 1405-1407

- 2395 AR tanka RR  
All examples cite his father Miranshah as *Abu'l-Fath Amiranshah* and himself as *Abu'l-Muzaffar Abu Bakr (sic)*. Usually without mint name, but an example of the Qazwin mint was recently reported (Zeno-61021).

### Pir Muhammad (b. 'Umar Shaykh), in Fars, 807-812 / 1405-1410

- 2396 AR tanka, citing Shahrukh as overlord R  
Known only from Yazd dated 811 (about 5.6 grams), identical to normal Shahrukh type #2401.1 except for the name Muhammad in spiraled Kufic within a square medallion in center of obverse.

### Rustam, as independent ruler at Kashan, circa 812-817 / 1410-1414

- 2397 AR tanka, citing Shahrukh as overlord, Kashan mint only, undated, always weakly struck RR

### Iskandar, in Fars, 812-817 / 1410-1415

The weight standard of Iskandar's silver tankas is approximately 5.6g for all tankas.

- 2398.1 AR tanka, usually citing his uncle Shahrukh as overlord, Sunni reverse RR  
Struck principally at Kashan & Yazd. An example of Isfahan 813 lacks any mention of Shahrukh.
- 2398.2 AR tanka, similar, but without overlord and Shi'ite reverse R  
Known from several mints, including Sari, Yazd, Ta'us<sup>604</sup>, Qumm, and possibly Amul, but the mint name is rarely visible. On the obverse, Iskandar takes the titles Jalal al-Din and *malik ruqab al-umam*, with the next normally within a plain or pointed quatrefoil, each mint using its own variation.

<sup>602</sup> A ½ miri (0.50g) of Samarqand, date missing, is reported, but it may be a clipped down miri used for jewelry (Zeno-43028).

<sup>603</sup> Zeno-52213, very clear name and most of *bahadur* visible.

<sup>604</sup> The Ta'us mint reverse has the Shi'ite kalima in a square within a circle, the Rashidun within the segments between the square & circle.

The reverse bears the names of the 12 Shi'ite Imams in 12 petals attached to the central circle, within which is inscribed the kalima followed by *'ali wali Allah*, surrounded by the names of the four Rashidun. It seems that Iskandar was attempting to authorize a coinage that would be equally acceptable to both Sunnis and Shi'ites.

- A2399 AR ¼ tanka (miri), similar, Shi'ite reverse and no overlord RRR
- 2399 AR tanka, countermarked type (citing both Iskandar & Shahrukh), without mint name R  
Countermark *al-akh al-amir shahrukh al-sultan iskandar khulida mulkuhu*, "the brother the amir Shahrukh, the sultan Iskandar, may his kingship be forever", sometimes with mint name Shiraz.
- 2399A AR tanka, countermarked type (citing only Iskandar and apparently without overlord), mint of Shiraz RRR  
Countermark *al-sultan al-a'zam al-sultan iskandar duriba shiraz*. It is unclear whether the first *al-sultan* refers to Iskandar himself or to Shahrukh anonymously.

### Shahrukh, 807-850 / 1405-1447

The weight standard of Shahrukh's silver coinage was not standardized until about 822, with up to four different standards in use simultaneously in different regions.

Technically, his name should be cited as "Shahrukh I", but it is truly unnecessary.

### First series (807-812, as late as 819 at some mints), normally with title al-sultan al-a'zam:

Struck at mints in Central Asia, Khorasan & Sistan.

- 2400.1 AR tanka (6.2g), S  
Khorasanian mints, primarily Herat & Sabzawar. Both this type and #2400.2 never have the laqab *mu'in al-din*.  
No genuine gold coins are confirmed for Shahrukh or his successors, except for #A2431 of Sultan Husayn.
- 2400.2 AR tanka, similar, but weight reduced to about 5.6g, Nimruz & Khwarizm mints (812-819) R
- A2401 AR dirham (*aka* miri, = ¼ tanka, circa 1.55g), similar, mints of Khwarizm & Samarqand only RRR  
Style and calligraphy as on #2381 of Timur, titles as #2400.1.

### Local series (810-825, at a few other mints until 819):

- D2401 AR tanka (5.9g), local standard of Astarabad (810-825), date usually in numerals S  
Also struck at Sabzawar circa 814-819, and at Lahijan and Damghan, both undated. The weight of this type seems to have fallen gradually or in steps to about 5.6g by 825. Astarabad 801 is error date for 810.
- E2401 AR ½ tanka (2.95g), similar to #D2401 RR

### Second series (807-819, thus overlapping the first series):

Struck at mints in the Jibal, Fars and Kirman.

- 2401.1 AR tanka (5.6g), as #2400.1 but with additional title *mu'in al-din*, many regional variants S  
Struck at Isfahan and mints in Fars province 807-819, mainly Shiraz, Yazd, Shabankara & Shaykh Abu Ishaq (= Kazirun). After 812 the type was adopted at Kirman and at additional mints in central Iran, primarily Saveh and Kashan.
- 2401.2 AR tanka (5.6g), similar, but without *mu'in al-din*, local issue of Kirman province (807-809) RR  
Struck at Kirman and Shaqq (= Bamm), distinguished by the central oval cartouche bearing the ruler's name on obverse.
- 2401.3 AR tanka, with *mu'in al-din* but with Shi'ite reverse RRR  
Known dated 817, without mint, but style of Sari.

### Countermark series (circa 814-819):

Probably stamped only in Khorasan and Central Asia, mostly on hosts of either Timur or earlier issues of Shahrukh himself.

- 2402.1 AR tanka, countermarked type (contemporary with second series, circa 814-819), with *shahrukh bahadur* in variously shaped cartouches, without mint name C  
Ch'en Ch'eng, a Chinese envoy to the court of Shahrukh at this juncture (817/1414), reported the practice of countermarking the coins in circulation, and noted that it constituted a tax on money.



At this time Shahrukh was completing his conquest of sections of central and southern Iran still held by Timurid and other rivals. Many variations of cartouche and calligraphy. The most common type has the countermark in a square cartouche. All countermarks in the name of Shahrukh are undated. For similar countermarks with the additional word *amir*, see #2402.3.

- 2402.2 AR tanka, similar, but with mint name added to countermark  
Samarqand and Herat are the only mints which are not at least very rare. All other mints are in Central Asia, including Bukhara, Kesh, Nisa, Qarshi, Shash, Shahrukhiya and Tashkent. R
- 2402.3 AR tanka, similar, without mint name, but with inscription *amir shahrukh*, occasionally followed by the word *bahadur* R
- 2402.4 AR tanka, similar, without mint name, inscription *sultan shahrukh*, normally in *naskhi* script RR
- 2402.5 AR tanka, similar, without mint name, other forms of the royal inscription, various epigraphy RR
- Third series (819-822), with claim to the caliphate (khalada Allah mulkahu wa khilafatahu or something similar in the benediction):
- 2403 AR tanka (5.6g), many subtypes struck throughout the kingdom S  
Shahrukh's claim to the caliphate is known only from his coins and seems not to have been mentioned in any of the chronicles. Not all mints adopted this protocol, e.g., Samarqand. Conversely, at some mints the type continued after 822, as late as 825 at Khwarizm, the last mint to abandon this protocol.
- Fourth series (822-827):
- 2404 AR tanka, ( 5.6g for all coins), new designs S  
Designs for this type vary by mint, but are sometimes similar to issues of the first three series. Some mints, such as Samarqand and Herat, used types that resemble those of the forthcoming fifth series, but distinguishable by weight and layout of the legends. All coins of this period lack both the claim to the caliphate and the title *mu'in al-din* (some coins of Khwarizm and at least one additional mint, dated 822-825, still retain the claim to the caliphate and are thus regarded as examples of type #2403).
- Fifth series (827-850, posthumously till 852 at Tabriz):
- V2405 AV ¼ mithqal (about 1.19g), style as #2405 —  
Known with mint & date off flan (Zeno-95850). It is not clear whether this was an intended coin or a jewelry piece.
- 2405 AR tanka (5.15g), reform type, somewhat uniform at most mints, Sunni reverse A  
Introduced 827 at Herat, 828 elsewhere. Posthumous issues of Tabriz dated 851 and 852 were struck by the Qara Qoyunlu ruler, Jahanshah, before initiating coinage in his own name. Although reverse T1 is the norm, variant reverses were used at mints in northern and northwestern Iran, especially Kashan, Saveh, Qazwin & Sabzawar. Other mints, notably Tabriz & Sultaniya, employed special types for both obverse & reverse, perhaps because they were technically issues of Jahanshah in the name of Shahrukh. The early years (828-830) show the greatest uniformity between mints, but thereafter, local variations become increasingly prevalent.<sup>605</sup>
- 2406 AR ½ tanka, similar (5<sup>th</sup> series) R  
This denomination was used principally at Sari & Amul in Mazandaran province.
- A2407 AR ⅓ tanka, similar (5<sup>th</sup> series) RR  
Struck only at Erzincan, dated 840.
- 2407 AR ¼ tanka, similar (5<sup>th</sup> series) S  
Quarters of Herat and Astarabad are frequent, other mints RR.
- 2407K AR tanka (5<sup>th</sup> series), AR tanka, as #2405 but Shi'ite reverse RR  
Struck only at Ruyan in 828.

<sup>605</sup> Individual mint/date combinations for #2405 usually come from very few different dies, despite their abundance. It has therefore been suggested that individual dies for this type were produced from a hub. To prove this, one should search for a pair of coins that appear to share the same die, but with clearly different alterations or damage to the die, or several coins, each with such distinctions. An interesting but time-taking task.

Miscellaneous local coinage:

- 2408 AR ⅓ tanka (about 1.7g), local Iraqi and Jaziran coinage, circa 808-833+ RR  
Known principally from Baghdad, Wastan, & Huwayza.
- 2408E AR tanka (circa 5.3g), Erzincan mint, known dated 822-824, plain circle on both sides RR  
See type #2500 for further description of this design.
- 2408J AR dirham? (2.90-2.95g), Jarun mint on the Persian Gulf RR
- 2408K AR ⅓ tanka? (1.60-1.65g), Jarun mint RR  
The relationship and denominational names of 2408J & 2408K are unknown. Some are dated 846, and all were probably struck during the mid to late 840s.
- 2408M AR dirham? (circa 2.2g), mints of Amid & Mardin RR  
Local currency, identified by K5 on reverse, mint in center. Denomination uncertain, as is the dating of the type.
- 2408W AR akçe (about 1.50-1.55g<sup>606</sup>), struck only at Wastan, undated RRR  
Now the resort town of Gevaş on Lake Van.<sup>607</sup> Probably struck circa 824, at the time of Shahrukh's first conquest of Tabriz and threatened invasion into eastern Anatolia.
- 2408X AR fractional tankas and other local denominations R  
At least a dozen miscellaneous types, of either fractional tanka or local currency denominations. Mostly without mint & date
- 2409 AE 'adliya, mainly at mints in Fars, with name of ruler, variable size R  
Normally with a brassy color, and generally similar to type #2390 of Timur. Weights can vary from less than four to more than 15 grams. Dated 807-811 only. Later coppers lack the name of the ruler and are therefore reckoned as civic issues, of which the vast majority are dated 832, Bukhara the most common mint.
- 2409A AE fals, with the ruler's name, principally Balkh mint and usually undated RR  
Dated examples mainly before 818, but observed until 823.  
**'Ala al-Dawla, at Herat & Sabzawar, 851 / 1447**
- 2410 AR tanka RR
- 2411 AR ¼ tanka, Herat mint only RRR  
**Abu Bakr (b. Muhammad Juki), at Balkh, 851 / 1447**
- 2412 AR tanka, Balkh 851 only RRR  
Name written *Aba Bakr* (accusative case) on all known coins.  
**Ulugh Beg I, at Samarqand, 851-853 / 1447-1449**
- 2413.1 AR tanka (circa 5.15g), obverse inscriptions in Arabic R  
Several mints are known, of which Samarqand, Sabzawar, and Herat are the least rare. He sometimes takes the title *mughith al-din*, and his name is usually followed by the tribal term *gurkan*. An example of Sabzawar 851 (Zeno-64034) includes the title *mughith al-din*, sometimes with three pellets above the *th*.
- 2413.2 AR tanka, similar, but obverse in Turkish with the Arabic script, mainly mint of Herat (852 only) R  
The earliest occurrence of the Turkish language on Islamic coinage. Apparently struck to a heavier standard of 5.5-5.6g, but further research is needed to determine the metrology of the silver coinage of this reign.
- 2413A AR ½ tanka, Sari style (Zeno-53665) RRR
- 'Abd al-Latif, at Samarqand only, 853-854 / 1449-1450**
- 2414 AR tanka, reverse T1 RR  
No additional titles, but with the patronymic *bin shahrukh bahadur bin timur gurkan*, one of the unusual Timurid patronymic titles after about 820.
- 'Abd Allah, at Samarqand only, 854-855 / 1450-1451**
- 2415 AR tanka, reverse T1 S  
With titles *al-sultan al-a'zam al-khaqan al-a'dal murshid al-din*.

<sup>606</sup> An example in Tübingen (#93-18-98) weighs 0.73g, possibly half akçe.

<sup>607</sup> Vostan was the Armenian, Wastan the Kurdish name of Gevaş.

**Abu Sa'id Gurkan, at Samarqand and Transoxiana,  
855-873 / 1451-1469**

Also in Khorasan and adjacent regions from 863/1459 onwards, parts of Mazandaran from 864/1460.

- 2416.1 AR tanka, Sunni reverse with kalima in square (reverse T1) S  
First regular series of this reign, struck from 855-864 at most mints under his control. Samarqand is the only common mint.
- 2416.2 AR tanka, Sunni reverse with kalima in quatrefoil (reverse T2) C  
Second regular series of this reign, introduced after the temporary conquest of Astarabad in 864 and struck until the end of the reign in 873. The reverse cartouche has the same shape as the common countermark of his reign (#2417).  
Many mints, of which Astarabad is the most common, with Herat and Samarqand also relatively common. Abu Sa'id seized much of central & western Iran after the death of the Qara Qoyunlu Jahanshah in 872, with tankas struck at several mints in that region, usually dated 873, of which only Yazd is occasionally available. Abu Sa'id was killed the following year while chasing the Aq Qoyunlu ruler Hasan into northern Adharbayjan.
- 2416.3 AR tanka, Sunni reverse with kalima in hexafoil, Astarabad 864 only RRR  
Special design commemorating Abu Sa'id's first conquest of Astarabad in 864.<sup>608</sup>  
A few additional reverse types are known (R+).
- 2416.4 AR tanka, Sunni reverse with kalima in octofoil, Nimruz 867 only RRR
- 2416A AR ½ tanka, local type of Sari (Sunni), reverse as type #2416.2 RRR
- 2416B.1 AR ¼ tanka, square reverse as on #2416.1 R  
2416B.2 AR ¼ tanka, quatrefoil reverse as on #2416.2 RR
- 2417 AR tanka, countermarked type, quatrefoil border C  
Examples of this countermark with mint or date are rare. Struck from 864-873, concomitant with #2416.2. Countermarking was cheaper than melting down and striking new coins.
- 2418 AR tanka, countermarked type, other shapes R  
By style, struck before 864, always without mint name. Some variants may have been struck later.
- T2419 AR tanka, Shi'ite reverse, mint & date in obverse inner circle, T1 style reverse, Sari 872 only RRR
- 2419 AR tanka, Shi'ite reverse, without mint name, undated, several varieties RR  
Believed struck at Ruyan, possibly also at Sari.

**Abu'l-Qasim Babur, 851-861 / 1447-1457**

- 2420.1 AR tanka, Sunni reverse, without kunya *Abu'l-Qasim*, struck 851-853, normally T1 reverse. R  
All coins struck prior to the conquest of Herat in 853 lack the kunya *Abu'l-Qasim* as do a few later issues (mainly variants of type #2422).  
A subtype of Astarabad 851 & 852 has mint & date in central circle on obverse.
- 2420.2 AR tanka, with kunya *Abu'l-Qasim* (853-861) S

<sup>608</sup> The occupation of Astarabad after the death of Abu'l-Qasim Babur in 861 is complex, with the following data hopefully correct:

861-862	Shah Mahmud	#2423.2
862	Jahanshah (Qara Qoyunlu)	#2493
862-864	Sultan Husayn, 1 <sup>st</sup> reign	#2428
864	Abu Sa'id	#2416.3
864-865	Sultan Mahmud	#V2454
865-868	Sultan Husayn, 2 <sup>nd</sup> reign	#2428A
868-873	Abu Sa'id	#2416.2
873-874±	Hasan (Aq Qoyunlu)	#2512
thereafter	Sultan Husayn, 3 <sup>rd</sup> reign	#2431

Surprisingly, it seems that all these invasions and government changes brought little harm to the city of Astarabad! Shah Mahmud is not the same period as Sultan Mahmud, who later ruled over Hisar 873-900.

Most common types have T1 reverse, but also known with fancy hexafoil reverse (Astarabad 858), inner circle reverse (Herat 859) and other rare variants.

- 2421.1 AR ¼ tanka, as #2420.1 (without kunya) RR  
2421.2 AR ¼ tanka, as #2420.2 (with kunya) R  
2422 AR tanka, Shi'ite types C

Struck principally at Sari and Amul, often without mention of the mint name, occasionally dated, almost always overstruck on earlier coins (mainly of Shahrukh). Over the years various scholars and numismatists have misattributed this type to Zahir al-Din Babur, the conqueror of India some 70 years later.

Most Shi'ite types of Abu'l-Qasim Babur and later Timurids have either the names of the 12 Shi'ite Imams or the names of the first four Imams Muhammad, 'Ali, Hasan and Husayn, but often omit the phrase '*Ali wali Allah*'. There are many different arrangements of the text.

**Shah Mahmud, at Herat and Astarabad,  
861-863 / 1457-1459**

Not to be confused with Sultan Mahmud, who briefly occupied Astarabad 864-865 (see #V2454).

- 2423.1 AR tanka, Sunni reverse T1 RR  
Herat mint only, with regnal title *mu'izz al-dunya wa'l-din* (all his other types are without this title).
- 2423.2 AR tanka, Shi'ite reverse (inner circle / hexafoil), Astarabad mint RRR
- 2423.3 AR tanka, Shi'ite reverse (multifoil / inner circle), Sabzawar mint RRR
- 2423.4 AR tanka, Shi'ite reverse (inner circle / inner circle) RR  
Without mint name but believed struck at Sari, based on style.

**Sultan Ibrahim, at Herat and Nishapur, 861 / 1457**

- 2424 AR tanka, without additional titles RRR  
2424A AR ¼ tanka, similar, Herat mint only RRR

**Sultan Muhammad, in central & western Iran,  
850-855 / 1447-1451**

- 2425 AR tanka, Sunni reverse (usually type T1), occasionally overstruck on earlier Timurid types, mainly of Shahrukh S  
Yazd is the most frequently available mint. Kashan & Shiraz are also not especially rare. About 13 mints known in all.
- 2426 AR ½ tanka (about 1.7g), struck only at Huwayza, sometimes without mint name R
- 2426A AR ¼ tanka, with knot typical of Kashan mint RRR  
Without mint name, but presumably struck at Kashan.
- 2426L AR tanka, similar to #2425 but Shi'ite reverse RR  
Sari mint only, with names of the first three Shi'ite Imams 'Ali, Hasan & Husayn in the reverse margin, normally followed by the epithetical name Zayn al-'Abidin of the fourth Shi'ite Imam, 'Ali b. Husayn.
- 2427 AR tanka, countermarked '*adl sultan muhammad* on various hosts, always without mint & date R  
The same wording was also used by the Aq Qoyunlu prince Muhammad (903-905), but the two can easily be distinguished by style, cartouche and undertypes. The cartouche of this type is normally a simple square or rectangle, or a plain circle.
- 2427F AE 'adliya, Shiraz mint, broad thin flan, undated RR

**Sultan Husayn, 1<sup>st</sup> reign at Astarabad,  
862-864 / 1459-1460**

- 2428 AR tanka, known dated 862 RRR  
Normally undated, identified by central obverse inner circle citing the ruler without his kunya Abu'l-Ghazi, reverse in square.  
For the following ruler in charge of Astarabad in 864-865, Sultan Mahmud, see #V2454.

**Sultan Husayn, 2<sup>nd</sup> reign at Astarabad,  
865-868 / 1461-1464**

- 2428A AR tanka, known dated 865 RRR  
Linear inscriptions obverse, without title Abu'l-Ghazi, reverse in hexafoil.

**Sultan Husayn, 1<sup>st</sup> reign or 2<sup>nd</sup> reign**

2429 AR tanka, countermarked '*adl sultan husayn*, usually in rectangle R  
Always without mint, date and the term *beh bud*, this countermark belongs to either the first or second reign, or both of them, but cannot at present be assigned to one of these reigns. Lacking *beh bud*, it was unlikely to have been used during the third reign.

**Yadigar Muhammad (Abu al-Muzaffar), at Herat, 873-875 / 1469-1470**

A2430 AR tanka, normal strike with ruler's name, known from Herat 874 but usually undated RRR  
2430 AR tanka, countermarked type, ruler's name in cartouche (usually square or rectangle) RR  
The countermark always lacks mint and date. Usually found poorly struck.

**Sultan Husayn (Abu'l-Ghazi), 3<sup>rd</sup> reign, at Herat<sup>609</sup>, etc., 873-911 / 1469-1506**

Known as *sultan husayn bayqara* in the chronologies.

Coins of Sultan Husayn's first and second reigns lack the title *abu'l-ghazi*, which appears on all coins of the third reign, except for some small fractional denominations (due to available space).

As for the various lighter types, though marked or countermarked with a denomination, the fractionals, all of which probably date to the last 16 years of his reign, the monetary denominations stated here are tentative, as are the suggested dates.

A2431 AV ashrafi, struck only at Herat RRR  
This type is inscribed with the denomination *ashrafi* and was likely intended as a donative.<sup>610</sup>

2431 AR tanka (5.15g), pre-reform type (reverse normally in a square, a restoration of type T1) S  
Only the mints of Herat and Astarabad are common. The type has *beh bud* in an eye-shaped lozenge in obverse center, similar to the countermark #2437. *Beh bud* means "prosperity", and was the name of Sultan Husayn's coinage.<sup>611</sup>

A2432 AR ¼ tanka (1.28g), similar, reverse has the kalima either within a square or a quatrefoil RR

W2432 AR double tanka (9.56g), similar to #2434.2, struck only at Astarabad in 909 RRR  
Two known specimens confirm that this denomination is two Timurid tankas, based on the Timurid Central Asian mithqal of 4.78g, rather than the somewhat lighter contemporary Safavid mithqal of 4.70g.

2432.1 AR tanka (4.78g), post-reform standard but design similar to #2431 (reverse in square), struck only at Astarabad 892-894, thick narrow flans<sup>612</sup> RR  
All Timurid tankas struck from 892 onwards follow the 4.78g standard, later adopted by the Shaybanids, with a few exceptions as appropriated noted.

2432.2 AR tanka (4.78g), post-reform type, special type of Astarabad, 895-896 only, *beh bud* in knotted diamond on obverse, reverse in square (type T1) S

2432.3 AR tanka (4.78g), normal post-reform type (reverse T3, as described under type #2405), mint name with *beh bud* in eye-shape cartouche, Sunni reverse, struck 895 and later A

Herat & Astarabad are by far the most common mints, but Balkh, Marw, Mashhad, Sabzawar, and Tun are often obtainable. About 20 mints in all are known. Virtually all specimens show some weakness of strike.

2433.1 AR ¼ tanka, similar to #2432.1 (reverse in square, type T1) RR

2433.2 AR ¼ tanka, post-reform type) similar to #2432.3 (reverse T3) RR

2434.1 AR tanka, similar to #2432.3 but Shi'ite formula in the reverse field, names of the 12 Imams in margin S  
Struck principally at Damghan and Sari (896+, normally undated). Husayn did not allow Shi'ite coinage at Astarabad until 908 (see the following type).

2434.2 AR tanka, obverse as last, but the reverse has the Shi'ite formula in the margin, names of the Twelve Imams in "mill-sail" pattern in the field R

Struck in 908-909 at Astarabad. These bear a variant of the so-called "mill-sail" reverse best known from early Safavid coinage. The design is formed by the extended tails of the final *ya* of 'Ali repeated four times in the form of a mill-sail, an obsolete term referring to the sail of a windmill.

2435.1 AR light tanka (about 4.0g-4.1g), Sunni reverse R  
Minted in the Mazandaran province, at Amul, Barfurushdih & Sari, sometimes without mint name.<sup>613</sup> Struck on thick, narrow flans, similar to contemporary Aq Qoyunlu tankas, actually issued by local dynasts, but in the name of Sultan Husayn. The Sunni reverse is normally or always in Kufic script.<sup>614</sup>

2435.2 AR light tanka (about 4.0g-4.1g), Shi'ite reverse RR?  
Minted in the Mazandaran province, but without mint name.

2435A AR full tanka (about 5.0g), Sari mint RR  
Mint name in obverse cartouche, Shi'ite kalima in octofoil reverse field with what are probably the first four Shi'ite Imams in the margin. Normally on thick narrow flans.

2436 AR reduced tanka of half-mithqal weight (roughly 2.39g), mint in central circle on obverse, known from Herat 906 & 908, Mashhad 909, and Tabas 911 RR  
This coin evidently circulated as a tanka, even though it weighs exactly half the normal post-reform tanka. Herat is the only mint occasionally available.<sup>615</sup>

A2437 AR "2 miri" (2 Herati dinars, = 2/3 reduced tanka) (1.59g), struck only at Astarabad, and inscribed *beh bud do-miri*, always undated.<sup>616</sup> RR  
Presumably struck late in the reign, during the financial crisis which erupted after 906/1500. For the denominational terminology, see #F2440. Contemporary accounts of the period mention a tanka valued at six dinars of account.

B2437 AR provisional "tanka" of ½ mithqal weight (1.59g) RR  
Inscribed *beh bud tanka* in central lozenge, thus to be regarded as a tanka. This type never bears the mint, but was likely struck at Herat at the same time as the 2-miri of Astarabad (#A2437). Known dated 910.

<sup>609</sup> Sultan Husayn contested the city of Herat with Yadigar Muhammad from 873-875, after which he held the city as his administrative capital, unchallenged until his death in 911.

<sup>610</sup> The only known specimen in private hands weighs 4.73g., suggesting that the intended weight of the ashrafi was one mithqal, then about 4.78g.

<sup>611</sup> An alternative explanation of the inclusion of *beh bud* on the coinage of Sultan Husayn appeared in the Babur-Nameh, an historical text attributed to the later ruler Zahir al-Din Babur, but undoubtedly actually written by one of his chroniclers. According to A.S. Beveridge's translation, it states "Bih-bud Beg was another. He had served in the pages' circle during the guerilla times [i.e., circa AH862-873] and gave such satisfaction that the Mirza [i.e., Sultan Husayn] did him the favour of putting his name on the stamp [countermark] and the coin." There is no evidence for this presumption, most likely applied posthumously as a humorous tale.

Note that the last words of this text, "on the stamp [countermark] and the coin", seems to indicate that coins bearing the phrase *beh bud* were both countermarked and newly struck.

<sup>612</sup> This type proves that the reduced weight was introduced in 892, not 895 as I originally presumed, at least in Astarabad. Specimens of other mints dated in the 890s but prior to 895 are unknown.

<sup>613</sup> The obverse of both #2435.1 and 2435.2 bears *beh bud* in eye-shaped cartouche, as on type #2431.

<sup>614</sup> Issues of Barfurushdih may have been struck to a somewhat lighter standard, circa 3.7g. More information needed, for this variant and for an overall analysis of types #2435.1 and 2435.2.

<sup>615</sup> This type bears no indication of denomination, but incorporates the same design as type #A2437 of 2 "miri" at Astarabad, i.e., 2 miri or Herati dinars of account. Since this type weighs 50% more and was contemporary to the 2 "miri" of Astarabad, it should be the equivalent to 3 "miri", which was a term for the reform tanka introduced in 895. The principal evidence is the countermark on type #F2440. Further research would be helpful.

<sup>616</sup> See the note following #F2440 to understand why I've decided to accept Davidovich's reading as *miri* rather than *hari*.

2437	AR tanka, first countermarked type ( <i>beh bud</i> alone in eye-shaped cartouche), used circa 873 until 895 or slightly thereafter	A		2441B	AR 1/6 tanka (0.80g), similar, mint of Astarabad, undated	RRR
	A few rare variants of types #2437 and 2438 have a cartouche of a different shape. Found on Timurid coins of Sultan Husayn and earlier, especially Shahrukh, as well as coins of other contemporary dynasties, Qara Qoyunlu, Aq Qoyunlu, etc.				<b>Faridun Husayn, at Astarabad, 911-912 / 1506 (Abu'l-'Adl, b. Sultan Husayn)</b>	
2438	AR tanka, second countermarked type, as last ( <i>beh bud</i> in eye-shape cartouche), but with mint name added and larger cartouche, used circa 895-906 <sup>617</sup>	C		2442.1	AR tanka (4.78g). with his kunya <i>abu'l-'adl</i> in central cartouche	RRR
					Shi'ite reverse with kalima in square.	
2438A	AR "tabrizi" tanka, similar, but countermarked with <i>beh bud tabrizi</i> , usually followed by mint name	R		2442.2	AR tanka (4.78g), similar, but without his kunya, <i>faridun husayn</i> in central cartouche, Astarabad mint, known dated 912	RRR
	Presumably an indication that the value of the coin was the same as the contemporary Aq Qoyunlu standard at Tabriz introduced in 902 by Ahmad Göde (4.78g). Known mints include Mashhad and Marw.			2442A	AR ½ tanka, with <i>abu'l-'adl</i> in obverse central cartouche	RRR
					Shi'ite reverse with kalima in square.	
2439	AR tanka, third countermarked type, wording as #2438 ( <i>beh bud</i> + mint name) but inscribed within a six-petalled lotus, always undated, estimated to have been used 906-911	C		2442B	AR tanka, countermarked <i>abu'l-'adl</i> on various Timurid tankas	RRR
	A few dies have an eight-petalled lotus.			2442C	AR 2 shahi (18.80g), countermarked <i>abu'l-'adl</i> on 2 shahi hosts of the Safavid ruler Isma'il I	RRR
A2440.1	AR "tanka" (4.78g), countermarked <i>beh bud tanka</i> , probably used circa 895	RR		2442D	AR shahi (9.40g), same countermark on 1 shahi hosts of Isma'il I	RRR
A2440.2	AR "tanka" (circa 4.1g?), similar, but with the countermark <i>'adl tanka</i> , date unknown	RRR		2442E	AR ½ shahi (4.70g), same countermark on ½ shahi hosts of the Isma'il I	RRR
F2440	AR "3 miri" ( <i>i.e.</i> , 3 dinars of Herat), countermarked <i>beh bud seh miri</i> plus mint name on various tankas (at least two different shapes of the cartouche)	R			<b>Muzaffar Husayn (b. Sultan Husayn), at Herat, 911-912 / 1506</b>	
	Davidovich read the denomination as <i>seh miri</i> , "three amiri [tankas]"; and in the post-Soviet periods, Russian scholars have universally accepted this term. Until very recently, I disagreed, and read the term as <i>hari</i> , <i>i.e.</i> , "of Herat", given that Herat was the capital of the first ruler on whose coins this term appeared. There is a recently discovered piece in the Tübingen collection, dated 897, that clearly shows <i>hari</i> or <i>miri</i> with what I interpreted as an unambiguous <i>h</i> . However, <i>m</i> and <i>h</i> can be so similarly engraved that a single specimen out of many hundreds of known specimens cannot prove <i>h</i> instead of <i>m</i> . Has anyone discovered decisive evidence in contemporary documents?				Also citing his brother Badi' al-Zaman, with whom he shared the authority at Herat.	
	It seems that the reform of 895 implied a valuation of the mithqal weight tanka (about 4.78g) at three dinars of account.			2443	AR tanka, Herat mint only	RRR
G2440	AR "5 miri" ( <i>i.e.</i> , 5 dinars of Herat), countermarked <i>beh bud panj miri</i> on various hosts (two shapes of cartouche)	RRR			Distinguished by <i>beh bud herat</i> within plain quatrefoil on obverse. The name Muzaffar Husayn to the left, Badi' al-Zaman to the right. Type T3 Sunni reverse with the four Rashidun.	
	The dating of this type is unknown, probably circa 904-906.			2443N	AR tanka, countermarked type, reported only for the mint of Nishapur, undated (Zeno-94408)	RRR
H2440	AR "½ miri", countermarked <i>'adl-i nim miri</i> in plain octagon border by unknown authority	RRR			The countermark appears within a plain quatrefoil, <i>beh bud nishapur</i> , similar to the cartouche of type #2443. This attribution seems consistent, but should currently be regarded as tentative.	
	Known with a later countermark (type #2439) of Balkh mint, so no later than 906. This is an issue of either some regional governor of Sultan Husayn somewhere in Khorasan (seems likely) or of his opponents in Transoxiana, such as Sultan Ahmad in Samarqand or Sultan Mahmud in Hisar. Oddly, the denomination cited in the countermark seems not to fit into the known monetary policy of the Timurids.				<b>Muzaffar Husayn (b. Sultan Husayn), at Herat, as sole ruler, circa 911-912 / 1506</b>	
	<b>Muhammad Husayn (b. Sultan Husayn), rebel against his father at Astarabad, 903-906 / 1498-1501</b>			2443A	AR tanka, Astarabad mint only	
2440	AR tanka (4.78g)	S			The full royal name on this type is <i>sultan abu'l-muzaffar ibn sultan husayn</i> , with the mint name <i>beh bud astarabad</i> in the same eye-shape cartouche of his father's common type (#2432.3). Shi'ite reverse with kalima in square, 12 Imams in margin.	
	This type is readily identified by the word <i>fath</i> ("victory") in the obverse center, usually with the date inscribed within that word.				<b>Badi' al-Zaman (b. Sultan Husayn), as rebel at Balkh against his father Sultan Husayn, circa 905-908 / 1499-1502</b>	
2441	AR tanka, countermarked type, with <i>fath</i> and date, but without mint or name of ruler	R		A2444	AR tanka, known dated 905	RRR
	This type is assigned to Muhammad by virtue of its similarity to the previous type, #2440. Found on Timurid and surprisingly often on Aq Qoyunlu tankas.				Anonymous, assigned to ruler by design & date.	
2441A	AR ½ tanka (1.59g), generally as #2440, mint of Astarabad, undated	RRR		B2444	AR tanka, countermarked <i>beh bud balkh</i> within elongated cartouche on various earlier types	R
					This invariably undated type is tentatively assigned to the rebellion of Badi' al-Zaman circa 905-908, but further study is needed. It bears the same cartouche as his later three tanka countermarks (type #2445). The same <i>beh bud balkh</i> within a six-petalled lotus cartouche is an ordinary issue of Sultan Husayn (#2439).	
					<b>Badi' al-Zaman, alone, as independent ruler, various places, 911-914 / 1506-1508</b>	
				2444	AR tanka, known dated 911-912	RRR
					Known principally from Astarabad and Nimruz.	
				2445	AR 3 tankas, countermarked <i>beh bud seh tanka</i> with mint name on various hosts	R
					The attribution of this countermark, engraved within an elongated cartouche and occasionally dated 911 or 912, to Badi' al-Zaman is based on its appearance on a tanka of Faridun Husayn (#2442), who succeeded Husayn and was ousted in 912 by Badi' al-Zaman. However, recent evidence suggests that it might have been introduced by Husayn a few months before his death at the end of	

<sup>617</sup> Some recent evidence suggests that the second countermark may not have been introduced until 899. A few rare examples are dated, either 899 or 900. One rare variant bears the legend within a rosebud, known only from Mashhad dated 900.

- 911 (cf. #B2437 for a tanka of 1/3 mithqal weight struck *before* his death). If correct, one may assume that the countermark was introduced by Sultan Husayn and continued unchanged under his son and successor at Herat, Badi' al-Zaman. Principal mints are Herat, Nishapur, and Sabzawar. An extremely rare variety has *beh bud seh tanka-yi tabrizi*, followed by the mint name (Khaf).
- Muhammad Muhsin Khan, at Mashhad,  
911-912 / 1506-1507 (Abu'l-Nasr, b. Sultan Husayn)**  
Also known as Kebek Khan.
- 2446 AR tanka RRR  
Both regular and countermarked coins invariably lack the mint name. This type bears the name *muhammad muhsin khan* in the field, *kebek khan* in the central rosebud shape cartouche. Shi'ite reverse with kalima in square.  
A tanka in his name has been reported from Mashhad 905, perhaps reflecting some sort of autonomy or uprising against his father Sultan Husayn. Sunni reverse.
- 2447 AR tanka, countermarked *Kebek Khan*, occasionally with date, in rosebud cartouche RR  
**Muhammad Qasim, at Mashhad, 913 / 1507**
- 2447Q AR tanka, Shi'ite reverse, Mashhad mint, undated RRR  
Inscribed '*adl saheb zaman* in obverse central cartouche, with mill-sail Shi'ite reverse (Zeno-94449).
- Muhammad Zaman Khan, at Astarabad,  
920-923 / 1514-1517**  
Muhammad Zaman briefly seized Astarabad, but to no avail.
- 2448 AR tanka RRR  
**Shahrukh II b. Abi Sa'id, nominal sovereign<sup>618</sup> in Gilan,  
896-897 / 1490-1491**
- 2449.1 AR tanka, struck to full-weight Shahrukhi standard (5.15g), struck only at Timajan RRR
- 2449.2 AR tanka, reduced standard (approximately 4.1g) RR  
Coins of this and the following type were struck at Lahijan and Timajan by the local Gilani rulers.  
This type normally bears the same reverse as the reform tankas of the Aq Qoyunlu ruler Ya'qub, inscribed *faman ya'mulu mithqal...* within a square.
- 2450 AR 1/4 tanka, reduced standard (approximately 1.0g) RRR  
**Ulugh Beg Kabuli, at Kabul, 873-907 / 1469-1501**
- A2451 AR tanka, known only from Kabul dated 896 RRR
- 2451 AR tanka, countermarked type RR  
The countermark reads '*adl sultan ulugh beg kabuli*, sometimes without '*adl* or '*kabuli*, occasionally dated (known dated 898).
- Sultan Ahmad, at Samarqand & Bukhara,  
873-899 / 1469-1494**
- Pre-reform coinage (5.15g tanka) of Sultan Ahmad and the other two adversaries to Sultan Husayn, Ulugh Beg Kabuli & Sultan Mahmud, are extremely rare, struck only circa 874 (none known for Ulugh Beg). There seems to have been no coinage for these three rulers circa 875-895<sup>619</sup>, except for the anonymous civic coppers, usually dated with the ongoing frozen year 832.  
Both regular coinage and all known countermarks for these three rulers commenced in 896, just after the reform introduced under Sultan Husayn in Herat, with the tanka reduced to 4.78g.
- 2452.1 AR tanka (5.15g), pre-reform RRR  
Known only from Samarqand, dated 874 and 889, the first in the Ashmolean Museum, the second in a private collection.
- 2452.2 AR tanka (4.78g), post-reform S  
Struck only at Samarqand and Bukhara, dated 897-899. Ahmad adopted the weight standard of Sultan Husayn's reform but retained the T1 reverse design.
- 2453 AR tanka, countermarked type, always without mint name, known dated 898 R  
Countermarked '*adl sultan ahmad gurkan*, sometimes with date, normally within plain hexafoil. Probably struck only during the reform period, 897-899.  
**Sultan Mahmud, 1<sup>st</sup> reign, at Astarabad,  
864-865 / 1460-1461**
- V2454 AR tanka RRR  
Reverse T2, as on type 2416.2 of Abu Sa'id. Mint is likely Astarabad but no known specimens reveal the mint name.  
**Sultan Mahmud, 2<sup>nd</sup> reign, at Hisar, 873-900 / 1469-1495,  
also in Samarqand 899-900 / 1494-1495**
- 2454.1 AR tanka (5.15g), pre-reform RRR  
Struck only at Hisar in 874. Reverse central field in plain quatrefoil, as the reform tankas of Abu Sa'id (type T2).
- 2454.3 AR tanka (5.15g), pre-reform, but same design as the reform type (#2454.2), but with reverse T1 RRR  
Known only from Hisar, dated 891-893.
- 2454.2 AR tanka (4.78g), post-reform, reverse T3 (as on reform coins of Sultan Husayn) R  
Struck at Hisar 896-898 and at Samarqand in 899-900. No coins of this ruler are known dated between 875 and 890.
- 2455 AR tanka, countermarked types, occasionally dated (known 898-900), always without mint name R  
Many variants of the countermark, such as '*adl sultan mahmud* followed by either *gurkan*, *bahadur* or *ghazi*.  
**Anonymous, fl 896 / 1491**
- 2455G AR tanka, countermarked '*adl sultan ghazi 896* on various hosts R  
The issuer is undetermined, but likely the Timurid ruler Sultan Mahmud, who acquired the title *ghazi*.  
**Sultan Mas'ud (Abu'l-Ghazi), at Hisar,  
899-906 / 1494-1500**
- 2456 AR tanka (4.78g), mint of Hisar, known dated 900 RR  
Plain obverse, usually with title *ghazi*, reverse type T1.
- 2457 AR tanka, countermarked types, rarely dated, always without mint name, known dated 902-903 RR  
The normal countermarks are (1) '*adl abu'l-ghazi sultan mas'ud bahadur*, and (2) '*adl sultan mas'ud ghazi*.  
**Baysunghur, at Bukhara in 900 / 1495,  
and at Samarqand, 900-903 / 1495-1498**
- 2458 AR tanka RR  
Struck at Bukhara 900 & Samarqand 900-901. Baysunghur sometimes uses the title Ghazi on both his regular coins and the countermarked tankas.
- 2459 AR tanka, countermarked types, usually dated (900-902), but always without mint name R  
**Sultan 'Ali (Abu'l-Muzaffar), at Bukhara,  
900-905 / 1495-1500, and at Samarqand 903-905**
- 2460 AR tanka RR  
Sometimes dated, e.g., Bukhara 902, Samarqand 903. Reverse either type T1 or T3.
- 2461 AR tanka, countermarked types R  
Frequently dated, but always without mint name, dated 903-904.  
**Sultan Uways, in northeastern Khorasan,  
913-927 / 1507-1521**
- B2462 AR tanka, *sultan uways* in central cartouche on the obverse RRR  
Apparently always without mint & date.
- A2462 AR tanka, countermarked type, with ruler's name but without mint or date RRR  
The name is written either as *uways* or *ways*, the latter without the initial *alif*.

<sup>618</sup> Shahrukh II appears to have been set up as nominal suzerain by the local ruler in eastern Gilan, who had previously been a vassal of the Aq Qoyunlu, in opposition to the Aq Qoyunlu successor, Baysunghur.

<sup>619</sup> Except for some extremely rare tankas of Sultan Mahmud dated 891-893 (type #2454.3).

## TIMURID (MUGHAL)

Aman ur Rahman, *Zahir uddin Muhammad Babur*, Karachi 2005, listing of Babur's coinage, but difficult to use.

There is no single catalog for Kamran or Humayun. For coins of Akbar before 1601, see the KM catalog *The Standard Guide to South Asian Coins and Paper Money since 1556 AD*, Iola 1981 (now outdated). For Timurid coins dated 1601 and later, see the most recent *SCWC* century catalogs.

*The later Timurids were driven from Central Asia and Afghanistan by the Safavids and Shaybanids from about 905 until 916, retreating ever further eastward and ultimately conquering large regions of India under Babur in his last five years. They ultimately established their capital at Agra (aka Akbarabad) in north central India and became known as the Mughal Emperors ("Mongols"), ruling over India until the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century and nominally until 1947, when the last "Mughal" Emperor, the British King George VI, acknowledged the independence of India.*

Listed here are only those coins that were struck in the traditional Timurid areas, primarily in what is now Afghanistan. Other issues are considered Indian coins and are thus excluded from this *Checklist*, as are all issues subsequent to the death of Akbar. As usual there must be an exception, in this case #A3017 & 3017 for coins in the name of Shah Jahan I struck at Balkh under the Janids.

### Zahir al-Din Babur, 1<sup>st</sup> reign, at Samarqand, 903 / 1497-1498

H2462 AR tanka (4.78g), struck only at Samarqand and dated 903

Obverse is 4-line text in plain circle, mint & date at bottom, reverse type T1.

I2462 AR tanka, countermarked type, dated 903 but always without mint name

### Zahir al-Din Babur, 2<sup>nd</sup> reign, at Samarqand only, circa 905-906 / 1500-1501

K2462 AR tanka (4.78g), struck only at Samarqand dated 906

Date & mint in central circle on obverse, royal text in margin, reverse type T3.

### Zahir al-Din Babur, 3<sup>rd</sup> reign, in Khorasan and parts of Transoxiana, 910-937 / 1504-1530

In India 932-937 / 1526-1530.

As for the gold ¼ ashrafi of Badakhshan style listed in the 2<sup>nd</sup> edition as type #M2462, Aman ur Rahman has decisively proven that these alleged issues of Babur were clipped down examples of the common type of Humayun (type #A2464).

P2462 AR double tanka (9.4g), Balkh mint only

2462.1 AR tanka or shahrukhi (4.7g)<sup>620</sup>, struck at mints in Khorasan and adjacent areas to the east between 910 and 933, without title *Ghazi*

Obverse with **horizontal inscriptions**, often with a small central rosebud inscribed either *muhammad babur* or the mint name. Known from Badakhshan 910-930, Balkh 924-927 and Qandahar 933, the last with mint name in the rosebud. The reverse kalima is of type T3.

2462.2 AR tanka or shahrukhi, similar, also without *Ghazi*, normally undated

Obverse with part of the **royal protocol in central field**, either circle or multifoil, the rest in the circular marginal legend. The mint is always & the date is almost always in the obverse margin. Known from Badakhshan, Balkh, Ghaznayn (*sic*), Kabul, Qunduz and without mint name. Mintless most common, Kabul somewhat common. Usually reverse T3, but many variants.

2462.3 AR tanka or shahrukhi, similar, but with the additional title *Ghazi*, struck from 933-937 / 1526-1530 at Kabul and various Indian mints (principally Lahore, Agra, Jaunpur and Delhi)

Many different obverse & reverse arrangements. The title *Ghazi* ("victorious") was adopted in mid-933 after he defeated Rana Sanga of Mewar in central India. These are regarded as the first Mughal coins of India. Most have date or mint off flan, usually struck with considerable flatness.

2463 AR tanka, countermarked types, known dated as early as 903 but usually undated, in his name, but always without mint name, sometimes with the title *Ghazi*, numerous types

Countermarked types struck before and after the invasion of India have not been distinguished. The 903 date belongs to Babur's first ephemeral reign in Transoxiana during that year (RRR).

Anonymous copper coins popularly called ½ dams (about 9.0g)<sup>621</sup> were struck at several mints in India for Babur 936-937 and for Humayun 938-946. They were never struck west of Lahore, and are thus excluded from this *Checklist*. Most are common.

### Muhammad Humayun, 937-963 / 1530-1556

#### *As sole ruler:*

A2464 AV ¼ ashrafi, struck at Badakhshan but always without mint name, often dated

B2464 AR shahrukhi (4.7g), struck mainly at Indian mints, also Badakhshan (RRR), Kabul (RR) and Qandahar (RRR)

G2464 AR light shahrukhi (3.93g), similar style to B2464, struck only at Qandahar

C2464 AR ½ shahrukhi (1.96), struck at Qandahar

K2464 AR light shahrukhi (3.93g, countermarked 'adl urdu 952 on earlier Qandahar shahrukhis of Humayun or Kamran

Struck by the army of Humayun after his defeat of Kamran and abandonment of alliance with the Safavids.

#### *As vassal under the Safavid Tahmasp:*

D2464 AV ¼ ashrafi, also citing the Safavid Tahmasp I, mint name not on coin

Undoubtedly struck at Qandahar.

E2464 AR shahrukhi, similar, struck at Qandahar, known dated 951

F2464 AR ½ shahrukhi, similar, Qandahar mint

Humayun was forced to seek Safavid protection at the end of 950, and returned to Qandahar, with Safavid reinforcements, late in 951. He abandoned the Safavid alliance early in 952 (see type #K2464). Types D2464-F2464 have Shi'ite reverses.

Additional types struck only at Indian mints lie outside the scope of this *Checklist*.

### Kamran Mirza, various locations, 937-962 / 1530-1555

H2464 AV ¼ ashrafi, Badakhshan type

I2464.1 AR shahrukhi (4.70g), struck principally at Kabul, full weight

I2464.2 AR shahrukhi (3.90g), Qandahar mint, local currency

Believed to have been struck circa 952-954, at a weight that does not correspond to contemporary Mughal or Safavid currency.

J2464 AR shahrukhi, countermarked type

Always without mint name and undated, usually in square frame. Fully struck countermarks are rare.

### Abu'l-Qasim Muhammad b. Kamran, d. 968 / 1560

M2464 AV ¼ ashrafi, Badakhshan type (but without mint name), undated

### Akbar, 963-1014 / 1556-1605

P2464 AV ¼ ashrafi, Badakhshan type, often dated

Two different weights are known for this type, a true ¼ ashrafi of about 0.85g and what is probably a ¼ mithqal of about 1.15g.

<sup>620</sup> The denomination *shahrukhi* has been investigated in depth by S.H. Hodivala, *Historical Studies in Mughal Numismatics* (Bombay, 1923, reprinted 1976), pp. 1-10.

<sup>621</sup> Stan Goron has shown that these "copper" coins were actually struck in highly debased billon, declining to almost pure copper by the mid-940s. Thus they are billon *bahlolis*, not half dams. The dam & its half were introduced by the Delhi sultan Sher Shah in 946, replacing the *bahloli*.

The latter has been incorrectly described as 1/10 mohur, as the then current mohur weighed 11.02g, not 11.50. Further research is needed to corroborate these two variants.

Q2464 AR shahrukhi (4.7g), mainly mint of Kabul but some Indian mints also known, dated 960s and early 970s RR

R2464 AR ½ shahrukhi (2.35g), known only with mint off flan, dated 965 RRR  
Style suggests mint of either Kabul or Qandahar.

S2464 AR shahrukhi, countermarked 'adl-i akbar or something similar, usually dated R  
Normally overstruck on contemporary Shaybanid tankas. Always without mint name, but probably issued predominantly in the portions of his kingdom in what is now Afghanistan & Pakistan.

Many other types exist in copper, silver and gold, but these lie outside the scope of this *Checklist*, as they are conventionally regarded as Indian coinage. At present, the most comprehensive listing can be found in the Krause-Mishler catalogs, as noted above the listing for Zahir al-Din Babur.

#### Sulayman Mirza, in Badakhshan, 936-992 / 1529-1584

Many of his coins were struck in the name of an overlord (#A2464, H2464, M2464, P2464). The types listed here bear his personal name Sulayman and were struck during his periods of independence in Badakhshan.

2464 AV ¼ ashrafi, struck at Badakhshan but always without mint name. S  
Two weight groups, circa 0.9g and 1.15g, as for Akbar.

2465 AR tanka, several variants RR  
Struck at Balkh and Qunduz, but usually without mint name. Some have been incorrectly assigned to a Shaybanid ruler at Balkh also named Sulayman (former type #3000). Also struck in Kabul, dated 974 and 98x (RRR).

2465A AR tanka, countermarked *shah sulayman* or something similar on various Shaybanid coins RRR

#### Shahrukh III (b. Ibrahim b. Sulayman Mirza), in Badakhshan, 983-987 / 1575-1579

2466 AV ¼ ashrafi (1.15g), without mint name but usually dated R

*During the Timurid period, copper fulus were struck at many mints in both the eastern and western portions of the empire. Those that bear the name of a ruler are included as issues of the appropriate ruler, but the vast majority are strictly anonymous, and are here regarded as civic coinage. The western mints (Tabriz, Isfahan, Shiraz, etc.) and central mints (Herat, Balkh, Kabul, Sabzawar, Tun, Mashhad, etc.) are included with #3183-3196, the eastern mints (Bukhara, Samarqand, Tirmidh, Qarshi, Hisar, etc.) with #A3274-3286.*

#### ARGHUND

*A local dynasty at Qandahar, which briefly enjoyed independence during the struggles between Timurids, Safavids, and Shaybanids for control of the region.*

All coins were minted at Qandahar in 926, indicating the year in the Mongolian animal cycle (*lu-il*, in the Arabic script) in addition to the Hijri date in numerals. Both types are anonymous. Denominational names are tentative.

#### Shuja' Beg, 917-928 / 1511-1522

K2467 AV ½ ashrafi (1.78g) RRR  
L2467 AV ¼ ashrafi (0.89g) RR

#### KARLUGHS OF HAZARA

*The Karlugh Turk Shihab al-Din, formerly serving the Timurids at Kabul, came to Hazara in 1472 and established the Karlugh dynasty in that region, naming his capital Pakhli Sarkar. They ruled until 1703, as a nominal subordinate of the Mughals from about 1550 onwards.*

Coins are known from only one ruler, Zahir al-Din, whose silver tankas were struck at Pakhli (Pakli on the coins), always undated, circa 1530-1550. Pakhli is now Mansehra, a thriving city along the modern highway to China, about 50 miles north of Islamabad.

#### Zahir al-Din (b. Ghiyath al-Din Mahmud), mid-10<sup>th</sup>/16<sup>th</sup> century

P2467 AR tanka (4.1-4.2g), mint of Pakhli RRR  
Undated, Sunni *shahada* on reverse.

#### TARKHANS

*Local dynasty in the Sind, with their capital at Tatta, now in southern Pakistan. Their sole coinage consists of anonymous copper damris.*

#### temp. Mirza Muhammad, 975-993 / 1567-1585

R2467 AE damri, floral branches on obverse, mint (Tatta) & date on reverse R

#### SHIRVANSHAHS (3<sup>RD</sup> DYNASTY)

Zlobin, G.V., *Monety shirvanshakhov dinastii Derbendi (Tret'ya Dinastiya)*, Moscow 2010. In addition to the coins that are either anonymous or cite the name of the Shirvanshah ruler, Zlobin also includes coins of the Shirvanshah region in the names of other dynasties 784-956 (Jalayrid, Timurid, Safavid, etc.). An excellent detailed study.

*Ruled in Shamakhi and adjacent districts. Until 877, all their coinage is either anonymous (listed here) or in the name of a foreign suzerain (and therefore classified as regular coinage of the named ruler). All coinage after 879 bears the name of the Shirvanshah ruler.*

For the reign of Kayka'us and type #2468 of Ibrahim, there are at least half a dozen mints in the Caucasus, of which Shamakhi and Shabiran are the least rare. For the next period (types #2469 and #2470), the principal mints were Darband and Shamakhi, as well as rarer issues from Bakuya and Ardabil. From 834 until the end of the coinage in 955, all coins were struck at Shamakhi. See also #2492 for normal coins of Ibrahim I and Khalil Allah I bearing an anonymous countermark assigned to the Qara Qoyunlu.

The quality of strike of the coins through most of the reign of Farrukhsiyar is reasonably good, but later coins are almost invariably poorly designed and weakly struck, often quite disheartening.

#### temp. Kayka'us, 745-774 / 1344-1372

2467.1 AR dinar (2.1g), type A R

Anonymous, as type B of Shaykh Uways (Jalayrid) but without name of any ruler. Struck circa 766-770 to the current Jalayrid weight standard. Mint in middle line of obverse field.

2467.2 AR dinar, type B, similar, but mint name within inner square on obverse, anonymous "royal" legend around. RR

#### temp. Ibrahim I, 784-821 / 1382-1418

2468 AR 2 dinars (1.98g), central circle with three panels around on obverse, anonymous RR

Design identical to type #2369 of Timur. Mints of Gushtasbi and Mahmudabad, usually undated but known dated 788. Seized by the Timurids from about 789-809.

2469 AR tanka (about 5.0-5.5g), anonymous, 812 and later R  
For stylistically similar coins dated 809-812 and in the name of the Golden Horde ruler, Shadi Beg, see #2054.

#### temp. Khalil Allah I, 821-869 / 1418-1466

2470 AR tanka (5-vaned design with mint name in center / various reverse arrangements, date in center) S

Several other designs are known, all of them undated and very rare, probably early issues, to a standard of about 4.5g.

The 5-vane type, dated 823-853 (sometimes undated), follows a weight of about 4.0-4.1g, but occasional specimens weigh up to 4.5g or as low as 3.0g. Probably coinage to be weighed rather than counted.

Reverse has the date, usually in words but occasionally in numbers. There are two principal types, one with the date between the lines of kalima type K1, the other with the date in the center of kalima K5. Known dated as late as 853, possibly 856.

### Farrukhsiyar, 869-906 / 1466-1500

From this reign onwards, all coins were minted at Shamakhi.

- 2471.1 AR tanka (5.1g), first standard, used circa 869-877 S  
Type #2471.1 is always anonymous, assigned to Farrukhsiyar by date & style. All later issues cite his name.  
The only reasonably common year is 877, with the date in the center of type K5 reverse. If held upside down, coins dated 877 are incorrectly read as 887!
- 2471.2 AR tanka (2.6g), second standard, used circa 879-882 R
- 2471.3 AR tanka (2.08g), third standard, used circa 891-899 S  
From 891-894, the date appears beneath the kalima on the reverse, 895-899 has the date in a cartouche in the obverse center, with one or more designs for each year.
- 2471.4 AR tanka or akçe (1.9g), fourth standard, attested 900-904 R  
The earlier coins, following Timurid precedent, were probably known as tankas, the later smaller coins perhaps as akçes. The time of the terminology transition is unknown.
- 2471.5 AR tanka or akçe, fifth standard (1.7g), attested for 905-906 R

### Muhammad Ghazi, 907 / 1501

- 2471M AR tanka or akçe (about 1.58g), Shamakhi 907 only RRR  
Complex design, mint & date in obverse center, reverse center filled with a grille.

### Mahmud b. Ghazi, 907-908 / 1501-1502

- 2472 AR akçe (approximately 1.58g), several designs RR

### Ibrahim II, 908-930 / 1502-1524

- 2473.1 AR akçe, first standard (1.58g), used 908-910 R  
Coins of Shamakhi dated 911-912 are Shi'ite types in the name of the Safavid ruler Isma'il, thus considered Safavid issues.
- 2473.2 AR akçe, second standard (about 1.1g), dated 913 RRR
- 2473.3 AR akçe (about 0.9g), third standard, used from 916 until end of reign S  
The second standard akçe started out at approximately 0.9-0.95g, falling to about 0.8g in 920, then gradually to about 0.72 by the end of the reign, rather than in steps.

### Khalil Allah II, 930-942 / 1524-1534

- 2474.1 AR akçe (about 0.7g), struck 930-937/938 C  
Normally with date on reverse in central rectangle.
- 2474.2 AR akçe (0.5-0.55g), struck 938-942 S  
Date within central rectangle, 938-939 (S), then in marginal inscription together with the mint name around a central floral triangle, 940-941 (RR).

### Shahrukh, 942-945 / 1534-1537

- 2475.1 AR akçe (about 0.5g), reverse has 3-line inscription, date below (always 942) RR
- 2475.2 AR akçe (about 0.5g), reverse has circular legend including date around a triangle (always 944) RR

### Burhan 'Ali, circa 951-955 / 1544-1548

- A2476 AR akçe or double akçe (approximately 0.8g) RR  
The true name of this denomination has not been determined.

## QARA QOYUNLU

Album, Stephen, "A hoard of silver coins from the time of Iskandar Qara Qoyunlu," *Numismatic Chronicle*, ser. 7, vol. 16 (1976), pp. 109-157.

See also Rabino, cited for the Jalayrids.

*The "Black Sheep" Turkomans emerged in north central Anatolia in the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century. After the death of Timur in 807/1405, they overrun much of Iraq and northwestern Iran, introducing their own coinage in 810 or 811 (type #2476). Under Jahanshah they moved eastward, expelling the Timurids from most of central Iran during the reign of Jahanshah, who even briefly marched into Astarabad and Herat in 862. Upon*

*his death in 872, the kingdom rapidly collapsed into petty rivalry between several candidates, only two of which are known to have issued coins in their names. All of the Qara Qoyunlu territories were seized by the Aq Qoyunlu ruler Hasan by the end of 874 or early 875.*

*A branch of the Qara Qoyunlu fled to India, where they eventually established their own kingdom, known as the Qutbshahis and centered at the city of Golkonda in east-central India, until overtaken by the Mughals in 1098/1687.<sup>622</sup>*

For tankas of the period of Qara Yusuf and Iskandar, Tabriz is by far the most common mint, though Bidlis is only modestly scarce for type #2478. Some issues of Urmi (i.e., Urmiya) and Maragha are not especially rare. The ½ tanka was minted primarily at Mawsil, 'Imadiya, and Baghdad, none of them common.

As a result of the Timurid ruler Shahrukh having won suzerainty over the Qara Qoyunlu in the 830s, coinage bearing the name of the Qara Qoyunlu ruler was suppressed. Instead, coins either bore the name of Shahrukh (Tabriz, Sultaniya) or were anonymous (Baghdad, Hilla). All other mints were either lots to the Qara Qoyunlu or closed, with of course a few minor exceptions, such as Shahrukh's coins of Erzincan in the 840s. During the year 853, somewhat more than two years after the death of Shahrukh, Jahanshah placed his own name on the coinage and adopted Timurid denominations and metrology. In this later period, the most common mints are Tabriz, Kashan, Kirman, Shiraz, Lar, and Lahijan. Overall, Qara Qoyunlu coinage is known from about sixty different mints.

Prior to the reign of Jahanshah, most types listed here refer to single designs, with only minor variations from mint to mint. Under Jahanshah and his petty successors, individual mints or groups of nearby mints adopted local subtypes, which are not regarded here as distinctive types.

Tankas of Qara Yusuf followed a theoretical standard of about 5.4g, but individual specimens can be considerably lighter, anywhere between 4.0g and 5.4g, thus abandoning the relatively fixed weight standard of Timur and his successors. Qara Yusuf's tankas were thus meant to be weighed, not counted. This variable standard was maintained under Iskandar, presumably until his submission to Shahrukh in 839. When regular Qara Qoyunlu coinage was resumed under Jahanshah in 853, the Shahrukh standard of about 5.15-5.20g was adopted and carefully maintained until the demise of the dynasty in the 870s.

The Iraqi denomination "½ tanka" prior to Jahanshah is not connected to the contemporary tanka but seems to have been derived from the 1.7-1.75g standard adopted by the Jalayrid ruler Sultan Ahmad after the death of Timur in 807. It seems to have been a slightly reduced version of the 1.80g weight based on 10 nokhod, i.e., 10/24 of the mithqal of about 4.31g that was inherited in Iraq and the Jazira by the Jalayrids. We do not know the Qara Qoyunlu weight of the mithqal prior to Jahanshah, but it seems likely that the Central Asian 4.78g mithqal was acquired from the Timurids at some point between 839 and 853.

### Qara Yusuf, 2<sup>nd</sup> reign, 809-823 / 1406-1420

- 2476 AR tanka, 1<sup>st</sup> series, as nominal vassal under Sultan Ahmad the Jalayrid, struck 809-812 RR  
Most coins bear the date 809 in the obverse field, occasionally together with the date 810 or 811 in the obverse margin. The year 809 should be regarded as the accessional date of Qara Yusuf during his second reign, not the actual date of the coin.  
There are no coins known from his first reign, circa 792-802/1390-1400.
- 2477 AR tanka, 2<sup>nd</sup> series, in the sole name Qara Yusuf, with the title *amir*, struck 812-813 RR  
(For the third issue, see Pir Budaq I below, #2482-83.)
- 2478 AR tanka, 4<sup>th</sup> series, as nominal vassal of his son Pir Budaq, struck 814-821 S  
During this period, average weight of the tanka declined, with individual specimens ranging from about 5.4g to less than 4.0 grams, with different ranges at individual mints. Further research is needed.  
Tankas of this type struck at Bidlis, usually dated 814, introduced the floriated hexagon obverse that was to become the standard design of the Sharaf Khans.
- 2479 AR ½ tanka (circa 1.75g), 4<sup>th</sup> series, mints in Iraq and the Jazira R

<sup>622</sup> For their rather boring coinage, see Goron & Goenka, *The Coins of the Indian Sultanates*, pp. 332-342.



2480	AR akçe (about 1.3g), Erzincan type (hexafoil / lobated square), local standard, probably contemporary with the 4 <sup>th</sup> series	R	<i>temp. Fulad Sultan, in Baghdad &amp; Hilla, 844-848 / 1440-1444</i>	
	Frequently found countermarked by later rulers, especially Pir 'Umar (#2484).			
A2481	AR akçe or double dirham (about 1.45g), local standard, Mardin mint only, Artuqid style	RRR		
	Always undated, but theoretically struck circa 821-823, perhaps also earlier. Royal inscriptions as on the 4 <sup>th</sup> series.			
M2481	AR tanka, 5 <sup>th</sup> series, in his name alone with title <i>Jalal al-Din</i> , struck only at Erzincan, normally dated 822	RRR		
	See reference to type #2500.			
O2481	AR ½ tanka (about 2.65g), local issue	RRR		
	Believed to have been struck only at Lahijan, stylistically similar to coins of Timur of that mint and to the mintless Husaynid type (#2347).			
2481	AR ⅓ tanka, mints in Iraq and the Jazira	R		
	Some mints began using this type as early as 816 (Hilla), possibly even 814 (tentative reading on a coin of Baghdad at Tübingen). It is not known whether the name of Pir Budaq was omitted on this type for political reasons, or simply for lack of space.			
	<b>Pir Budaq I, nominal sovereign, 813-821 / 1410-1418</b>			
2482	AR tanka, in his sole name (= third series of Qara Yusuf), struck 813-814	RR		
	Pir Budaq I was the son of Qara Yusuf, who used his son's name for reasons of legitimacy. Pir Budaq died in 821, two years before his father's death.			
2483	AR ¼ tanka, similar, struck at Tabriz, always undated	R		
	Insofar as no ¼ tanka was struck bearing the joint names of Pir Budaq and his father Qara Yusuf, it is likely that this type was struck either in both the third (813-814) and fourth (814-821) periods, without the name of Qara Yusuf due to the small size of the coins.			
	<b>Pir 'Umar, rebel at Erzincan, 822-823 / 1419-1420</b>			
2484	AR "akçe" (about 1.28g), countermarked <i>Pir 'Umar</i> 822 in a teardrop composed of pellets, on various hosts <sup>623</sup>	R		
	<b>Shah Muhammad, in Iraq, 823-837 / 1420-1434</b>			
2485	AR ⅓ tanka, mint of Mawsil	RRR		
	<i>temp. Aspan, in Baghdad &amp; Hilla, 837-844 / 1434-1440</i>			
2486	AR "heavy tanka" of 2 mithqals (about 8.6g), Baghdad mint, usually dated, most often 837	RR		
	Anonymous, Shi'ite inscriptions bearing the names of al-Hasan and al-Husayn followed by <i>sibtan rasul Allah</i> , "grandsons of the messenger of God", assigned to Aspan by date. The weight coincides with two Iraqi mithqals, but the actual name of this denomination is unknown.			
2486A	AR "heavy tanka" (8.6g), Hilla mint, undated	RRR		
	Similar, but longer obverse inscriptions, including <i>al-husayn bin abu 'abd Allah</i> , and the enlarged legend <i>sibtan rasul Allah al-fatihā</i> . Same reverse.			
2486R	AR normal tanka (5.0g), Ruyan mint, undated	RRR		
	Certainly not an issue of Aspan, but an adoption of his coin type in Ruyan (in Mazandaran) by a local ruler. It is listed here for convenience.			
2487	AR ¼ "heavy tanka" (2.15g), undated, mints of Baghdad & Hilla, undated	RR		
	Also anonymous, with Shi'ite inscriptions, citing Hasan, Husayn and Ja'far al-Sadiq, the 6 <sup>th</sup> Imam.			
Y2488	AR "heavy tanka" of 2 mithqals (about 8.6g), normally dated 847 <sup>624</sup>	RRR		
	Legends & design as #2486, distinguishable by date, and by the location of the word <i>duriba</i> on obverse, atop the field on #2486, below the field on this type.			
2488	AR 1/5 tanka (1.7g), undated	RR		
	Anonymous, same legends as on type #2487, but distinguished by weight. The denominations of this and #2489 are conjectural.			
2489	AR 1/10 tanka (0.85g), similar, undated	RRR		
	<b>Iskandar, in Adharbayjan and eastern Anatolia, 823-841 / 1420-1438</b>			
R2490	AV fractional denomination (about 1.1g), mint & date unknown	RRR		
	The attribution to this ruler is likely but not yet corroborated.			
2490	AR tanka, standard type (pointed hexafoil / plain circle), almost always undated	S		
	Individual specimens range primarily between 4.2g and 5.2g. Most examples have the phrase <i>al-mulku lillah / al-hamdu lillah</i> interlinearly in the reverse field, the mint name atop the obverse field. Tabriz is by far the most common mint.			
2490B	AR tanka, type of Mardin & Amid (ornamented hexagon / plain circle with kalima K5, dynastic toughra in center), undated	RRR		
2490E	AR tanka (circa 5.0g?), Erzincan mint only, style as #2500 of the Aq Qoyunlu ruler 'Uthman, <i>q.v.</i>	RR		
2491	AR ⅓ tanka (1.5-1.6g), mints in the Jazira	R		
	Struck principally at 'Imadiya.			
A2492	AR akçe or double dirham (about 1.2g), Artuqid style, mint of Mardin only	RRR		
	This is the last Artuqid style coinage of Mardin, ultimately derived from the standard issue of Sati Beg in 739.			
2492	AR tanka, anonymous, countermarked <i>man iltaja'illa al-haqq naja</i> in a plain rectangle, mostly on Shirvanshah hosts	R		
	"He who takes refuge in the Truth (God) is saved." This countermark was applied to coins seized as booty during Iskandar's campaign against the Shirvanshah in 833/1430.			
2492A	AE fals, in his name, various designs, usually without mint name	RR		
	<b>Jahanshah, 841-872 / 1438-1467</b>			
A2493	AV ashrafi (circa 3.5g), Tabriz mint only, to the Mamluk design and standard	RR		
2493	AR tanka (5.15g), many variants of design and layout, Sunni reverse	C		
	His coinage prior to 853 was in the name of Shahrugh, the Timurid, and thus reckoned as Timurid coinage of that sovereign (type #2405). The post-827 standard of Shahrugh (5.15g) was retained after 853.			
	The date 852 at Kashan is an error for 856, with retrograde "6". <sup>625</sup>			
2493A	AR tanka (5.15g), similar, but Shi'ite reverse	RR		
	Mints of Damavand and Firuzkuh, or without mint name.			
2493H	AR tanka (5.15g), struck at Astarabad and Herat during Jahanshah's invasion in 862, eastern style, similar to 861-863 Timurid issues	RRR		
2494	AR tanka, countermarked types	S		
	Many varieties, differing in shape of cartouche, mint and date. All include the name of the ruler. Most are dated, always between 868 and 872.			
2495	AR ¼ tanka (1.28g), mainly mints of Shiraz & Kashan	R		

<sup>623</sup> Most commonly on coins of the joint reign of Qara Yusuf and Pir Budaq (#2480), but also on coins of Timur (#A2384) and others, all of the Erzincan design and standard.

<sup>624</sup> SICA 9:383.

<sup>625</sup> Kashan was not seized by Jahanshah until 855 or 856, after the expulsion of the Timurid Sultan Muhammad.

D2496 AE fals, with ruler's name RR

Anonymous fulus of this period are classified as civic coppers and assigned to #3183-3196 by mint name.

### Hasan 'Ali, 872-873 / 1467-1468

Also in rebellion against his father Jahanshah circa 866-869.

2496 AR double tanka (±10g), struck at Tabriz in 872 only RR

Although the mint name never appears, it is likely that this finely engraved issue was struck only at Hasan 'Ali's capital, Tabriz.<sup>626</sup> Surprisingly, no single tanka of Hasan 'Ali is known, except for the countermarked type #2497.

2496A AR ½ tanka (1.7g) RRR

Without mint or date, probably struck at or near Baghdad.

2497 AR tanka (normal weight), countermarked 'adl mirza 'Ali or something similar on various hosts S

This type is most likely an issue of Hasan 'Ali when in rebellion against his father (Jahanshah) in the 860s, though some may indeed have been struck during his short independent reign.<sup>627</sup>

### Pir Budaq II, rebel at Qumm, circa 866-870 / 1461-1465

A2498 AR tanka (about 5.10-5.15g) RRR

Other coins assigned by 19<sup>th</sup> century scholars to this ruler are now recognized as issues of Qara Yusuf in the sole name of his son Pir Budaq I (types #2482 and 2483).

### Yusuf b. Jahanshah, in Fars & Kirman, 873-874 / 1468-1470

B2498 AR tanka (about 5.10-5.15g), countermark in his name with mint and date Kirman 874 RRR

2498 AR ¼ tanka (1.28g), struck in his name, known from Shiraz 873. RRR

## AQ QOYUNLU

Tabataba'i, Sayyid Jamal Turabi, *Sekkeha-ye Aq Qoyunlu va mabna-ye vahdat-e hokumat-e Safaviyeh dar Iran*, Tabriz, n.d. (circa 1980).

Ertürk, Kazım, & Metin Erürten, *The Unidentified Coins of Erzincan*, (Istanbul) 2005. In Turkish & English.

See also Rabino, under Jalayrids. Only a small fraction of currently known coins have yet been published, and many of them incorrectly.

*Like the Qara Qoyunlu, the "White Sheep Turkomans" also originated in north-central Anatolia and eventually took control of most of Iran, Iraq and the Caucasus. Their coinage is generally similar to that of the Qara Qoyunlu. The events of 872-873, culminating in the disastrous defeat of the Timurid Abu Sa'id in 873, resulted in the Aq Qoyunlu seizing nearly two thirds of Iran and most of Iraq. Coinage in their own name was resumed in 872 at al-Hisn in western Anatolia and in 873 through Iran and parts of Iraq, stylistically and monetarily derived from the Qara Qoyunlu precedent.*

*Except for some of the Anatolian and Jaziran issues, their copper coinage consists of anonymous civic issues, which are included under the rubric of Iranian Civic Copper (#3183-3196, by mint name).*

Prior to 857, Aq Qoyunlu coinage was limited to a few mints in eastern Anatolia, principally Mardin, Amid and Erzincan. Only silver and copper were struck, with most copper lacking the ruler's name. The early series ended by 857 and for the next 15 years there was no Aq Qoyunlu coinage, which resumed in 872, save for a few very rare issues in the sold name of the contemporary Mamluk ruler and thus regarded as Mamluk rather than Aq Qoyunlu..

As a result of the conquests of 872-873, Hasan inherited the western Timurid lands that had previously belonged to Jahanshah of the Qara Qoyunlu. Coinage of Qara Qoyunlu style, similarly struck on thick narrower flans, was adopted throughout the Aq Qoyunlu lands,

<sup>626</sup> The reverse bears the Sunni kalima in the center (i.e., without 'ali wali Allah) with the date 872 below, surrounded by the 12 Shi'ite Imams in the margin. The ruler is cited as *al-sultan al-malik al-a'zam al-'adil al-'aqil (al-ghazi?) al-fadil al-kamil sultan hasan 'ali bahadur khan*.

<sup>627</sup> Two specimens were found in a hoard, with terminal date 869 and lacking the common 870-dated countermark of Jahanshah, published by Sir Richard Burn (*Numismatic Chronicle*, 1938). Rabino refers to a specimen dated 869, not illustrated.

including several mints in eastern Anatolia. A gold dinar modeled on the Mamluk ashrafi of Qa'itbay (3.5g) was introduced as well. From 872 onwards, the silver coinage was struck at a large number of mints spread out over the vast territory. The most common mints in the Jazira are Erzincan, Mardin, Amid, Hisn (sometimes al-Hisn). From the region of Adharbayjan, Tabriz is the only common mint. Iraqi mints are all rare. The central and southern Iranian mints of Kashan, Qumm, Isfahan, Yazd, Shiraz, Lar, and Kirman are relatively common. In the Gilan province, Fuman and Lahijan are the most common mints, together with an undeciphered mint that is written somewhat like Ani, but clearly of the same style as other mints in Gilan. This mint should not be confused with Ani in Armenia, which was also an active mint at the time (and very rare). Finally, large numbers of coins were struck at the mints of Sari, Amul, and Barfurushdih in Mazandaran, currently the most common of all their coinage.

In all, more than 65 mints are known for the Aq Qoyunlu.

As with the Timurids and later Qara Qoyunlu, most Aq Qoyunlu types occur in numerous designs, varying chronologically and by mint. With few exceptions, the sequence of these largely undated types remains undetermined.

The Aq Qoyunlu dinar was struck to the contemporary standard of the Mamluk ashrafi (3.36-3.42g), a tad lighter than the contemporary Venetian ducat. Its design is closely modeled on the Mamluk prototype, normally including Greek style borders as dividers between text lines on both obverse & reverse. The dinars were struck circa 873-908, mainly at Tabriz, occasionally at Mardin. They are occasionally found in small numbers within late Mamluk or early Safavid hoards.

Most Aq Qoyunlu silver coins struck prior to 872 do not follow a fixed weight standard, whence their monetary basis is unknown. Thereafter, the standard of the antecedent Timurid and Qara Qoyunlu silver tanka of about 5.1-5.15g was universally adopted, with the fractional denominations struck in some regions, usually ½ or ¼ tankas. During the reign of Ya'qub a reduced weight tanka was introduced in the Caspian provinces. After the death of Rustam in 902/1497, the weight of the standard tanka was reduced to 4.78g, thus matching the reduced Timurid tanka introduced by Sultan Husayn several years earlier, in 895/1490. However, more full or fractional coins of several local denominations had already been ushered in under Rustam. The names of these local denominations after 897/1492 suggested here are conjectural.

The denomination names given here for the silver coinage of Hasan and later Aq Qoyunlu rulers are derived from the Timurid convention. However, Ottoman tax records (*defters*) utilize a different set of names, but I have undertaken the effort to correlate the denomination names used in the Ottoman *defters* with surviving coins. For that reason, I have retained the Timurid terminology.

After 873, the practice of countermarking silver coins became increasingly widespread. Those naming the ruler are listed under the appropriate ruler, anonymous types are listed at the end of this dynasty (#2564.x). Countermarks were applied to coins of various standards and denominations, even coins of Timur that were nearly a century old. For example, coins of all Timurid and Aq Qoyunlu standards (6.2g, 5.6g, 5.15g, 4.78g, etc.) may be found with the identical countermark! There was also some limited countermarking in the region around Mardin and Amid, both before and after 873 (#2563 & 2563A).

Please note that as the result of my research in the mid-1990s, both the denominations and types of the Aq Qoyunlu coinage have been substantially revised from the first edition of this *Checklist*.

### 'Uthman, 780-839 / 1378-1435

All coins of 'Uthman are believed to have been struck after the death of Timur in 807/1405, almost never dated.

2499 AR akçe (about 1.2g), Erzincan style (obverse in hexafoil, reverse in lobated square)<sup>628</sup> RR

2500 AR tanka (about 5g), Erzincan & Kemah only RRR

Except for the royal inscriptions, this type is stylistically identical to types of the Qara Qoyunlu Qara Yusuf & Pir Budaq (#M2481), his successor Iskandar (#2490E), and the Timurid Shahrukh (#2408E). The earliest type, of Qara Yusuf & Pir Budaq, is known dated 822. This was followed by Iskandar and Shahrukh, though the order of those last two issues remains obscure. The issue of 'Uthman was probably the last, struck circa 826 or very shortly thereafter.

All types of this design have both obverse & reverse within plain circle, with a religious text interlinearly in the obverse field and the mint name interlinearly in the reverse field.

<sup>628</sup> Design identical to #A2384 of Timur.

2501	AR dirham or akçe (various weights, 1g to 3g), miscellaneous types Usually without mint name, but likely struck principally at Erzincan, either before or after type #2499.	R	on thin broad flans, stylistically similar to type #2405 of Shahrukh.
2502	AE fals, in his name Lion & sun type, struck at Mardin. <b>‘Ali, 839-842 / 1435-1438</b>	RR	2512A AR tanka (5.1g), as last but with <i>beh bud</i> in central obverse cartouche Without mint name, but believed to be of mints from Tabaristan or far western Khorasan.
2503	AR light tanka (±3g), known from mint of Hisn (= Hasankeyf)	RRR	2513 AR ⅓ tanka (3.4g), struck primarily at Tabriz R
2504	AE fals, in his name <b>Ja‘far b. Ya‘qub, rival at Erzincan, 839-840 / 1435-1436</b>	RRR	A2514 AR ½ tanka (2.5g), struck at Sari RR
T2505	AR akçe or 1/3 tanka (1.70g), Kemah mint, undated The ruler seems to be named Ja‘far Çelebi on this akçe (E&E-142).	RRR	2514 AR ⅓ tanka (1.7g), struck at various mints in eastern Anatolia, the Jazira & Iraq R
2505	AE fals, in his name Ja‘far, known dated Ramadan 839 <b>Hamza, 839-848 / 1435-1444</b>	RRR	A2515 AR ¼ tanka, struck at various mint in Fars and the Jibal (1.25g), especially Shiraz Usually without mint or mint off flan. Rare with clear mint. S
2506	AR light tanka, citing his father ‘Uthman Probably struck as viceroy before his father’s death in 839, when he was governor or Mardin, 835-839. Tankas of this ruler vary from 2.5g to more than 3.5g. His coins were struck at Mardin & Amid, but often lack the mint name; they are always undated. Nearly all tankas of this type and #2507 have the obverse field within a hexagon and the kalima K5 on the reverse, with the early Aq Qoyunlu tamgha in the center.	R	2515 AR tanka (5.1g), Shi‘ite reverse, mint of Amul RR
2507	AR light tanka, in his sole name, without ‘Uthman, presumably struck 839 and later	R	2515A AR tanka (5.1g), Shi‘ite reverse with names of both the 12 Shi‘ite Imams and the 4 Rashidun (all 16 on the reverse!), mint of Ruyan, dated 873 RRR
2507B	AR akçe (about 1.70g) (central circle / type T1 as used by the Timurid Shahrukh), Bayburt 845 Name Hamza written oddly but likely. (E&E-149/150)	RRR	2516 AR tanka, countermarked types, many varieties, usually with the formula <i>‘adl sultan hasan</i> , often with the name of a mint <b>Khalil, 882-883 / 1478</b>
2508	AE fals, similar to #2502, citing Hamza Most examples are the lion & sun type, struck at Mardin. <b>Shaykh Hasan (b. ‘Qara ‘Uthman), at Erzincan, circa 848-850 / 1444-1446</b>	RR	2517 AR tanka (5.1g) <sup>631</sup> RR
2508H	AR ½ akçe (about 0.85g) (octagon looped at the corners / square), Erzincan 849 Date written partly in words, partly in numerals. Mint name below obverse field, usually barely legible. (E&E-143/146) <b>Mahmud (b. ‘Qara ‘Uthman), at Erzincan, circa 850-854 / 1446-1450</b>	RRR	2518 AR ⅓ tanka, struck in the Jazira but without mint name RRR
2508M	AR akçe (about 1.70g) (inner circle / type T1 of the Timurid style), Erzincan, undated Mint in inner circle, royal legend around. <sup>629</sup> (E&E-151) <b>Jahangir, 848-857 / 1444-1453</b>	RRR	A2519 AR ¼ tanka, struck at mints in southern & central Iran, mainly Kashan RR
2509	AR light tanka (±2.0g), probably only Mardin mint Style of #2506-2507, except the obverse in plain circle.	RR	<b>Ya‘qub (Abu‘l-Muzaffar), 883-896 / 1478-1490</b>
2510	AE fals <b>Hasan (Abu‘l-Nasr<sup>630</sup>), 857-882 / 1453-1478</b> All coins bearing the name of Hasan were struck after the death of Jahanshah in 872. Earlier coinage struck under his authority bears only the name of his Mamluk overlord Khushqadam and is thus regarded as Mamluk (#A1023).	RR	2519 AV ashrafi (about 3.4g) R
2511	AV ashrafi (about 3.4g)	R	2520 AR tanka (5.1g), pre-reform, with Sunni kalima reverse (dated 883-890), struck throughout the kingdom On the reverse, the kalima is inscribed in a central square (sometimes in a differently shaped enclosure), citing the four Rashidun in the four marginal segments. C
2512	AR tanka (5.1g), Sunni reverse Many variants of design, style and cartouche. Struck throughout the Aq Qoyunlu territories, from 872 until 882. Normally struck on thick narrow flans, but early issues of Astarabad were struck	C	2521 AR ⅓ tanka (about 1.7g), similar, struck at mints in the Jazira On a few rare examples of this type, the ruler’s <i>kunya</i> is given as Abu‘l-Fath or Abu‘l-Nasr, probably only at the very onset of the reign (an example with <i>abu‘l-fath</i> is known dated 883). C
			A2522 AR ¼ tanka (1.28g), similar, struck at mints in southern and central Iran, of which Abarquh, Kashan and Shiraz are most common C
			G2522 AR tanka (5.1g), pre-reform type but with Shi‘ite reverse, struck at Sari R?
			2522 AR tanka (5.1g), post-reform (890-896), with <i>faman ya‘mulu mithqal dhira khayran yarahu</i> <sup>632</sup> in the center of the reverse, struck at most mints except those using the lighter tanka (#2523) C
			“He who does the weight of one grain [worth] of good, shall see it,” <i>i.e.</i> , shall be rewarded for it by God. The kalima, usually followed by the date (usually off flan), appears in the marginal segments surrounding this inscription on the reverse.
			2523 AR light tanka (4.0-4.1g), struck at mints in Mazandaran (Sari, Amul, Barfurushdih) and Gilan provinces (Lahijan, Rasht, Timajan) C
			Normally with the Sunni kalima in central square on reverse, as on #2520.

<sup>629</sup> Ah, what chagrin! This coin was first published by me as an unknown coin that I failed to identify (SICA9, #137). Thanks to *cmkcoins* of Zeno for providing the identification and in his commentary to Zeno-41029.

<sup>630</sup> Although Abu‘l-Nasr was Hasan’s normal *kunya*, for inexplicable reasons, some coins use alternative *kunyas* Abu‘l-Fath, Abu‘l-Muzaffar, or Abu‘l-Mujahid. His full name was Uzun Hasan, but Uzun never appears on the coins.

<sup>631</sup> Coins of this ruler Khalil retain the style of Hasan’s types #2512, 2514 and A2515 for the three denominations listed. They are altogether different from the late Ayyubid coins of al-Zahir Khalil (#867N, 867P, 867Q), who ruled only at al-Hisn (Hasankeyf) some 30-odd years later. The title *al-zahir* occurs on all the Ayyubid issues, but never on the Aq Qoyunlu.

<sup>632</sup> These six words represent the perfection of Islam. I am saddened by those who use the name of Islam to justify violence and hatred, contrary to the truth of their religion. And equally saddened by Christians, Jews, Hindus and others who misbehave similarly.

2523A	AR ½ light tanka (2.0-2.05g), similar	RR			
2524	AR tanka, countermarked types, not separable into pre- and post-reform issues, usually with mint and often dated, dozens of variations Found on coins of various weight standards.	C			Countermarked either on full tankas (5.1g) or light tankas (4.1g) of previous reigns, as well as full tankas (5.1g), light tankas (3.4g) of himself, apparently indiscriminately on coins of any of these standards. For countermarked 2/5 tankas (2.05g), see #2536. Occasionally found countermarked on Timurid hosts, of Shahrukh and later, possibly also of Timur.
A2525	AR akçe, Ottoman style (resembling #1312 of Bayezid II), struck only at Hisn, dated 895 <b>Baysunghur (Abu'l-Fath), 896-897 / 1490-1492</b> There are no tankas of Mazandaran mints in the name of Baysunghur. Instead, the local rulers produced an anonymous type, which I have currently incorporated with type #2568.2 under the Safavids for convenience.	RRR	2536	AR 2/5 tanka, countermarked types	C
2525	AV ashrafi (about 3.4g)	RRR	2537	AR tanka (weight reduced to the reform standard of Husayn Bayqara, #2432, approximately 4.78g), struck principally at Tabriz	S
2526	AR tanka (5.1g) Struck mainly on thick narrow flans, occasionally on broad thin flans of Timurid style, the latter always distinguishable from tankas of the Timurid Baysunghur (#2458) by the <i>faman ya'mul...</i> legend on the reverse.	S			
2526A	AR tanka (5.1g), with standard kalima in reverse center, usually with the Rashidun named around	R	2538	AR 2/5 tanka (1.9g)	R
2527	AR 2/5 tanka (2.05-2.1g) The precise relationship of this denomination to the tanka is undetermined. Most specimens are slightly heavy for either 2/5 of a standard tanka or half a light tanka. The denomination may be related to the 3 <sup>rd</sup> standard tanka of Shirvan (#2471.3). Known from several mints, including Bidlis, al-Hasan & Tabriz.	R	A2539	AR ¼ tanka (1.2g), known for Tabriz and possibly other mints in Iran	RR
A2528	AR light tanka (4.1g), struck at mints in Gilan province (Lahijan, Fuman)	RR	2539	AR light tanka of Mazandaran & Gilan (3.65g) After the death of Rustam, the weight of the light tanka was slightly increased. It remained at 3.6-3.65g until the reign of the Safavid Shah Tahmasp I (#2608), and was later revived for a few issues of the Safavids Muhammad Khudabanda and 'Abbas I.	R
2528	AR tanka, countermarked types, many variants <b>Nur 'Ali, at Mardin, fl. 897 / 1491-1492</b> His ashrafis and most of his silver coins bear <i>'ali khan</i> in central lozenge on obverse, without the nomenclature Nur.	R	2540	AR 2/5 tanka, countermarked types The countermark may exist on the full tanka as well. <b>Muhammad (Abu'l-Mukarim), 903-905 / 1498-1500</b> On some silver coins he bears the alternative <i>kunya</i> Abu'l-Muzaffar or Abu'l-Nasr.	RRR
F2529	AV ashrafi (about 3.4g), Sunni reverse	RRR	2541	AV ashrafi (about 3.4g)	RR
2529	AR tanka (probably 4.78g), mint of Mardin, Sunni reverse	RRR	2542	AR tanka (4.78g), struck principally at Tabriz	R
2530	AR 2/5 tanka (about 1.9g), Shi'ite reverse (12 Imams instead of the <i>kalima</i> ), mint unknown <b>Rustam (Abu'l-Muzaffar), 897-902 / 1492-1497</b>	RRR	A2543	AR ½ tanka (2.4g), struck at mints in Adharbayjan and Gilan	RR
2531	AV ashrafi (about 3.4g)	R	2543	AR 2/5 tanka (1.9g) Shiraz is by far the most plentiful mint, though there are several other mints, mostly in southern Iran.	S
2531A	AV ashrafi (about 3.4g), countermarked, with mint name Known only with the mint name Kashan, countermarked <i>'adl sultan rustam kashan</i> on a Mamluk ashrafi, probably of Qa'itbay (#1027). <sup>633</sup>	RRR	2544	AR light tanka of Mazandaran (3.65g)	RR
2532	AR tanka (5.1g), Sunni reverse, numerous varieties	C	2545	AR tanka, countermarked types (various weights from 4.0 to 5.1g) This countermark is easily confused with the mark of the Timurid Sultan Muhammad (#2427). Further research needed.	R
2533.1	AR 2/5 tanka (2.05g), struck throughout the kingdom wherever full-weight tankas were struck, Sunni reverse Coins of this denomination struck at Mardin are somewhat lighter (1.85-1.95g), perhaps heralding the lighter tanka subsequently introduced at most of the Aq Qoyunlu state after Rustam's death.	C	2546	AR 2/5 tanka, countermarked types	R
2533.2	AR 2/5 tanka (2.05g), similar but Shi'ite reverse (Zeno-72433)	RR	2546A	AE fals, with name of ruler <b>Alvand (Abu'l-Muzaffar), at various places, 903-910 / 1498-1504</b> Alvand's principal rule, at Tabriz, was 905-906 / 1500-1501.	RR
2534.1	AR light tanka (3.4g) of Mazandaran & Gilan, Sunni kalima reverse Despite the Sunni kalima, the reverse margin cites the early Shi'ite Imams, as on type #2534.2.	C	A2547	AV ashrafi (about 3.4g)	RR
2534.2	AR light tanka (3.4g), similar, but Shi'ite kalima reverse	C	2547	AR tanka (4.78g)	S
2534A	AR ½ light tanka (1.7g), reverse type undetermined, Ruyan mint	RRR	A2548	AR ½ tanka (2.4g), struck at mints in Adharbayjan and Gilan (see Tabataba'i, as noted above)	RRR
2535	AR tanka, countermarked types, usually with mint name, often dated	C	2548	AR 2/5 tanka (1.9g) Shiraz is by far the most plentiful amongst several known mints.	S
			A2549	AR ¼ tanka (1.2g), believed struck only at Erzincan in Anatolia	R
			2549	AR light tanka of Mazandaran (3.65g)	S
			2550	AR ½ light tanka of Mazandaran (1.82g)	R
			2551	AR 2/5 tanka, countermarked types	R
			A2552	AR akçe, countermarked on Ottoman akçes Normally on akçe of Bayezit II. <b>Murad (Abu'l-Muzaffar or Abu'l-Fath), 905-914 / 1499-1508</b> Murad ruled 905-914 in the Jazira, including the mint towns of Mardin & Amid. He replaced Alvand through the Aq Qoyunlu territory in 906, but was driven out of Tabriz by the Safavids in 907, whereafter he first fled towards the southeast, striking coins in central & southern Iran until 908/909, after which he returned	RR

<sup>633</sup> ICA auction 14, lot 471.

to the Jazira, where he was contested by both Qasim and Zaynal until 914.

The metrology of this reign remains tentative.

2552.1 AR tanka (full weight, about 4.6-4.7g), known from Kirman 707 (Zeno-100625) RRR

2552.2 AR tanka (reduced weight, 3.8-4.0g, occasionally heavier) RR

Known for a few Iranian mints.

2552H AR ½ tanka (about 1.9g) RR

Same weight and style as the 2/5 tanka #2538, 2543 and 2548 of his predecessors in Fars. These four types represent a single local denomination in Fars province, but may have been revalued from 2/5 to ½ tanka about 906/907 to match the reduced tanka weight of Murad's type #2552.

2553 AR ¼ tanka (?) (various weights 0.9-1.25g) R

2554 AR light tanka of Mazandaran (3.65g), mint of Amul, possibly also Sari or Barfurushdih S

2555.1 AR fractional tanka, countermarked types, with name of ruler RR

2555.2 AR fractional tanka, countermarked types, without name of ruler (anonymous) R

The anonymous types bear just 'adl plus mint and date, and are assigned to Murad since they are known dated only 906-908. Principal mints for the anonymous type are Isfahan, Jahrum, Kashan and Shiraz, which were still under his control during those years.

Both anonymous and named varieties are found stamped on assorted ¼, ½, and 2/5 tankas of earlier reigns.

A2556 AR akçe, countermarked by Murad (usually anonymous) on Ottoman akçe RR

**Qasim (Abu'l-Muzaffar), in Diyar Bakr<sup>634</sup>, 903-908 / 1498-1502**

His coins were struck at Mardin, Amid and al-Hisn.

2556 AV ashrafi (about 3.4g) RRR

2557 AR tanka (approximately 4.55g) R

2558 AR 2/5 tanka (approximately 1.85g) R

2559 AR 2/5 tanka, countermarked types, various weights RR

2559D AR 1/5 tanka (approximately 0.92g) RRR?

Apparently published only by Ahmed Tewhid, two specimens in the Ottoman Imperial Museum.

**Zaynal, in Diyar Bakr, 910-914 / 1504-1507**

2560 AR tanka, standard as #2557 (about 4.55g) RRR

2561 AR tanka, countermarked type, on various hosts normally about 4.2-5.2g RRR

2562 AR ½ or 2/5 tanka??. countermarked type, on hosts usually in the range roughly 1.7-2.1g. RRR

**Anonymous, early period (presumably all before 873)**

2563 AE fals, usually with the Aq Qoyunlu tamgha, mints of Mardin & Amid S

Most of these fulus bear a royal title, such as *al-sultan al-'adil* (or *al-malik al-'adil*), but cannot be assigned to specific rulers. Struck on broad thin flans (22-30+mm).

**Anonymous, later period (after 873)**

2563A AE fals, usually with the Aq Qoyunlu tamgha R

Thick narrow flans (12-18mm). Struck at Mardin, Amid, Ruha and al-Hisn.

Copper fulus struck by the Aq Qoyunlu at Iranian mints after the Tabriz conquest in 873 lack the Aq Qoyunlu symbol and are always purely anonymous. They are therefore classified as civic coinage, included among types #3183-3196.

**Anonymous, countermarked silver coins, mainly circa 880s-900s / 1480s-1500s**

The following silver anonymous countermarks are usually found on full tankas of the Aq Qoyunlu as well as their predecessors, the Timurids and the Qara Qoyunlu, and also on late Aq Qoyunlu 2/5 tankas. They are sometimes found on denominations not included in the following descriptions.

All varieties of #2564 are undated, and all except #2564.5 lack any indication of mint. The first three (#2564.1-2564.3) are probably personal countermarks of individual rulers, still unidentified. Some additional anonymous countermarks are known, all very rare. No comprehensive analysis of the countermarks has yet been undertaken.

Until a thorough study of the host types underlying these countermarks is completed, their attribution to the Aq Qoyunlu is tentative.

2564.1 AR tanka, countermarked *malih* ("sweet") on various hosts RR

2564.2 AR tanka, countermarked *al-fattah* ("the victor") R

2564.3 AR tanka, countermarked *al-muzaffar* ("the victorious") RR

Possibly not Aq Qoyunlu.

2564.4 AR tanka or 2/5 tanka, countermarked *sultan 'adil* or *'adl-i sultan 'adil* R

2564.5 AR tanka, countermarked name of a city, sometimes prefixed by *'adl*, occasionally dated S

Most frequent mints are Amul, Sari, Qazwin, Qumm and Mawsil.

2564.6 AR tanka, countermarked *ya 'ali* R

2564.7 AR tanka, countermarked *nasr bad* ("let there be victory")<sup>635</sup> RR

2564.8 AR 2/5 tanka, countermarked *faman ya 'mulu mithqal dhira khayran yarahu* (see #2522 for translation) RR

2564.9 AR tanka, countermarked *'adl without* name of city, usually in a quatrefoil R

2564.10 AR tanka, countermarked *mubarak bad* ("may it be auspicious") RR

**DULGADIR**

A Turkoman principality centered at the city of Elbistan, now in Kahramanmaraş Province in south central Turkey. Their coins were initially identified during the late 1980s. Their denominational names here are just a guess.

**Shahsuwar, 872-877 / 1467-1472**

J2565 AR tanka? (approximately 3g), mint of Behesna, undated RRR

**'Ala al-Dawla Bozkurt, 884-921 / 1479-1515**

K2565 AR maydin?, without mint or date RRR

**MUSHA'SHA'**

A religious sect in Khuzestan that established some degree of political authority in Khuzestan and southern Iraq during the 15<sup>th</sup> and early 16<sup>th</sup> centuries. After about 1530 they became vassals of the Iranian ruler, though they remained locally important until the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>636</sup> Some anonymous coins once assigned to them by Rabino are now regarded as Qara Qoyunlu issues of Aspan and Fulad Sultan (#2486-2489). The denomination of their coins has arbitrarily been called a tanka (about 4 grams), though it seems there is no known

<sup>635</sup> This inscription has been misread as a *nasrabad*, lacking the first long alif, as though it were the name of a mint city.

<sup>636</sup> Most of the Musha'sha' family fled Iran after the Qajar collapse in 1924, many settling in or near Los Angeles, California. I met one of the sons about 1960, when we were both residing in the same men's dormitory as undergraduate students at UC Berkeley.

<sup>634</sup> Diyar Bakr, in two words, is an old Arabic tribal name for a large portion of the Jazira centered around Mardin and Amid. Diyarbakir, in one word, is the modern Turkish name of the city formerly known by its ancient Aramaic name Amid, known as Amida under the Romans.

contemporary reference to their actual monetary names. All of their coins cite the full name of the current ruler.

The only mints for this dynasty are the nearby cities of Dizful and Shushtar. All of their coins are usually somewhat weakly struck, usually with flat areas or double struck.

Dates of reign have not been determined for most rulers. The tentative dates given below are derived strictly from the coins.

#### Fallah b. al-Muhsin, fl. 905-906 / 1499-1500

2565 AR ½ “tanka” (approximately 2.0g) RR

#### al-Mahdi b. al-Hasan, fl. 914 / 1508

2566 AR “tanka” (about 4.0g) R

2567 AR ½ “tanka” (about 2.0g) RR

## THE SHAHS OF IRAN

### SAFAVID

Farahbakhsh, Hushang, *Iranian Hammered Coinage 1500-1879 A.D.*, Berlin 1975 (bilingual in English & Persian).

Goron, S., a number of articles on the silver coins of Safi I & ‘Abbas II (in ONS 176 ff). Goron has shown that there are distinctive differences in the reverse arrangements on #2638-40, #2642-44 and #2646-48, which I have not distinguished in the listings here.

Poole, R.S., *A Catalogue of Coins of the Shahs of Persia in the British Museum*, London 1887 (reprinted in Tehran circa 1980).

Rabino di Borgomale, H.L., *Coins, Medals & Seals of the Shahs of Iran*, Hertford 1945 (reprint: Dallas 1973).

Rabino di Borgomale, H.L., *Album of Coins, Medals, and Seals of the Shahs of Iran*, Oxford 1951 (reprint: Tehran 1975).

Safavid and post-Safavid Iranian coins of the 17<sup>th</sup> and later centuries are now catalogued in detail, by denomination, mint and date, in the century volumes of the *Standard Catalog of World Coins*, beginning with the 1996 editions. The pricing is now obsolete, though still a useful guide to the relative rarity of specific mints and dates.

*The above works are sketchy at best (except Goron). The series has not yet been treated in a numismatically sophisticated manner. As a result, many of the categorizations given here must be regarded as tentative, especially for the 16<sup>th</sup> century.*

*Safavid coinage was struck in gold and silver. Whereas with one exception (#2568) gold and silver coins always cite the ruler, contemporary copper coinage is inevitably anonymous. Designs and weight standards for copper were set locally, rather than by the central authorities who controlled the precious metal coinage. Thus copper is catalogued here under the rubric of Iranian Civic Copper Coinage (#3215 ff). Both gold and silver were struck in multiple and fractional denominations, though in general, at any given time one denomination of each metal constituted the principal circulating issue, supplemented by limited quantities of fractions and multiples.*

*Gold coins were based on either the ashrafi of 3.55g or the mithqal of 4.70g (gradually reduced to 4.61g by the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century), with a few exceptions, as usual. Silver was reckoned according to the toman<sup>637</sup>, a notional unit of 10,000 dinars, with each denomination valued at a fixed number of dinars (for example, 1 pul = 25 dinars, 1 shahi = 50 dinars, 1 abbasi = 200 dinars, 1 rupi = 500 dinars, etc.). The silver content of the toman was periodically reduced, though not so frequently as in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Although no thorough research has yet been undertaken, it appears that the fineness of the silver coinage was never tampered with. The dinar was, like the toman, a unit of account, and remained in use until 1931, when it was replaced by a new dinar equal to ten old dinars.<sup>638</sup>*

<sup>637</sup> Toman is the Mongolian word for “ten thousand”.

<sup>638</sup> Seven hundred years of inflation has reduced the dinar to an infinitesimal fraction of its original value. At the time of Ghazan Mahmud’s reform in 1297, the Tabriz dinar was a gold coin of about 4.3g, so that a toman (10,000 dinars) would be equal to about \$2,131,990 at the current gold value of

*During the first two reigns (Isma‘il I and Tahmasp I) the sequences of designs and subtypes at the various mints have not yet been adequately established. What is clear is that even within a single weight standard, designs were regional rather than national, either to a single mint or to a group of mints within the same monetary district. Moreover, during these two reigns, at least three weight standards were maintained simultaneously for different portions of the kingdom (silver coinage only<sup>639</sup>). Besides the standard shahi coinage used in the western region, there were two major regional coinages. The first was a separate shahi sequence for the eastern region, including the provinces of Khorasan, Quhistan, Sistan and Astarabad, maintained until about 974. The second was a fixed tanka standard of just over 3.6g for Mazandaran province, inherited from the Aq Qoyunlu and maintained until sometime during the reign of ‘Abbas I. From the time of the accession of Isma‘il II in 984/1576 onwards, there is a regular sequence of uniform types used everywhere in the empire, with occasional exceptions, predominantly in Mazandaran and Khuzestan.*

*In most cases after the accession of ‘Abbas I in 996/1588, fractional denominations are much rarer than the standard denomination. The full range of denominations is not always well understood. Moreover, since they were struck from dies intended for larger flans, the mint and date are frequently off-flan on many fractional types (there are many exceptions, however, when smaller dies were used for the fractions).*

*In the 250 years of their existence, the Safavids operated more than 125 mints, many briefly or sporadically. Only Tabriz and Isfahan are consistently common throughout this era. Other mints that are frequently, but not always common include Ganja, Nakhjawan, Irawan, Tiflis, Ardabil, Rasht, Lahijan, Amul, Sari, Barfurushdih, Mashhad, Herat, Kashan, Qumm, Shiraz, Yazd, Kirman, Nimruz, Astarabad, Dawraq, Ramhurmuz, Dizful, Huwayza, Qazwin and perhaps a few more. Whereas most coins struck under Isma‘il II and thereafter bear the full mint and date (sometimes off flan), many issues of the first two rulers, Isma‘il I and Tahmasp I, lack the mint name or date, or both.*

*Safavid gold is generally rather better struck than the silver, but poor strikes are also common, especially from about 970 to 1020. Until the reorganization of mintage technique under Shah ‘Abbas I in 1026, most gold and silver coins exhibit varying degrees of weakness. Moreover, the earlier coins were normally struck on planchets that were smaller than the dies, so that at least some portions of the design are inevitably off the flan. From 1026 onwards, better quality control was exercised at most mints, and dies were no longer appreciably larger than the flan, with a few notable exceptions, such as type #2645 of ‘Abbas II, as well as most of the fractional denominations. The calligraphic style was normally naskhi until ‘Abbas I, thereafter increasingly nasta‘liq on the obverse but almost always naskhi on the reverse.*

*During the entire Safavid period, the principal circulating coinage was always silver. Gold was struck in substantial quantities under Isma‘il I and Tahmasp I, and moderate quantities under their successors until about the year 1019, during the reign of ‘Abbas I. For the next 110 years only minuscule amounts of gold coins were produced, probably only for donative purposes. Modest quantities of gold coinage resumed in 1129, but never in massive amounts. On the other hand, reductions in the annual production of silver coinage were relatively uncommon, with reduced production known to have occurred principally circa 979-983, 1006-1024, 1082-1095, and to a lesser extent, 1110-1122.*

*When compiling the first edition of this Checklist, I still regarded the original shahi as a coin of one mithqal (about 4.7g at the time), but as a result of my subsequent research, I was able to demonstrate that the original shahi must have been the silver coin weighing two mithqals (±9.4g). Thus I had to rewrite much of the early Safavid section for the 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, specifically the reigns of Isma‘il I and Tahmasp I. Original catalog numbers were retained, only the descriptions altered to reflect later research. Thus, for example, type #2576 was formerly described as 2-shahi, but is now a single shahi. Fortunately, types listed in the first edition did not need to be renumbered, despite the*

\$1542 per troy ounce. Today, the toman (= 10 rials), at today’s exchange rate of \$1 = 977 tomans, is worth just over 1/10 of a cent. In other words, it would take nearly 1.9 billion modern tomans to equal the toman of AH1297! (reckoned on 7 June 2011).

<sup>639</sup> Some gold issues of these two sultans may be local, in particular Herat and Nimruz fractions of Tahmasp I. Further research is needed. Thanks to Mike Locke for pointing this out to me.

altered denominations, except in a few cases where former types had to be divided, as noted where appropriate. Virtually no changes have been undertaken between the 2<sup>nd</sup> and this 3<sup>rd</sup> edition.

At the commencement of Safavid rule, the mithqal was a unit of weight equivalent to about 4.70g, noticeably lighter than the contemporary Timurid/Shaybanid mithqal of about 4.78g. Under the early Safavids, the mithqal was gradually reduced in weight, until at the time of 'Abbas I it weighed approximately 4.61g, a level which it has retained to the present day.<sup>640</sup> The mithqal is divided into 24 nokhod. When I lived in Iran in the late 1960s and early 1970s, the mithqal and nokhod were regularly used to determine the price of precious metal coins.<sup>641</sup>

During the reigns of Isma'il I and Tahmasp I, there was no uniform design used for a given type at all mints, though related mints within a single province often shared a common design. Safavid coinage up to and including 'Abbas I remains unstudied and poorly understood, with new varieties and new dates frequently discovered. In a few cases where the same weight standard was used for different types (normally in different regions), the mint can only be distinguished when the mint name is clearly legible.<sup>642</sup> From the accession of Isma'il II in 984 onwards, with minor exceptions, a uniform type was employed at all mints, the principal exception being the *mahmudi* coinage of Khuzestan (circa 1600-1700), intended primarily for trade with India.

Countermarking was relatively unpopular during the Safavid period, with the solitary exception of the massive series under Muhammad Khudabandah, circa 992-996 (type #2624). There are a few rare countermarks during the reigns of Isma'il I and Tahmasp I, and some moderately scarce *rayij* or similar marks on the mahmudis of Khuzestan. In addition, some 17<sup>th</sup> century Safavid coins that reached the Dutch colonies in Ceylon were countermarked with the Dutch East India Company seal in about 1688.

#### Anonymous?, circa 908-910 / 1502-1504

- 2568.1 AR tanka, struck by Shi'ite partisans in Mazandaran (3.60g), always undated, several subtypes R

Most have the names of the 12 Imams on the obverse with the mint in a central cartouche, the Shi'ite kalima on the reverse. They were struck by local Shi'ite partisans in that region circa 908-910, and are tentatively classified as Safavid only because on a few specimens the name *Isma'il* appears in one of the outer marginal segments of the obverse<sup>643</sup>.

Mints of Chepekru, Gultappeh, Sari & Timajan, of which only Sari is frequently available.

- 2568.2 AR tanka (4.15g), similar source, but different weight R

Known from Barfurushdih & Sari. This type, or at least one version thereof, may have been struck during the time of the Aq Qoyunlu ruler Baysunghur, 896-897 (see initial note for that ruler). All known examples are undated.

#### Isma'il I, 907-930 / 1501-1524

This full titulature was *al-sultan al-'adil al-kamil al-hadi al-wali abu'l-muzaffar shah isma'il bahadur khan al-safawi al-hussayni*, with some variations.

- 2569 AV ashrafi (3.55g) S  
The ashrafi standard, theoretically around 3.55g but in principal around 3.45g, was used from 907 to about 927.

<sup>640</sup> It remains to be determined if the reduction from 4.70g to 4.61g was an abrupt change under 'Abbas I or a gradual change over the course of the 16th century. I am inclined to favor a gradual alteration.

<sup>641</sup> The nokhod was a small dried pea used as a weight, defined as 1/24 of a mithqal (about 0.192g according to the present canonical mithqal of 4.61g). The dried peas were still widely used in the 1960s, when I lived in Iran, especially for buying and selling gold, I too would carry a supply of the peas whenever I wanted to buy some gold coins. In order to maintain a fair and honest process, the seller would choose one of my peas, I would choose one of his, etc. etc., an effective means of insuring evenhandedness.

It is conceivable that in different climate zones, the average weight of the pea varied slightly, accounting for some minor regional variations affecting the weight of silver coins.

<sup>642</sup> However, when the cartouche and legend arrangement are known, it should ultimately be possible to assign nearly all coins to specific mints, or at least to a specific province, even when the mint name is off the flan on all known examples, or entirely omitted on the dies.

<sup>643</sup> It is unclear whether the observed presence of the name *Isma'il* is normal or anomalous in this series. The marginal segments are largely off the flan, as most pieces were struck from dies that were much broader than the flans.

- 2570 AV ¼ ashrafi (0.88g) S

- 2571 AV ashrafi, countermarked type (usually on Mamluk ashrafis) RR  
Countermarks are seldom encountered on Islamic gold coinage. The normal countermark is '*adl shah* or '*adl shah isma'il (khan)*, always without mint and date.

- 2572 AV mithqal (approximately 4.70g) S  
The mithqal standard was introduced in or about 928.

- 2573 AV ½ mithqal (approximately 2.35g) R

- 2574 AV ¼ mithqal (approximately 1.17g) S  
Despite the theoretical weight difference, types 2570 and 2574 cannot always be readily distinguished unless the date is visible or the design type known.

- 2574A AV ⅙ mithqal (approximately 0.58g) RR  
Without mint name, but perhaps struck in Badakhshan, briefly under Safavid aegis in the late 910s.

First silver standard (1 toman = 9600 nokhod), used 907-923 in both the East & West (except Mazandaran):

- T2575 AR 6 shahi (56.40g), Urdu mint, dated 913, probably unique<sup>644</sup> RRR

- U2574 AR 4 shahi (37.60g), Urdu mint only<sup>645</sup> RRR

- 2575 AR 2 shahi (18.80g) R  
All mints except Qazwin are at least RR. Most known examples have the mint off the flan.

- 2576 AR shahi (9.40g) C

- 2577 AR ½ shahi (4.70g) C  
The half shahi was also known as a pul.

- 2578 AR ½ pul (= ¼ shahi, 2.35g) S

- 2579 AR ¼ pul (= ⅙ shahi, 1.17g) S

Second silver standard in the West<sup>646</sup> (1 toman = 8100 nokhod) used 924-930:

- 2580 AR shahi (7.88g) C  
This standard was also used 928-930 in the East (types #A2586 through C2586).

- 2581 AR ½ shahi (pul, 3.94g) C

- 2582 AR ¼ shahi (½ pul, 1.97g) S

(First standard in the East, used primarily after the conquest of the region from the Shaybanids in 916, is identical to the first standard of the West, thus included in types #2575-2759. However, most Eastern mints utilized distinctive designs, primarily 3-panel or 4-panel obverses, together with Shi'ite reverse layouts similar to late Timurid and Muhammad Shaybani designs.)

Second silver standard in the East (1 toman = approximately 10,440 nokhod<sup>647</sup>), used 924-927:

- 2583 AR shahi (10.16g) S

The increase in the weight of the shahi in the East may have been intended as a belated response to a similar increase undertaken earlier by Muhammad Shaybani in 913 (but abandoned by his son Kuchkunji no later than 924).

For this standard the obverse has the mint in a rosebud-shaped cartouche at virtually all mints.

Eastern mints for this & the following reign (and thus for the local eastern standard) are Astarabad, Damghan, Bistam, Sabzawar, Nishapur, Mashhad, Herat, Balkh, Marw, Sarakhs, Abivard, Nisa, Darun, Yazur, Isfarayin, Qayin, Tun, Turbat, Turshiz, Tabas, Salumak,

<sup>644</sup> ICA sale 8, 2004, lot 368.

<sup>645</sup> Sotheby's, London, 27 May 1999, lot 190.

<sup>646</sup> The Western currency zone comprised all of western, southern and central Iran, much of Azerbaijan, together with the Safavid short-lived possessions in Anatolia and Iraq. The Eastern currency zone included the provinces of Khorasan and Gurgan (Jurjan, now Golestan). The province of Mazandaran had its own standard, though occasionally its mints also struck coins on the western standard. It remains undetermined whether these mints struck both western and local standard coins simultaneously during the reigns of Isma'il I and Tahmasp I.

<sup>647</sup> In the first edition I reckoned the 2<sup>nd</sup> eastern standard as 10,800 nokhod, yielding a shahi of 10.60g, but after examining the weights of numerous examples I later determined that the shahi was in the range of 10.16g to 10.20g, based on a toman of approximately 10,440 nokhod.

Gunabad, Qandahar and Nimruz (additional mints will undoubtedly be discovered). All other mints should be reckoned as western or local.

- 2584 AR ½ shahi (pul, 5.08g) S  
 2585 AR ¼ shahi (2.54g) R  
 Coins of this standard are occasionally countermarked 'adl shah (#2589).

Third standard in the East (1 toman = 9600 nokhod), used 927-928:

- 2585F AR ½ shahi (4.67-4.70g) R  
 For this standard the obverse has the mint in pointed hexafoil shaped cartouche at most mints. Other denominations may exist. I failed to recognize this short-lived type for the 2<sup>nd</sup> edition.

Fourth standard in the East (same as the second standard in the West, 1 toman = 8100 nokhod), used 928-930:

- A2586 AR shahi (7.88g) S  
 For this standard the obverse has the mint in hexagon-shaped cartouche at nearly all mints. (Called "third standard" in the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> editions of the Checklist)

- B2586 AR ½ shahi (pul, 3.94g) C  
 C2586 AR ¼ shahi (1.97g) R

Mazandaran & Gilan local standards:

- 2586 AR tanka (3.6g), Mazandaran mints S  
 The relationship of the Mazandarani tanka to the toman has not been established. The Mazandaran standard was inherited from the later Aq Qoyunlu rulers and retained until the early years of 'Abbas I (#A2638).  
 In addition to the common mints of Amul, Barfurushdih and Sari, also known are Gultappeh, Chepekroud and Ruyan, as well as several varieties of mintless examples.

- 2586T AR tanka (3.42g), Gilan mints RR  
 Struck at Timajan & Lahijan.

- 2587 AR ½ tanka (1.8g), Mazandaran provincial mints R

Larin standard:

The larin was a silver coin struck on a folded-over piece of silver wire, either with special rectangular dies or with ordinary coin dies. Normally, only a fragment of the inscriptions is visible. They are popularly known as "hairpin money". The earliest larins were struck at the inland town of Lar and the coastal town of Jarun, but later issues (beginning with Tahmasp I) were struck at numerous mints throughout Iran. The larins of Isma'il I and the earliest issues of Tahmasp I are quite thick and compact, but gradually though the Safavid period, they became longer and thinner, earning the nickname "hairpin money", though they have never been found stuffed with human or animal hair.

The city name Lar was the root of the denominational term.

Larins were intended for the Indian Ocean trade, especially to Sri Lanka, where the larins were frequently folded over a second time. The denomination "laari" still survives in the Maldive Islands, with 100 laari to one rufiyaa (rupee).

- A2588 AR larin (5.15g) RR  
 The 5.15g standard, introduced in 827 by the Timurid ruler Shahrukh, was retained for the Iranian larin as long as it was produced.

Countermarked coinage:

- 2588 AR tanka, with name *isma'il*, on hosts of earlier rulers, mainly Aq Qoyunlu or Timurid S  
 A few rare examples of this and the following countermarks applied to shahis and half shahis of Isma'il I are known. Some versions include the mint, the date, or both.

- 2589 AR tanka, as #2588 but anonymous, with just 'adl shah, without the ruler's name R  
 Found mainly on #2583-2585, probably related to the weight reduction of either the 3<sup>rd</sup> or 4<sup>th</sup> standard of the East. It is also found occasionally on various sorts of pre-Safavid coinage.

- 2589H AR tanka, as #2589 but countermarked 'adl baldat Herat 916 in plain hexafoil RRR  
 Believed to have been struck upon the Safavid conquest of Herat from the Shaybanids, just after the death of Muhammad Shaybani.

## Tahmasp I, 930-984 / 1524-1576

His full titlature was *al-sultan al-'adil al-kamil al-hadi al-wali abu'l-muzaffar shah tahmasp bahadur khan al-safawi al-hussayni*.

On some of his latest coinage, he was entitled *ghulam 'ali b. abi talib 'alayhi al-salam al-sultan al-'adil al-hadi abu'l-muzaffar padshah tahmasp al-safawi* or something similar.<sup>648</sup>

As a result of my research at Oxford during the autumn of 1996, I reorganized the silver coinage of Tahmasp I for the 2<sup>nd</sup> edition of the Checklist. Wherever possible, I retained the old enumeration. Please note that the gold coinage still requires further research. Sadly, the listings for his silver coinage is also still tentative. During the past several years I've all too often encountered specimens that I was unable to assign to a specific type.

Although the precise weight of the mithqal during this reign has not been securely determined, I have used a theoretical value of 4.67g. It is probable that the initial standard was based on the roughly 4.70g of the previous reign, reduced to about 4.63 or 4.64 by the end of the reign, either gradually or in stages. The causes of the decline remain enigmatic.

My reclassification of weight standards and types since the first edition has led me to question the existence of types #2595, 2598 and 2607. Because these fractional denominations are so often undated, they cannot presently be confirmed. All are probably rare, though not necessarily very rare.

The mints in Gilan province (Lahijan, Timajan, Kuchisfan, Gurjiyan, Daylaman and Rasht) seem to have used additional local standards, but not enough data is available to accurately determine their nature and time of use.

First gold standard (based on 4.67g), used 930 until at least 934:

- 2590 AV mithqal (4.67g), R  
 This standard was used in all regions until some time between 934 and 937<sup>649</sup>, then restored in or shortly before 955 and retained thereafter until the end of the reign (#M2593, N2593 & O2593).

- 2591 AV ½ mithqal (2.33g) RR  
 2592 AV ¼ mithqal (1.16g) RR?

At present, undated examples of this standard cannot readily be assigned to this series rather than the 4<sup>th</sup> gold standard. For the time being, unless otherwise proven, they should be catalogued under the relatively common fourth standard series (#M2593 through O2593). Further research is essential. My impression is that with rare exceptions, the design of 4<sup>th</sup> standard gold coins is always distinguishable from 1<sup>st</sup> standard pieces.

An undated gold coin of Nimruz mint weighs 0.76g, an unknown denomination, perhaps 1/6 mithqal (RR).

Second gold standard (about 3.90g), used at western mints circa 938-940:

- A2593 AV heavy ashrafi R  
 Undated gold coins are known from the Tabriz mint weighing about 2.58g (RRR), probably struck circa 934-937 as they are known from a hoard terminating in year 938. Denomination unknown at present. Dated specimens not reported.

Third gold standard (about 4.1-4.2g), both eastern and western mints from the 940s to about 954

Known only from the half unit and the quarter. The initial date was some undetermined point in the 940s.

- B2593 AV heavy ½ ashrafi (about 2.05-2.10g) R?  
 The relationship of the weights of types A2593 to B2593 and C2593 is unknown, due to the small sample of coins weighed.  
 C2593 AV heavy ¼ ashrafi (about 1.02-1.05g) C  
 Struck mainly at Herat, always undated.

Fourth gold standard (about 4.65g or slightly lighter), theoretically after 954:

- M259 AV mithqal (about 4.65g) S

<sup>648</sup> The first portion of this titlature translates as "servant of Ali, [who is the] son of Abu Talib, may peace be upon him."

<sup>649</sup> At present, the latest I have seen for the 1<sup>st</sup> gold standard is 934 and earliest for the 2<sup>nd</sup> standard 938. Until coins dated between 935 and 937 are discovered, the precise timing of the new standard remains a mystery.



N2593	AV ½ mithqal (about 2.33g)	S	Reported for Kashan 960, as well as undated examples of several additional mints, of which Astarabad is least rare.
O2593	AV ¼ mithqal (about 1.16g)	C	
<u>First western silver standard</u> (1 toman = 8100 nokhod) used 930-937 in the west (also 930-931 in the east):			<u>Sixth western standard</u> (1 toman = 2400 nokhod), used circa 975 to end of reign in 984, also used in the east:
Tahmasp's first western silver standard was a continuation of the second western standard of Isma'il I.			This standard was also adopted in the east in 975, the first successful unification of eastern and western coinage under Tahmasp I. With a few rare exceptions, all later Safavid standards were maintained at all eastern & western mints. A few local standards were maintained.
2593	AR shahi (50 dinars, 7.88g), western mints	S	
Examples of eastern mints (listed in the note to #2583) dated 930-931 and to the same weight standard as #2593 & 2954 are now listed separately as #L2606 & M2606, respectively. <sup>650</sup>			
2594	AR ½ shahi (25 dinars, 3.94g)	S	
2595	AR ¼ shahi (12½ dinars, 1.97g)	exists??	
A2596	AR 1/10 shahi (5 dinars, 0.79g)	RR	
<u>Second western standard</u> (1 toman = 6400 nokhod), used 937-947:			<u>First eastern standard</u> (1 toman = 8100 nokhod), used 930-931, same as first western). <sup>652</sup>
2596	AR shahi (6.22g)	C	This and the following eastern standards were used at some of the mints enumerated in the note to #2583. In some cases the eastern standard corresponded to contemporary western standards, but were nonetheless distinguished by different arrangements and designs. See note to #A2608.
2597	AR ½ shahi (3.11g)	S	
2598	AR 10 dinars (1.24g)	exists??	
This standard was briefly used at some mints in the east circa 940-941 (see note to #A2608).			
<u>Third western standard</u> (1 toman = 5400 nokhod), used 948-953:			<u>Second eastern standard</u> (1 toman = 5700 nokhod), used 934-954:
2599	AR shahi (5.25g)	C	Briefly, during the years 940-941, some eastern mints adopted the second western standard (1 shahi = 6.22g). Both full (R) and half shahis (RR) are known. <sup>653</sup>
2600	AR ½ shahi (2.62g)	R	
<u>Fourth western standard</u> (1 toman = 4800 nokhod), used 954-959:			
Principal coins of the 4 <sup>th</sup> through 6 <sup>th</sup> western standards follow the same weights (4.67g, 2.33g, 1.17g), but their values were adjusted, with the 1 mithqal weight coin rising from 1 shahi (50 dinars, struck 954-959) to 4 bisti (80 dinars, struck 960-971+) and finally to 2 shahis (100 dinars, struck 975-984). The designs were carefully changed at all mints so that it shall become easy to quickly distinguish undated or date-missing examples once the series is published in detail.			
2601	AR shahi (4.67g, = one mithqal)	C	
2602	AR ½ shahi (2.33g)	S	
Found mainly as an undated type of Barfurushdih in Mazandaran, with mint in teardrop cartouche, most of which are light, around 2.15g, and may actually represent a local standard (or criminal behavior by the local authorities). Examples of other mints adhere to the 2.33g weight (R).			
2603	AR ¼ shahi (12½ dinars, 1.17g)	R	
(Former type #2604 has now been subsumed under D2605.)			
<u>Fifth western standard</u> (1 toman = 3000 nokhod), used 960-971 or somewhat later:			<u>Third eastern standard</u> (1 toman = 4800 nokhod), used 955-959 (same as 4 <sup>th</sup> western standard):
A2605	AR 4 bisti (80 dinars, 4.67g)	S	E2608 AR shahi (4.67g)
The bisti was a coin of 20 dinars, as its name suggests (bist = "twenty"). The shahi of 50 dinars was not coined under this standard.			(Type #2608 is now listed following #2609A.)
B2605	AR 2 bisti (40 dinars, 2.33g)	RR	<u>Fourth eastern standard</u> (1 toman = 3000 nokhod), used 960-971 or later:
Confirmed only from the Sari mint.			2609 AR shahi (2.92g)
C2605	AR bisti (20 dinars, 1.17g)	C	2609A AR bisti (1.17g)
This type is the only lightweight Safavid denomination that is far more common than contemporary larger denominations. <sup>651</sup>			(Later eastern issues are included with the western. See #A2606.)
This issue, which lasted some 11+ years, may have been inspired by the contemporary Ottoman akçe, which was, however, struck to a much lighter standard (0.76g).			<u>Local standard of Mazandaran:</u>
D2605	AR 10 dinars (0.58g)	R	2608 AR tanka (3.6g)
The Mazandaran tanka was probably maintained throughout the reign. It derived from an Aq Qoyunlu prototype.			
2605	AR 4 bisti, countermarked 'adl plus mint name on shahis of the 4 <sup>th</sup> western standard (#2601)	R	<u>Local standard of Khuzestan:</u>
			A2610 AR mithqal (4.6-4.7g), struck late 930s-940s.
			Minted at Dizful & Ramhurmuz, perhaps also Shushtar.
			<u>Larin standard:</u>
			2610 AR larin (hairpin shape), struck with regular coin dies showing only fragment of inscription (5.1g)
			2611 AR larin, struck with special oblong dies made for larin production (5.1g)

<sup>650</sup> The layouts and cartouches of the eastern mints will readily be distinguished once this series has been thoroughly published.

<sup>651</sup> Back around 1970, I had the pleasure of selecting some specimens from a hoard of at least 2000 pieces, mostly well circulated and worn, as though they had been in use for several decades. Well-struck examples in high grades are rare. Rather beastly coins, eh?

<sup>652</sup> This standard may have been used as late as 933, but at present, I am unaware of any silver coins from eastern mints dated 932 or 933.

<sup>653</sup> These 940-941 coins came to my attention very recently, and I have not had the opportunity to determine precisely which mints were involved.

<sup>654</sup> Mazandaran coinage is seldom dated, so the sequence of types remains unknown. The tanka was likely abandoned well before the end of the reign.

Countermarked:

- 2611P AR shahi, with 'adl followed by a mint name, known dated 944-947, about 6.22g R  
Struck mainly at Isfahan, Kashan, Shiraz, Kirman, published in *ONS Newsletter* in 2004.
- 2611Q AR shahi, with 'adl followed by a mint name, undated, on various types, mainly 4.67g R  
Known from Astarabad & Bistam, of which only Astarabad is reasonably available. All are undated, but believed to have been struck in the mid to late 950s.

**Isma'il II, 984-985 / 1576-1578**

The traditional Shi'ite kalima and the names of the twelve Imams on the reverse were replaced during this reign by a Persian couplet (coins of Khorasanian mints retained the traditional kalima reverse). The tyrannical Isma'il II was said to have loathed the idea that coins bearing the kalima would be touched by infidel hands. The kalima and the Imams were restored upon his death for the duration of the Safavid coinage.

All regular coinage of Isma'il II adheres to the unified 6<sup>th</sup> western standard of Tahmasp.

- 2612 AV ½ mithqal (2.34g) RRR
- 2613 AR 2 shahi (4.61g), retaining the last standard of the previous reign (1 toman = 2400 nokhod) S
- 2614.1 AR shahi (2.30g), with couplet reverse RR
- 2614.2 AR shahi (2.30g), with *kalima* reverse, known only from Mashhad and Qandahar RRR
- A2615 AR larin (5.1g) RRR  
Almost always without legible mint, but Yazd mint known.
- B2615 AR ½ tanka (about 1.85g), local currency of Mazandaran province, Barfurushdih mint RRR  
Kalima reverse, *shah isma'il* in central cartouche on obverse, stylistically and calligraphically similar to issues of his successor, Muhammad Khudabandah (type #A2625).

**Muhammad Khudabandah, 985-995 / 1578-1588**

All silver coinage of this reign is struck to the standard of 2400 nokhod, inherited from the previous reigns of Tahmasp I and Isma'il II. From this time on, nearly all silver coinage falls into uniform sequential types, used throughout the empire, except in Khuzestan until circa 1108/1697. All denominations of this ruler are based on the gold mithqal and silver 2 shahi of 4.61g.

The Iranian mithqal was fixed at 4.61g from this reign until at least the 1970s.

Types of the reign of Muhammad Khudabandah:

- A. Central obverse cartouche containing long royal inscriptions followed by the mint. The date appears below the mint name, either within the cartouche or immediately below (985-986), with the Shi'ite kalima and 12 Imams on reverse.
- B. Small central obverse cartouche containing mint & date, royal inscriptions in field (986-995). Reverse as type A.
- C. Countermarked 'adl shahi, usually followed by the mint name and often the date, all within a cartouche (many different shapes and layouts) (992-996).
- 2615 AV 2 mithqal (9.22g), Mashhad mint only RRR  
All gold denominations follow the same types as the first two silver types (A, B). As for the double mithqal, I have not recorded whether it is type A or B.
- 2616.1 AV mithqal (4.61g), type A R
- 2617.1 AV ½ mithqal (2.30g), type A S  
Examples of Mashhad only have the obverse differently arranged, with mint & date in a central cartouche, the rest of the inscriptions more or less horizontal, type A epigraphy. Products of other mints follow the normal type A.
- 2616.2 AV mithqal (4.61g), type B R
- 2617.2 AV ½ mithqal (2.30g), type B R
- 2618 AR 2 shahi (4.61g), type A C  
The 2-shahi coin came to be known formally as a *muhammadi* after the name of this ruler, but was commonly called *mahmudi* after the Gujarati coin of roughly similar weight (later known in Gujarat as a kori and last struck in Kutch state in 1948).

- 2619 AR shahi (2.30g), type A RR
- 2620 AR 2 shahi (4.61g), type B, struck 986-995 C  
Usually dated, with the date generally inside the cartouche. Dates after 989 are rare.
- 2621 AR shahi (2.30g), type B R  
(Types 2622 and 2623, called "type C" in the 1<sup>st</sup> edition, have been incorporated into types 2620 and 2621, respectively, as I now regard the old "type C" as merely a continuation of type B. However, coins of type B dated 990-995 are relatively rare, due to the proliferation of countermarking during those years.)

- 2624 AR 2 shahi (4.61g), type C, countermarked type on coins of previous reigns and earlier types of this reign, dated 992 to 996<sup>655</sup> C  
The countermark is 'adl shahi, usually followed by the mint name. Most were struck at mints in the Jibal (Central Iran) and Gilan provinces, of which Qazwin (usually dated 992) and Lahijan (undated) are by far the most common. The countermark was normally applied to the obverse of the host. Most mints used a reverse die (either type A or B) as a "reverse" behind the countermark. This was the last major episode of countermarking in Iran, the last attempt to validate existing coins with a countermark, presumably in exchange for a tax payment.

Local standards:

- A2625 AR ½ tanka (about 1.85g) R  
Struck only at Sari, Amul and Barfurushdih in Mazandaran.
- 2625 AR larin (hairpin shape, about 5.1g) RR

**'Abbas I, 995-1038 / 1588-1629**

All bear the royal protocol 'abbas bande-ye shah-e velayat (''Abbas, servant of the king of the Velayat'<sup>656</sup>), together with mint & date, as the distinguishing feature of the obverse.

The dates of transition from one type to the next remain imprecise. All have the standard Shi'ite *kalima* on the reverse, usually within a circle, occasionally surrounded by a marginal legend bearing the names of the 12 Imams.

Types of 'Abbas I:

- A. Name of the ruler in a central cartouche, normally containing the above-mentioned protocol, surrounded by further titulature in the surrounding margin. The mint and date are placed either within the cartouche or directly below it. Many examples, especially in silver, lack either mint or date or both (circa 996-1004).
- B. Mint in central, usually circular, cartouche in obverse. The date is sometimes inside the cartouche, sometimes outside to the upper left. Often dated 1005, which was maintained at some mints as a frozen date for an undetermined length of time (circa 1005-1014+).
- C. Obverse divided into three horizontal panels, with the mint normally in the center panel. Surprisingly, this type remains unknown with legible date, although I would propose that this type was struck during the late 1000s or early 1010s, between types B & D. Types B & C may have been struck simultaneously for several years.
- D1. Mint, date and royal protocol all in central circle, usually without any marginal legend around. Coarse, thick calligraphy, with the die much broader than the flan. Normally poorly struck (from about 1014 until 1026).
- D2. As D1 but neater calligraphy and dies usually not significantly broader than the flan. The quality of strike is variable. Some examples are quite finely made, especially from Tabriz, the most prolific mint (1026-1038).
- E. Obverse inscription *az bahr-e khayr in sekke-ra kalb-e 'ali 'abbas zad*, "For the sake of goodness 'Abbas, the dog of 'Ali, struck this coin". Struck 1032-1037, usually without mint name, occasionally with mint name Mazandaran, where it was a local type.
- 2626 AV 2 mithqal (9.22g) R
- 2627 AV mithqal (4.61g) S
- 2628 AV ½ mithqal (2.30g) R

<sup>655</sup> Countermarks dated 996 would have been applied posthumously, unless they were actually dated 992 with a retrograde number "2", which seems more likely.

<sup>656</sup> The "King of the Velayat" is 'Ali b. Abi Talib, the fourth caliph after the death of the Prophet and regarded by Shi'ites as the rightful successor to the Prophet. The Shi'ites do not recognize the first three caliphs, Abu Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthman.

Types #2626-2628 were struck from 996 until 1002 or shortly thereafter. The date of transition from the 4.61g to the 3.9g standard remains to be determined, but must lie between about 1002 and 1005.

2629 AV heavy ashrafi (about 3.9g) S

Probably used from 1005 until 1018. The metrology of the gold coinage of this reign has not been fully established, due to the paucity of published specimens.

The actual denominational name of this weight series is unknown. I have reckoned "heavy ashrafi" simply for convenience.

Coins of this type struck at Mashhad in 1014 have recently become relatively common. All other issues are rare.

A2630 AV ½ heavy ashrafi (about 1.95g) RR

2630 AV light ashrafi (about 3.5g??) R??

Presumably used after 1018, the latest date occasionally available. The precise nature and time frame of this type remains to be determined. Thereafter, for more than a century, circa 1020-1126, gold coinage ceased to have been struck in Iran, except for a few extremely rare issues believed to have been intended only for royal presentation.

First silver standard (1 toman = 2400 nokhod), used 996-1004

Same as the standard of his predecessor Muhammad.

2631 AR abbasi (= 4 shahi, 9.22g), first standard, type A, known dated 996-1004 C

2632.1 AR 2 shahi (4.61g), type A, general type with circular or multilobe central cartouche C

2632.2 AR 2 shahi (4.61g), variant of type A, local Khuzestani type with vertically elongated central cartouche C

Mints of Huwayza, Dizful, Dawraq, Ramhurmuz and Shushtar.

2633 AR shahi (2.30g), general type A S

Second standard (1 toman = 2000 nokhod), used 1005-1038

2634.1 AR abbasi (4 shahi, 7.68g), type B, mint in central cartouche R

2634.2 AR abbasi (7.68g), type C, three-panel obverse R

2634.3 AR abbasi (7.68g), type D1, coarse calligraphy S

2634.4 AR abbasi (7.68g), type D2, fine calligraphy C

Some issues of Tabriz 1026 are superbly struck, perhaps as a special strike for the inauguration of type D2. Coins of Baghdad and Tiflis are usually extremely crude.

Abbasi & fractions of this type dated 1052-1054 are issues of 'Abbas II (#2642-2644).

2635.1 AR 2 shahi (3.84g), also known as mahmudi, type B C  
Coins of this type continued to be struck at mints in Khuzestan (Huwayza, Dawraq, Dizful, and Ramhurmuz) presumably until the end of the reign. Other mints are scarce. See note to type #A2650.1.

2635.2 AR 2 shahi (3.84g), type C (three-panel) RR

2635.3 AR 2 shahi (3.84g), type D1 R

2635.4 AR 2 shahi (3.84g), type D2 S

2636.1 AR shahi (1.92g), type B R

2636.2 AR shahi (1.92g), type D1 R

2636.3 AR shahi (1.92g), type D2 S

A2637 AR ½ shahi (0.96g), type C (three-panel) RR

B2637 AR bisti (0.77g), type D1 or D2 RR

F2637 AR abbasi (7.68g), type E R

Struck 1032-1037, presumably only at Mazandaran, occasionally cited on the coin. Most examples are undated.

G2637 AR shahi (1.92g), type E RR

H2637 AR bisti (0.77g), type E, with mint name Mazandaran RRR

Local standards:

2637 AR larin (hairpin shape, about 5.1g), several types RR

A2638 AR ½ tanka (about 1.8g), with central cartouche, Sari mint in Mazandaran only, always undated R

This was the last series from Mazandaran struck to a local standard. It was probably struck from the late 990s onwards, terminating circa 1010-1020.

Some additional local types and/or standards exist, not listed here due to lack of descriptive information.

### Safi I, 1038-1052 / 1629-1642

All coinage of Safi I was struck to the standard of 2000 nokhod, inherited from 'Abbas I.

No gold coinage confirmed for this reign.

An important study of his silver coins was published by Stan Goron in *ONS Newsletter 176* in 2003.

Types for the reign of Safi I:

A. *Safi bande-ye shah-e velayat* (known only for the full abbasi) (1038 only, except for Tiflis 1039).

B. *Hast as jan gholam-e shah safi*.<sup>657</sup> (struck 1038-1050)

C. Legend as B but with mint name enclosed within a circle in the lower portion of the obverse (1050-1052).

2638.1 AR abbasi (7.68g), type A R  
Used only in 1038 (also 1039 at Tiflis).

2638.2 AR abbasi (7.68g), type B, without cartouche around mint name (struck 1038-1050) C

2638.3 AR abbasi, type C (7.68g), circle around mint name (1050-1052) R

2639.1 AR 2 shahi (3.84g), type B S

2639.2 AR 2 shahi (3.84g), type C R

2640.3 AR shahi (1.92g), type A RRR?

2640.1 AR shahi (1.92g), type B S

2640.2 AR shahi (1.92g), type C RRR

2641 AR 2 shahi (mahmudi, 3.84g), mints in Khuzestan, mint name in central circle on obverse R

Struck only at Huwayza and Dawraq. All examples that I have seen bear the royal protocol of type B, inscribed circularly around the obverse margin.

### 'Abbas II, 1052-1077 / 1642-1666

Types for the reign of 'Abbas II:

A. *'Abbas bande-ye shah-e velayat* (1052-1054). See note to #2642.

B. *Be-giti sekke-ye sahebqerani / zad az toufiq-e haqq 'abbas-e thani*.<sup>658</sup> *naskhi* (upright) calligraphy on obverse (1054-1068), struck from dies about the same size as flans. Coins 1054-1064 normally have the date center right, 1064-1068 have it at lower left (with a few exceptions, as usual), always on obverse.

C. Same couplet, *nasta'liq* (flowing) calligraphy on obverse (1067-1077) and *naskhi* reverse, struck from dies usually much broader than flans. Coins 1067-1068 have date lower left, 1069-1077 have date center right. Types B & C overlap 1067-1068.

The fractional silver coins were usually struck from the same dies intended for the larger denominations, thus mint & date off flan.

A2642 AV ashrafi, couplet type B, struck for presentation only RRR

First silver standard (1 toman = 2000 nokhod) used 1052-1054 only:

Same as the standard of his predecessor Safi I.

2642 AR abbasi (7.68g), type A S

Coins of this type are distinguishable from the type D2 issues of 'Abbas I only by date and calligraphic style.

2643 AR 2 shahi (3.84g), type A RR

2644 AR shahi (1.92g), type A RR

Second standard (1 toman = 1925 nokhod), used 1054-1077:

<sup>657</sup> "From his soul he is the slave of Shah Safi", referring not to himself but to Safi al-Din Ardabili, founder of the family's theocratic and political strain in the early 8<sup>th</sup>/14<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>658</sup> "In the world, 'Abbas the second, by favor of God, struck the coins of Sahebqerani." Sahebqerani can be translated as "lord of the auspicious conjunction", an astrological term that referred to the conjunction of two planets. It was first adopted by Timur of the Timurid dynasty, alluding to his intention of conquering both East and West.

A2645	AR 20 shahi (36.96g), type B or C	RRR	2654	AR 2 shahi (3.69g)	RRR
	A presentation coin. Some additional 10 and 20 shahi donatives are known with a variant couplet (also RRR).		2655	AR shahi (1.84g)	RRR
2645	AR 5 shahi (9.24g), type C ( <i>nasta'liq</i> calligraphy), struck 1067-1077	C	2656	AR 2 shahi (mahmudi) (3.69g), Khuzestan local type, mint in central circle, couplet around, struck only at Huwayza	RR
	Later jewelry copies of this type, usually inscribed with mint name Iravan (Yerevan in Armenia), are reasonably common (type #2645X). They are sometimes the obverse or reverse of 'Abbas II muled with a die copying the reverse of a gold toman of Fath 'Ali Shah of Yazd 1233 (thus clearly dating these imitations to the 19 <sup>th</sup> century), struck in silver (type #2645Y, S), occasionally in gold (type #2645Z, R). They were probably made in the mid-19 <sup>th</sup> century for popular jewelry purposes, either in Iran or in Armenia, which was then under Russian control.		<b>Sulayman I, 1079-1105 / 1668-1694</b>		
2646	AR abbasi (4 shahi) (7.39g), type B ( <i>naskhi</i> calligraphy), struck 1054-1067 (a few later dates exist, all very rare)	C	All coins of Sulayman I are struck to the 1925-nokhod standard.		
	For this standard (1925 nokhod), the abbasi (= 4 shahi) was the preferred denomination from 1054 until 1067. From 1067 to 1077, the 5 shahi became the preferred denomination. Coins of this type are sometimes found countermarked with the VOC monogram of the Dutch East Indies Company (C. Scholten, <i>The Coins of the Dutch Overseas Territories 1601-1948</i> , Amsterdam 1953, pp.150-151).		Types for the reign of Sulayman I (excluding mint of Huwayza):		
2647.1	AR 2 shahi (3.69g), type B ( <i>naskhi</i> calligraphy)	R	A. Couplet, <i>zad az toufiq-e Allah sekke-ye sahebqerani / saheb-e douran soleyman-e jahan</i> (1079-1081). <sup>662</sup>		
2647.2	AR 2 shahi (3.69g), type C ( <i>nasta'liq</i> calligraphy)	R	B. <i>Soleyman bande-ye shah-e velayat</i> , in the <i>nasta'liq</i> script, usually quite carelessly struck (1081-1095). <sup>663</sup>		
2648.1	AR shahi (1.84g), type B ( <i>naskhi</i> calligraphy)	R	C. Similar, <i>naskhi</i> script, normally quite well struck (1095-1105). <sup>664</sup>		
2648.2	AR shahi (1.84g), type C ( <i>nasta'liq</i> calligraphy)	R	D. Couplet, <i>bahr-e tahsil-e reza-ye moqtadaye ons o jan / sekke-ye khayarat bar zar zad soleyman-e jahan</i> . <sup>665</sup> This couplet is found only on his presentation coins of multiple denominations. Special couplets were used for 10 and 20 shahi silver coins, as well as similar multiples in gold (not listed here). Refer to Rabino or Farahbakhsh for details. These were all coins intended for presentation or decoration. The vast majority of surviving specimens were formerly mounted or pierced for decoration.		
2649	AR bisti (0.74g), probably only type C	RR	Beginning with Sulayman I, the reverse border varies, most commonly a circle of large pellets, somewhat less frequently the names of the 12 Shi'ite Imams, very rarely something else. With a few exceptions, I have not attempted to distinguish these variations as distinctive types or subtypes, nor to indicate their relative rarity. <sup>666</sup>		
	<u>Local types:</u>		Similar variations exist on early Safavid coins, also unresearched, save for S. Goron's study of Safi I and the first 2 types of 'Abbas II published in the ONS Newsletter, cited in the Safavid bibliography.		
2650.1	AR 2 shahi (mahmudi) (3.69g) <sup>659</sup> , mint in a central circle on the obverse, surrounded by the type A royal inscription in the margin	C	M2657	AV 20 ashrafi (about 57g), type D, known from Isfahan 1096	RRR
	Rarely dated (1053-1054), undated examples probably struck until about 1063. This type resembles issues of type #2635 of 'Abbas I struck at Huwayza, Dizful, Dawraq, and Ramhurmuz. Whereas issues of 'Abbas I bear the full Shi'ite kalima in the reverse center, those of 'Abbas II bear just ' <i>ali wali Allah</i> ' in the reverse center, the rest of the kalima around. <sup>660</sup>			Struck from the same dies as the silver 20 shahi (#2657) of the same mint & date.	
2650.2	AR 2 shahi (mahmudi) (3.69g), similar, but type B inscription (couplet) in obverse margin, sometimes dated, 1063-1077	C	A2657	AV ashrafi, royal protocol as silver types B & C	RRR
	Scarce with legible date.		C2657	AV ¼ ashrafi, similar	RRR
2651	AR larin (hairpin shape, about 5.1g)	RR	2657	AR 20 shahi (36.90g), type D, known from Isfahan (several dates) and Qazwin 1085	RR
	<b>Safi II, 1077-1079 / 1666-1668</b> (then as Sulayman I until 1105 / 1694, q.v.)			Struck only at Isfahan, the 20 and 10 shahi coins were produced until 1094, usually with a special couplet. See types #2664 & 2665 for silver coins of these two denominations using an expanded version of type C.	
	During the first year of his reign, Iran suffered from serious natural disasters and Cossack invasions. As a result, the royal astrologer persuaded the state to perform a second coronation, after which the shah's name was changed from Safi to Sulayman.		2658	AR 10 shahi (18.45g), type A, struck at Isfahan	R
	All coins of this reign retain the 1925-nokhod standard of 'Abbas II, with the new couplet <i>za ba'd-e hasti-ye 'Abbas-e thani / Safi zad sekke-ye sahebqerani</i> . <sup>661</sup>			Possibly struck for circulation.	
2652	AR 20 shahi (5 abbasi, 36.95g)	RR	2659	AR abbasi (4 shahi, 7.39g), type A	R
	The large multiple denominations struck as presentation coins, such as the 20 shahi, have an expanded version of the basic couplet. This is the earliest Safavid presentation piece which is not of the highest rarity.		A2661	AR 2 shahi (3.69g), type A <sup>667</sup>	RRR
2653	AR abbasi (7.39g)	R	2660	AR abbasi (7.39g), type B	S
			2661	AR 2 shahi (3.69g), type B	R
			2662	AR shahi (1.84g), type B	R
			2663	AR 2 shahi (mahmudi, 3.69g), local type struck only at Huwayza, mint in central circle	C
				Known dated 1084-1092, also with blundered dates or undated, all common. The ruler's titles are as types B and C, but arranged in the outer margin of the obverse. Examples of this very common type are usually found heavily worn.	

<sup>659</sup> It is possible that some examples dated 1053-1054 still follow the 3.84g standard applicable to type A. Further research needed.

<sup>660</sup> This rule of thumb has been questioned in recent and still unpublished research undertaken by Rudi Matthee of the University of Delaware. I now suspect that the introduction of the simple '*ali wali Allah*' type began around the 1020s or very early 1030s during the reign of 'Abbas I. Further research essential.

<sup>661</sup> "After the time of 'Abbas the second, Safi struck the coins of Sahebqerani". A variant has the first half of the distich *be-giti ba'd-e shah 'abbas-e thani*, but the distinguishing portion (*be-giti*, "in the world") is commonly off the flan. Relative rarity of the two variants is unknown.

<sup>662</sup> "By the grace of God, he struck the coins of Sahebqerani, the Solomon of the world, possessor of fortune".

<sup>663</sup> The actual phrase is "Sulayman, servant of the King of the Velayat." The Velayat, office of the close associate (to the Prophet), is regarded by the Shi'ites as having passed to 'Ali b. Abi Talib immediately upon the death of the Prophet Muhammad.

<sup>664</sup> Type C was used at the Isfahan mint before 1095 for the smaller denominations; there are a shahi of 1091 and 2 shahi of 1093 in Tübingen.

<sup>665</sup> "To obtain the acquiescence of the one followed in body and soul (*i.e.*, 'Ali), the Solomon of the world struck the coin of benevolence in gold".

<sup>666</sup> I must confess that until quite recently (circa 2005) I never bothers to pay attention to this and many other variations on Safavid coin reverses.

<sup>667</sup> SICA9, item #1785, ugly specimen with mint & date off flan.

2663A	AR 2 shahi (mahmudi, 3.69g), similar, but countermarked <i>rayij</i> (“current”), undated	R	<i>First standard</i> (1 toman = 1925 <i>nokhod</i> , as in previous reign), used 1105-1123:	
	It remains unknown whether these countermarks were applied earlier than the Durrani type issues commencing about 1171. Also known countermarked with a duck (RR) or twice, once with <i>rayij</i> , once with a duck (RRR). Other countermarks may exist.			
2664	AR 20 shahi (36.90g), type C, Isfahan only	R	2670 AR abbasi (7.39g), type A	S
	Although their inscriptions are identical, type C coins can be distinguished from type B by their style and calligraphy. Type C was introduced as part of a coinage reform in 1095/1684 intended to restore the integrity of Iranian silver coinage after the debasements associated with type B. The 10 and 20 shahi coins share a longer version of the inscription, and are normally dated either 1096 or 1099.		2671 AR 2 shahi (3.69g), type A	R
2665	AR 10 shahi (18.45g), type C, Isfahan only	R	D2672 AR 2 shahi (mahmudi, 3.69g), mint name in central circle, layout as type #2663 of Sulayman, dated 1108 or undated	RRR
2666	AR abbasi (7.39g), type C	A	Struck only at the mint of Huwayza, the last issue of the mahmudi of Khuzestan. A specimen dated 1132 has recently been reported, but not yet confirmed.	
2667	AR 2 shahi (3.69g), type C	S	2672 AR shahi (1.84g), type A	RR
2668	AR shahi (1.84g), type C	S	Fractional silver of types A and B rarely show both mint and date. Even many full abbasis of these types lack one or both. Fractions were frequently struck from dies intended for the abbasi, on which the date and mint were engraved annoyingly far apart. <sup>671</sup>	
2668A	AR ½ shahi (0.92g), type C, known only for Isfahan 1096	RRR	U2673 AR 20 shahi (36.90g), type B, with the additional couplet text <i>kalb-e dargah-e amir</i> ..., known from Isfahan 1112	RRR
	<b>Sultan Husayn, 1105-1135 / 1694-1722</b>		Type B retained the 1925-nokhod standard. There are some variants of the reverse arrangement, especially at Isfahan, for all silver denominations, but especially the abbasi.	
	Sultan Husayn surrendered to the Hotaki Afghans in Muharram 1135, beheaded by order of Ashraf Khan four years later, in 1139. His name is often spelled Hoseyn or Hossein in western texts.		V2673 AR 10 shahi (18.45g), type B, couplet as on #2673, known from Isfahan 1108	RRR
<b>Types for the reign of Sultan Husayn:</b>			2673 AR 5 shahi (9.24g), type B, struck 1107-1108 at several mints, until 1120 at Isfahan	RR
A.	<i>Zad za toufiq-e haqq be-chehre-ye zar / sekke-ye soltan hoseyn-e din parvar</i> (1105-1107). <sup>668</sup>		2674 AR abbasi (4 shahi. 7.39g), type B	C
B.	<i>Gasht saheb-e sekkeh az toufiq-e rabb ol-mashreqeyn / dar jahan kalb-e amir-e mo'menin soltan hoseyn</i> (1107-1114). <sup>669</sup> The second half of the verse commences <i>kalb-e dargah-e amir</i> ... for coins dated 1115-1123.		See note after #2672.	
C.	<i>Hoseyn bande-ye shah-e velayat</i> (1123-1129 & rarely in 1130, the last year at Tabriz only).		2675 AR 2 shahi (3.69g), type B	S
D.	As C, but reduced weight standard for silver (1129-1135).		2676 AR shahi (1.84g), type B	R
E.	<i>Hoseyn kalb-e astan-e 'ali</i> , used on some but not all coins of Mashhad between 1129 and 1137.		<i>Presentation types of the first standard</i> (struck only at Isfahan, mostly dated 1117-1120):	
	The formula of type E translates to “Husayn, dog at the doorstep of ‘Ali,” where ‘Ali can refer to either the fourth Orthodox caliph and first Shi'ite Imam, ‘Ali ibn Abi Talib, champion of the Shi'ites, or ‘Ali b. Musa, the 7 <sup>th</sup> Shi'ite Imam, buried at Mashhad.		A2677 AR 10 shahi (approximately 18.45g), local type of Isfahan, obverse as type C but without the 12 Imams cited in the surrounding margin	RRR
B2669	AV double ashrafi (6.92g), type A, known from Isfahan 1107	RRR	The reverse has just ‘ <i>ali wali Allah</i> ’ in a central circle with the rest of the Shi'ite kalima in the margin. The central circle is often notched at 3h and 9h. Coins of this type were struck 1117-1120 at Isfahan only. All are round.	
A2669	AV mithqal (4.61g), type A <sup>670</sup>	RRR	B2677 AR abbasi (4 shahi, approximately 7.39g), similar layout	RR
2669	AV ashrafi (3.46g), type C/D only	S	Some examples of this type weigh in the range of 8.5 grams and appear to be a somewhat reduced weight 5 shahi coin. In any case, many donative issues do not adhere accurately to the weight standard for circulating coins.	
	Struck from 1127 onwards, but Isfahan 1134 is by far the most common date/mint combination. The distinction between types C and D does not apply to the gold currency. All gold struck within the Safavid empire from about 1020 until 1127 was intended solely for presentation, not for circulation.		C2677 AR 2 shahi (approximately 3.69g), similar	RR
	The revived ashrafi of 1127 onwards was marginally lighter than its early Safavid counterpart, about 3.46 instead of 3.55g, and was reckoned as ¾ mithqal of essentially pure gold, reflecting a formal attempt to reconcile the silver and gold denominations.		D2677.1 AR shahi, similar (approximately 1.84g), also similar to type #A2677	RR
2669A	AV reduced ashrafi? (circa 2.6g), type C/D, with margin inscription added to obverse	RRR	D2677.2 AR shahi, similar (approximately 1.84g), but kalima arranged linearly (with <i>nabi</i> instead of <i>rasul</i> ), 1117 only	RRR
	Inscription <i>al-sultan ibn al-sultan al-khaqan ibn al-khaqan khalada Allah khilafatahu</i> . The last word reflects a putative claim to the caliphate by Sultan Husayn.		<i>Second standard</i> (1 toman = 1800 <i>nokhod</i> ), used 1123-1129:	
2669B	AV ¼ mithqal (1.15g), type B, Mashhad 1109 only	RRR	V2677 AR 10 shahi (17.29g), type C, round flan	RRR
2669E	AV ashrafi (3.46g), type E, Mashhad mint	RRR	Struck only at Isfahan, known dated 1123. A similar coin dated 1121 is of the gigantic denomination of 180 shahi (317g). <sup>672</sup>	

<sup>668</sup> “Upon the face of gold, by the grace of God, was imprinted the stamp of Sultan Husayn, the nurturer of the religion”

<sup>669</sup> “In this world, Sultan Husayn, the dog of the commander of the believers (i.e., ‘Ali ibn Abi Talib), became master of the die, by the grace of the Lord of the Two Easts”. The *Two Easts* (“ol-mashreqeyn”) probably refers to Iraq and Iran, reflecting the Safavid claim to Iraq. The second version translates as “Sultan Husayn, dog at the threshold of the commander of the believers, became master of the die, by the grace of the Lord of the Two Easts.”

<sup>670</sup> SICA9, #557, Tabriz 1106, never mounted or circulated.

<sup>671</sup> The date appears normally above the second line of the obverse towards the right, the mint in the bottom line.

<sup>672</sup> There are 2 known specimens, in the Ashmolean (SICA-193) and the British Museum (Poole-97), both purportedly Sultan Husayn’s honorarium to the British representatives in 1121/1709 or shortly thereafter.

2677.2	AR 5 shahi (8.64g), similar, but the mint within a central cartouche on obverse (1128-1130)	S	B2689	AR "16" shahi (4 abbasi, 23.05g), type A	RR
2677A	AR 5 shahi (8.64g), similar to #2677.1 but with outer margins, containing the royal titles on obverse, the 12 Imams on reverse	RR		Struck as donatives and known from Mashhad and Shiraz, probably other mints as well. Other types of presentation silver have been reported besides the four listed here (#A2689-D2689).	
2678	AR abbasi (4 shahi, 6.91g), type C, round flan	S	C2689	AR 10 shahi (2½ abbasi, 13.44g), type A, Isfahan only	RR
2679	AR 2 shahi (3.45g), type C, rectangular flan	R	D2689	AR "8" shahi (2 abbasi, 11.53g), type A, citing the 12 Imams around the reverse	RRR
2680	AR 2 shahi (3.45g), type C, round flan	R	2689.1	AR abbasi (5.34g), type A, 12 Shi'ite Imams named in reverse margin, used throughout his reign	C
2681	AR shahi (1.73g), type C, rectangular flan	RR	2689.2	AR abbasi (5.34g), type A, plain beaded border as reverse margin, used 1142-1145	S
2682	AR shahi (1.73g), type C, round flan	R	2690	AR 2 shahi (2.68g), type A	S
<i>Third standard (1 toman = 1400 nokhod), used 1129-1135, recognized at Mashhad until 1137:</i>			2691	AR shahi (1.34g), type A	S
2683.1	AR abbasi (5.34g), type D, plain border of pellets as reverse margin	A	A2692	AR bisti (0.53g), type A	R
2683.2	AR abbasi (5.34g), type D, 12 Shi'ite Imams named in reverse margin	A		Possibly a ½ shahi (0.67g). Usually found holed or mounted, almost never with legible mint & date.	
	The first type, pellets around the reverse, was struck 1129-1132, occasionally in 1133. The Imams types was struck 1132-1135, also 1131 at Qazwin. Further overlap may exist, perhaps due to the continued use of functional dies.		2692	AR abbasi (5.34g), type B, Yazd 1135 only	RR
	Type D abbasid and some fractions show a great variation in calligraphy, legend arrangement and borders. Numerous variants were struck at Qazwin during the period 1130-1134 (particularly in 1131), when Husayn moved his capital temporarily to that city. Many of these variants are artistically exquisite. <sup>673</sup>		2692A	AR abbasi (5.34g), type C, Kirman 1135 only	RRR
2684	AR 2 shahi (2.68g), type D	R	<b>Sayyid Ahmad, rebel at Kirman, circa 1138-1141 / 1725-1728</b>		
2685	AR shahi (1.34g), type D	R	<i>Inscribed ahmad bande-ye shah-e velayat.</i>		
2686	AR abbasi (5.34g), Mashhad mint, type E <sup>674</sup>	S	A2693	AR abbasi (5.34g), Kirman mint	RRR
2686A	AR shahi (1.34g), Mashhad mint, type E	RRR	B2693	AR 2 shahi (2.67g), same type, Kirman mint, dated 1138	RRR
<i>Fourth standard (1 toman = 1200 nokhod):</i>			<b>'Abbas III, 1145-1148 / 1732-1735</b>		
2687	AR abbasi (4.61g), struck only in 1134 at Isfahan	R	<i>There is only one type for this reign, a couplet type, sekke bar zar zad be-toufiq-e elahi dar jahan / zell-e haqq 'abbas-e thaleth thani sahebqeran.<sup>677</sup></i>		
	This light standard was struck as an emergency issue during the Afghan siege. It can be distinguished from type #2683 only by weight. Coins dated 1133 to this standard were also struck during the siege in 1134 using surviving obverse dies of the previous year. There are no fractions.		<i>All coins retain the 1400-nokhod standard of the previous reign. See also note above #2688.</i>		
<b>Tahmasp II, 1135-1145 / 1722-1732</b>			2693	AV ashrafi (3.46g)	R
<b>Types for the reign of Tahmasp II</b> (two additional types are known for rare multiple denominations, not listed here):			2694	AR abbasi (5.34g)	S
A. Couplet, <i>be-giti sekke-ye sahebqerani / zad as toufiq-e haqq tahmasp-e thani</i> (all dates). <sup>675</sup>			2695	AR 2 shahi (2.67g)	R
B. <i>Tahmasp-e ghazi bande-ye shah-e velayat</i> (at Yazd 1135 only, also on a few donatives not listed here).			2696	AR shahi (1.34g)	R
C. <i>Tahmasp-e thani gholam-e shah-e din</i> (at Kirman in 1135 only). <sup>676</sup> Nearly all coins of all types bear the Shi'ite kalima on the reverse, surrounded by either the names of the 12 Imams or a plain beaded border without any inscription.			A2697	AR bisti (0.53g)	RR
Coins with the couplet <i>az khorasan sekke bar zar...</i> formerly assigned to Tahmasp II and 'Abbas III are now correctly assigned to Nadir Shah as viceroy (#2735-2738).			<b>Sam Mirza, in Tabriz, 1160 / 1747</b>		
The exact denominations for types #B2689 and D2689 are uncertain, either 16 and 8 shahi, respectively, based on an abbasi heavier than the standard 5.34g, or 20 and 10 shahi based on a reduced abbasi of 4.61g (1 mithqal). Precise weights were casually maintained for presentation issues.			<i>Coins of this short reign were struck to the 1200 nokhod standard first introduced by Nadir Shah in 1160, struck only at Tabriz.</i>		
2688	AV ashrafi (3.46g), type A only	S	<b>Types for Sam Mirza:</b>		
A2689	AR 20 shahi (5 abbasi, 26.88g), type A, struck normally at Isfahan	RRR	A. Couplet <i>sekke zad bar zar be-giti chun tolu'-e neyreyn / vareth-e molk-e soleyman sam ebn-e sultan hoseyn</i> <sup>678</sup> together with mint & date, kalima reverse, usually with the 12 Imams cited around.		
	Also known for Tabriz, dated 1135 (unique).		B. <i>Sam ebn-e sultan hoseyn bande-ye shah-e velayat</i> with mint & date. The reverse inscription for the shahi has apparently not been published.		
			2697	AR 5 shahi (5.76g), rectangular flan, type B	RR
				The ruler's name is written <i>sam ebn-e soleyman</i> . Standard Shi'ite kalima on the reverse.	
			2698	AR abbasi (4.61g), round flan, type A	RRR
			A2699	AR shahi (1.15g), round flan, type B but without the patronymic	RRR
			<b>Sulayman II, 1163 / 1750</b>		
			<b>(ruled 2 months only, Safar-Rabi' I 1163)</b>		
			<i>Silver coins of this reign were struck to the 1200 nokhod standard.</i>		

<sup>673</sup> Thanks to Stan Goron for this information.

<sup>674</sup> Abbasid of Mashhad dated 1136 of type #2686 and 1137 of type #2683 were struck by order of the local ruler at Mashhad, Malik Mahmud Sistani, but in the name of Sultan Husayn. See note to #A2706.

<sup>675</sup> "By the grace of God, Tahmasp the second struck the *sahebqerani* coin throughout the world."

<sup>676</sup> "Tahmasp the Second, servant to the King of Faith", *i.e.*, servant to 'Ali ibn Abi Talib.

<sup>677</sup> "By the grace of God, he struck coins of gold in the world, 'Abbas the third, shadow of God, the second sahebqeran".

<sup>678</sup> "He struck coins of gold in the world, like the rising brilliants (*i.e.*, Sun & Moon), the heir to the kingdom of Solomon, Sam, the son of Sultan Husayn".

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**Types for the reign of Sulayman II:**

- A. Obverse couplet is *zad az lof-e haqq sekke-ye kamrani / shah-e 'adl gostar soleyman-e thani*<sup>679</sup>, with Shi'ite kalima reverse.
- B. Obverse with short inscription *al-soltan soleyman* in place of the couplet, reverse with mint, date and the benediction *khalada Allah mulkahu*.
- 2699 AV double mohur (about 22.0g), type A RRR  
About two dozen specimens appeared on the market in the early 1980s, long dispersed and now almost never available.
- A2700 AV ashrafi (3.45g), type A RRR
- 2700 AR 6 shahi (6.91g), type B RR
- 2701 AR abbasi (= 4 shahi, 4.61g), type A RRR
- A2702 AR shahi (1.15g), type B RRR

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**Isma'il III, 1163-1169 / 1750-1756****Types for the reign of Isma'il III:**

- A. Formula *esma'il bande-ye shah-e velayat* plus mint & date on obverse, Shi'ite kalima reverse, usually in a small circular cartouche with blank margin around.
- B. Obverse as last but mint & date on reverse. Without the kalima.
- C. *al-soltan esma'il* on obverse, mint, date and benediction *khalada Allah mulkahu* on reverse.
- D. Name *al-soltan esma'il*, together with *khalada Allah mulkahu* on obverse together with the date, mint & its epithet on reverse.
- N2702 AV mohur??, type B, struck only at Qazwin in 1165 RRR  
Known only from Rabino #289, but the weight & denomination are not mentioned.
- 2702 AR rupi, type A (11.52g) S  
Struck principally at Rasht & Mazandaran, about equal rarity, other mints extremely rare. These rupis reflect some of the finest die-engraving of the Safavid period.
- 2702Q AR rupi, type D (11.52g), Qazwin 1165 only RRR  
(Zeno-92202)
- 2703 AR 6 shahi (6.91g), type C RR
- 2704 AR abbasi (4.61g), type A RRR
- 2705.1 AR shahi (1.15g), type A RR  
Struck at Shiraz, Rasht, and Mazandaran.
- 2705.2 AR shahi (1.15g), type B, Isfahan & Qazwin only RRR
- 2705.3 AR shahi (1.15g), type C, Mazandaran only RR

**SISTANI MALIKS OF MASHHAD**

After the fall of Isfahan to the Afghans in 1135 and the arrest of Sultan Husayn, a certain Malik Mahmud Sistani seized power in Mashhad, but was ousted by the future Nadir Shah after just over three years in power.

**Malik Mahmud Sistani, 1135-1139 / 1722-1726**

- A2706 AR abbasi (5.34g) RRR  
Inscribed *mahmud bande-ye shah-e velayat*. Struck at Mashhad only in 1137 and 1138. Coins of Mashhad in the name of Sultan Husayn (type D & E) dated 1135-1137 were issued under the authority of Malik Mahmud, but without his name.
- B2706 AR abbasi (5.34g), with couplet inscription RRR  
Couplet is ... *be-toufiq-e amir (al-mu'minin) .... dar gah-e mahmud shah*, possibly also with word *kalb* ("dog"). Mashhad mint, but known only without legible date.<sup>680</sup>

**OTTOMAN OCCUPATION OF IRAN**

From 1135/1722 until 1148/1735, parts of northwestern Iran were occupied by the Ottomans, including Armenia, Georgia and Tabriz. Coins of the occupation retain the 1400-nokhod standard of Husayn's type D (abbasi = 5.34g), which was retained throughout Iran until 1150, thus after the Ottoman

withdrawal from the Caucasian districts. All are dated with the sultan's accession year, 1115 or 1143, never accompanied by a regnal year.

Only Tiflis coins of type #2708 are reasonably common. Other mints include Revan (= Irawan), Ganja and Tabriz, all significantly rarer. Coins are generally well struck, but frequently off center, with the accession date off the flan, especially on type #2708.

**Ahmad III, 1115-1143 / 1703-1730**

- In Georgia, Armenia and parts of northeastern Iran, 1135-1143 / 1722-1730.
- 2706 AV ashrafi (3.5g), type A (simple toughra on obverse, mint & date on reverse) RR
- 2707 AR abbasi (5.34g), similar, type A R  
The denomination of this coin (and #2708 & 2709) is often incorrectly termed *onluk* (coin of ten Ottoman para). All three types of Ottoman abbasis are occasionally found overstruck on Safavid abbasis of Sultan Husayn or Tahmasp II. The abbasi was valued at 16 Ottoman para.
- 2708 AR abbasi (5.34g), type B (toughra above mint & date / 4-line legend) S
- 2708A AR 2 shahi (2.67g), type B, Tiflis and Revan only RRR
- 2708B AR shahi (1.34g), type B, Tiflis only RRR
- A2709 AE falus?, Tabriz and Tiflis mints only, layout as #2708 (type B), usually poorly struck RR  
The actual name of this denomination remains undetermined, perhaps *qazbegi* (about 5 grams?). This is one of a handful of copper fulus struck in greater Iran after 1500 that bear the name of the ruler. Most regular Ottoman fulus struck after about 1700 bear the sultan's name, usually in the form of a toughra.

**Mahmud I, 1143-1168 / 1730-1754**

In the same regions, 1143-1148 / 1730-1735.

- 2709 AR abbasi (5.34g), simple toughra type only (as type A of Ahmad III) R
- 2710 AR 2 shahi (2.67g), similar RR
- 2711 AR shahi (1.34g), similar RR

**HOTAKI AFGHAN (GHILZAY)**

See bibliographic entries for the Safavids.

The Hotaki or Ghilzay Afghans were centered around Qandahar in Afghanistan. Under the leadership of Mahmud Shah, they launched a successful invasion of Iran in 1134/1721, seizing Isfahan and capturing the Safavid shah in the following year, after a long siege at Isfahan. Their coins are readily distinguished by their Sunni legends. There exists a large variety of types and denominations, not always fully understood. The couplets are quite intricate, replete with puns and other word-plays which cannot be salvaged in translation.

Isfahan is the most common mint for all three Hotaki rulers, though Qazwin is relatively common for Azad Khan (types #2728 & 2730). Quality of strike is generally excellent throughout the series, though many pieces are either off-center or on flans narrower than the dies. All silver coins except the allegedly 5 and 10 shahi coins (#2715 & Z2715 of Mahmud, #2719 of Ashraf) were struck to the 1200-nokhod standard introduced by Mahmud's opponent Sultan Husayn as an emergency currency during the siege of Isfahan in 1134. This standard was held by the Hotaki until the demise of Ashraf in 1142, but the previous standard of 1400-nokhod was restored by Tahmasp II at all mints recovered from the Afghans, until once again lowered to the 1200-nokhod by Nadir Shah in 1150.

**Mahmud Shah, 1135-1137 / 1722-1724****Types for the reign of Mahmud Shah Afghan:**

- A. Couplet obverse, *Sekkeh zad az mashreq-e Iran cho qors-e aftab / Shah Mahmud-e Jahangir-e siyadat-ansab*.<sup>681</sup>

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<sup>679</sup> "By the grace of God, he struck the coins of prosperity, the shah who dispenses justice, Sulayman the Second".

<sup>680</sup> Former collection of S. Goron, reported 1 July 2002.

<sup>681</sup> "He struck coins from the east of Iran, like the face of the Sun, Shah Mahmud the World-Conqueror of Sayyid descent." This short couplet is so replete with puns and double entendres that a "complete" translation might fill an entire page with text and commentary!

B. Couplet obverse, <i>Foru ravad be-zamin mah o aftab-e monir / za reshk-e sekke-ye Mahmud Shah-e 'alamgir.</i> <sup>682</sup>	2718	AV ashrafi (3.46g), type A	R
C. Couplet obverse, <i>Cho mehr o mah zar-e shahanshahi mahmud-e 'alam shod / keh naqd-e qalbash az feyz-e Khoda az ghash mosallam shod.</i> <sup>683</sup>	2718A	AV ashrafi (3.46g), full couplet of type A with mint below / full couplet of type D, date below, Isfahan 1140	RRR
D. Couplet obverse, <i>Din-e haqq-ra sekkeh bar zar kard az hokm-e Elah / 'aqebat Mahmud bashad Padshah-e din-e Khoda.</i> Occasionally with <i>panah</i> substituted for <i>Khoda.</i> <sup>684</sup>	2719	AR 5 shahi? (about 7.2g, to undetermined standard), type B	RR
2712	AV ashrafi (3.46g), type B	R	
2713	AV ashrafi (3.46g), type D	RR	
2714	AR rupi (10 shahi, 11.52g), type A, struck only at Qandahar	S	
Struck to the Mughal standard of India, later adopted by Nadir Shah and his successors in Iran. Usually undated, but known dated 1133 & 1135 (RR).			
Z2715	AR 10 shahi? (approximately 14.6-14.8g), type D (with <i>panah</i> ), struck for presentation	RRR	
2715	AR 5 shahi? (heavier standard, approximately 7.3-7.4g), type C	R	
If this type is indeed a <i>panjshahi</i> , it is struck to a standard of one toman equal to about 1520-1540 nokhod. The concurrent use of divergent standards is most unusual, but so were circumstances during the Afghan occupation.			
Normally Isfahan mint, but an especially lovely type is known from Kashan 1136 (RR).			
2716	AR abbasi (4.61g), type A	S	
2716A	AR abbasi (4.61g), type A but countermarked with a rising sun, either on obverse or reverse	R	
The purpose of the countermark is unknown, though curiously the "rising sun" hints at the words <i>qors-e afiab</i> ("rise of the sun") in the couplet.			
2716B	AR abbasi (4.61g), type A but countermarked <i>rayij</i> , sometimes with date	RR	
2717	AR abbasi (4.61g), type B	RR	

#### Ashraf, 1137-1142 / 1724-1729

##### Types for the reign of Ashraf Shah:

- A. Couplet obverse, *Be-ashrafi athar-e nam-e anjenab rasid / sharaf za sekke-ye Ashraf bar aftab rasid.*<sup>685</sup>
- B. Couplet obverse, *Khor o mah chun tala o noqreh az feyzash monavvar shod / sharaf bar aftab az nam-e Ashraf sekkeh bar zar shod.*<sup>686</sup>
- C. Couplet obverse, *Az altaf-e Shah Ashraf-e haqq-she'ar / be-zar naqsh shod sekke-ye char yar.*<sup>687</sup>
- D. Couplet on obverse, with mint and epithet added on the reverse, *dast-zad bar jalalaho bovad gonah / dad-e taghyir-e sekke-ye ashraf shah.*<sup>688</sup>
- E. Half couplet obverse, tentatively, *darad shahi sharaf az ashraf-e shahan.*<sup>689</sup>

<sup>682</sup> "The brilliant moon and sun shall sink below the earth, envious of the coins of Mahmud Shah the world-conqueror."

<sup>683</sup> "Like the sun and the moon, the imperial gold [coinage] is praised throughout the world, as the currency of his [Mahmud's] heart has been, with God's benevolence, cleansed of impurity."

<sup>684</sup> "At God's command, he struck gold coins for the True Religion, so that finally Mahmud will be the Emperor for the religion of God." The phrase *din-e panah* can be translated as "the refuge of faith". This expression refers to Sunni Islam as the true faith, in opposition to the Iranian Shi'ites.

<sup>685</sup> "The presence of the name of this majesty [*i.e.*, Ashraf] has achieved excellence, from Ashraf's coinage his glory has surpassed the Sun." This is only a loose translation of the extremely complex couplet.

<sup>686</sup> "The sun and moon, like gold and silver, illuminated by his (Ashraf's) generosity, from gold coins with the name of Ashraf, his honor rose above the sun."

<sup>687</sup> "Courtesy of the rights-respecting Shah Ashraf, the coin of the Four Friends were struck in gold." The "Four Friends" are the Rashidun, thus confirming that Ashraf was Sunni rather than Shi'ite.

<sup>688</sup> "The crime of counterfeiting the coins of Ashraf Shah is tantamount to attacking his glory". *Jalalaho* can be interpreted either as the ruler's glory or God's glory, thus emphasizing the severity of the crime of forgery.

2720	AR abbasi (4.61g), type C	S
2721	AR abbasi (4.61g), type D, struck only at Isfahan, 1140-1141, normally with accession year 1137 on reverse	S
2721A	AR shahi (1.15g), type E	RRR

#### Azad Khan, 1163-1170 / 1750-1757

Types for the reign of Azad Khan (struck 1167-1170 only). The chronology of the various types remains uncertain.

- A. Couplet type, with mint & date on reverse, *Ta ke azad dar jahan bashad / sekke-ye saheb oz-zaman bashad.*<sup>690</sup>
- B. Same couplet, mint & date below couplet, Sunni kalima on reverse.
- C. Couplet type, with mint & date on reverse, *Ta zar o sim dar jahan bashad / sekke-ye saheb oz-zaman bashad.*<sup>691</sup>
- D. Same couplet, mint & date below couplet, Sunni kalima on reverse.
- E1. *Ya saheb oz-zaman* ("O Master of Time") on obverse, mint (with epithet) & date on reverse.
- E2. *Ya saheb oz-zaman* on obverse, with mint below, Shi'ite kalima and mint (without epithet) on reverse.
- F. *Odrekni ya saheb oz-zaman* ("Give me succor, O Master of Time") on obverse, mint & date on reverse.

There is some doubt whether types E and/or F belong to Azad Khan or to Karim Khan; I have tentatively assigned both to Azad, based on extant mint/date combinations. Further research essential.<sup>692</sup>

Types C & D have occasionally been assigned to Karim Khan Zand, but it is clear from the range of mints & dates that they can only belong to Azad.

2722	AV mohur (11.00g), type A	R
2723	AV mohur (11.00g), type C	R
2724	AV 1/3 mohur (3.67g), type C	RRR
2725	AR rupi (11.52g), type A	RR
2726	AR rupi (11.52g), type C	R
2727	AR abbasi (4.61g), type A	RR
2728	AR abbasi (4.61g), type B, mints of Tabriz & Qazwin	R
2729	AR abbasi (4.61g), type C	RR
2730	AR abbasi (4.61g), type D, mint of Qazwin only	S
2730L	AR 2 shahi (2.30g), type B	RRR
Known from Tabriz 1169 (Peus 384, lot 1300).		
2731	AR shahi (1.15g), type A	RR

<sup>689</sup> This almost untranslatable multiple pun that can be loosely interpreted as "the Shah's honor derives from the glory of the Shah", where "glory" (*ashraf*) is a double entendre on the ruler's name.

<sup>690</sup> "So long as Azad is in the world, so shall the coins of the Master of Time". The "Master of Time" (*saheb oz-zaman*) refers to the 12<sup>th</sup> Shi'ite Imam, al-Mahdi Muhammad, who shall return at the end of time. If one were to interpret *azad* as an adjective rather than the ruler's actual name, then the couplet might insinuate that so long as the ruler is "free" (in the world, *i.e.*, alive and in office), then the coins of the current "master of time", *i.e.*, Azad Khan, shall remain in circulation.

<sup>691</sup> "So long as gold and silver are in the world, so shall the coins of the Master of Time". It seems quite strange that Azad simultaneously issued coinage bearing his name (types A & B) and anonymous (types C & D), often at the same mint in the same year. Of course, as noted in the previous footnote, Azad on types A & B need not necessarily be interpreted as his name!

<sup>692</sup> Because all other types of Azad that cite the kalima are Sunni, the attribution of this issue is very tentative. Isfahan was occupied both by Azad and Karim Khan during the year 1167, but all larger denomination coins of Isfahan dated 1167 are issues of Azad (1166 is of Karim).



2732	AR shahi (1.15g), type B	RR
2733.1	AR shahi (1.15g), type E1, mints of Isfahan & Shiraz (tentative attribution)	RR
2733.2	AR shahi (1.15g), type E2, Isfahan 1167 only (tentative attribution)	RRR?
2734	AR shahi (1.15g), type F, Isfahan & Rasht (tentative attribution)	RRR

## AFGHAN REVOLT AT ASTARABAD

*Anonymous, circa 1172-1173 / 1760*

2734D	AR 6 shahi (6.91g), <i>ya saheb oz-zaman</i> obverse, mint and date plus <i>khalada Allah mulkahu</i> reverse	RRR
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Known only from Astarabad, dated 1173.

## AFSHARID

See bibliographic entries under the Safavids and Durranis.

*Founded by Nadir Shah (Nadr-quli Beg), originally a general in the service of Tahmasp II. Nadir received the vice-regency of the eastern provinces in 1142/1729, in recognition of his services in defeating the Afghans at Isfahan, and became king upon his deposing 'Abbas III in 1148/1735. After 1163/1750, the Afsharids remained a local dynasty in Mashhad for another 55 years, until 1218/1803, as vassals of the Durranis but sporadically permitted to exercise the mint right in their own name.*

### Nadir Shah, as viceroy in the East, 1142-1148 / 1729-1735

All coins of Nadir as viceroy are anonymous, with the couplet, *Az Khorasan sekke bar zar shod be-toufiq-e Khoda / Nosrat o emdad-e shah-e din 'Ali-ye Musa Reza.*<sup>693</sup> The silver is struck to the 1400 nokhod standard of contemporary Safavid sultans and their rivals.

Earlier numismatists, including Lane Poole & Rabino, have wrongly assigned coins bearing this couplet to either Tahmasp II or 'Abbas III (Safavid), depending on the date.

Mashhad is the most common mint, though Mazandaran & Simnan are only scarce. All other mints are rare. From the reign of Tahmasp II until the closure of the Mashhad mint under Nasir al-Din Shah Qajar, the mint name Mashhad is normally accompanied by the epithet *muqaddas*, "holy".

2735	AV ashrafi (3.46g)	RR
2736.1	AR abbasi (5.34g), 12 Imams in reverse margin	C
2736.2	AR abbasi (5.34g), pellets only in reverse margin	C
2737	AR 2 shahi (2.68g)	RR
2738	AR shahi (1.34g)	R

### Nadir Shah, as king, 1148-1160 / 1735-1747

Silver coins of types A & B were struck to the 1400-nokhod standard, types C & D to the 1200-nokhod standard, introduced in 1150. Gold coins of all types follow either the Indian mohur (11.00g) or the Safavid ashrafi (3.46g).

Types A & B were struck on thin broad flans similar to previous Safavid issues, whereas types C & D were struck on thick narrow flans (with a few exceptions) typical of contemporary Indian coinage, for both gold and silver.

#### Types for the reign of Nadir Shah as king:

**A. Toughra** type, couplet obverse, *sekkeh bar zar kard nam-e saltanat-ra dar jahan / nader-e iran-zamin o khosrov-e giti-setan.*<sup>694</sup> The chronogram for the year 1148 is on reverse, arranged as a toughra, mint and date on either side, occasionally both sides (1148-1150). There are two variants, type A1 with the mint below the obverse, type A2 with the mint on the reverse, ordinarily inserted within the toughra.

<sup>693</sup> "By the grace of God, coinage in gold in Khorasan became the succor and support for the King of the Religion, 'Ali b. Musa Reza." The Shi'ite caliph 'Ali b. Musa is buried at the shrine in Mashhad.

<sup>694</sup> "The coins of gold placed the name of the sultan in the world, the Nadir of the land of Iran, the Caesar who seizes the universe". The word *Nadir* means "rare" or "unparalleled", whence the pun. The spelling "Nader" reflects the Farsi pronunciation of Nadir.

The chronogram on types A and B consists of the Arabic phrase, *al-khayr fi ma waqa'*, "the good is in what has happened", an oblique reference to Nadir's success after the demise of the Safavids in 1148. The Arabic letters in this inscription add up to 1148 according to the *abjad* system, in which each letter of the Arabic alphabet is assigned a numerical value. Chronograms were frequently used in literature and tomb inscriptions, but almost never on coins.

**B. Julus** type, same couplet on obverse, *julus* legend, similar to contemporary Mughal Indian coins but normally shortened to *tarik-i julus-i maymanat* ("year of the auspicious enthronement") followed by a year, together with the same chronogram for 1148 (no longer arranged as a toughra) on the reverse (1149-1150). The mint is almost always below the obverse.

**C. Al-soltan nader** on obverse, usually in small central medallion, with mint & date on reverse (1150-1152). The benediction *khalada Allah mulkahu* appears on reverse at all mints except Bukhara, whose type is here indicated as **C\***.

**D. Couplet** obverse, *hasht soltan bar salatin-e jahan / shah-e shahan nader-e sahebqeran.*<sup>695</sup> reverse as **C** (1151-1160), introduced first at Delhi, called Shahjahanabad on the coins, then adopted throughout Iran in the following year. There are two subtypes: **D1 without** *khalada Allah mulkahu* on reverse, **D2 with** *khalada Allah mulkahu* on reverse. D1 was used at all Iranian mints as well as Sind, D2 at Kabul and all Indian mints other than Sind.

*Two additional types were used only at Indian mints:*

**E. Sekke-ye mobarak-e padshah-e ghazi nader shah, i.e.,** except for the name *nader*, identical to contemporary coins of the Mughal Muhammad Shah, *i.e.*, with mint & date in the traditional Mughal *julus* formula on the reverse, *zarb-e X sana-ye Y julus-e meymanat-ma'nus*, where X & Y are the mint and regnal year, respectively.

**F. Couplet** obverse, *dadeh zib-e tazeh-ru bar mehr o mah / az sekke-ye nader shah-e giti-panah.*<sup>696</sup> reverse as type **E**.

Initially, Nadir Shah maintained the late Safavid denominations based on the gold ashrafi of about 3.46g and the silver abbasi of 5.37g, together with some characteristic fractional denominations. After his conquest of Qandahar in 1150, Nadir integrated the Indian and Iranian monetary systems, introducing the gold mohur of 11.04 grams and the Shahjahanabad rupee of 11.52g from the Mughals, *i.e.*, with the mohur weighing 23/24 of the rupee.<sup>697</sup>

India had long before adopted the Iranian mithqal weight, which by the 17<sup>th</sup> century had become fixed at 4.61g, with the traditional Mughal rupee weighing exactly 2½ mithqal. Nadir ordered the abbasi to be reduced from 5.37g to 4.61g, *i.e.*, from 28 to 24 nokhod, reducing the toman from 1400 to 1200 nokhod in silver. The rupi (rupee) was thus fixed at 2½ abbasi, equivalent to 10 shahis.

A double rupi or 5 abbasi silver coin was also struck, but only in the eastern half of his kingdom. The gold ashrafi retained the Safavid weight of about 3.46g, equivalent to ¾ of a mithqal, and was struck only at Iranian mints.

Afsharid coins of the 6 shahi, rupi, and double rupi denominations are occasionally found countermarked *rayij* or *khalis*, occasionally dated. See #A3094 ff. for details.

2739.1 AV mohur (11.00g, to the Mughal standard of 23/24 of the rupi weight), type D1

Struck at Iranian mints (& Sind), of which only Isfahan, Tabriz, and Mashhad are relatively common.

S

<sup>695</sup> "Nadir, the Shah of Shahs, the Sahebqeran, the sultan over the sultans of the world."

<sup>696</sup> "From the coins of Nadir, the king who grants asylum to the world, he gives beauty and cheer to the sun and the moon." The words *from the coins of Nadir* can also be understood as *from (his) brilliant coins*.

<sup>697</sup> In principle, it seems that the actual weight of the new Afsharid mohur was a trifle lighter, as specimens in extremely fine or better condition tend to weigh between 10.85g and 10.95g, whereas the Mughal mohurs usually range 10.95g and 11.02g. To the contrary, contemporary rupis in comparable grades maintain the full theoretical Indian weight of 11.52g, sometimes as heavy as 11.60g. Whereas the Mughal rupee at their capital Shahjahanabad and their declining territory still under effective Mughal rule, as well as the regions under European influence, maintained the 11.52g rupee, subordinate regions, such as the Maratha territories, had already reduced the rupee to local standards between 10.9 and 11.4 grams. Nadir Shah retained the 11.52g weights for all mints, in both Iran and India.

2739.2	AV mohur (11.00g), type D2, with <i>khalada Allah mulkahu</i> on reverse	RRR	Some rare examples are struck on broad flans, with a blank outer margin on <i>both</i> sides, not just on the obverse, probably for presentation purposes.
	Indian mints, including Bhakhar, Peshawar, Derajat, and Kabul. <sup>698</sup>		
2740.1	AV ashrafi (3.46g), type A1, broad flan	RR	2748.1 AR abbasi (= 4 shahi, 5.37g), type A1 S Mint below obverse, date normally on reverse.
2740.2	AV ashrafi (3.46g), type A2, broad flan	RR	2748.2 AR abbasi (5.37g), type A2 S Mint name usually incorporated into the toughra-like design on the reverse. The date is also normally on the reverse.
2741	AV ashrafi (3.46g), type B, broad flan	R	
2742	AV ashrafi (3.46g), type C, struck on thick narrow flans, mainly at Mashhad	R	2749.1 AR abbasi (5.37g), type B S
A2743	AV ashrafi (3.46g), type D, thick narrow flan, Mashhad mint	RR	2749.2 AR abbasi, reduced weight (4.61g), type B S Types #2749.1 and 2749.2 can only be distinguished by weight. Ganja, Mashhad, Tabriz & Tiflis have so far been reported at the reduced weight of 4.61g, probably dated only 1150. Ganja, Tabriz and Mashhad are known dated 1149 or undated, at the 5.37g standard. Full analysis remains to be undertaken.
2741A	AV ½ ashrafi (1.73g), known only from the mint of Isfahan dated 1149 (probably type B)	RRR	
C2743	AV 1/10 mohur (1.10g), type C, Mashhad mint only <sup>699</sup>	RRR	The mint name on type B coins always appears beneath the obverse, never on the reverse. There is always a date on the reverse, either the accessional year 1148 or the actual date. In the former case, the actual date usually appears on the obverse next to the mint name.
2743	AR double rupi (23.04g), type C	S	
	This denomination was used only at Mashhad and mints in Afghanistan and the Punjab. Only the mints of Nadirabad & Qandahar are frequent. Nadirabad was a failed reconstruction of Qandahar located some three miles west of the traditional site, which had been severely damaged by Nadir's artillery fire. Mashhad is very rare, the other mints (Kabul, Peshawar, Multan & Lahore) extremely rare.		
2744.1	AR rupi (11.52g), type D1, Iranian mints, without the formula <i>khalada Allah mulkahu</i>	C	2750 AR 2 shahi (2.68g), type A1 RRR
	The only common mints are Isfahan, Tabriz and Mashhad, with Tiflis, Qazwin and Shiraz only moderately rare. Also struck at Sind (S, RR with date).		2751 AR 2 shahi (2.68g), type B RR
2744.2	AR rupi (11.52g), type D2, Kabul and Indian mints, with the formula <i>khalada Allah mulkahu</i> added to the reverse	S	2751C AR 2 shahi (2.31g), type C <sup>701</sup> RRR
	The only frequently seen mints are Bhakhar & Peshawar.		2752 AR shahi (1.34g), types A1 & A2 R
2744.3	AR rupi (11.52g), also type D2 as #2744.2, but struck at Shahjahanabad (Delhi), dated 1151-1152	R	2753 AR shahi (1.34g), type B RR
	This is the conquest coin that proclaims Nadir's defeat of the Mughal Emperor Muhammad Shah and his occupation of Delhi. Nadir restored Muhammad Shah in exchange for the contents of the Mughal treasury, allegedly some 700,000,000 rupees, plus the Mughal throne (the Peacock Throne, still in Tehran) and other goodies. Since these events occurred during the 22 <sup>nd</sup> year of Muhammad Shah's reign, Mughal coins found in Iran almost always terminate with Muhammad's year 22 rupees. <sup>700</sup>		2754 AR shahi (1.15g), type C S
2745	AR rupi (11.52g), type E, Azimabad (= Patna) only	RRR	2755 AR shahi (1.15g), type D1 S
2746	AR rupi (11.52g), type F, struck at Murshidabad and Muhammadabad Benares	RRR	A2756 AR ½ shahi or pul (0.67g), type B RR
2746A	AR ½ rupi (5.76g), type F, Murshidabad only	RRR	B2756 AR ½ mithqal (2.31g), type C*, struck only at Bukhara, dated 1153 only RR
2746B	AR ¼ rupi (2.88g), type F, Murshidabad only	RRR	C2756 AR ¼ mithqal (1.15g), type C*, struck only at Bukhara, dated 1153 only RRR
2746C	AR ⅛ rupi (1.44g), type F, Murshidabad only	RRR	D2756 AE falus, with name of ruler, struck only at Afghan & Punjabi mints RR
2746D	AR 1/16 rupi (0.72g), type F, Murshidabad only	RRR	
	Coins of type F, struck only at Murshidabad, were probably produced only for presentation purposes. Only the full rupi is occasionally available. A complete set of all five denominations exists in the Ashmolean Museum (SICA 9:1404-1409).		
2747	AR 6 shahi (6.91g), type C	A	

<sup>698</sup> In his corpus of Durrani coins, Whitehead includes "a double mohur of inferior style" of Lahore 1151 in the British Museum. When compared with the Lahore 1152 double rupee (Rabino-380), it is clear that the double mohur was not an official issue but a later jewelry piece. No genuine double mohur has been reported.

<sup>699</sup> Sotheby's, 15 November 1984, lot 471 (not illustrated).

<sup>700</sup> In the 1960s I saw large numbers of Mughal rupees for sale in Tehran, terminating with year 22 of Muhammad Shah, but as there were few collectors interested in them, they were regularly melted down for silver. In 1965 I saw about 100-200 Nadir rupis of Shahjahanabad at a money-changer in Mashhad and purchased 6 or 7 pieces at just over the bullion price. When I returned the next day to buy some more, I was informed that the remainder had been melted for a jeweler! The seller assumed that I had already purchased what I wanted.

<sup>701</sup> First reported in the *ONS Newsletter*, no. 202, p.14 (Tiflis 1150).

<sup>702</sup> "By order of the Eternal One, coins of the sultanate in the name of 'Ali have become current."

<sup>703</sup> "After the pearl of the age of justice (*i.e.*, Nadir Shah), coins were struck in gold in the name of the Sultan 'Ali and illuminated the world." In fact, Nadir was assassinated by his own military commanders fearful of his ferocious cruelty and rising insanity.

2760	AR abbasi (4.61g), type A	C	2768	AR abbasi (4.61g), type A	S
	(Please note that the order of #2759-2764 has been altered.)		2769	AR shahi (2.30g), type A	RR
2761	AR abbasi (4.61g), type B	RR	<b>Shahrukh, viceroy at Herat, 1151-1160 / 1739-1747</b>		
2763	AR shahi (1.15g), type A	R	<b>Type for Shahrukh as viceroy under his grandfather Nadir Shah:</b>		

**Ibrahim, before his formal enthronement,  
Jumada II-Dhu'l-Hijja 1161 / June-December 1748**

**Types for the pre-enthronement reign of Ibrahim:**

Z. Evocation *Ya 'ali ebn-e musa al-reza*, kalima reverse as type A of 'Adil Shah. This type is anonymous, and its attribution has been a matter of debate since 1886. It was formerly assigned to either 'Adil Shah or Shahrukh, but recent evidence has clinched the assignment to Ibrahim before his formal enthronement, as R.S. Poole had first deemed likely in his 1886 publication.

This type was incorrectly entered as type C of 'Adil Shah in the first edition of this *Checklist*, corrected in the second.

All coins are dated 1161 (later coins are noted on #2759); coins dated 1160 are presumably examples where the engraver forgot to engrave the final digit, not an uncommon error for many 18<sup>th</sup> & 19<sup>th</sup> century Iranian coins.

A2759	AV mohur (11.00g), type Z, struck only at Isfahan	RRR	2771	AR rupi (11.52g), Herat mint only, type A	S
2759	AR rupi (11.52g), type Z	C		<i>Rupis with legible date are rare.</i>	
	Coins of this type were also struck in 1162 at Kirman & Rasht, and in 1163 at Rasht, for unknown reasons (mulings??).		A2771	AR shahi (1.15g), Herat only, type A	RR
	Three reverse variants: (1) the 12 Imams, (2) pellets without a surrounding empty margin, (3) pellets surrounded by a broad empty margin.		<b>Shahrukh, 1<sup>st</sup> reign, 1161-1163 / 1748-1750</b>		
2762	AR abbasi (4.61g), type Z	C	<b>Types for first reign of Shahrukh as independent king:</b>		
2762A	AR shahi (1.15g), type Z	RR	B1.	Obverse couplet, <i>sekke zad dar jahan be-hokm-e Khoda / shahrokh kalb-e astan-e Reza</i> , <sup>708</sup> date & mint below couplet, kalima on reverse (1161-1163, at some Caucasian mints until as late as 1170). Used for the abbasi and shahi only.	

**Ibrahim, as formal ruler, 1161-1162 / 1748-1749**

**Types for the reign of Ibrahim following his formal enthronement on 17 Dhu'l-Hijja 1161 (8 December 1748):**

A. Obverse couplet, *sekke-ye sahebqerani zad be-toufiq-e elah / hamcho khorshid-e jahan-afroz ebrahim shah*.<sup>704</sup> Mint & date on reverse.

B. Obverse couplet, *beneshast cho aftab naqsh-e zar o sim / ta yaft sharaf za sekke-ye ebrahim*.<sup>705</sup> Mint & date on reverse.

(Type C has been reassigned to Amir Arslan Khan, below.)

D1. *Al-soltan ebrahim* in medallion on obverse, mint & date on reverse.

D2. As D1, but with *khalada Allah mulkahu* added to reverse.

A2764	AV ¼ mohur (2.76g)	RRR	2774	AR rupi (11.52g), type B2	C
2764	AR 12 shahi (13.82g), type A	R		<i>Struck mainly at Mashhad, Herat, Qazwin and Rasht. Also known for Isfahan &amp; Shiraz (RRR).</i>	
2765	AR 6 shahi (6.91g), type D2, struck only at Astarabad	R	A2775	AR rupi (11.52g), type C, struck only at Astarabad in 1162	RRR
2766	AR abbasi (= 4 shahi, 4.61g), type A	RR	2775	AR 6 shahi (6.91g), type C	R
2767	AR abbasi (4.61g), type B	R		<i>Struck at Astarabad (R) and Mashhad (RR).</i>	
	(Types 2768 & 2769 have been reassigned to Amir Arslan Khan and are listed after #2770.)		2776	AR abbasi (4.61g), type B1	C
A2770	AR 2 shahi (2.30g), type B	RRR		<i>Types 2776 and 2777.1 continued to be struck after the first disenthronement of Shahrukh in 1163 by local khans, at Qazwin until 1164, at Tabriz until 1165, at Ganja until 1168, and at Tiflis until 1170.</i> <sup>709</sup>	
2770	AR shahi (1.15g), type D1, struck only at Tabriz and Tiflis	RR	2777.1	AR shahi (1.15g), type B1, mainly Ganja mint	RR
<b>Amir Arslan Khan, at Tabriz only, 1161 / 1748</b>			2777.2	AR shahi (1.15g), type B2, mainly Mashhad mint	RR
<i>All coins of Arslan Khan are anonymous.</i>			2778	AR shahi (1.15g), type C	R
<b>Types for Amir Arslan Khan:</b>			2278A	AR shahi (1.15g), type D, Isfahan 1163 only	RRR

A. Anonymous type (Tabriz mint only), obverse couplet, *Za feyz-e hazrat-e bari o sarnevesht-e qaza / ravaj yaft be-zar sekke-ye Emam Reza*.<sup>706</sup> kalima reverse. This type was wrongly classified as type C of Ibrahim in the first edition of the *Checklist*, corrected in the second edition.

<sup>704</sup> "By the grace of God, Ibrahim Shah has struck the Sahebqeran coin, like the sun illuminating the world."

<sup>705</sup> "The shine of gold and silver was declining like the [setting] sun, until receiving the glory from the coin dies of Ibrahim."

<sup>706</sup> "By the favor of the Lord Creator and the vicissitudes of fortune, the coins of the Imam Reza ['Ali b. Musa] in gold have again found circulation."

<sup>707</sup> "By order of the king of kings, Nadir the Sahebqeran, the coins of Herat bore the name and sign of Shahrukh Shah."

<sup>708</sup> "By God's command he struck coins in the world, Shahrukh, the dog on the threshold of Reza." Reza is the eighth Shi'ite Imam, 'Ali b. Musa al-Rida (al-Reza in Farsi), buried at Mashhad.

<sup>709</sup> Except for Qazwin in 1163-1164, none of these cities fell within Shahrukh's rule after his second enthronement in 1163, as ally of the Durrani ruler Ahmad Shah. The local authorities preserved his obsolete type B, reflecting their opposition to nearer Iranian rulers, such as the Safavids, Hotakis and Qajars, as well as the threatening Tsar of Russia and the feared Ottoman Sultan.

## Shahrukh, 2<sup>nd</sup> reign, 1163-1168 / 1750-1755

From 1163 onwards, Shahrukh was vassal under the Durrani.

See types #2776 & 2777.1 for coins dated 1164-1170 but retaining type B of the first reign. Aside from a few rare issues of Isfahan, Mazandaran and Rasht, all type D coins were struck at Mashhad.

Types for second reign of Shahrukh as nominally independent king:

- D. Couplet obverse, *doubareh doulat-e Iran gerefi az sar javani-ra / be-nam-e Shahrokh zad sekke-ye sahebqerani-ra*,<sup>710</sup> mint on reverse (1163-1168).
- 2779 AV mohur (11.00g), type D, struck only at Mashhad R  
A2780 AV ashrafi (3.46g), type D, struck only at Mashhad S  
2780 AR rupi (11.52g), type D, struck at Mashhad, also Isfahan & Rasht (both R), and Qazwin (RR) S  
A2781 AR abbasi (4.61g), type C (*sic*), struck only at Mazandaran RRR  
The use of the first reign type C at Mazandaran during the 2<sup>nd</sup> reign is remarkable, though rather common at Tabriz and Caucasian mints. Normally dated 1165.  
2781 AR shahi (1.15g), type D RR

## Shahrukh, 3<sup>rd</sup> reign, 1168-1210 / 1755-1796

Coins of the third reign were struck in the name of the Durrani overlord (regarded as normal Durrani issues), except during the years 1186-1198, when Shahrukh exercised the mint right in his own name. All coins of this reign were struck at Mashhad.

Types for third reign of Shahrukh as independent king:

- E. Couplet obverse, *Sekkeh zad az sa'y-e nader-e thani sahebqeran / kalb-e soltan-e Khorasan Shahrokh shah-e jahan*,<sup>711</sup> mint on reverse (1186-1197), date usually below obverse, often undated.  
F. Couplet obverse, undeciphered, known only from a rupi dated 1198 in the Tübingen collection.
- 2782 AV mohur (11.00g), type E RRR  
2783 AR rupi (11.52g), type E R  
A2784 AR rupi (11.52g), type F, dated 1198 only RRR  
2784 AR shahi (1.15g), type E RR

## Nadir Mirza, in Mashhad, 1210-1218 / 1796-1803

As nominal governor under the Durrani until ejected after Fath 'Ali Shah conquered Mashhad in 1218/1803.

Nadir struck coins in his own name briefly in 1216 only.

Other 1210-1218 issues of Mashhad cite only the Durrani king and are thus classified as Durrani issues.

All his coins bear *al-soltan nader* within a cartouche on the obverse, surrounded by a blank margin, with the mint, its epithet, and the date, together with the phrase *edama Allah doulatahu* ("may God prolong his reign"), on the reverse.

- 2785 AR rupi (11.52g) RR  
2786 AR shahi (1.15g), same type RRR

## ZAND

See bibliographic entries under the Safavids.

All coins of this dynasty are technically anonymous (except those of Abu'l-Fath Khan and Sayyid Murad), but most bear an indirect evocation incorporating the ruler's name, as noted in the type descriptions for each reign. All except Karim Khan's type D and the issues of Ja'far Khan and Lutf 'Ali Khan, bear the Zand couplet, introduced by Karim Khan in 1166. Until 1181, all Zand coinage was struck to the 1200-nokhod standard, but in that year the standard was reduced to 960 nokhod, meaning that the old rupi was now valued at 12½

<sup>710</sup> "For the second time the state of Iran has taken on youthful vigor, for it struck Sahebqeran coins in the name of Shahrukh."

<sup>711</sup> "Shahrukh, the dog of the Sultan of Khorasan [i.e., the 8<sup>th</sup> Imam, 'Ali b. Musa], king of the world, has struck coins, by the efforts of Nadir, the second Sahebqeran." The puns and nuances of the Farsi text cannot be transferred into an English translation. For example, the Sultan of Khorasan can also be interpreted as the Durrani overlord, Taimur Shah, whom Shahrukh serves as though he were his dog!

instead of 10 shahis. At that time, the value of old coins, in terms of account units, was increased by a corresponding amount (as noted in the listings). In 1190, the standard was again reduced, this time to 800 nokhod, yielding a value of 15 shahis for the rupi.<sup>712</sup>

The difference between the devaluations of the toman during the Zand period and earlier devaluations was that instead of reducing the size of the coin, the coin sizes were retained but their values relative to the toman of account were increased. The older method, reducing the coin size, was resumed in the first year of the reign of Fath 'Ali Shah (1212/1797).

Common mints for Karim Khan are Tabriz, Qazwin, Rasht, Mazandaran, Isfahan, Kashan, Yazd, Shiraz, and the court mint of Rikab. No coins of the later rulers are especially common, but for some types, the mints of Isfahan, Shiraz, Kashan, Rasht or Yazd are occasionally available.

The overall quality of strike of Zand coins in silver and gold is remarkably good. Well-struck specimens are not especially rare for most types and mints, though artistically outstanding examples are rare and in strong demand. The die work is often superb, but as most coins were struck from dies that were larger than the flan, most extant specimens rarely do justice to the fine quality of the dies. In general, the obverse design was larger than the flan, the reverse design slightly to substantially smaller. There is a great variety of different cartouches, legend arrangements, calligraphic styles, etc., for the reverses, sometimes even at a single mint within a single year.

## Karim Khan, 1166-1193 / 1753-1779

The name Karim is the 42<sup>nd</sup> Beautiful Name of God, meaning "the Bountiful", "the Generous". Technically, all of his coinage was anonymous, but most bear the formal evocation, *ya karim*, "O the generous!"

The Iraqi city of Basra was briefly brought under Zand control, circa 1190-1192, where silver abbasis and gold quarter & half mohurs, the first two of type D, the half mohur of type C. The "1196" half mohur is 1192 with the "2" retrograde.<sup>713</sup>

Types for the reign of Karim Khan Zand:

- A. The Zand couplet *shod aftar o mah zar o sim dar jahan / az sekke-ye imam be-haqq saheb oz-zaman*,<sup>714</sup> mint and date below, kalima on reverse (mainly 1166 to the early 1170s).  
B. The Zand couplet on obverse, mint & date on reverse (struck 1169-1174 in gold, 1172-1179 in silver). A variant of this type is listed as #2799A.  
C. As type B, but evocation *ya karim* added to reverse (struck 1173-1193), almost always atop the field, often in a cartouche that protrudes into the margin.<sup>715</sup>  
D. Without couplet, instead the Shi'ite kalima on obverse, mint, date & evocation on reverse (generally struck 1174-1178 for some silver, then until 1193 for some gold coins and small silver shahis).  
E. The Zand couplet on obverse, mint, date, together with the kalima, on reverse (see listings for dates).  
F. Obverse as type A with the mint name & date below, evocation *ya karim* and the benediction *khalada Allah mulkahu* on the reverse (see listings for dates).  
G. Obverse as type A, short evocation *ya karim* & date only on reverse (see listings for dates)

Several local types bearing the Zand couplet, sometimes together with the evocation *ya karim*, were struck at mints in the Caucasus from about 1182-1236, but these are reckoned as issues of the local khans, q.v. (#2939 ff.)

<sup>712</sup> The toman/nokhod equivalencies for the years 1181-1212 are not yet fully understood. It would not be surprising if there exists documentary evidence in unpublished European archives, most likely Russian, that would help clarify the situation.

<sup>713</sup> The mint name is always Basra without the article *al-*, with the epithet *umm al-bilad*, which was also used on contemporary Durrani coins and civic coppers of Balkh.

<sup>714</sup> "The sun and moon have become gold and silver throughout the world, by the coins of the Imam, indeed, the Master of Time."

<sup>715</sup> The year of transfer from type B to type C varied from mint to mint, hence the overlap 1173-1179. For example, Isfahan commenced type C in 1173 (perhaps as early as 1172, as a gold ¼ mohur is reported for that year and type), but Shiraz, Karim Khan's capital, not until 1179.



2813A AR 2/5 rupi (4.61g, formerly described as an abbasi),  
Mazandaran mint only, type not recorded RRR

2814 AR shahi (1.15g), type C RR  
Struck primarily for presentation purposes.

**'Ali Murad Khan, 1195-1199 / 1781-1785**

All circulation coins of this reign have the Zand couplet (except type #S2815) and all have the evocation *ya 'ali*, sometimes repeated three or four times in the reverse margin.

Silver coins of this reign presumably continued to be struck to the 800 nokhod standard. Accordingly, the coin of rupi weight (11.52g) continued to be reckoned as 15 shahis.

Coins dated 1196 and 1197 with the evocation of *ya karim* rather than *ya 'ali* are now assigned to 'Ali Murad, who replaced *ya karim* with *ya 'ali* at most mint later in 1196, at all mints by 1197. These coins are listed below, as types #E2185 & G2815. Fractional silver denominations may also exist.

First series, with evocation *ya karim*, struck 1196-1197:

E2815 AV ¼ mohur (2.75g), couplet type, usually dated 1196 R

Known for Kashan (RR) and Khuy (RRR) dated 1197.

G2815 AR rupi (15shahi, 11.52g), dated 1196 only R

Second series, with evocation *ya 'ali*, struck 1196-1199:

S2815 AV mohur (11.00g), kalima type, Shiraz mint only RRR  
Donative issue, the only type struck for 'Ali Murad Khan with the kalima instead of the Zand couplet.

2815 AV ¼ mohur (2.75g), couplet type S

2816 AR rupi (15 shahi, 11.52g) S

2817 AR 4/5 rupi (12 shahi, 9.22g) RR

This type was listed as a double abbasi in the first edition, corrected in the second. Struck only at Mazandaran.

2818 AR ½ rupi (5 shahi, 3.84g), Rasht mint only S

2819 AR shahi (1.15g) RR

Struck primarily for presentation purposes.

**Ja'far Khan, 1199-1203 / 1785-1789**

All coins of this reign have the evocation *ya imam ja'far-e sadeq* filling the entire obverse, mint & date on reverse. All were struck at Shiraz, except for a rupi and shahi of Isfahan dated 1199.

The obverse evocation refers not to Ja'far Khan but to the 6<sup>th</sup> Shi'ite Imam, Ja'far b. Muhammad, al-Sadiq, grandfather of *al-Rida* (Reza), killed in 148/765 and buried at the Jannat al-Baqi cemetery at the holy city of al-Madina in Saudi Arabia.

2820 AV mohur (11.00g) RRR

2821 AV ¼ mohur (2.75g), posthumous, only known dated 1205 RRR

Dated "1025" on obverse, 1205 correctly on reverse.

2822 AR rupi (15 shahi, 11.52g) R

Types #2822-2824 were struck as late as 1205, two years after he was murdered.

2822A AR rupi, debased style S

This type is identical to #2822 except that the weight is reduced, varying from about 8.5g to 11g, coarse calligraphy, always undated, with the mint name Shiraz. Find evidence suggests that these were imitative rupis struck somewhere in or near Sind (now in Pakistan) for local use, similar to type #2845 of Isfahan, in the name of the Qajar ruler Agha Muhammad Khan.

2823 AR 2/5 rupi (= 6 shahi, 6.91g) RRR

2823A AR abbasi (4.61g), possibly dated 1205 RRR

2824 AR shahi (1.15g), for presentation only RR

**Sayyid Murad, at Shiraz, 1203-1204 / 1789-1790**

Coins of this reign bear the traditional Zand couplet of Karim Khan on the obverse, with his name *sayyed morad* atop the reverse in lieu of an evocation. All were struck at Shiraz.

A2825 AR rupi (11.52g) RRR

B2825 AR shahi (1.15g) RRR

**Lutf 'Ali Khan, 1203-1209 / 1789-1795**

2825 AV ¼ toman (2.04g) RRR

Struck only at Kirman, with distich obverse, *sekkeh bar zar gasht din-e ja'far az lotf-e 'ali*, probably in 1207-1208 only. Earlier dates mentioned in the literature as issues of Lutf 'Ali are now assigned to Abu'l-Hasan Beglerbegi (type #I2826). Toman-based gold denominations replaced mohur-derived units before 1207.

**ZAND REBELS**

*A number of local uprisings took place during the waning years of Zand rule. The coins ascribed to these uprisings all have the Zand couplet and follow Karim's type B or C, i.e., either with or without the evocation *ya karim*, as indicated for the rebels' types. The attributions are likely.*

**Taqi Khan Bafqi, in Yazd, circa 1199-1201 / 1785-1787**

Without evocation, otherwise stylistically identical to contemporary issues of 'Ali Murad.

A2826 AV ¼ mohur (2.75g), known from Yazd 1199 only R

B2826 AR rupi (= 15 shahis, 11.52g), similar, Yazd only, always undated RRR

**Hedayat Allah, in Rasht, 1199-1200 / 1785-1786**

E2826 AV ¼ mohur (2.75g), mint of Rasht only RR

With evocation *ya Allah* in place of *ya karim*. Shi'ite kalima obverse.

F2826 AR ½ rupi (= 5 shahis, 3.84g), Rasht 1200 only RR

With evocation *ya karim*, which distinguishes this type from #2818 of 'Ali Murad Khan, which bears the evocation *ya 'ali*. Karim was already dead for seven years, but the evocation no longer refers to the ruler!

**Abu'l-Hasan Beglerbegi, in Kirman, 1193-1206 / 1779-1791 or 1792**

I2826 AV ¼ mohur (2.75g), with the Shi'ite kalima on obverse RRR

Minted only at Kirman, with evocation *ya karim* above reverse; known dated 1204 (Sotheby's, 15 November 1984, lot 472).

J2826 AV ¼ mohur (2.75g), with the Zand couplet of Karim Khan, known dated 1206 RRR

With evocation *ya karim* above reverse.

**QAJAR**

For bibliographic references, see entries under the Safavids. In general, the literature about Qajar coins is woefully inadequate and replete with errors and oversimplifications. Even the basic work of matching types to mints and dates remains undone. At present, the most comprehensive listing can be found in the Krause-Mishler *Standard Catalog of World Coins*, 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century volumes.

In all, more than 35 mints struck coins for the Qajars, plus many others for civic copper coinage. For the first ruler, Muhammad Hasan Khan, only the rupis of Mazandaran and Rasht are common. Coins of Agha Muhammad Khan, especially silver, are remarkably scarce in view of his lengthy reign of eighteen years. Coins of all later rulers are abundant, except for the imposters in 1216 and 1250.

The number of mints for silver and gold reached its maximum under Fath 'Ali Shah, and many are very common, notably Tabriz, Qazwin, Rasht, Tehran, Kashan, Isfahan, Yazd, Shiraz, Hamadan, Mashhad, Kirmanshahan, and Mazandaran. Several additional mints, though generally rare, are common for short durations. For the rulers after Fath 'Ali, the same mints remained common, so long as they continued to operate, with Tabaristan having replaced Mazandaran about 1235. A tentative indication of rarity can be inferred from the listings in the Krause-Mishler catalogs, but the published market pricing is hopelessly obsolete.

In general, Qajar coins are rather carelessly struck. Well-struck and reasonably well-centered examples are generally scarce, though for some issues (especially in gold), finely manufactured specimens are the norm, particularly for the smaller denominations.

According to Rabino, silver coins theoretically maintained "purity", i.e., a fineness of at least 99% silver, until the end of the reign of Fath 'Ali Shah. There is no information for Muhammad Shah. For Nasir al-Din Shah, the legal fineness was supposed to have been 90%, but

smelting revealed a fineness average of 82-85%, perceived as evidence of fraudulent activity by some of the mintmasters, and a reason to close the provincial mints and modernize the Tehran mint.

Modern minting machinery, imported from Austria, was placed in use during the mid-1290s. Most machine-struck silver and gold coins dated 1293-1295 are rare, with large-scale production commencing in 1296 for silver, 1297 for gold.

During the Afsharid through Qajar periods in Iran, as well as the Durrani periods in Afghanistan, and occasionally under the earlier Safavids, mint names were frequently inscribed along with their characteristic epithets. The normally encountered epithets are as follows, including several mints which did not operate as Qajar mints (marked with an asterisk, mostly Durrani mints). Dates are given in the Hijri calendar when appropriate.

Ahmadshahi*	Ashraf al-Bilad
Ardabil	Dar al-Irshad, Dar al-Islam
Astarabad	Dar al-Mu'minin
Bahawalpur*	Dar al-Surur
Balkh*	Umm al-Bilad
Basra*	Umm al-Bilad
Bukhara*	Balda-yi Fakhira
Burujird	Dar al-Surur, changed to Dar al-Shawka during the year 1243
Farah*	Dar al-Rifah (copper only)
Hamadan	Balda-yi Tayyiba
Herat	Dar al-Saltana, Dar al-Nusrat (the latter occasionally after 1273); also Dar al-Islam on some rare issues of 1273
Hisar*	Shadiman
Iravan	Chukhur-i Sa'd
Isfahan	Dar al-Saltana
Kabul*	Dar al-Saltana
Kashan	Dar al-Mu'minin
Kashmir*	Khitra
Khuy	Dar al-Safa (from 1238 onwards)
Khwarizm*	Dar al-Islam
Kirman	Dar al-Iman
Kirmanshahan	Dar al-Dawla
Lahore*	Dar al-Saltana
Mashhad	Muqaddas, Ard-i Muqaddas, Ard-i Aqdas, and similar variations (sometimes without mashhad); the full name of the mint is <i>mashhad al-rida 'alayhi al-salam</i> (with variations)
Mazandaran <sup>718</sup>	Dar al-Marz
Multan*	Dar al-Aman
Nihavand	Dar al-Nishat (1240s only), more rarely <i>mah al-basra</i> , which was a repeat of its early medieval title
Nishapur	Dar al-Mulk, known dated 1242 only
Qandahar*	Dar al-Qarar
Qazwin	Dar al-Saltana, Dar al-Muwahhidin (the latter in Safavid times only)
Qumm	Dar al-Iman
Rasht	Dar al-Marz
Rikab	Darrabkhana-yi Mubarak
Sarakhs	Nusrat al-Islam (1276 only)
Shahjahanabad*	Dar al-Khilafa
Shiraz	Dar al-'Ilm
Shushtar	Dar al-Mu'minin (under Fath 'Ali Shah only)
Simnan	Dar al-Marhama (1240s only)
Sistan	Dar al-Nusrat
Tabaristan	Dar al-Mulk
Tabriz	Dar al-Saltana
Tehran	Dar al-Saltana, Dar al-Khilafa
Tuysirkhan	Dar al-'Izza (after circa 1245, for Fath 'Ali Shah only)
Urumi	Dar al-Nashat
Yazd	Dar al-'Ibada
Zanjan	Dar al-Sa'ada, later Dar al-Nishat (both epithets in the 1240s only)

### Muhammad Hasan Khan, 1163-1172 / 1750-1759

After the assassination of Muhammad Hasan Khan in 1172, the Qajars withdrew from leadership until after the death of Karim Khan in 1193.

<sup>718</sup> Renamed Tabaristan in 1236, at which time the epithet was changed to Dar al-Mulk.

### Types for the reign of Muhammad Hasan Khan:

- Obverse couplet, *be-zar sekkeh az meymanat zad qaza / be-nam-e 'Ali ebn-e Musa al-Reza*,<sup>719</sup> mint & date below. Shi'ite kalima reverse.
- Evocation *Ya 'Ali ebn-e Musa al-Reza* on obverse, mint on reverse, date on either side. This is identical to type Z of the Afsharid Ibrahim's pre-enthronement coinage. The two types are distinguishable by date & style.
- Couplet, *shod za yomn-e din-e haqq rayeq be-toufiq-e khoda / sekke-ye eqbal bar nam-e 'ali-ye musa al-reza* (used at Rasht for at most a few months in 1168).<sup>720</sup>

All gold & silver coins of this reign follow the 1200-nokhod standard used generally throughout Iran from 1150 to 1181. All are anonymous but can readily be distinguished by type, mint and date.

Coins struck by authority of this ruler and dated prior to 1168 are regular types in the name of the Safavid Isma'il III, thus listed under that ruler. All coins assigned to this reign are dated 1168-1172, except for a few rare posthumous issues dated 1173 & 1175 (¼ mohur of Tabriz, type #2826), 1174 (rupi of Kashan, type #2827), perhaps authorized by Fath 'Ali Khan Afshar in opposition to Karim Khan.

The only readily available coins of Muhammad Hasan are the rupis of type 2827 struck at Rasht and Mazandaran. All others are rare. Coins of this reign are normally superbly struck, often reckoned amongst the most beautiful of all Islamic coins.

N2826	AV mohur (11.02g), type A	R
2826	AV ¼ mohur (2.75g), type A	RRR
2826E	AV ⅛ mohur (1.38g), type B	RRR
Known only from Isfahan 1170, date & mint on reverse.		
2827	AR rupi (= 10 shahi, 11.52g), type A	S
A2828	AR rupi (11.52g), type C	RRR
2828	AR abbasi (= 4 shahi, 4.61g), type A	R
2829	AR 2 shahi (2.30g), type A	RR
2830	AR shahi (1.15g), type B	R

### Agha Muhammad Khan, 1193-1211 / 1779-1797

Strictly speaking, all coins of the eunuch Agha Muhammad Khan are anonymous, distinguished only by the evocation *ya Mohammad*, which normally appears atop the reverse, sometimes repeated several times in the reverse margin.

Agha Muhammad Khan was famous for his cruelty, such as gouging out the eyes of most of Kirman's population and executing much of the Christian population in Tbilisi. He stupidly ordered the execution of two government officials, but gave them one night's freedom. The following day, 21 Dhu'l-Hijja 1211 (17 June 1797), these officials assassinated Agha Muhammad Khan, just eight days before the end of 1211. Dies must already have already been engraved for 1212, thus explaining why his coins dated 1212 are not extremely rare.

### Types for the reign of Agha Muhammad Khan:

- Obverse couplet as type A of Muhammad Hasan Khan (*be-zar sekkeh az meymanat zad qaza / be-nam-e 'Ali ebn-e Musa al-Reza*), mint on reverse.
- Obverse couplet as type C of Azad Khan Afghan, in the name of Saheb oz-Zaman, with some variations (couplet beginning *ta zar o sim...*), mint and evocation *ya Mohammad* on reverse.<sup>721</sup>
- Obverse with Zand couplet as types A through C of Karim Khan (couplet *shod aftab o mah...*), with mint and evocation *ya Mohammad* on reverse. Type C\* differs from the normal type C because it lacks the evocation *ya Mohammad*.

<sup>719</sup> "Fate has auspiciously struck coins in gold, in the name of 'Ali, son of Musa, Reza."

<sup>720</sup> "The coinage of prosperity, in the name of 'Ali b. Musa Reza, became current with the fortune of the true faith, by grace of God."

<sup>721</sup> For type B, there are three subtypes of the first half of the couplet:

(B1) *be-zar o sim ta neshan bashad*

(B2) *ta zar o sim-ra neshan bashad*

(B3) *ta zar o sim dar jahan bashad*

All three varieties share the same second half of the couplet, *sekke-ye saheb oz-zaman bashad*. Regrettably, I have never attempted to determine which mints & dates exist for which subtype.

D. Kalima obverse, mint, date and evocation <i>ya Mohammad</i> on reverse, normally with date below the mint and the evocation below the mint.			
E. Obverse with short inscription <i>ya 'ali wali Allah</i> , "O 'Ali, friend of God". Used only at Ganja 1208-1212 for the riyal.			
The weight standards for the silver coinage of this reign are somewhat obscure, but at the present state of research, the following development seems likely.			
From 1194-1201, the toman of 800 nokhod (1 rupi = 15 shahis), introduced by Karim Khan in 1190, remained in use.			
From 1201-1204, the toman was revalued to 600 nokhod (1 rupi = 20 shahis).			
From 1204-1211, the toman was reduced to 528 nokhod (1 rupi = 10/11 of a riyal, with the riyal, introduced in 1204, fixed at 25 shahis, yielding a rupi worth something over 22 shahis). <sup>722</sup>			
From 1211-1212, the riyal was reduced to the same weight as the rupi (1 riyal = 1 rupi = 25 shahis), with the toman reduced to 480 nokhod. This currency basis was used for the final issues of Agha Muhammad Khan, all issues in the nickname Baba Khan, and type CO of Fath 'Ali Shah, terminating in 1213.			
Older coins were presumably revalued in accordance with their weights, though I am unaware of any published reports that might corroborate this hypothesis. Contemporary accounts of European travelers to Iran indicate massive shortages of domestic coins during the reign of Agha Muhammad, clearly reflected in the relative rarity of his coins nowadays. The relationships between types, weight standards and denominations are not yet understood. Hence the actual weight is given for each type. Nor has the chronology of the four silver types been established. Type A is clearly early (1194-1200), but types B, C, and D were used concurrently from 1201 onwards, occasionally at the same mint during the same year. For this reason, I have not provided date ranges for the various denominations of types B, C, and D.			
A2831 AV 50 toman (410g), struck on square planchet, Tehran 1210 only		RRR	
Only the 50 toman denomination was struck on square planchets. The 20 toman and 10 toman pieces are round.			
B2831 AV 20 toman (164g), peacock obverse, Tehran 1210 only		RRR	
C2831 AV 20 toman (164g), lion obverse, Tehran 1210 only		RRR	
D2831 AV 20 toman (164g), kalima obverse, Tehran 1211 only		RRR	
E2831 AV 10 toman (82g), kalima obverse, Tehran and Isfahan 1211 only		RRR	
The above five heavy gold types were allegedly struck to mark the formal coronation of Agha Muhammad in 1210. If this is correct, one would assume that most examples were retained in the Qajar treasury until they were later sent to Russia as part of the reparations stipulated by the treaty of Torkmanchay in 1243/1828. <sup>723</sup>			
2831 AV ½ toman (light standard, used 1205-1211, 4.10g), type B		S	
2832 AV ½ toman (4.10g), type C		S	
2833 AV ½ toman (4.10g), type D		R	
2834 AV ¼ toman, heavy standard (3.20g) (1201), type C		R	
2835 AV ¼ toman, middle standard (2.88g) (1202-1205), type C		C	
	2836	AV ¼ toman, light standard (2.05g), type C	R
		Theoretically used 1205-1211, this denomination is known dated 1208 only. The denominations and suggested rarities of the gold coins of this reign remain somewhat inconclusive.	
	2837	AV ¼ mohur (2.75g) (1194-1200), type A	S
	2838	AR riyal (12.67g), type B	R
	2839	AR riyal (12.67g), type C	S
	2840	AR riyal (12.67g), type C* (1204-1206)	R
		As type C but without the evocation <i>ya Mohammad</i> , issued during the revolt of Ahmad Khan Donboli in Iranian Azerbaijan. It appears that Ahmad Khan introduced the riyal denomination in 1204, adopted by Agha Muhammad Khan at all his mints beginning about 1206. The origin of the riyal standard remains undetermined, but the name derives from the Spanish <i>real</i> . <sup>724</sup>	
	2841	AR riyal (12.67g), type D	R
	2841G	AR riyal (12.67g), type E, Ganja mint only, 1208-1212 ( <i>sic</i> ) only	RRR
	2842	AR rupi (11.52g), type A	RR
	2843	AR rupi (11.52g), type B	R
		Silver coins of types B, C and D weighing 11.52g and dated 1211 may have been issued either as rupis to the 528 nokhod standard or as riyals to the 480 nokhod standard. Since these cannot be distinguished, <i>all</i> coins of the 11.52g weight are conventionally regarded as rupis. Note that the heavy riyal of 12.67g was still being struck at Khuy and Ganja in 1212 (Tübingen).	
	2844	AR rupi (11.52g), type C	RR
	2845	AR light rupi (8.6-11.0g), type C	S
		Although inscribed Isfahan, these rather crude coins are Afghan or, more likely, Sindi imitations. The silver is always somewhat debased, though no research has yet been undertaken to determine the range of debasement. The type is not rare, found mainly in Pakistan and Afghanistan, not in Iran. Although usually undated, it is occasionally dated 1206 (RR), but the date is probably not realistic.	
	2846	AR rupi (11.52g), type D	R
	2847	AR 12 shahi (= 4/5 rupi, 9.21g), type A	R
		Struck only in Mazandaran & Astarabad, 1194-1200. Described in the first edition as a coin of eight shahi, corrected in the second.	
	2848	AR ½ riyal (6.33g), type D	RR
	2849	AR ½ rupi (5.76g), type B	R
	2850	AR 2/5 rupi (4.61g), type B	R
		This and the following type #2851 were described as an abbasi in the first edition, corrected in the second.	
	2851	AR 2/5 rupi (4.61g), type C	RR
	2852	AR shahi (1.15g), type B	RR

### Baba Khan, 1211-1212 / 1797

Later ruled as Fath 'Ali Shah, *q.v.*, 1212-1250.

Types for the reign of Fath 'Ali Shah under his pre-coronation name of Baba Khan:

A. Name of ruler (*al-sultan baba khan*) & phrase *al-mulku lillah*<sup>725</sup> on obverse, mint & date on reverse, normally within a cartouche. The obverse inscription is variously arranged.

B. Name of ruler as on type A plus mint (usually with date) on obverse, normally without the phrase *al-mulku lillah*, kalima on reverse. This is the last Iranian coin type to incorporate the kalima. Even the coins of the modern Islamic Republic of Iran lack the kalima, though a few bear Qur'anic inscriptions.

The sequence of types A and B is unknown. They were apparently used simultaneously for different denominations.

Please note that the type descriptions have changed since the first edition.<sup>726</sup>

<sup>722</sup> The riyal bore a fixed relationship to the currency toman (1 riyal = ⅓ toman = 1250 dinars) and thus sank in weight in proportion to the toman. On the other hand, the rupi was a fixed weight of silver (60 nokhod) and thus rose in value (in dinars) as the currency toman was devalued.

<sup>723</sup> The set of six pieces bequeathed to the Ashmolean Museum in 1948 (*SICA* 9:244, 975-979) was formerly regarded as the complete set, but a minor variant of type #D2831 proves that there must be at least seven distinct issues.

Were these massive gold coins actually struck under the authority of Agha Muhammad Khan in 1210-1211, or were they produced some 33 years later, under the authority of Fath 'Ali Shah following the treaty of Torkmanchay? Current theory supports the later date, but there is no clear evidence for that assumption. It is also possible that a limited quantity were indeed struck in 1210-1211, but the coins for the Torkmanchay payment were struck later, circa 1243-1244.

<sup>724</sup> The origin of the riyal weight is unknown, though it is approximately equal to half the weight of the silver ruble of Catherine II of Russia.

<sup>725</sup> "Kingship belongs to God"

<sup>726</sup> Former type C was my misinterpretation of certain specimens of type B. The number 2855 was formerly used for a putative riyal of type C, but has now been assigned to the half riyal of type A.



A2853	AV ½ toman (3.07g, same as type #2858), now confirmed as type A	RRR
	Known only from Tehran 1212.	
2853	AR riyal (11.52g), type A	R
2854	AR riyal (11.52g), type B	R
2855	AR ½ riyal (5.76g), type A	R
2856	AR ½ riyal (5.76g), type B	RRR
2857	AR shahi (1.15g), type B	RR

#### Fath 'Ali Shah, 1212-1250 / 1797-1834

When carefully struck, coins of Fath 'Ali Shah were superbly executed. Unfortunately, most examples, especially in silver, exhibit significant weakness of strike.

**Types** for the reign of Fath 'Ali Shah (types A-F & CO refer to silver, types R-Y refer to gold). All types bear the ruler's name and titles on the obverse, mint & date on reverse.

**CO.** (Coronation issue) *amadeh az Fath-i 'Ali sekkeh be-zar-e shahi*<sup>727</sup> on obverse, mint & date on reverse, to the standard of 1 toman = 480 nokhod (1 riyal = 11.52g), used in 1212-1213 only. The riyal was reckoned as 1250 dinars, or ½ toman. The reverse bears the slogan *al-mulku lillah*, "the kingship is God's"

**A.** Ruler's name with title *al-sultan*, to standard of 432 nokhod for the toman (1 riyal = 10.36g), used 1213-1218. The reverse normally has the exclamation *al-'izza lillah*, "God's is the glory" at the top. Normally with thick boxy calligraphy, especially on the obverse.

**B.** Title *al-sultan ibn al-sultan*, plain fields, also to standard of 432 nokhod, used 1217-1222. Medium flowing calligraphy (*nasta'liq*). Sometimes with *al-'izza lillah* (not used after this type).

**C.** Legends as type B, but floriated fields and thinner, more flowing calligraphy, standard of 432 nokhod, used 1222-1232. Types B and C are visually distinctive and can readily be separated with a minimum of experience. Beginning with type C, dies were cut with very delicate background scrollwork, a practice retained until the end of hammered coinage in Iran.

**D.** As type C, but standard reduced to 384 nokhod for the toman (1 riyal = 9.21g), used 1232-1240. See note to #2886.

**E.** New inscription with ruler's name followed by the title *khosro-ve sahebqeran* ("Caesar of the fortunate conjunction") on the obverse. The standard was reduced to 360 nokhod, the principal coin a qiran (*qiran*, transliterated as *kran* in most European languages) of 1000 dinars weighing 6.91g, used 1240-1250.

**F.** *Keshvarsetan* type, with title *khosro-ve keshvarsetan* ("Caesar, the conqueror") struck from dies intended for gold type Y, same standard as type E, known with dates 1246-1250.

*The weight reductions of the gold coins did not correspond chronologically to the reductions of silver coins. It remains to be determined how the values of gold and silver coins were reckoned during this reign.*

*Very little fractional gold has been published, though it seems not exceptionally rare. Only a selection of fractional and multiple gold is listed here.*

**R.** As silver type CO, 1 toman = 6.14g, used 1212-1213.

**S1.** As silver type A, 1 toman = 6.14g, used 1213 until at least 1216 and perhaps as late as 1217 or 1218, sometimes undated.

**S2.** As silver type B, 1 toman = 6.14g, known dated 1218-1221, often undated.

**T1.** As silver reverse type B, obverse somewhat like type A (not found for silver coinage), 1 toman = 5.76g, known dated 1221.

**T2.** As silver type C, 1 toman = 5.76g, used 1221-1224.<sup>728</sup>

**U.** As silver type C, 1 toman = 5.37g, used 1224-1227.

**V.** As silver type C, 1 toman = 4.80g, used 1227-1229.

**W.** As silver type C, 1 toman = 4.61g, used 1230-1240 or later.

**X.** As silver type E (*sahebqeran*), 1 toman = 4.61g, used 1240-1245.

**Y.** As silver type F, (*khosro-ve keshvarsetan*), 1 keshvarsetan = 3.45g, used 1246-1250.

Many of the fractional silver and gold coins, especially those smaller than half the standard denomination, were struck for

presentation or celebratory purposes. Such coins did not have to follow the same precise weight standards as circulation coins. For that reason, the denominations given here for many of the smaller fractions are conjectural. Moreover, because the denomination is never inscribed on the coins, it can only be confirmed by physically weighing the coins.

#### Gold coinage

2858 AV ½ toman (3.07g), type R, struck 1212-1213 RRR  
Specimens in pale gold, bearing mint name Rasht, are probably later jewelry copies; the epigraphy of these pieces is irregular.

2858A AV ¼ toman (1.54g), type R, known only from Yazd 1212 (SARC auction 11, lot 762) RRR

2859 AV toman (6.14g), type S1, struck 1213-1216 or slightly later R  
Some coins of this type dated 1213 were struck on broader flans from dies ornamented with multiple dots throughout both obverse & reverse (RR).

2860 AV ½ toman (3.07g), type S1 RR

2860C AV toman (6.14g), type S2, struck 1217-1221 RR

2860F AV toman (5.76g), type T1, struck 1221 only, always dated on both sides RRR

Also known for Tehran with obverse & reverse date "122", intended for either 1220 or 1221.

2861 AV toman (5.76g), type T2, struck 1221-1224 RR

2862 AV ½ toman (2.88g), type T2 RR

T2683 AV 5 tomans (26.85g), type U<sup>729</sup> RRR

2863 AV toman (5.37g), type U, struck 1224-1227 S

2864 AV toman (4.80g), type V, struck 1227-1229 S

2864H AV ½ toman (2.40g), type V, presentation style with reeded edge, Tabriz mint RRR

Only reported specimen dated "122" with final digit omitted, unless the floral object shaped like "8" was accepted as "8".

A2865 AV 3 toman (13.82g), presentation style, type W RRR

2865 AV toman (4.61g), type W, struck 1230-1240 C

In the late 1960s, an immense hoard almost exclusively of this type reached the market, allegedly from the Soviet Union. Its terminal date is 1235 and it was said to have contained at least 10,000 specimens, though that quantity cannot be confirmed. By far the most common piece in the hoard was Yazd 1233, though tomans of several other mints & dates were also found in large numbers.

Broad flan copies of tomans of Yazd 1232 or 1233 are known, struck in gold, silver, or base metal, sometimes coupled with a reverse of the Safavid ruler, 'Abbas II (see note to #2645). They are most likely late 19<sup>th</sup> century jewelry imitations, easily distinguished by inappropriate epigraphy.

Some examples are known struck after 1240 (R).

2865A AV toman (4.61g), type W, as type #2865 but struck on reeded edge planchet for presentation purposes RR

2866 AV ½ toman (2.30g), type W R

2866A AV ½ toman (2.30g), type W, presentation type with reeded edge, Tabriz mint RRR

2867 AV ¼ toman (1.15g), type W RR

2868 AV toman (4.61g) (also called *sahebqeran*), type X, struck 1240-1245 R

2869 AV ½ toman (2.30g), type X RR?

2870 AV keshvarsetan (3.45g), type Y, struck 1246-1250 S

2871 AV keshvarsetan, obverse portrays the king seated on throne, with medallion bearing the ruler's name to the left, mint & date in fancy border on reverse RRR

#### Silver coinage

There exist additional multiple denominations (3 & 5 toman in gold, 2 and 5 riyals in silver), mainly types C and D; all are extremely rare, issued solely for donative purposes.

<sup>727</sup> "From Fath 'Ali came the royal coins of gold".

<sup>728</sup> Gold coins of types S2 and T1 have only recently been confirmed. The dates of transition for these types remain uncertain due to a paucity of dated pieces.

<sup>729</sup> Emirates Coin Auction 2, March 2000, lot 542, Tabriz 1226 (listed as 1224 in the auction catalog but clearly 1226 in the illustration).

The silver coinage of this reign was based on a riyal of 1250 dinars (= 25 shahi) until AH1240, thereafter on a qiran of 1000 dinars. The choice of fractions varied from mint to mint, depending, so it seems, on the local dinar of account, which varied from city to city (Rabino quotes the French traveler Dupré, who described the complex accounting situation circa 1223/1809).

The list of silver fractions given here is undoubtedly incomplete. Furthermore, the precise denominations of certain fractions remain to be ascertained, as noted in the descriptions.

2872	AR riyal (11.52g), type CO, struck 1212-1213	R	
2873	AR ½ riyal (5.76g), type CO Coins of type CO are frequently found mounted. It is probable that all coins of this type, together with the gold type R, were presentation types and not intended for normal circulation. They retain the 11.52g standard of Baba Khan, <i>i.e.</i> , Fath 'Ali before his coronation.	RR	
M2874	AR 2½ riyal (28.80g), type A Struck to rupi standard of type CO, thus 2.5 x 11.52g. Known only for Kashan 1213. <sup>730</sup>	RRR	
2874	AR riyal (10.36g), type A, struck 1213-1219 Coins of type A are frequently dated on both sides, usually at the bottom of the field. Mismatched dates are fairly common.	C	
2875	AR ½ riyal (5.18g), type A	R	
2876	AR ¼ riyal (2.59g), type A	RR	
2877	AR 1/6 riyal (or 4/25 riyal), type A It has not been determined whether this fractional type is to be reckoned as one sixth of a riyal (1/6 riyal = 1.73g), or as an abbasi of four shahi (= 4/25 riyal = 1.66g).	RR	
M2878	AR 2½ riyal (28.25g), type B, reported only for Tabriz 1213 ( <i>sic</i> ) A presentation issue to the 11.52g riyal standard of type CO.	RRR	
2878	AR riyal (10.36g), type B, struck 1217-1222 Types A and B overlapped 1217-1219 at some mints.	C	
2879	AR ½ riyal (5.18g), type B	R	
M2880	AR 2 riyal (20.72g), type C, presentation strike with reeded edge	RRR	
2880	AR riyal (10.36g), type C, struck 1222-1232	C	
2880A	AR riyal (10.36g), similar to #2880 but struck within a collar, with either plain or hand-cut reeded edge This and other listed types of collar-struck coins of this reign seem to have been struck almost exclusively at Tabriz (#2880A, 2882A, 2886A, 2887A, and 2888A).	RR	
2881	AR ½ riyal (5.18g), type C	S	
2882	AR ¼ riyal (2.59g), type C	R	
2882A	AR ¼ riyal (2.59g), as last but struck with collar, plain or hand-cut reeded edge, mainly Tabriz mint	RR	
2883	AR ⅛ riyal (1.30g), type C	RR	
2884	AR ⅓ riyal (3.45g), type C, Isfahan only	RR	
2885	AR 1/5 riyal (2.07g), type C, Yazd only	R	
2885A	AR 1/5 riyal (2.07g), type C, presentation style with or without reeded edge, broad margins, Tabriz only	RRR	
A2886	AR 2 riyals (18.42g), type D Struck only for presentation.	RRR	
2886	AR riyal (9.21g), type D, struck 1232-1240 Coins of types C and D dated 1232 are currently indistinguishable except by weight. However, it is believed that at each mint, special symbols, mainly in the reverse marginal ornamentation, were used to mark each standard. The marks varied from mint to mint. The code, if it exists as I believe, remains to be deciphered.	C	
2886A	AR riyal, type D, similar to last but struck within collar, plain or hand-cut reeded edge, struck mainly at Tabriz	RR	
2887	AR ½ riyal (4.61g), type D	S	
2887A	AR ½ riyal, similar to last but struck within collar, plain or reeded edge, mainly Tabriz	RR	
2888	AR ¼ riyal (2.30g), type D	R	
2888A	AR ¼ riyal, similar to last but struck within collar, plain or hand-cut reeded edge, mainly Tabriz	RR	
2889	AR ⅛ riyal (1.15g), type D	RR	
2890	AR ⅓ riyal (3.07g), type D, mainly Isfahan Usually dated 1236, though some specimens seem to be dated 1246, perhaps with 3 recut to 4 or 4 recut to 3. Also known from Burujird dated 1240. Others mints may exist.	R	
2891	AR 1/5 riyal (1.84g), type D, Yazd & Tehran only Individual specimens often weigh in the 1.5-1.6g range, perhaps intended as 1/6 riyal. Probably issued mainly as holiday donatives rather than for circulation. Often found ex-mounted from jewelry. The Tehran example (Zeno-44671) weighs 1.84g.	R	
2892	AR 1/12 riyal (0.76g), type D, Mazandaran only	RRR	
A2893	AR ½ qiran (3.45g), type D, principally mints of Tehran and Shiraz Struck from about 1236 onwards to the standard later adopted for the type E qiran. The function of such an isolated denomination is unknown.	R	
U2893	AR 2 riyals (18.42g), type E, struck only at Mashhad 1246, mint & date on both sides, names of the Twelve Imams in the reverse margin <sup>731</sup>	RRR	
2893	AR riyal (9.21g), type E, struck only at Mashhad Struck to the previous standard of 384 nokhod to the toman dated 1241-1246. By weight, the new qiran was precisely 3/4 of the type D riyal retained for this type, from which one can calculate that this riyal = 1-½ qirans.	S	
2894	AR qiran (6.91g), type E, struck 1240-1250	C	
2894F	AR qiran (6.91g), Fath 'Ali Shah seated on throne, struck at Isfahan 1241, standard reverse Same design as the gold presentation type #2871.	RRR	
2895	AR ½ qiran (3.45g), type E	R	
2896	AR 2/5 qiran (2.76g), type E, struck only at Kirmanshahan	RR	
2897	AR 1/5 qiran (1.38g), type E, mainly at Kirman A single specimen has been reported minted at Tabriz.	RR	
2897B	AR ⅛ qiran (0.86g), type D, Shiraz 1248 only The unique specimen struck from small dies, with the number 8 of the date recut over 7.	RRR	
2898	AR qiran <i>keshvarsetan</i> (6.91g), type F, struck 1246-1250 at a limited number of mints The <i>keshvarsetan</i> was intended only for gold, but occasionally used for silver as well, perhaps inadvertently.	R	
2899	AR 1/5 qiran (1.38g), type F, struck only at Kirman	RRR	
C2900	AR qiran, machine-struck pattern produced in England from dies engraved by W. Bain With lion & dragon holding a shield on reverse, below which appears the English letter B for Mr. Bain. Rabino #573.	RR	
<u>Local provincial coinage:</u>			
2900	AR panabadi (about 2.5-3.0g), struck at Panahabad (Karabakh) in name of Fath 'Ali Shah (circa 1214-1217 / 1800-1803)	RRR	
A2901	AR abbasi (about 2.0g), Sheki mint (struck by the khan of Sheki in the name of Fath 'Ali) (1241-1242)	RR	
D2901	AR 5 abbasi (15.50g), rectangular, Ganja mint	RR	
C2901	AR abbasi (3.10g), round, Ganja mint	RRR	
B2901	AR ½ abbasi (1.55g), rectangular, Ganja mint The three Ganja types bear the inscription <i>Sultan Fath 'Ali zarb Ganja</i> on obverse, the Shi'ite kalima on the reverse. They were struck 1215-1217 only, and follow approximately the same standard adopted in 1804 for the Russian-style coinage of Georgia (KM73-75).	RRR	

<sup>730</sup> SICA 9, #1252.

<sup>731</sup> Ponterio auction, Nov. 2009, lot 9656.

**Husayn Quli Khan, rebel at Isfahan  
against Fath 'Ali Shah, 1216 / 1801**

J2901 AR riyal, Isfahan 1216 only RRR

**Husayn 'Ali Shah, 1250 / 1834**

M2901 AV toman RRR

Known from Shiraz 1250 (Peus 384, lot 1408).

2901 AR qiran, reported for Yazd & Kirman mints RRR

**Sultan 'Ali Shah, 1250 / 1834**

E2902 AV toman RRR

2902 AR qiran, Tehran mint RRR

**Muhammad Shah, 1250-1264 / 1834-1848**

Types for the reign of **Muhammad Shah**,<sup>732</sup> silver coinage:

A. *Mohammad shahanshah-e anbiya'* ("Muhammad, king of the prophets") on obverse, mint & date on reverse, to standard of 360 nokhod for the toman (qiran = 6.91g), used 1250-1251.

All type A through type D silver coins of Muhammad Shah dated 1250-1254 must be weighed to confidently determine the type.

B. Similar, but reduced to standard of 330 nokhod (qiran = 6.33g), used 1251-1252.

C. Similar, but reduced to standard of 300 nokhod (qiran = 5.76g), used 1252-1254.

D. Similar, but reduced to standard of 280 nokhod (qiran = 5.37g), used 1254-1264 (most coins dated 1254 are type C standard).

E. Similar, same standard as type D, lion & sun obverse, *Mohammad shahanshah-e anbiya'* legend, mint & date on reverse, used at Tehran only, 1258-1264.

Types for his **gold** coinage:

R. As silver type A, to a standard of 1 toman = 3.84g (20 nokhod), used 1250-1254.

S. Similar, but to a standard of 1 toman = 3.45g (18 nokhod), used from 1255 until the end of his reign in 1264.

T. Lion & sun, arranged as silver type E, 1 toman = 3.45g, struck only at Tehran.

2903 AV toman (3.84g), type R, struck 1250-1254 R  
Some specimens are struck on carefully produced flans, with handcut reeded edge, presumably for presentation (RRR).

2904 AV toman (3.45g), type S, struck 1255-1264 S

2905 AV toman (3.45g), type T (lion & sun) RR  
Design as type E of the silver coinage. Most specimens, if not all, have handcut reeding on the edge. Struck 1258-1264, but actual known dates undetermined.

2905D AV 1/10 toman (0.34g), type S, known only from Isfahan, undated RRR

2906 AR qiran (6.90g), first standard, type A, struck 1250-1251 S

Coins of type A are normally dated 1250, rarely 1251.

2907 AR ½ qiran (3.45g), type A R

2908 AR ¼ qiran (1.72g), type A RR

2909 AR qiran (6.33g), second standard, type B, struck 1251-1252 R

Most coins of type B are dated 1251.

2910 AR ½ qiran (3.16g), type B RR

2911 AR qiran (5.76g), third standard, type C, struck 1252-1254 C

2912 AR ½ qiran (2.88g), type C R

2913 AR qiran (5.37g), fourth standard, type D, struck 1254-1264, until 1266 at Mashhad A

The adoption of the 4<sup>th</sup> standard led to a massive recoinage in 1255 — qirans of this year are by far the most common of this reign. Fourth standard coins dated 1254 are very rare, as they are perhaps only the result of the usage of obsolete dies.

<sup>732</sup> Technically, all coins of Muhammad Shah are anonymous, for the "royal" inscription translates "Muhammad, king of the prophets", clearly a reference to his namesake, the Prophet Muhammad.

Posthumous dates 1265-1266 struck at Mashhad are issues of the rebellion of Hasan Khan Salar against Nasir al-Din Shah (RR).

2914 AR ½ qiran (2.68g), type D S  
Only Shiraz, dated 1260-1264, is relatively common; other mints are rare.

2915 AR ¼ qiran (1.34g), type D R

2915A AR ⅛ qiran (0.67g), type D RRR

Some examples may be of earlier types, probably distinguishable only after die studies are completed, *i.e.*, probably never.

2915B AR ⅛ qiran, uniface strike, obverse only RR

Obviously without mint & date, weight from about 0.6g to 1.0g, struck for New Year celebrations, hence the variable weights. Not assignable to a specific type of this reign.

2916 AR 2 qirans (10.75g), lion & sun, type E RR

Most examples of #2916-2918 have handcut reeding on the edge.

2917 AR qiran (5.37g), lion & sun, type E S

2918 AR ½ qiran (2.68g), lion & sun, type E R

**Nasir al-Din Shah, 1264-1313 / 1848-1896**

Coins of the reign of Nasir al-Din Shah are not easily sorted into subtypes. For the *Checklist*, I have used a generic type designation for the basic design and denomination, with royal legend on obverse, mint & date on reverse. There is a wide variety of different borders, frames and ornaments, as well as variation in the royal inscriptions, calligraphy styles and layout of the inscriptions. Some clearly distinctive special types are listed here individually, as they are readily distinguished and keenly sought by collectors.

Types for the reign of **Nasir al-Din Shah**, silver coinage:

A. Name & titles on obverse (various arrangements of the text), mint & date on the reverse, struck to a standard of 1 toman = 280 nokhod (1 qiran = 5.37g), inherited from Muhammad Shah and used 1264-1274 (until 1276 at Herat).

B. Similar, but to a standard of 260 nokhod (1 qiran = 4.99g), used 1271-1296 (note overlap with type A).

Types for his **gold** coinage:

R. Similar, to a standard of 1 toman = 3.45g. The same dies were often used for both gold and silver.

Strangely, the transition from the 5.37g to the lighter 4.99g standard took place gradually at various mints between 1271 and 1274.<sup>733</sup> By 1275, the lighter standard was universally adopted, but coins of both standards continued to circulate together, with apparently no desire to separate them at different values.

Between 1293 and 1296, modern machine-made coinage was introduced into Iran at the Tehran mint. These are not included in this *Checklist*, but can be referenced in *SCWC*. The remaining provincial mints were closed down at the same time, gradually between 1293 and 1297.

The machine-struck qiran weighed 4.61g (24 nokhod), and the toman 2.88g (15 nokhod).

**NOTE:** Regular issues are #2921-2922, 2927-2932 and 2935. All other issues are special types, presentation issues, or commemoratives.

2919 AV 3 tomans (10.35g), type R RRR

2920 AV 2 tomans (7.90g), type R RRR

2921 AV toman (3.45g), type R C

2922 AV ½ toman (1.72g), type R S

A2923 AV ¼ toman (0.86g), type R RR

Some examples are clearly lighter, circa 0.65-0.70g, suggesting that they are 1/5 toman rather than ¼ toman issues.

<sup>733</sup> The exception is Herat, occupied by Iran briefly in 1269 and again from 1273-1279, with silver qirans struck in the name of Nasir al-Din during all those years. Issues until 1276 weigh 5.37g, with the reduced weight of 4.99g commencing in 1277. After the Barakzay reconquest of Herat during the last month of 1279, the Iranian qiran was retained as the Herat denomination until the closure of the mint in 1308 for silver coinage (copper issues continued until 1348). Silver qirans in the name of Nasir al-Din Shah continued to be struck during the early months of 1280. They were probably struck during the brief period between the death of Dost Muhammad at Herat eight days before the end of 1279 and the formal coronation of Sher Ali Khan at Kabul about two months later.

The only gold coin known from Herat is the ½ toman dated 1276 (RRR, type #2922).

2923	AV 2 tomans (7.90g), portrait obverse (facing portrait) Struck principally at Kirmanshahan in 1271.	RR	2935	AR ½ qiran, profile <b>portrait</b> type, similar Struck only at Isfahan (S), Qazwin (R) and Tehran (C), 1271-1275. Unlike the full qiran (#2934), the half qiran was crudely struck for normal circulation.	C
2923A	AV 2 tomans (7.90g), portrait obverse (Shah seated on throne, cross-legged), wreathed obverse & reverse Struck only at Isfahan in 1271.	RRR	2935A	AR ½ qiran, similar, but carefully struck on broad reeded planchets	RRR
2924	AV 2 tomans (7.90g), toughra obverse Struck only at Mashhad in 1281.	R	2936	AR qiran, <b>toughra</b> type, various issues struck in the 1280s and 1290s, mainly at Mashhad	R
2925	AV toman (3.45g), portrait obverse (profile portrait, head facing left), struck 1271-1274 at Tehran (cf. #2935) Also known for Astarabad 1276 (SARC auction 8, lot 388). Other mints may exist.	R	2937	AR qiran, <b>double-headed eagle</b> type, struck at Astarabad 1277-1278	R
2925A	AV toman (3.45g), obverse portraying Shah seated on throne, Isfahan mint only <sup>734</sup>	RRR	2938	AR qiran, <b>flower design</b> obverse, struck at various mints, first standard The obverse legend is divided into four petals, sometimes with a central medallion. Struck mainly at Astarabad and Hamadan.	R
2925B	AV toman (3.45g), toughra obverse (similar to silver type #2936), struck only at Mashhad One form lacks the mint name as Mashhad, but rather has the title <i>zarb-e ard aqdas imam 'alayhi al-salam</i> , an honorary title of the city of Mashhad.	RR	2938C	AR qiran, facing <b>half portrait</b> obverse, Tehran 1271 & Astarabad 1272 Same style & size as the gold double toman of Kirmanshahan 1271 (#2923), with crude reeding. Both probably unique.	RRR
2926	AV ½ toman (1.73g), portrait obverse, as #2925, struck at Tehran	RR	2938G	AR 5 qirans (26.85g), wreaths in margin as #2938K, milled on carefully produced, unreeded edge and almost perfectly struck, Tehran 1267 Undoubtedly struck for presentation purposes, perhaps in recognition of Nasir al-Din's conquest of Mashhad in the previous year. The blank planchet may have been imported from Europe or India, as Iran lacked the technology to produce such a planchet during the 1850s.	RRR
2926A	AV 1/5 toman (0.69g), portrait obverse as #2925, reported for Tehran 1272 only, but other mints or dates undoubtedly exist	RRR	2938J	AR 2 qirans (about 10g), standard inscriptions as #2930 but with broad blank margins on carefully shaped planchets, Tabriz 1294 Probably produced only for presentation purposes, with special royal titlature in the lower section of the obverse, <i>khusro-ye sahebqeran</i> .	RRR
2927	AR qiran, first standard (5.37g), type A	A	2938L	AR qiran, style of type #2930 with normal titlature, broad blank margins as #2938J, Tabriz 1280 Titlature <i>al-sultan ibn al-sultan</i> .	RRR
2928	AR ½ qiran (2.68g), type A	C	2938K	AR qiran, similar to 2938J but with wreaths filling the outer margins on both sides, Tabriz 1293 with the "9" retrograde Also with the obverse text including the title <i>khusro-ye sahebqeran</i> , but at the top of the obverse area.	RRR
2929	AR ¼ qiran (1.34g), type A	S	2938N	AR qiran, standard inscriptional type as #2927 & 2930, but with hand-engraved <b>reeded edge</b> , struck at several mints, without outer margin	RR
2930	AR qiran, second standard (4.99g), type B For examples of #2930 & #2927 with reeded edge, see #2938N.	A	2938S	AR qiran, <b>lion &amp; sun</b> types, three varieties, Tehran mint only, dated 1295-1296 (KM845.1, 845.2, and 845.3)	S
2930K	AE "qiran", probably close to the 2 <sup>nd</sup> standard These are copper issues struck from dies used for silver qirans, perhaps intended to be silver-plated and passed as "genuine" qirans. Known from Astarabad 1279, Isfahan 1287, Tabriz 1279, Kirmanshahan, date missing, Tehran 1278, perhaps others as well, perhaps produced illicitly by the government, or more lightly, privately with stolen official dies.	R	2938T	AR qiran, <b>wreath</b> type, standard inscriptions, struck on hammered blanks, Tehran 1295 only, with mint epithet <i>dar al-khilafa</i> (KM844)	R
2931	AR ½ qiran (2.49g), type B	C	2938U	AR qiran, as #2938T but without mint epithet (KM845.4), Tehran 1296 only Modern machine-struck qirans were introduced in 1294 and in larger quantities from 1295 onwards, followed by additional denominations in silver & gold commencing in 1296/1297. It is unknown why the Tehran mint would continue producing hand-struck coins in 1295 and 1296, albeit in negligible quantities. The machine-struck coinage is listed in SCWC, with indication of rarity and value, now increasingly obsolescent.	R
2932	AR ¼ qiran (1.25g), type B When the date is illegible or missing, and the coin is worn or damaged, qirans, halves and quarters cannot necessarily be assigned to types A or B, due to uncertain interpretation of their weight. They may be categorized as types #2930X, 2931X, and 2932X, respectively.	S			
2933.1	AR ⅛ qiran (0.62g), type A or B, uniface Uniface examples were struck on rather broad, wafer-thin flans. These were intended as favors for the New Year celebration and were known as <i>shahi safid</i> , "white shahi," to distinguish them from the copper shahi. Theoretically the shahi safid of type A should weigh 0.67g and type B 0.62g, but actual specimens vary considerably in weight, so that types A and B cannot be distinguished unless the date is clear, as is virtually never the case. Therefore I have listed them as a single type. Uniface pieces were struck with either obverse or reverse dies.	S			
2933.2	AR ⅛ qiran (0.62g), type A or B, struck with both obverse and reverse dies, usually with legible mint name and occasionally dated The following types, #2934-2938, also #2938C & 2938S-2938U, are best regarded as a temporary or transitional coinage. Except for #2935, these types normally have hand-cut reeded edges on broad evenly round planchets, whereas type #2935 was struck rather carelessly on traditional planchets for general circulation, where they were retained for many years. Types #2938G-2938N are presumably presentation issues.	RR			
2934	AR qiran, profile <b>portrait</b> type, second standard (struck in 1272 at Tehran only)	RR			

<sup>734</sup> Only reported specimen is Tübingen #97-6-97.

## KHANATES OF CAUCASIA

More than a dozen independent khanates arose in the Caucasus during the chaos that emerged after the death of Nadir Shah in 1160/1747. Seven of these khanates (Ganja, Shirvan, Sheki, Derbent, Kuba, Karabakh & Georgia)<sup>735</sup> issued distinctive coins of their own from some time in the 1750s to between 1800 and 1828, ceasing their production as they were absorbed into the Russian Empire. Their coins have only been superficially researched, and no good publications have yet appeared, though it is anticipated that this will change, given fittingly increased numismatic interest in the Caucasus region. Not only the sequences of types, but even the sequences of rulers are still imperfectly known. The listings here are surely fragmentary, due to the inaccessibility of the material and lack of publications, and are meant only as a preliminary organization of a little-known coinage. However, since about 2005 major research has been underway, published as articles in the ONS Newsletter, in various Russian academic publications, and soon as independent volumes.<sup>736</sup>

The principal denomination was the *abbasi* (aka *abazi*), which began at its Iranian weight of 4.6 grams and sunk to various reduced standards, ranging from about 2.0 to 4.3 grams at the different khanates. The sequence of weight standards for the various khanates remains obscure. All coinage is anonymous or in the name of a living or deceased Iranian shah.

### GANJA

A thorough study of this series by A.V. Akopyan is expected to be published in 2011 or shortly afterwards.

One of the more important khanates numismatically, with its solitary mint at Ganja, located in northwestern Azerbaijan. The earlier coins are local types in the names of either Nadir Shah or Karim Khan, later types anonymous, some with the Zand couplet introduced by Karim Khan, some with the Shi'ite kalima, some with the evocation *ya saheb oz-zaman*, "O master of time." The "master of time" can refer either to the 12<sup>th</sup> Shi'ite Imam, the current ruler, or perhaps the Tsar of Russia!

All coins of this khanate bear the mint name Ganja. Until the end of type #2943 in 1181, all coins of Ganja were generally neatly struck on compact flans and are regularly found in very fine or better condition. Later in 1181, much broader and thinner silver planchets were introduced, usually at least partly weakly struck until 1189. Thereafter, the overall quality continued to deteriorate.

Individual specimens of all types after 1181 are quite frequently up to 10% lighter than the theoretical standard, even high grade examples.

Copper coins of the time of the khanate are indistinguishable from ordinary Iranian civic coppers, and are thus listed under that rubric (#3230).

**Types for the coins of Ganja (as on Zeno.ru):**

- A. Legend *al-sultan nadir* on obverse, *zarb-e ganja* & date on reverse.
- B. Shi'ite kalima on obverse, *zarb-e ganja*, with *ya karim* above, on reverse, often dated (on reverse).
- C. Couplet *shod aftar o mah zar o...* on obverse (as on type #2800 of Karim Khan Zand), mint, date and *ya karim* on obverse. The phrase *ya karim* may appear within the central circle, or outside the circle in a separate cartouche.
- D. Phrase *ya saheb oz-zaman* on obverse, mint, date & *ya karim* on reverse.
- E. Shi'ite kalima on obverse, mint, date & *ya karim* on reverse, within the central circle, accompany by on reverse, within the central circle, accompany by *ya Allah* in a separate cartouche above.

<sup>735</sup> Zeno also cites the khanates of Iravan (Yerevan in Armenia), Nakhjevan (Nakhjawan) & Baku. The first two are listed here as ordinary types of Karim Khan Zand, those of Baku as civic coppers.

<sup>736</sup> There has been considerable historical research in recent years, all published in Russian, Armenian or Azeri, but without any specifically numismatic results. There seems to be no numismatic literature whatsoever, except for the general museum catalogs, sale catalogs, and Zeno.ru. However, since 2010, Russian and Azerbaijani scholars have informed me that major numismatic publications should soon be completed.

T. Georgian type, *al-hamdu lillah rabb al-'alamin*, "praise to God, Lord of the universe", on the obverse, mint, date and *ya karim* on the reverse.

#### **temp. Shah Verdi Khan, 1160-1174 / 1747-1760**

All coins of Shah Verdi Khan are of type A.

- 2939 AR *abbasi* (4.6g), in name of Nadir Shah, dated "1155", 1172-1174 S  
 Coins dated 1155 were presumably struck 1169-1172 with a fictitious date that lay within the lifetime of Nadir Shah, whereas coins struck 1172-1174 bore the actual date. Coins of Shah Verdi Khan struck until 1168 are regular types of the Afsharid rulers Ibrahim and Shahrukh.
- 2940 AR ½ *abbasi* (2.3g), similar, "1155" & 1173 RR  
 A2940 AR ¼ *abbasi*, similar, dated "1155" only RRR

#### **temp. Muhammad Hasan Khan, 1174-1195 / 1760-1780**

- 2941 AR *abbasi* (4.6g), in the name of Nadir Shah (type A), dated 1175-1181 S  
 Coins of this type dated 1187 and 1188 are errors for 1178 and 1177, respectively.
- 2942 AR ½ *abbasi* (2.3g), similar, dated 1178 only RR  
 A2943 AR ¼ *abbasi* (or *shahi*, 1.15g), similar, occasionally undated RR
- 2943 AR *abbasi* (4.6g), kalima obverse (type B) dated 1174-1177, 1179, 1181 and "1189", the last an error for 1179 R  
 One variety of this type is undated, stylistically resembling the Iravan & Nakhjawan *abbasis* of Karim Khan struck circa 1179-1181.

- A2944 AR *abbasi* (about 3.8g), with the couplet *shod aftar o man...* (type C), reduced weight, 1181-1188 and "1194" (1194 presumably a typo for 1184) S

Identical to type C of Karim Khan Zand, but weight reduced from 4.6 to 3.8 grams. Date above the mint name within the central circle, *ya karim* in a separate cartouche outside the circle.

- B2944 AR ½ *abbasi* (about 2.3g), type as #A2944, dated 1188 only RRR  
 C2944 AR ¼ *abbasi* (or *shahi*), type as last, known dated 1183-1184, 1186, 1188 RR?

Weight probably about 0.95g (examples known in the Hermitage Museum).

- F2944 AR *abbasi*, type A2944 countermarked *rayij* RR?  
 H2944 AR *abbasi* (about 3.2g), type C, 1188-1189 R  
 As #A2944 but with *ya karim* inside the central circle and the date at the bottom of the circle. Note the weight reduction.
- 2944 AR *abbasi* (about 3.08g), with *ya saheb oz-zaman* on obverse (type D), dated 1181 and 1189-1195 R

Examples of 1189 seem to be heavier, perhaps about 3.4g. Further research needed.

The 1181 issue is probably most likely error-dated.

- 2944U AR fractional *abbasi* (about 1.9g), denomination undetermined, type D, known dated 1193 RRR  
 2944V AR fractional *abbasi* (about 0.9g), denomination undetermined, type D, known dated 1189 RRR

#### **Karabakh-Georgian occupation, 1195-1198 / 1780-1783**

- 2944A AR *abbasi* (probably 3.08g), *ya saheb oz-zaman* (type C), but dated 1196-1198 RR

#### **temp. Hajji Beg, 1198-1200 / 1783-1785**

- 2944C AR *abbasi* of reduced weight, *shod aftar o mah...* couplet (type C) RR  
 2944B AR *abbasi* of reduced weight, *ya saheb oz-zaman* (type D) RRR

#### **temp. Rahim Khan, circa 1199-1200 / 1785-1786**

- 2944M AR *abbasi* of reduced weight, couplet type C RRR  
 The attribution of types #2944B, 2944C and 2944R is tentative.

### Georgian types, dated 1200-1205 / 1786-1790

2944P AR abbasi (about 2.50g), Georgian style design, dated 1200-1205, type F RRR  
Georgian type, *al-hamdu lillah rabb al-'alamin*, "praise to God, Lord of the universe", on the obverse, mint and date together with the evocation *ya karim* on the reverse.<sup>737</sup>

2944Q AR abbasi (about 3.05g), Georgian style design, similar to #2944P but reverse in the Tiflis style cartouche as on the Georgian type #2975, dated 1204-1205 RRR

### temp. Ja'far al-Jawwad, circa 1200-1220 / 1785-1805

2944E AR abbasi (about 2.60g), Shi'ite kalima, *ya Allah* above reverse (type E) R  
During Ja'far's reign, the Shi'ite abbasi was struck for local use from 1200-1216, at a standard of about 2.60g until 1205, after which the weight was gradually reduced to about 2.0-2.25g.<sup>738</sup>

2944F AR ½ abbasi, Shi'ite kalima as last RRR

2944G AR abbasi of reduced weight (circa 2.0-2.25g), with *ya saheb oz-zaman* (type D), dated 1205-1207 RR  
An example of this type is dated 1203, perhaps a "typo".

The coinage of Ganja during the time of Ja'far al-Jawwad is frustratingly confused, and further research is obviously needed. It seems that #2944E was struck simultaneously with the Georgian types #2944P and 2944Q, then resumed at some point after about 1208, perhaps later.

Simultaneous Qajar types were also struck at Ganja, principally of higher denominations, including the riyals of Agha Muhammad Khan (1204 for type #3841, 1208-1212 for #2841G, all with the evocation *ya muhammad*), and three special issues in the name of Fath 'Ali Shah dated 1215-1217, each of a different denomination (types #B2901-D2901). It seems likely that the Ganja mint was permanently closed after the last Qajar issues of 1217.

### SHIRVAN (SHEMAKHA)

A mountain kingdom in northern Azerbaijan, with its capital at Shemakha (Shamakhi on coins). The coins are usually very crudely struck, and often found holed or otherwise damaged. With the exception of type #A2945 and the couplet type #2945A, all coins are anonymous, bearing the legend *ya saheb oz-zaman* ("O master of time") on obverse, mint & date on reverse, and are assigned to ruler by date. Obverse and reverse cartouches vary, but the sequence of cartouches has not yet been established.

The only mint for the khanate was Shamakhi. Coins are normally quite poorly struck, with considerable weakness and ghosting. Crudely engraved dates are often difficult to decipher. Attractively struck coins are truly exceptional (except for #A2945, normally well-made and well-preserved). Since the collapse of the Soviet Union these coins have become more available, but the true nature of their rarity remains to be established.

### Muhammad Sa'id Khan, sole rule, circa 1177-1180 / 1763-1766

A2945 AR abbasi (4.6g), with Shi'ite kalima obverse, *ya karim* and the mint & date on reverse R  
Dated 1177-1179 and "1170", the latter presumably fictitious (as is "1155" of Ganja). Prior to 1177, Shirvan was divided into two or more rival principalities, none of which produced coinage. Examples with rather barbarous calligraphy are believed to be contemporary imitations.

### temp. Fath 'Ali Khan, 1180-1203 / 1766-1788

2945 AR abbasi (about 3.0g), with *ya saheb oz-zaman* on obverse, *ya karim*, mint & date on reverse S

<sup>737</sup> It is not known why Ganja was striking the *al-hamdu lillah* and Shi'ite kalima abbasid simultaneously every year from 1201 until 1205. Akopyan suggests that type #2944P was struck at Tiflis for export to Ganja, but the calligraphic and ornamentation differences impugn that proposition. The complexity of the Ganja coinage circa 1195-1207 has never been fully explained.

<sup>738</sup> A magnificent medallid multiple abbasi was struck at Ganja in 1209, presumably as an award medal and therefore excluded here (Zeno-20209).

2945A AR abbasi (about 3.3g), with Zand couplet *shod aftar o mah...* on obverse, mint & date only on reverse, without *ya karim* RR  
Dated only 1187, several specimens on Zeno.ru.

No coins can be attributed to the ephemeral reign of Asker Khan (1203/1788-1789), as all issues of 1203 are indistinguishable by type. Russian numismatists have traditionally assigned the 1203 abbasi to Asker Khan, acceptable back in the days when such a "rarity" would fetch at most a minimally higher price.

Types #2946 and 2947 are type-identical to #2945, and are assigned to ruler by date. For these three types, there is considerable variation in the form of the cartouche surrounding the inscriptions on both obverse and reverse, but these changes apparently do not coincide with the reigns of these rulers.

### temp. Qasim Khan, 1203-1209 / 1789-1794

2946 AR abbasi, weight uncertain, perhaps circa 2.6g, possibly reduced to about 2.35g sometime during this reign R?

### temp. Mustafa Khan, 1209-1236 / 1794-1820

2947.1 AR abbasi (about 1.80g, struck 1209-1212) R?

2947.2 AR abbasi, weight of about 2.30g restored, struck 1214-1235 S

### SHEKI

A khanate in north central Azerbaijan. The two principal cities were Sheki and Nukha (written as Nukhwi on the coins), of which the latter was the mint site for all except a few very rare coins (not listed here, due to incomplete data). Coins are assigned to ruler only by date, as they are invariably anonymous.

All of the types listed below were struck at Nukhwi. Issues of Sheki bearing the name of the Qajar king Fath 'Ali Shah are listed as a local type under that ruler (#A2901). Silver coins are generally dreadfully manufactured, with considerable softness of strike, whereas surprisingly the copper bistis are amongst the most carefully engraved Iranian civic coppers. Surprisingly, no significant quantities have appeared in the market since the collapse of the Soviet Union.

### temp. Hajji Chelebi Khan, 1160-1212 / 1747-1797

2948 AR abbasi, in the name of Karim Khan, generally as Karim Khan's type C, but much lighter (exact standard unknown) RRR

(The type formerly listed as #2948A with the obverse inscription *ya saheb oz-zaman* instead of the couplet is now known to be dated 1220-1221, thus examples of type #2951.)

### temp. Mehmet Hasan Khan, 1212-1217 / 1797-1802

2949 AR abbasi (about 2.40g), obverse couplet as #2948 R

### temp. Mustafa Khan, 1217-1221 / 1802-1806

2950 AR abbasi (2.20g?), obverse couplet as #2948 RR

2951 AR abbasi (2.20g), *ya saheb oz-zaman* instead of couplet of previous issue RR

### temp. Jafer Quli Khan, 1221-1231 / 1806-1815

2952 AR abbasi (2.05g), Russian crown above date on obverse (not *ya saheb oz-zaman*, as indicated in the 2<sup>nd</sup> edition) R

2953 AE bisti (approximately 23-24g), legends only on obverse RR

"Bisti" means "twenty", presumably referring to a denominational value of 20 dinars.

2954 AE bisti (same weight as #2953), with large crowned date on obverse RR

Some examples weigh in the 10-14g range, perhaps a smaller denomination. Further research needed.

### temp. Isma'il Khan, 1231-1236 / 1815-1819

2955 AR abbasi (2.05g), type as #2952 RR

2956 AR ½ abbasi (1.03g?) RR

## DERBENT (DARBAND)

A khanate in southern Daghestan, with a solitary mint at Darband. Coins are dated from the 1190s to the 1210s. A list of rulers is not available from western sources.

All known coins bear the mint name Darband and all have the phrase *ya saheb oz-zaman* obverse, as at Ganja.

### Anonymous, 1190s-1221 / 1770s-circa 1807

2957 AR abbasi (about 2.2g), several types RR

## KUBA (QUBA)

Akopyan, A.V. & A.A. Molchanov, "New data on the coinage of the Quba Khanate", *ONS Newsletter* #199 (2009).

A small khanate just south of Derbent, with which it was from time to time united.

All coins bear the mint name Qubba (*aka* Quba), and all are miserably struck, known dated 1214-1223, sometimes undated but usually so disgracefully struck that the date is illegible. They share the *ya saheb oz-zaman* obverse of Ganja and Derbent and often bear *ya 'ali* atop the reverse (a rare example dated 1215 has *ya 'aziz* above the reverse).

### temp. Shaykh 'Ali Khan, 1206-1225 / 1791-1810

2958 AR abbasi (about 2.3g) RRR

## KARABAKH (PANAHAHAD)

A small khanate in the southern Caucasus, corresponding approximately to the largely Armenian small region known as Nagorno Karabakh, surrounded on all sides by the modern republic of Azerbaijan. Its mint is indicated on the coins as Panahabad, which means "city of refuge", and was located at Shushi within Nagorno Karabakh.<sup>739</sup>

All coins bear the mint name Panahabad, never Shushi. Quality of strike is at best mediocre, especially for the silver coins, with fully struck examples unknown. Most are found either holed or mounted, and usually heavily worn, quite abominable. The silver abbasi was locally known as the panahabadi.

### temp. Ibrahim Khalil Khan, 1177-1221 / 1763-1806

2959 AR abbasi (about 4.40g), Shi'ite formula obverse R

2960 AR ½ abbasi? (probably about 1.80g), similar RRR

For silver coins of Panahabad in the name of the Qajar king Fath 'Ali Shah (dated 1214-1217), see type #2900 under that ruler.

2961 AE ½ bisti, usually undated R

Usually with lion & sun motif on obverse, but also known with the lion alone, a peacock or an undeciphered touhgra. Known dated in the 1190s.

### temp. Mahdi Quli Khan, 1221-1235 / 1806-1822

2962 AR abbasi (4.40g), Russian crown above date on obverse, Shi'ite formula and mint on reverse, 1222 only RR

2963 AR abbasi (4.40g), Shi'ite formula obverse, dated 1221-1231+ R

2964 AR abbasi (about 4.30g), couplet obverse (undeciphered, including *saheb oz-zaman*), known dated 1235-1238 or undated S

Earlier dates circa 1230-1234 reported but not confirmed. This type is often dated on both obverse & reverse.

## GEORGIA (KARTLI-KAKHETI) (BAGRATID)

In addition to the section in the *Standard Catalog of World Coins*, the following are useful:

Kapanadze, D.G., *Gruzinskaya numizmatika*, Moscow, 1955 (in Russian).

Lang, D.M., *Studies in the Numismatic History of Georgia in Transcaucasia* (ANS NNM 130), New York, 1955 (with supplement in *ANS Museum Notes*, v. 12, 1966, pp. 223-232).

Pakhomov, E.A., *Monety Gruzii*, Tbilisi, 1970 (in Russian).

Paghava, Irakli, *Caucasian Numismatics: Papers on the Coinage of Kartli-Kakheti (Eastern Georgia), 1744-1801*, supplement to ONS Newsletter 197, London 2008. An important initial study, concentrating on the silver coins bearing the words *ya karim* struck 1179-1213 (types #2975-2977).

Bennett Kirk, forthcoming general catalog of Georgian coins, anticipated about 2014.

*An independent Christian kingdom under the later Bagratid dynasty. Though Christians, their coins follow Islamic models. The copper coins bear the name of the ruler, usually abbreviated.*

All later Bagratid coins bear the mint name Tiflis (modern Tbilisi). The silver coins are generally found nicely struck. The coppers were often somewhat softly struck, were extensively circulated, and therefore found ordinarily in very worn condition.

Earlier Bagratid coinage, struck from the 11<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> centuries AD, is not included in this *Checklist*, but is described and discussed in the four references for Georgia noted above. Most have inscriptions in Arabic or Persian, with the earlier issues dated primarily according to the local era, normally frozen dates for each type.

Please note that the type numbers are in reverse order, as for some idiotic reason, I originally listed them from the smallest to the largest denominations.

### Teimuraz II, 1157-1176 / 1744-1762

2966 AE 2 puli (9g) R

2965 AE puli (4.5g) S

### Erekle II, 1176-1213 / 1762-1798

2969 AE bisti (= 4 puli, 18g) S

2968 AE 2 puli (9g) S

2967 AE puli (4.5g) S

Copper coins of all three denominations struck 1178-1195 bear only the Hijri date, 1201-1210 bear the equivalent Christian year as well.

2972 AE bisti (= 4 puli), countermarked monogram of Erekle on his own types or on those of Teimuraz II S

2971 AE 2 puli, same countermark S

2970 AE puli, same countermark S

### Giorgi XII, 1213-1215 / 1798-1800

2974A AE bisti (= 4 puli, 18g) RRR

2974 AE 2 puli (9g) R

2973 AE puli (4.5g) R

### David, as regent, 1215-1216 / 1800-1801

A2975 AE bisti, peacock obverse RRR

### Anonymous, 1179-1213 / 1765-1798

All silver coins are anonymous, but have the evocation *ya karim* of Karim Khan Zand, the Iranian ruler.

R2975 AR 1½ abazi<sup>740</sup> (4.61g), struck 1182-1190 RRR

Same inscriptions as the abazi, type #2975, arranged slightly differently.

2975 AR abazi (3.08g), struck 1179-1213 S

An abazi dated "1166" could not have been struck earlier than 1196, due to style and calligraphy. In the ONS Newsletter 197, Paghava and Turkia have convincingly demonstrated that the '6' is a retrograde '2' and that 1122 is a shuffled 1212, an argument strengthened by the similarity of the reverse dies to abazis struck

<sup>739</sup> Nagorno Karabakh was originally founded as an autonomous Oblast in the USSR in 1923, under direct pressure from Stalin and against the will of the Armenians. It declared independence in 1991 after the collapse of the Soviet regime. Its population is predominantly Armenian, but its independence is not yet internationally recognized.

<sup>740</sup> Although this denomination was already published by both Pakhomov (see plate XVI:147) and Kapanadze, but without their actual weight, I was hesitant to accept its existence until it was confirmed by the prestigious Georgian scholar Irakli Paghava, who plans to publish an advanced study of the *sirma* coinage. The weight of the 1½ abazi was equivalent to the current Iranian mithqal, the basis of the contemporary Zand coinage.

1210-1211.<sup>741</sup> Regular Afsharid silver coins were struck at Tiflis until 1170. No silver coinage was struck at Tiflis 1171-1178. This type bears the mint, date and *ya karim* on the obverse, the Arabic inscription *al-hamdu lillah rabb al-'alamin*, "praise to God, Lord of the universe", on the reverse. This series, including the 1½, the ½ and ¼ abazi pieces, are collectively known as the *sirma* series in Georgia. See #2944M for a similar type struck at Ganja 1201-1205.

2976 AR ½ abazi (1.54g), similar R  
Both fractional denominations have just the mint and date on the obverse, *ya karim* on the reverse.

2977 AR ¼ abazi or shahi (0.74g), similar, often undated RR  
There were four additional khanates, those of Iravan, Nakhjawan, Baku and Talesh. Copper coins were struck at Iravan and Nakhjawan, occasionally at Baku, but these are regarded as Iranian civic coppers and thus listed under that rubric. There are no proper silver coins of these four khanates, though Iravan and Nakhjawan did produce a few abbasis for Karim Khan (type D, 1179-1180 for Iravan, 1181-1183 for Nakhjawan). There is some evidence that these Iravan and Nakhjawan coins should be regarded as issues of the two khanates, and I am awaiting publication of these arguments for the 4<sup>th</sup> edition. Iravan was later to become an occasionally active mint for silver and gold of the Qajar ruler Fath 'Ali Shah (standard Iranian types). The khanates of Talesh and Baku are not known to have had coinage of their own, though some very rare undated copper coins of "Badkuba" (= Baku) perhaps date from the period of the khanate (type #3221, cf. Zeno-45179, undated).

## LATER CENTRAL ASIA

### SHAYBANID

Lowick, N.M., "Shaybanid silver coins," *Numismatic Chronicle*, ser. 7, vol. 6 (1966), pp. 251-330. This has now been superseded by the following:

Davidovich, E.A., *Korpus zolotykh i serebryanykh monet Shebanidov*, Moscow, 1992 (includes extensive bibliography, pp. 411-416). Quite a few additional types have since been discovered, especially for mints in Khorasan and adjacent regions.

Davidovich, E.A., A. E. Zhiravov and V. N. Kleshchinov, *Serebryanye Monety Mukhammad-Sheibani-Khana 907-916 gg.kh. (1501-1510 gg)*, Russian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Oriental Studies, Moscow, 2006. Only for the coinage of Muhammad Shaybani (not including the anonymous countermarked types, #2980 here).

*The Shaybanids were an Uzbek dynasty based in Samarqand and Bukhara, deriving their name from a genealogical history purportedly tying them to the early Islamic Shaybanid Arabs. Their silver coinage closely followed Timurid prototypes, similar to tankas of Sultan Husayn and his immediate successors, and perpetuated the tanka denomination for another century. Circulating gold coinage was prepared only for the late rulers 'Abd Allah II and 'Abd al-Mu'min, of which only the former is common. Copper coins are invariably anonymous and are listed here as civic coinage, which have only recently become available outside the territories of the former Soviet Union. Even the silver coins were seldom seen in the West before about 1980.*

*The earliest Shaybanid silver tankas weighed one mithqal, then reckoned as 4.78g. From 913-919, the tanka weight was increased by one twelfth, to about 5.15g, but the mithqal weight was restored shortly thereafter, probably in 924 (see note to #2981.2). The weight of the mithqal fell gradually over the course of the century, reaching about 4.6g by the Janid takeover in 1007/1598.*

*During many of the Shaybanid reigns, Shaybanid and occasionally earlier tankas were countermarked, mostly anonymously and thus not always readily assigned to a particular ruler. Countermarks that can be assigned to a specific ruler, by*

*name, title or date, are listed with the appropriate ruler. All others are listed generically as type #2999X.*

*The mint names on most Shaybanid coins are prefixed with the expression shirmard, roughly translatable as "lion-hearted."<sup>742</sup> The term is not an epithet for the mint, but rather the epithet for the currency, just as beh bud had previously been the epithet for the currency of the Timurid ruler, Sultan Husayn.*

*Subtypes of Shaybanid silver coins are characterized by their obverse & reverse cartouches, which were changed at frequent intervals and are normally indicative of particular mints from the time of Abu Sa'id and later rulers. Davidovich has published excellent charts of these types, though additional designs continue to be discovered, especially for Iskandar.*

Herat is by far the most plentiful mint for silver coins of the founder, Muhammad Shaybani, though several other mints are not especially scarce (Astarabad, Bukhara, Marw, and Samarqand), as are coins lacking the mint name altogether. For silver coins of later reigns, the only common mints are Balkh, Bukhara, and Samarqand, as well as a few issues of Tashkent (Tashkand) during the reign of Iskandar and Herat for 'Abd Allah II. Shaybanid tankas are almost never well struck and normally exhibit significant weakness. Only coins of Muhammad Shaybani, 'Abd al-Latif, and Nawruz Ahmad are sometimes more carefully struck, though fully-struck well-centered examples are unknown for all rulers of this dynasty. The nadir of production quality was reached during the long reign of Iskandar, whose tankas are typically struck 50% flat or worse.

Silver coins of Muhammad Shaybani, as well as those of 'Abd Allah II and his successors, are normally dated, whereas coins of intermediate rulers are frequently undated. Dates are invariably in ciphers on gold and silver, either in words or ciphers on civic copper. On the silver coinage struck between the late 940s and about 990 the date numerals may be scattered around various parts of the obverse, thus often difficult to ascertain.

As for the copper coins, at present, it seems that Bukhara, Hisar, and Samarqand are the most common mints, with fulus of Qarshi not especially rare. All other mints seem to be rarer. Copper coins are usually quite poorly struck, and are frequently found with various countermarks. After the 930s, copper becomes rare and increasingly poorly struck, although no research has yet been undertaken to determine what sorts of copper coinage might have remained in circulation thereafter. All copper coins are anonymous, and are listed as Central Asian civic copper coins, #A3274 –3285.

Circulating gold coinage is known only from Herat and Mashhad, together with a series of "mintless" issues presumed to have been struck at Badakhshan, all in the names of either 'Abd Allah II or 'Abd al-Mu'min. A few gold mithqals are known for other rulers, of which only the issue of Muhammad Shaybani has been confirmed. Given their extreme rarity, it is believed that these earlier mithqals were intended solely for presentation.

Except for the first two rulers, the ruler's name normally appears within the central cartouche on the obverse. The mint and date occasionally appear within the cartouche as well, though the mint name appears more frequently within the lower left region of the outer inscriptional area, whereas the date appears virtually anywhere within the obverse outer area (within the cartouche on most tankas of 'Abd Allah II and his successors), very occasionally on the reverse.

### MAIN SERIES

#### Abu'l-Fath Muhammad Shaybani, 905-916 / 1500-1510

A2978 AV mithqal (4.78g), presumably a donative RRR  
2978.1 AR tanka (about 4.78g), without central cartouche on obverse, first standard, 906-913 RR

Struck only at Bukhara and Samarqand, usually with the regnal title Nasir al-Din.<sup>743</sup> A rarer version with central cartouche and this weight standard was briefly struck at Astarabad in 914.

2978.2 AR tanka, with obverse cartouche, second standard (about 5.15g, used 913-916, usually dated at most mints) C

The increase in a currency weight standard was so unusual that contemporary chroniclers saw fit to praise Muhammad Shaybani for his generosity.

<sup>741</sup> My original argument was that 1166 was a misengraved form of the year 1199. My congratulations to Paghava & Turkia for finally resolving this issue once and for all!

<sup>742</sup> This prefix was read by Lowick as *shahr mard*, which is orthographically unacceptable, and formerly by me as *sar mard*, equally impossible. However, Davidovich has argued conclusively that *shirmard* is correct.

<sup>743</sup> Davidovich lists a hoard of over 600 tankas of Samarqand 913, in the national museum at Tashkent (Tashkand), not available for sale to the public.



<p>The mint sometimes appears in the central cartouche, more often in the lower outer region, either just below the cartouche or adjacent to the outer border. Consequently, mint-off-flan tankas are common. Herat is by far the most common of the roughly 20+ known mints.</p>		<p><b>Abu'l-Ghazi 'Ubayd Allah, 2<sup>nd</sup> reign, 940-946 / 1534-1539</b></p>		
2979	AR ½ tanka (2 <sup>nd</sup> standard only)	RR	2983 AR tanka Many examples of Bukhara and Balkh are unusually well struck.	C
<p>One of the few pre-modern Islamic coins to bear a the name of a denomination, <i>nim tanka</i> ("half tanka"), within the central obverse cartouche. Known dated 914, but the date is commonly off the flan, which is typically smaller than the die. Struck at Herat, Marw, or without mint.</p>			2984 AR ½ tanka	RR
<p>2980.1 AR tanka, countermarked '<i>adl shirmard</i> plus mint name (rarely dated) on Timurid and other coins</p> <p>At least 10 different mints are currently known, of which only Herat is reasonably available.<sup>744</sup> The dates found on a few specimens confirm the attribution to Muhammad al-Shaybani.</p>		R	<p><b>'Abd Allah I, 946-947 / 1539-1540</b></p>	
<p>2980.2 AR tanka, similar countermark but without mint name, occasionally dated</p> <p>Countermarks of this ilk are found on various Timurid tankas of all weight standards beginning with those of Timur. Some have the prefix <i>darb</i> (<i>zarb</i> in Persian) as well, but without a mint name. Countermarking seems to have been temporarily abandoned after the 913 reform, until the reign of Abu Sa'id, 937-940. Known dates observed for the two countermark subtypes assigned to Muhammad Shaybani range from 907 to 911.</p>		R	2985 AR tanka When without clear date, coins of 'Abd Allah I can be readily distinguished from 'Abd Allah II by the calligraphy of the central obverse cartouche enclosing the ruler's name, <i>naskhi</i> (upright) for the first, <i>nasta'liq</i> (flowing) for the second.	R
<p><b>Kuchkunji, 916-937 / 1510-1531</b></p> <p>Known with several different titles, Abu'l-Muzaffar, Muzaffar al-Din, and Abu'l-Mansur.<sup>745</sup> No countermarks assignable to Kuchkunji have been reported.</p>			<p><b>'Abd al-Latif, 947-959 / 1540-1552</b></p>	
2981.1	AR tanka, heavy standard of 5.15g (used 916-919)	R	2986 AR tanka	C
2981.2	AR tanka, reduced standard of about 4.75g (924-937)	C	2986A AR ½ tanka, known only from Balkh	RRR
<p>No coins of Kuchkunji dated 920-923 are known, whence the date of reintroduction of the reduced standard of one mithqal (4.75g±) remains unclear. Davidovich's argument that the transition was gradual seems to have been based on the misreading of dates. Moreover, a gradual transition seems implausible in light of contemporary monetary conceptualization.<sup>746</sup></p> <p>On both subtypes, the ruler's name appears either within the obverse cartouche or outside. In the former case, the mint name fills the cartouche.</p>			2986B AR ¼ tanka, unknown with legible mint	RR?
<p><b>Iskandar, 968-991 / 1561-1583</b></p> <p>Shaybanid coins of this &amp; earlier reigns were occasionally countermarked in the Mughal Empire, sometimes with the name of Akbar, more commonly with just the name of the city, either Kabul or Qandahar, and the date.</p> <p>Quality control was abandoned at all mints during this reign.</p>			<p><b>Pir Muhammad I, 963-968 / 1556-1561</b></p>	
2981.3	AR tanka, Iranian standard (3.89g)	R	2987 AR tanka Coins of this type are frequently very well struck, showing virtually all of the inscriptions and reasonably centered, but never perfect.	S
<p>Used at Iranian mints (Mashhad and further west) temporarily under Shaybanid control in 932-934, adopting the first eastern weight standard of the Safavid ruler Tahmasp I, as on #M2606 (½ shahi). Earlier and later Iranian mint issues all conform to the current Shaybanid rather than the Safavid standard.</p>			<p><b>Iskandar, 968-991 / 1561-1583</b></p>	
<p><b>Abu'l-Ghazi 'Ubayd Allah, 1<sup>st</sup> reign, circa 918-919 / 1512-1513</b></p> <p>With the title <i>ulus khan</i>, which never appears on the coins.</p>			2988 AR tanka When without clear date, coins of Pir Muhammad I can be readily distinguished from Pir Muhammad II by calligraphy within the central cartouche of the obverse, <i>naskhi</i> (upright) for the first ruler, <i>nasta'liq</i> (flowing) for the second (see note to #2995).	S
R2982	AR tanka (5.15g)	RR	2989 AR tanka, countermarked ' <i>adl pir muhammad</i> or something similar (without name of mint)	RR
<p>Known dated 919, but with mint off flan (or without mint name, which seems more likely), struck during 'Ubayd Allah's brief opposition to Kuchkunji.</p>			<p><b>Iskandar, 968-991 / 1561-1583</b></p>	
<p><b>Abu Sa'id, 937-940 / 1531-1534</b></p> <p>With titles Muzaffar al-Din or Nasr al-Din.</p> <p>From this ruler onwards, all Shaybanids of the main branch claimed the title Abu'l-Ghazi, "father of the victorious".</p>			2990 AR tanka	C
2982	AR tanka	S	2991 AR tanka, countermarked ' <i>adl iskandar</i> , probably always without mint name & undated	RR
2982A	AR ½ tanka, Astarabad mint only	RRR	<p><b>'Abd Allah II, 991-1006 / 1583-1598</b></p>	
2982F	AR tanka, countermarked <i>abu sa'id bahadur khan</i> or something similar	RR	2992 AV mithqal (about 4.6g), struck at Mashhad & Herat	RR?
			2993 AV ½ mithqal (about 2.3g), similar, RR when dated	R
			2994 AV ¼ mithqal? (about 0.90-0.95g), similar, RR when dated	S
			<p>The quarter mithqal was probably struck solely at Badakhshan, though the mint name almost never appears on the coin.<sup>747</sup> The full and half mithqals were struck only at Mashhad &amp; Herat. This type is clearly lighter than a proper ¼ mithqal and may have had a different denominational name, more likely regarded as either 1/5 mithqal (unlikely) or 1/12 Indian mohur (likely), as it is consistently too heavy to be viewed as a ¼ ashrafi, too light to be a ¼ mithqal.</p>	
			2995 AR tanka	C
			<p>The tankas assigned by Lowick to an ostensible joint reign of Iskandar &amp; 'Abd Allah II are normal coins of the latter denoting 'Abd Allah as the son of Iskandar. <i>Nasta'liq</i> calligraphy was introduced in or just before 993 by 'Abd Allah II, replacing the earlier <i>naskhi</i>, but only within the central obverse cartouche. Thus undated coins of this ruler can readily be distinguished from coins of 'Abd Allah I by the <i>nasta'liq</i> calligraphy within the obverse cartouche. The obverse marginal and the reverse legends remain in <i>naskhi</i> script.</p>	

<sup>744</sup> Other mints are Awbah, Bistam, Bukhara, Khwarizm, Kish, Langar, Nasaf, Nishapur, Sabzawar, and Turbat, mostly in Khorasan, all very rare.

<sup>745</sup> Many coins have the first two titles combined as Abu'l-Muzaffar al-Din, grammatically incorrect in Arabic but presumably acceptable in Persian.

<sup>746</sup> Of course, it is always conceivable that old dated dies remained in use well after the inscribed year.

<sup>747</sup> An example clearly bearing the mint name *Badakhshan* was acquired at Tübingen in 1997.

**'Abd al-Mu'min, 1006-1007 / 1598**  
 2996 AV ¼ mithqal? (0.90-0.95g) RRR  
 Without mint name, stylistically identical to #2994 and thus almost certainly struck at Badakhshan. See the note to #2994 for the denomination.

2997 AR tanka R  
 Known from five mints, throughout the kingdom (Balkh, Bukhara, Herat, Mashhad and Samarqand).

**Pir Muhammad II, 1007 / 1598**

2998 AR tanka RR  
 To distinguish coins of Pir Muhammad II from Pir Muhammad I, see note to #2988. Struck mainly at Bukhara & Samarqand.

**'Abd al-Amin, 1007 / 1598-1599**

2999 AR tanka R  
 Struck at Balkh and Samarqand, the latter extremely rare.

**Anonymous, 916-1007 / 1510-1599**

2999X AR tanka, anonymous countermarks on various Shaybanid tankas, not assigned to a specific ruler RR  
 See Zeno-46753 for the countermark *'adl-i khan-i ghazi* on a tanka of Kuchkunji, also #66733 for an unread countermark on a tanka of the same king.

**LOCAL RULERS**

**Timur Muhammad, contender at Herat, 918-919 / 1512-1513**

A3000 AR tanka RR  
 (#3000 *Sulayman Sultan*, at Balkh, circa 974-975 / 1566-1567, AR tanka — Davidovich has demonstrated that coins once ascribed to this ruler are really issues of Sulayman Mirza the Timurid (#2465). Hence type #3000 must now be deleted.)

**Muhammad Ibrahim, at Balkh, 1008-1009 / 1599-1600**

3001 AR tanka, sometimes dated on both sides R

**Javanmard 'Ali, rebel probably in Samarqand, fl. 983 / 1575-1576**

3001E AR tanka RRR  
 Not known with visible mint (Davidovich #2608, still unique). (#3002 *Yar Muhammad I*, at Bukhara, circa 957-959 / 1550-1552, AR tanka — Tankas formerly assigned to this ruler have been reassigned to the Janid ruler of the same name (#3011), sometimes also called *Yar Muhammad II of the Shaybanids*. The ruler's name and title *bahadur khan* in the obverse cartouche are in the *nasta'liq* script, thus no earlier than the 990s.)

**Burhan Sayyid, at Bukhara, circa 958-964 / 1551-1557**

3003 AR tanka, Bukhara mint only RRR  
 The ruler's name is sometimes cited as Sayyid Burhan.

3004 AR tanka, countermarked *'adl burhan* on coins of earlier Shaybanid rulers (no mint name) RR

**Darwish Ahmad, at Balkh & Bukhara, circa 981-987 / 1573-1579**

A3005 AR tanka, struck only at Balkh RRR

**Din Muhammad, at Marw & other places, 968 & 974-980 / 1556 & 1566-1572**

B3005 AR tanka RRR  
 Struck on thick narrow flans, unlike other Shaybanid tankas, but similar to contemporary Safavid flans. Probably struck only at Marw, but only one example known with legible mint (Marw).

**Sultan Sa'id, at Samarqand & Andigan, circa 975-980 / 1567-1572**

3005 AR tanka, struck at Samarqand & Andigan RR

**Timur Ahmad, at Tashkent, circa 963-964 / 1556-1557**

3006 AR tanka, struck only at Tashkent RRR

**Bahadur Khan, ostensibly at Bukhara & Tashkent, towards 1000/1500 but dates undetermined**

A3007 AR tanka RR

Although well-represented in formerly Soviet museums, coins of this type do not seem to have appeared in the market. There seem to be two distinct groups, both with *bahadur khan* in the central cartouche, an earlier group with those words in *naskhi* (time of Iskandar, according to Davidovich), a later group with *nasta'liq* script (probably struck in the chaotic years immediately following the death of 'Abd Allah II in 1006).

It is possible that this type is actually an anonymous issue (or two separate anonymous issues), as the title *bahadur khan* was applied by most Shaybanid rulers to their titlature.

**Kildi Muhammad Khan, at Tashkent, circa 1008-1010 / 1599-1601**

3007 AR tanka RRR

Markov's inventory of the Hermitage collection lists two later rulers of Tashkent, Jan Muhammad and Tursun Muhammad. The former is probably a misreading of *khan*, for when unpointed, as on the coins, *jan* and *khan* are indistinguishable, and *khan* forms part of the titlature of every Shaybanid ruler. Tursun Muhammad is now listed as a Kazak of Tashkent (#R3008).

(Former type #3008, the anonymous AE dangi of the Shaybanid period, has been recategorized amongst the Central Asian coppers [#A3274-3286], and has been deleted as a type of its own.)

**'ARABSHAHID (ILBARSID)**

Kochnev, Boris, "Les relations entre Astrakhanides, khans kazaks et 'Arabshahides (dernières données numismatiques)", *Cahiers d'Asie Centrale*, 3-4 (1997), pp. 157-167.

*A small kingdom in the area of Khwarizm founded circa 921/1515 by Ilbars b. Barkay. It survived until replaced by the Inakids (Khans of Khiva) before 1219/1804. Only three rulers are known to have struck coins.*

Known mints are Nisa and Abiward, both on the frontier between 'Arabshahid and Safavid lands (both now in Turkmenistan, close to the current Iranian border). However, most pieces lack the mint name altogether. Coins of Hajji Muhammad I are invariably weakly struck, often with less than 25% of the type visible. Coins of other rulers are also poorly struck, though little is known about them.

**Dust Muhammad, 953-965 / 1546-1558**

I3008 AR tanka (approximately 3.8-4.0g) RR?

J3008 AR of uncertain denomination, countermarked *'adl dust muhammad khan* on 2-shahi of the Safavid Tahmasp I RRR

**Hajji Muhammad I, 965-1011 / 1558-1602**

M3008 AR tanka (approximately 3.8-4.4g), usually undated but known dated 972 RR

Usually without mint name, occasionally Nisa.

N3008 AR ½ tanka (approximately 2.2-2.25g), always undated R

When visible, the mint is Abiward (RR).

**Anusha Muhammad, 1074-1097+ / 1664-1685+**

S3008 AR tanka (approximately 4.0g) \*\*\*

Not known in private hands. Kochnev has published the type, known only in museums in Tashkent. Kochnev has provided strong evidence that the type was struck at Samarqand in 1096, though the coins bear neither mint name nor date.

**KAZAKHS OF TASHKENT**

See 'Arabshahids above.

*A small Kazakh (Qazaq) principality closely connected to the Janids. Their coins consist only of very crudely manufactured silver tankas to the same standard as the contemporary Janid, Imam Quli Khan.*

Very few specimens in the trade market, but a rather large hoard is preserved at the Uzbekistan Historical Museum. The mint name Tashkent appears in the lower left of the obverse, outside the central area containing the ruler's name. None are dated.

**Tursun Muhammad,  
before 1022 / 1613 until 1037 / 1628**

R3008 AR debased tanka (about 4.4-4.5g) RR?

**AMIR OF QUNDUZ**

Davidovich, E.A., *Klady drevnikh i srednevekovykh monet Tadzhikistana*, Moscow 1979.

*The Amir Khusro Shah, erstwhile governor for the Timurids, proclaimed his autonomy in 902. Anonymous copper coins were struck at three mints. A single silver coin is also known.*

The coppers were struck at Qunduz, Hisar, and Tirmidh, of which the last is relatively scarce. Dated examples invariably bear the frozen year 907 (sometimes blundered), though the date is sometimes omitted. The zero is often written as a circle, thus often misread as 957. It is not known how long these coppers were struck, but given their abundance and many varieties, it was likely produced until at least the mid-910s, perhaps several decades longer. All show a deer or antelope on the obverse, mint inscription on the reverse, usually with the denomination. The date is normally above the deer on the obverse, but is occasionally found elsewhere, or on the reverse, or both.

The copper coins are generally 80% or more struck up and are often quite attractive.

**temp. Amir Khusro, 902-910 / 1497-1505**

A3009 AR tanka, Hisar mint only RRR

3009 AE 2 dinars (*do dinar*), all three mints C

3010 AE dinar, countermarked with revaluation to one dinar ('*adl yek dinar* or something similar) S

Gregory Cole has shown that the use of this countermark must have continued under the Shaybanids after the demise of Amir Khusro, during the 910s and perhaps as late as the 920s.<sup>748</sup>

**JANID (ASHTARKHAND)**

Davidovich, E.A., *Istoriia monetnogo dela Srednei Azii XVII-XVIII vv.*, Dushanbe, 1964. A rather incomplete study based on a limited body of hoard material accessible to the author.

Fedorov, Dr. M., "Money Circulation under the Janids....", *ONS Newsletter 171 supplement* (2002), for dating of the Janid rulers. The reign dates presented in this *Checklist* are very tentative, probably incorrect.

*Successors to the Shaybanids, the Janids maintained similar coinage traditions. Their silver coins are almost invariably poorly struck, rarely showing either mint or date. After about 1090/1680, the alloy was rapidly debased, predominantly copper by the early 1100s. To the contrary, their gold coins are always of high quality and purity. The original silver tanka conformed to the 4.7g weight inherited from the Shaybanids, but sank to below 4 grams by the end of the dynasty.*

*Dates of rule are rather tentative. The standard lists in the genealogical references do not agree with the coins. All Janid rulers use the title Bahadur Khan on their coins.*

Balkh, Bukhara, and Samarqand are the three mints recorded for this dynasty, usually named in the lower lefthand corner of the obverse. The mint is rarely visible on the coin, especially after the first four reigns. Few coins are dated, except for Nadr Muhammad Khan, whose tankas are usually dated within the obverse cartouche. As with the Shaybanids, types are distinguished by the central obverse & reverse cartouche, which seem to have been changed very often at each mint, perhaps annually or even more frequently. The date and mint of most of the cartouches remain undetermined, due to the miserable quality of strike and the lack of adequate research.

Janid silver and billon coins are almost invariably carelessly struck, frequently with 50% or more flatness, even worse after about 1100/1700. Many tankas are so ghastly struck as to be unidentifiable, though it seems logical that once the cartouches and associated calligraphy are thoroughly published, nearly all pieces should be assigned to specific rulers. Well-struck examples do not exist for all but the last ruler, Abu'l-Ghazi Khan.

In contrast, the gold coins (introduced circa 1114) are almost always well struck on full flans. There is no identified copper coinage during

the Janid period, though the billon dirhams of the 18<sup>th</sup> century often have more the appearance of copper than silver.<sup>749</sup>

Coinage of the Janids has not yet been adequately studied, despite the work of Davidovich, as noted above. An increasingly useful selection is posted on Zeno.

**"Yar Muhammad Khan", circa 1006-1008 / 1598-1599**

3011 AR tanka RR

Struck at Balkh, Bukhara & Samarqand.

Yar Muhammad was the grandfather of Baqi Muhammad, and the symbolic founder of the dynasty. Coins were struck in his name by the first Janid, Din Muhammad Khan, while he was the local khan at Herat, and by the latter's brother Jani Muhammad during the early part of his reign. No coins are known bearing the name of Din Muhammad Khan (cf. #B3005 for a different, but much earlier Din Muhammad).

This type was formerly assigned inappropriately to a fictitious Shaybanid dubbed Yar Muhammad II.

**Jani Muhammad Khan, 1007-1009 / 1598-1601**

3012 AR tanka C

The name Jani is written as Janin with a final "n" on the coins of Bukhara mint. The two name forms refer to the same individual, though I was once incorrectly regarded the two spellings as different individuals.

Tankas of Jani Muhammad and his successor, Baqi Muhammad, are very common despite their short reigns.

**Baqi Muhammad Khan, 1009-1014 / 1601-1605**

3013 AR tanka C

**Wali Muhammad Khan, 1014-1027 / 1605-1618**

3014 AR tanka S

**Imam Quli Khan, 1027-1054 / 1618-1644**

3015 AR tanka C

Some examples of this type give the name of the ruler as the son of Din Muhammad Khan (probably RR).

**Nadr Muhammad Khan, 1054-1057 / 1644-1647**

3016 AR tanka S

Most coins of Nadr Muhammad are clearly dated in the obverse margin.<sup>750</sup>

**Shah Jahan I, at Balkh 1056-1057 / 1647**

Shah Jahan was the Mughal emperor in India (1037-1068/1628-1658), whose Indian coins are abundant.

A3017 AV mohur, normal Mughal type, struck "at" Balkh in 1056 & 1057 RRR

As Mughal KM-260, square areas obverse & reverse. Sometimes found with 1056 on one face, 1057 on the other. Although clearly engraved *zarb-i balkh*, it seems likely that the were struck elsewhere, probably at Kabul, to just by style and layout.

B3107 AR rupee, same as #A3017, Balkh mint<sup>751</sup> RRR

3017 AR tanka, normal Janid type in the name of Shah Jahan I R

Normally undated, always without mint name, and always disgracefully struck. It is likely that all were struck at Balkh.

**'Abd al-'Aziz Khan, 1057-1091 / 1647-1680**

3018 AR tanka, numerous variants, always badly struck S

3019 AR tanka, countermarked name of ruler on earlier coins usually of the same reign RR

<sup>749</sup> Extremely coarse dateless copper coins were struck at Bukhara and Samarqand at some point between the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century and about 1800 (types #3286 ff). It is possible that some of these were struck during the Janid period.

<sup>750</sup> In the SNAT volume governing the mint of Balkh, F. Schwarz dates Nadr Muhammad's reign as 1051-1059, and illustrated a tanka clearly dated 1053, which might just be an engraver's error.

<sup>751</sup> In a private collection, Germany. Like the mohur, likely struck at Kabul.

<sup>748</sup> Private communication based on specimens in his collection.

**Subhan Quli Khan, 1091-1114 / 1680-1702**

- 3020 BI tanka R  
 During this reign, the alloy of the tanka rapidly deteriorated. Most coins are very coppery in appearance, though were probably originally silver-washed. The debasement took place in three stages (not described here) that was analyzed by Davidovich in the 1988 volume of *Epigrafika Vostoka*.

**‘Ubayd Allah Khan I, 1114-1117 / 1702-1705**

- A3021 AV tilla, struck only at Bukhara in 1114 RRR  
 3021 BI tanka RR

**Abu’l-Fayz Khan, 1117-1160 / 1705-1747**

- 3022 AV tilla R  
 Normally undated, with dated examples significantly rarer. On some tillas his name includes his father, ‘*abu’l-fayz muhammad ibn subhanquli muhammad bahadur khan*, one of which is dated 1127 (Zeno-86879).
- 3023 BI tanka RR

**‘Abd al-Mu’min Khan, 1160-1164 / 1747-1751**

From 1160/1747 onwards, the Janids were technically governors under the Manghits of Bukhara, but coins from the region cite only the Janid governor’s name. Actual Manghit coinage began only in 1200/1785.

- 3024 AV tilla, usually undated, known dated 1160 RRR

**Muhammad Rahim, 1167-1171 / 1753-1758**

- A3025 AV tilla, teardrop / square RRR  
 B3025 BI tanka (about 3.8 grams), no mint or date RR?  
 Davidovich determined a fineness of almost exactly 30% silver and 70% copper for this tanka. These have not appeared in the market as of 2009.  
 Strictly speaking, Muhammad Rahim was not Janid but of the Manghit family that would later assume control of Bukhara.

**Abu’l-Ghazi Khan, 1171-1200 / 1758-1785**

Both tillas and tankas in the name of Abu’l-Ghazi Khan were struck posthumously until 1203 by the Manghit ruler Shah Murad.

- 3025 AV tilla, usually dated R  
 3026 AR tanka or tenga, Bukhara mint only, good silver RR?  
 Unlike all other Janid silver, this type is always well struck, with clear mint and date and no weakness, on relatively narrow, thick flans. It may alternatively be regarded as the earliest Manghit tenga. Most or all examples of the tanka are dated 1199-1203.

In the time of Abu’l-Ghazi, the Janid kingdom split into the three khanates, Bukhara, Khiva, and Khoqand, whose coins are listed below (beginning with #3027).

**WALID OF BALKH**

Schwarz, Florian, SNAT-14c, pp. 10, 118-119.

*A minor dynasty in Balkh, descended from Wali Muhammad of the Janids. All coins are heavily debased tengas, containing little or no silver. All are without mint & date, abysmally struck, commonly overstruck on earlier types.*

**Sultan Sanjar, 1125-1130 / 1713-1718**

- 3026E AE tenga RRR

**Muhammad Sultan, circa 1130-1132 / 1718-1720**

- 3026F AE tenga RRR

**‘Arab Muhammad, circa 1132-1145 / 1720-1732**

- 3026G AE tenga, tentatively attributed RRR

**CHINGIZID OF BALKH**

Schwarz, Florian, SNAT-14c, pp. 10, 119.

*A minor dynasty in Balkh, of unknown origin. The coins are similar to those of their predecessors, the local Walids, and are also frequently overstruck on earlier types.*

**Chingiz Muhammad, circa 1145-1150 / 1732-1737**

- 3026K AE tenga RRR

**Sayyid Abu’l-Hasan, circa 1150 / 1737**

- 3026L AE tenga RRR

**HAKIMS OF TASHKENT**

V. Nastich has provided a brief description of this dynasty at [www.zeno.ru](http://www.zeno.ru), together with several illustrations.

**Muhammad Yunus Khoja ‘Umari, 1204-1215 / 1789-1801**

All coins of this ruler cite his name as *muhammad yunus khoja*.

- F3027 BI tenga (about 3.8g) RRR  
 Without mint name, *kalima* on reverse, known dated 1204 or undated.
- G3027 AE pul, no mint or date, uniface RRR  
 Citing the ruler with additional title ‘*umari*. Probably a full unit of the current denomination, 22-24mm.
- H3027 AE pul, mint of Tashkent, undated, citing the ruler’s name RRR  
 Ruler’s name // ‘*aqebat khayr bad*. Probably a half unit, 17mm.

**temp. Sultan Khwaja Ishan, 1215-1223 / 1801-1808**

All coins assigned to this ruler are anonymous.

- L3027 AE pul, always anonymous RR  
 Struck either at Tashkent or Shash (nearby mining district), usually undated.
- M3027 AE pul, dated 1220 RRR  
 Legend ‘*aqebat khayr bad* on obverse, epithet *balda-yi fakhira* (in place of mint name) and date 1220 on reverse.

**BEKS OF SHAHRISABZ**

The coinage of this petty dynasty was discovered by V. Nastich and first reported in his paper to the 14<sup>th</sup> International Numismatic Congress in Glasgow 2009. Thanks to Nastich for his assistance.

*Shahrisabz, “Green City”, was formerly known as Kesh, which had briefly been a mint during ‘Abbasids, Qarakhanids, Chaghatayids and Timurids periods.*

The coins of these 19<sup>th</sup> century rulers cite the mint as Kesh, Kesh-i Dilkash, or Shahrisabz. All coins are anonymous, assigned to specific rulers only by date & the arrangement of legends. Issues of the first two rulers weigh about 3-4g, of Iskandar about 7g. Nearly all are carelessly struck, usually found worn or corroded.

Additional struck or cast varieties from both mints may exist.

**temp. Daniyal Ataliq, fl. 1225-1252 / 1810-1836**

- R3027.1 AE pul, dated 1225 RRR  
 Legend just *fulus* on obverse, *bilad-i kesh* on reverse, dated on both sides.
- R3027.2 AE pul, dated 1246 & 1250 RRR  
 Legend ‘*aqebat khayr bad* on obverse, mint as Kesh-i Dilkash, dated on both sides.

**temp. Khwaja Qul, 1252-1262 / 1836-1846**

- S3027.1 AE square pul, dated 1254 RRR  
 Legend ‘*aqebat khayr bad* on obverse, mint Shahrisabz, probably dated on reverse only.
- S3027.2 AE lozenge-shaped pul, dated 1257 RRR  
 Same text as S3027.1, but dated on both sides & different shape.

**temp. Iskandar, 1262-1272 / 1846-1856**

- T3027 AE heavy pul, dated 1268 RRR  
 Legend *fulus-baldat* on obverse, mint as Kesh-i Dilkash, dated both sides.

**MANGHITS OF BUKHARA**

Burnasheva, R., “Monety bukharskogo khanstva pri Mangytakh”, *Epigrafika vostoka*, 18 (1967), pp. 113-128, and 21 (1972), pp. 67-80.

Special thanks to Vladimir Nastich for major improvement of this section, together with the khanates of Khiva and Khoqand.

*Successors to the Janids in Bukhara & Samarqand, with a single mint at Bukhara. Except for some of the issues of Haidar Tora and Sayyid Husayn, Manghit coins lack the name of the current ruler, but cite a deceased hero of earlier times. Most can therefore be assigned to ruler only by date.*<sup>752</sup>

All coins bear the mint name Bukhara, with the epithet sharif, in the form *bukhara-yi sharif*. The gold and silver were generally well struck until the 1260s, thereafter increasingly less carefully made, especially the silver after the 1290s. Most copper is poorly made and rarely well-preserved, except for the very last issues, #E3044-M3044.

On coins of Bukhara, Khoqand and Khiva (also Kashghar), the numeral '5' appears much like the Latin U (but with the right stroke straighter and taller) and is sometimes misconstrued as '7'. The zero is written as a small circle and sometimes misread as '5'.

The gold tilla was inherited from the Janids and weighed 4.6g (one mithqal). The silver tenga weighed 3.1-3.2g (7/10 mithqal) throughout this series. The copper pul used a theoretical standard of 4.6g until 1286, but individual specimens often weigh much less. After copper minting resumed in 1319, the pul initially weighed 2.6g. The term *pul* probably derives from *falus* (plural *fulus*), which is the denominational term that actually appears on the copper coins.

Bukharan gold and silver coins are normally dated on both obverse and reverse, perhaps to discourage the retention of obsolete dies. However, mint officials obviously did not care, for mismatched dates are legion, often as much as five or more years apart.

#### temp. Shah Murad, 1200-1215 / 1785-1800

3027 AV tilla, in the name of his deceased (*marhum*) father, Amir Daniyal RR

Gold and silver coins of 1200-1203 name the deceased Janid ruler Abu'l-Ghazi Khan and are regarded as posthumous issues of the Janid types #3025 & 3026.

3028 AR tenga, similar R  
The word *marhum* actually appears on these two types.

A3029 AE cast squarish pul (circa 3g), anonymous, dated in his reign RR  
*Bukhara / falus*, known with double-date 1208//1206.

B3029 AE heavy pul (circa 8g), anonymous, known dated 1209 and possibly also 1213 & 1214 RRR  
Thick uneven flan, round or oval, *zarb bukhara / 'aqebat khayr bad*, date on reverse.

#### Haidar, 1215-1242 / 1800-1826

3029.1 AV tilla, in his own name with titles *mir* and *padshah*, plus the *kunya* Abu'l-Ghazi, struck 1215-1220 R  
The *kunya* Abu'l-Ghazi, "father of the victorious", can alternatively be interpreted as a reference to the long-deceased Janid ruler of that name, as though Haidar were a subordinate governor (*amir*) under his overlordship! Note that *mir* is a short form for *amir*.  
Haidar is commonly dubbed Haidar Tora in western sources, but the sobriquet Tora never appears on his coins.  
Occasionally encountered with regnal year 1 (*ahad*).

3029.2 AV tilla, in his name *mir haidar amir al-mu'minin*, 1221-1229 S  
The title *amir al-mu'minin* theoretically indicates that Haidar was claiming the caliphate, which then technically belonged to the Ottoman sultans.

3030.1 AV tilla, in the name of his grandfather Amir Daniyal and father Ma'sum Ghazi (= Shah Murad), both deceased, 1229-1235 S

3030.2 AV tilla, inscribed *rahmat bad bar ma'sum ghazi*, "may mercy be upon Ma'sum Ghazi", 1227 & 1234-1241 S  
Note date overlap between these two subtypes.

3031.1 AR tenga, in his name, *mir haydar padshah* on the obverse / *bukhara-yi sharif* on reverse, dated 1215-1218 R

3031.2 AR tenga, in the names of Amir Daniyal & Ma'sum Ghazi, reverse as last, dated 1216 & 1218 RR

3031.3 AR tenga, in his name, no min, thick narrow flan, inscribed *mir haydar / sultan* (in circle), 1221 only RRR

3031.4 AR tenga, in his name, no mint, inscribed *mir haydar / amir al-mu'minin*, dated 1222-1225 R

3031.5 AR tenga, in his name, *amir haydar sayyid* in teardrop / *bukhara-yi sharif*, dated 1226-1237 S

3032 AE double pul (9.2g), in his name, 1228 only RR  
A similar single pul (4.6g), also dated 1228 only & in the ruler's name, has been reported but remains unconfirmed (was type #3032.1).

3033.1 AE pul, anonymous, *bukhara-yi sharif / 'aqibat khayr bad*, date on both sides, dated 1215-1218 RR

3033.2 AE pul, similar but *falus bukhara / 'aqebat khayr bad*, date on both sides, dated 1215, 1226-1228 RR

3033.3 AE pul, similar but *zarb bukhara / 'aqebat khayr bad*, dated both sides, 1228-1241 RR

3033.4 AE pul, similar, but *bukhara khayr / falus*, date on reverse only, 1237 only RR

3033A AE pul, cast, *fals (or falus) / bukhara*, date on one or both sides, weight uncertain S

#### Sayyid Husayn, 1242 / 1826

A3034 AV tilla, with name of ruler as *sayyid amir husayn sultan* RR

3034 AR tenga, with name of ruler as *sayyid husayn amir* RR

#### temp. 'Umar, 1242 / 1826-1827

From this short reign onwards, all Manghit coins lack the name of the active ruler. Gold tillas all retain the merciful inscription from #3030.2. Silver tengas all refer to the deceased Haidar, *amir haidar marhum 'aqibat mahmud*, "Amir Haidar, the deceased, may he always be praised". All coppers are purely anonymous.

Since 'Umar was not deposed until several weeks before the end of 1242, it is customary to assign all anonymous coins dated 1242 to 'Umar, with those of Nasrullah commencing in 1243. Coins of 'Umar are identical to those of his successor Nasrullah, except for the date.

U3035 AV tilla, dated 1242 RR

V3035 AR tenga, dated 1242 RR

A tenga is his name, *sayyid 'umar amir / zarb bukhara-yi sharif 1242*, has been reported but remains unconfirmed.

#### temp. Nasrullah, 1242-1277 / 1827-1860

3035 AV tilla S

3036 AR tenga C

3037.1 AE pul, rectangular flan, dated 1242-1244 S

3037.2 AE pul, round flan, either struck or cast, later dates (several variations) R

#### temp. Muzaffar al-Din, 1277-1303 / 1860-1886

3038 AV tilla C

3039 AR tenga C

3040 AE pul, 1278-1287 only R  
Round (cast) or rectangular (struck) flans.

Muzaffar al-Din became a Russian vassal in 1284/1867. There was no change of type to mark the political change.

**WARNING:** Broad-flan tengas of this reign & the next purporting to be "presentation" tengas (size of gold tillas) are later imitations, probably made for jewelry purposes during the 1920s & 1930s. They were not intended to fool collectors, and thus have a modest value.

Some crude machine-struck forgeries on normal flans are also known, probably made in the 1980s, not for jewelry but to rip-off collectors.

#### temp. 'Abd al-Ahad, 1303-1329 / 1886-1910

3041 AV tilla C

3042 AR tenga, dated 1303-1311 and 1319-1322 C

3043 AE pul, style as #3040, dated 1319 only R

<sup>752</sup> SCWC no longer assigns the anonymous Manghit coins to specific rulers, but arranges them only by type.

3043A	AE 1/32 tenga, dated 1321-1322	RR			A few rare gold and copper coins, as well as the rare silver tenga of Muhammad Murad Khan, bear the mint name Ferghana, not the modern city bearing that name but the generic name of the region.
	Date and <i>zarb bukhara-ye sharif</i> on obverse, <i>falus</i> and date on reverse, with numeral 32 above.				
	The tenga was equal to 64 pul or fulus, so this denomination can also be regarded as a double pul.				
3043B	AE 1/32 tenga, dated 1322-1323 & 1327-1328	R			The copper dirham of the early reigns was a broad coin, typically 25mm in diameter or more, and usually silver-washed, having derived from the late Janid silver-washed tanka. The later pul was pure copper, typically 20mm or smaller, often on a somewhat squarish or almond-shaped flan. When the copper denomination is engraved in the text, it is normally written <i>falus</i> , though popularly known as pul. The silver tenga and gold tilla commenced at about 3.1g and 4.6g, respectively, but the tenga was gradually reduced to 2.6-2.8g by the 1260s.
	Date and <i>falus bukhara</i> on obverse, 6-petal cartouche with 32 in center on reverse. See #B3044.1 for later dates or when the date is off flan or illegible.				
	<b>Anonymous, 13<sup>th</sup>/19<sup>th</sup> century</b>				
3043K	AE pul, date obscure, thus not ascribable to any ruler, probably late 1200s and early 1300s	S			All gold and most silver coins of this dynasty were carefully struck, though the silver is commonly found very worn. The coppers, both the early "dirhams" and the puls, were indifferently struck, and usually found worn or corroded.
	<b>temp. 'Alim Khan, 1329-1339 / 1910-1920</b>				<b>NOTE:</b> Almost all rulers, from 'Alim Khan onwards, also bore the titles Sayyid and Muhammad, which appears on most of the coins. Only Muhammad 'Ali Khan (1238-1258) actually bore Muhammad as part of his personal name, while Khuday Quli, on the contrary, was entitled <i>sayyid</i> , without the name Muhammad.
	'Alim Khan served as a nominal Russian vassal until March 1918 (Jumada I 1336). Thereafter, he ruled as independent khan until ousted by the Soviet forces on 2 September 1920 (18 Dhu'l-Hijja 1338). He fled to Kabul, where he died in 1944.				
A3044	AV tilla	R			
	Dated 1329-1331, of which only 1329 is occasionally seen.				
B3044.1	AE 1/32 tenga, dated 1329-1332 (2.6g)	C	3044	AE pul or dirham, anonymous, various types	RR
	All puls of this style with date off flan or illegible are reckoned as this type for convenience. Possibly also dated 1333.			<b>Muhammad 'Alim Khan, 1213-1225 / 1799-1810</b>	
B3044.2	AE 2 pul (or 2 falus), 1332-1334 (2.6g)	C		Some coins of this and the following ruler bear his name, others are anonymous, as noted in the type descriptions.	
	As B3044.1 but '2' in center, for 2 falus. Scarce with full date. Year 1334 is rare.				
C3044	AE 4 falus, 1334-1335 (2.3g), year 1335 is rare	S	3045	AE dirham, silver-coated, with name of ruler	RRR
	Denomination written <i>chahar falus</i> , i.e., "four falus" in Persian. Coins C3044 through M3044 are described as a falus with the actual denomination written out in Persian, as described.		3046	AE dirham, silver-coated, anonymous but inscribed <i>dirham</i>	R
	All bear the denomination on obverse, mint name Bukhara on reverse. These coins reflect a rapid inflation that commenced shortly before the Soviet re-occupation, due to the international economic consequences of the First World War.			Types #3046, 3052, and some varieties of #3044, can only be assuredly distinguished when the date is legible.	
D3044	AE 8 falus ( <i>hasht falus</i> ), 1335 (2.3g)	S	3047	AE pul, with name of ruler	RR
E3044	AE ½ tenga ( <i>falus-e nim tenga</i> ), 1336	R	3048	AE pul, anonymous, several varieties	R
	Half tenga = 32 falus.			<b>'Umar Khan, 1225-1238 / 1810-1822/23</b>	
F3044	AE tenga ( <i>falus-e yek tenga</i> ), 1336-1338	S		Both anonymous and named coins issued for this ruler.	
	Examples dated 1337 are occasionally found overstruck on either #C3044 or D3044 (both rare). The year 1338 is RR.		3049	AR tenga, with name of ruler, as <i>muhammad 'umar khan</i>	RRR
G3044	AE 2 tenga ( <i>falus-e do tenga</i> ), 1336-1337	C	3050	AR tenga, anonymous, with his title <i>amir 'ali mudabbar</i>	RR
H3044	AE 3 tenga ( <i>falus-e seh tenga</i> ), 1336-1337	C	3051	AE dirham, silver-coated, with name of ruler	RR
I3044	AE 4 tenga ( <i>falus-e chahar tenga</i> ), 1336	RRR	3052	AE dirham, silver-coated, anonymous, with titles only, several variants, assigned by date & design	RR
J3044	AE 5 tenga ( <i>falus-e panj tenga</i> ), 1336-1337	R		One interesting variety bears just the word <i>amiri</i> on the obverse, the mint (and sometimes the date) on the reverse, thus suggesting that the silver-coated "dirham" were actually called <i>amiri</i> (or for short, <i>miri</i> ) (Zeno-76718). On many types, the denomination was engraved <i>dirham</i> , as #3046).	
	(Former K3044 is now 3043K.)		3053	AE pul, anonymous, assigned to ruler only by date	R
L3044	AE 10 tenga ( <i>yekdah tenga</i> ), 1337-1338	C		<b>Muhammad 'Ali Khan, 1238-1258 / 1823-1842</b>	
	Year 1338 is always on the reverse, with 1337 on obverse.			From this reign onward, all gold and silver coins mention the name of the ruler. Copper fulus remain anonymous and can be assigned to ruler only by date (except #3062A).	
M3044	AE 20 tenga ( <i>bist tenga</i> ), 1337-1338	S	3054	AV tilla, mint of Khoqand, without couplet	RR
	Normally dated on both sides but known with date on reverse only (R). Year 1338 is RR.		3054A	AV tilla, mint of Ferghana, dated 1246	RRR
	Types L3044 & M3044 were struck on planchets made from used brass artillery shells! All United States cents dated 1944-1946 were struck on planchets made from salvaged cartridge cases.			The reverse inscription reads <i>be-ferghana zad sekkeh be-sim o zar</i> , "in Ferghana were struck coin[s] of silver and gold". The obverse & reverse inscriptions form a rhyming couplet. <sup>753</sup>	
	Type E3044 through M3044 are usually carelessly struck, typically 10-25% flat, sometimes uglier. Fully struck well-centered examples are relatively rare.		3055.1	AR tenga, known dated 1239 only	RRR
				With couplet as #3054A, but <i>be-khoqand</i> instead of <i>be-ferghana</i> .	
			3055.2	AR tenga, known dated 1243-1246 and later, without couplet	R
				Only year 1245 is occasionally seen.	
			3056	AE pul, anonymous, assigned to ruler by date	R
				<b>Sher 'Ali Khan, 1258-1260 / 1842-1844</b>	
			3057	AV tilla	RRR

<sup>753</sup> Zeno-69772.

3058	AR tenga	RRR	
3059	AE pul, anonymous, dated 1259 only	RRR	
<b>Muhammad Murad Khan, in Ferghana, 1260 / 1844</b>			
A3060	AR tenga, minted at Ferghana, dated 1260 <sup>754</sup>	RRR	
The obverse & reverse legends together comprise a rhyming distich with the epithet <i>saheb-e zafar</i> ("holder of victory." i.e., "the victorious") added to the ruler's name.			
<b>Khudayar Biy, as prince, 1260-1264 / 1844-1848 (later Khudayar Khan)</b>			
Inscribed <i>wali nu'miya khudayari</i> , which can be translated as "possessor of the beneficence of Khudayar." The phrase suffices as the ruler's name on all three metals.			
L3060	AV tilla, known dated 1262	RRR	
M3060	AR tenga	RR	
N3060	AE pul, mint of Ferghana, undated	R	
<b>Khudayar Khan, as khan, 1<sup>st</sup> reign, 1264-1275 / 1848-185</b>			
Inscribed with his proper name and titles: <i>sayyid muhammad khudayar khan</i> (usually without <i>muhammad</i> on the gold tillas).			
3060	AV tilla, several legend variants	R	
3061	AR tenga, several variants	S	
3062	AE pul, anonymous	R	
3062A	AE pul, citing the ruler by name	RR	
<b>Malla Khan, 1275-1278 / 1858-1862</b>			
3063	AV tilla	R	
3064	AR tenga, several variants	S	
3065	AE pul, anonymous	R	
Malla was assassinated in 1278. Coins identical to #3063 & 3064 but dated 1288-1290 are listed as #A3077 & B3077. They have different frames surrounding the legends, and lack the word <i>bahadur</i> in the obverse text.			
<b>Shah Murad Khan, 1278 / 1862</b>			
Struck only at Khoqand. For tengas in the name of a Muhammad Murad Khan dated AH1260, see #A3060.			
3066	AV tilla	RR	
3067	AR tenga	RR	
<b>Khudayar Khan, 2<sup>nd</sup> reign, 1278-1280 / 1862-1863</b>			
The mint epithet is Dar al-Mulk, used only in this reign.			
3068	AV tilla	R	
3069	AR tenga, two distinct variants	S	
<b>Sayyid Sultan Khan, 1280-1282 / 1863-1865</b>			
3070	AV tilla	R	
3071	AR tenga	S	
3072	AE pul, known dated 1280-1281	RR	
<b>Khuday Quli Khan, 1282 / 1865</b>			
His full title is <i>sayyid khuday quli khan</i> , without the name Muhammad.			
3073	AR tenga	RRR	
<b>Khudayar Khan, 3<sup>rd</sup> reign, 1282-1292 / 1865-1875</b>			
3074	AV tilla	R	
3075	AR tenga, several varieties of the frame designs	C	
3076	AE pul, anonymous	S?	
<b>"Malla Khan", pseudo-reign, 1288-1289 / 1873-1874</b>			
There is no doubt that Muhammad Malla was killed in 1278/February 1862. Although it was considered a rebel issue in or near Khoqand, Irpon Tukhtiev & Vladimir Nastich have proven that these coins were actually struck at Kashghar in			
Xinjiang by local rebels under the authority of Ya'qub Beg. They bore no relationship to actual issues of Khoqand and were replaced in 1290 by issues in the name of the Ottoman sultan 'Abd al-'Aziz, correctly citing the mint of issue as Kashghar. It is possible that the dies were produced at Khoqand and shipped to Kashghar for Ya'qub Beg.			
A3077	AV tilla, dated 1288, 1289 and 1290//1289, "Khoqand" mint	RRR	
B3077	AR tenga, dated 1289 and 1290//1289, "Khoqand" mint	RR	
<b>Nasr al-Din Khan, first reign, 1292 / September 1875</b>			
3078	AV tilla	RRR	
3079	AR tenga	RRR	
Tengas of the first reign of Nasr al-Din have <i>muhammad nasr al-din</i> forming the central line. Coins of his second reign have the words <i>muhammad</i> and <i>sayyid</i> "stretched" in parallel to form the two central horizontal lines, with <i>nasr al-din</i> forming the bottom line of text. <sup>755</sup>			
<b>Fulad Khan, 1292 / 1875</b>			
September to December 1875, interrupting the two nominal reigns of Nasr al-Din; a rebel of the Kipchak tribe.			
3077	AR tenga	RR	
At least two varieties, one with and one without the word <i>sayyid</i> . Normally dated 1292, but examples have recently been reported clearly dated 1293, which commenced 28 January 1876, at least four weeks after Fulad's demise. Perhaps struck from dies prepared in advance for the following year, or just a "typo".			
<b>Nasr al-Din Khan, 2<sup>nd</sup> reign, 1292-1293 / January-February 1876</b>			
3079B	AR tenga, see #3079 for identification	RRR	
<b>Anonymous</b>			
A3080	AE pul, without date, illegible date, or date off flan, thus not ascribable to a specific ruler, various types	S	
<b>KHANS OF KHIVA (KHOREZM) (INAKID, KUNGRAT)</b>			
Veliaminof-Zernof, V., "Monety bukharskiya i khivinskiya," <i>Trudy Vostochnogo Otdeleniya Arkheologicheskogo Obshchestva</i> , v. 4 (1859), pp. 328-456 (not seen by the author).			
Severova, M.B., "Kolleksiya Monetnyh Shtempeley Khivinskogo Khanstva iz Gosudartvennogo Ermitazha", <i>Epigrafika Vostoka</i> , v. xxiv (1988), pp. 94-114.			
Kleshchinov, V.V. <i>Atlas monet Khorezma 1337-1338</i> , Moscow 2006.			
Kozyrev, Andrei N., and Vladimir Nastich, personal correspondence to the author.			
<i>A small kingdom centered around the city of Khiva on the lower Amu Darya River, now within Uzbekistan. It was founded by a certain Iltazar before 1219/1804. Although there have been no significant publication for this series since 1859, thanks to comments and correction from Vladimir Nastich, the listing here is reasonable complete. Additional types, varieties and dates continue to be discovered.</i>			
Nearly all coins bear the mint name Khwarizm (Khorezm), followed by the epithet <i>dar al-saltanat</i> for the gold coinage, but <i>dar al-islam</i> for the silver (from #3083 onwards) and most copper. A few have the mint name Khivaq (for Khiva) or Marw, as noted in the descriptions. The rare gold is generally very well struck, as is the early silver, until about 1280. Later silver is often weakly struck and usually found severely worn, as is the copper of all periods.			
<b>temp. Iltazar, 121x-1221 / ≤1800-1805</b>			
S3080	AR tenga, anonymous, dated 1216	RRR	
<b>Muhammad Rahim, 1221-1241 / 1805-1825</b>			
T3080	AV tilla, with mint name Khivaq <sup>756</sup>	RRR	
Known dated 1227, 1230, 1234, 1236, 1237.			

<sup>754</sup> My thanks to Andrei Kozyrev for confirming the existence of this type.

<sup>755</sup> My thanks to Andrei Kozyrev for this information.

<sup>756</sup> Reported by Vladimir Nastich, May 2002 & August 2011. The epithet for Khivaq is *dar al-saltanat*.

U3080	AV tilla, without mint name, dated 1236 only Inscribed with a couplet divided between obverse & reverse, <i>sardar-e salatin muhammad rahim / zad sekke bar zar za lof-e karim.</i> <sup>757</sup>	RRR	L3087	AE ½ shahi ( <i>nisf falus-i shahi</i> , average weight 7-9g) Either cast or struck on cast flans, often very crude, known dated 1272 and probably also 1273.	RRR
3080	AR tenga, with or without date, mint name Khwarizm <b>Allah Quli Khan, 1241-1258 / 1825-1842</b>	RR	3087	AE pul, anonymous, assigned only by date	R
T3081	AV tilla	RRR	<b>Muhammad Fanah Bahadur Khan, rebel, 1275 / 1859</b>		
3081	AR tenga Normally mint of Khwarizm, but there is a rare example of Marw dated 1256 (RRR), the only reported post-Shaybanid silver coin of Marw. Some Khwarizm tengas dated 1252 bear the royal title <i>khwarizmshah</i> (RRR). The mint epithets for Khwarizm are <i>dar al-saltana</i> or <i>dar al-mu'minin</i> , more seldom <i>dar al-muslimin</i> . Marw is <i>marw-i shah-i jahan</i> , as though the petty Allah Quli claimed to be "king of the world"!	R	A3088	AR tenga, in his name	RRR
3081A	AE fals, anonymous, known dated 1253 <b>Rahim Quli Khan, 1258-1261 / 1842-1845</b>	RRR	<b>Sayyid Muhammad Rahim Khan, 1281-1328 / 1864-1910</b>		
3081E	AR tenga <b>Muhammad Amin Khan, 1261-1271 / 1845-1855</b>	RRR	All tillas and tengas of this ruler were struck in the name of his deceased father, reading <i>sayyid muhammad marhumi khan</i> ( <i>marhum</i> = "deceased", "the late"). There was no alteration in coin designs and inscriptions when he became a Russian vassal in 1290/1873, but the weight of the tenga was reduced, perhaps to match the silver content of the contemporary Russian 15 kopek. Tengas dated 1290 are assigned to subtype by weight.		
3082	AV ½ tilla (about 2.3g), usually dated 1269-1271 <sup>758</sup>	R	T3088	AV tilla, known dated 1287	RRR
3083	AR tenga	R	3088.1	AR tenga (about 3.1g), first series, struck 1282-1290	S
3083A	AE pul, anonymous, normally dated 1271 <b>'Abd Allah Khan, 1271 / 1855-1856</b>	RR	3088.2	AR tenga (about 2.4g), second series, as Russian vassal, struck 1290-1313 Only the dates 1306-1311 are common.	C
A3084	AV ½ tilla	RRR	3088A	AR tenga (about 2.4g), special "improved" type, more carefully manufactured, 1296 only	RRR
B3084	AR tenga <b>Qutlugh Murad Khan, 1271-1272 / 1856</b>	RRR	K3089	AE shahi (10-12g)	RR
3084.1	AV ½ tilla (Zeno-62147) Without mint name, bearing instead a couplet divided between obverse & reverse, <i>be-lof-e khoda-ye karim-e javad / be-zar sekke zad shah-e qutlugh-murad.</i> <sup>759</sup> This is one of very few later Central Asian coins engraved with a Farsi couplet. The others are #U3080 (gold) of Khiva, and both #3054A (gold) & 3055.1 (silver) of Khoqand.	RRR	L3089	AE ½ shahi (5-7g)	RR
3084.2	AV ½ tilla (Zeno-21358) With the second half of the couplet on the obverse, mint & date on the reverse.	RRR	3089	AE pul, anonymous, assigned by date (Anonymous copper coins allegedly dated 1328 and assigned to Isfendiyar Khan, 1328-1336 / 1910-1918, are actually dated 1228. There was no coinage struck at Khwarizm 1314-1336, including the entire reign of Isfendiyar Khan.)	S
3084.3	AV ½ tilla (Zeno-31589) With his name <i>qutlugh murad muhammad bahadur khan</i> on the obverse, mint & date on reverse.	RRR	<b>temp. Sayyid 'Abd Allah Khan, 1336-1338 / 1918-1920</b>		
<b>Sayyid Muhammad Khan, 1272-1281 / 1856-1864</b>			3089C	AR tenga, dated 1337 only, handstruck Citing the deceased ( <i>marhum</i> ) Sayyid Muhammad Rahim Khan.	RR
3085.1	AV tilla, mint, epithet and date around a central rosette on the reverse, dated 1272-1273	RR	3089E	AE tenga, dated 1337 only	RRR
3085.2	AV tilla, mint and epithet around a central circle on the reverse, date inside the circle, 1274-1281	RR	3089F	AE 2½ tenga, 1337-1338 Denomination <i>iki yarim tanga falus</i> variously arranged.	R
3085A	AV ½ tilla not confirmed		3089G	AE 5 tenga, 1337-1338	S
3086.1	AR tenga, reverse as #3085.1, 1272-1273	R	3089H	AE 15 tenga, 1338 only Types 3089E-3089H were manufactured with crudely assembled machines on cast-prepared copper or bronze flans. A few were overstruck on Russian copper kopecks (RRR).	RR
3086.2	AR tenga, reverse as #3085.2, 1274-1281	S	<b>KHOREZM SOVIET REPUBLIC</b>		
3086A	AR shahi (= ¼ tenga), 1274 only	RRR	Kleshchinov, V.V. – see Zeno for information.		
K3087	AE shahi ( <i>falus-i shahi</i> , average weight 16-20g) Normally cast, sometimes so crudely that the text is barely legible. Known dated 1272-1273.	RRR	<i>Founded by local authorities upon dissolution of the Khanate. Coins were coarsely struck with primitive machinery using hand-engraved dies. All inscriptions are in Uzbek Turkish in the Arabic script. There are numerous variations in ornaments and design layout, some very rare.</i> All coins are inscribed ruble in Russian and its equivalent manat in Uzbek Turkish.		
			<b>Autonomous, 1338-1343 / 1920-1924</b>		
			3089P	AE 20 rubles ( <i>yigirma manat</i> ), 1338-1339	S
			3089Q	AE 25 rubles ( <i>yigirma besh manat</i> ), 1339 only	S
			3089R	AE 100 rubles ( <i>yuz manat</i> ), 1339 only	S
			3089S	AE 500 rubles ( <i>besh yuz manat</i> ), broad flan (about 25mm), 1339	RRR
			3089T	AE 500 rubles ( <i>besh yuz manat</i> ), narrow flan (about 20mm), 1339-1340 Modern forgeries of many of these coins have appeared since the 1980s. They are easily distinguished by their crudely engraved Turkish calligraphy, sometimes altogether meaningless.	S

<sup>757</sup> "Muhammad Rahim, chief of the sultans, struck coinage in gold by the grace of the Generous (God)."

<sup>758</sup> On my pricelist #160, lot 21, I listed an example on which I read the clear date "126" as 1260, either truly 1260, or 126x where the engraver had forgotten to chisel the last digit of the date. I ignored the small character cut in the center of the right edge of the field, as it more closely resembled a diacritical for the vowel "u" than a numeral, though it could be regarded as "9". However, a coin with this die on the reverse and clearly dated 127[0] on the obverse proves that the interpretation as 1269 is correct (Zeno-75357).

<sup>759</sup> "By the grace of God, the generous, the beneficent, he struck coins in gold, the shah, Qutlugh Murad".



## XINJIANG REBELLIONS

Zhu Yuanjie *et alii*, *Xinjiang Numismatics*, Hong Kong, 1991. Text in English and Chinese.

Later studies in Chinese have been published since about 2000.

*After Xinjiang (Sinkiang, aka Chinese Turkestan) was annexed to China between 1757 and 1759, several Islamic rebellions took place, for which coins were struck during three of them. Chinese coinage of Xinjiang at first consisted only of cast copper cash, often with the mint name on the reverse in the Arabic script. In the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, hammered silver ½ miscals were extensively produced, replaced by machine struck copper and silver (plus some very rare gold) since the 1890s. Only the rebel coins are included here. The proper Chinese machine-struck coins are listed in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century editions of the Standard Catalog of World Coins, the cash pieces in David Hartill, Cast Chinese Coins.*

### **temp. Ghazi Rashid, at Kuche & Khotan, 1279-1284 / 1862-1867**

G3090 AR tenga, struck at Khotan & dated AH1283 RRR  
With the kalima & date on obverse, *zarb khotan latif* on reverse.

H3090 AE cash, produced with mint name Kuche, Uighur S  
inscriptions, occasionally dated 1280 or 1281  
The denomination was also known as 2 pul, as noted in Zeno.

J3090 AE cash, similar, but with mint name Aksu, undated RRR  
Most examples bear the numeral 2 on the reverse, more likely reference to "2 pul" than a regnal year.

### **temp. Ya'qub Beg, based at Kashghar (Kashi), 1282-1294 / 1865-1877**

All coins of Ya'qub Beg bear inscriptions in Persian and are stylistically similar to coins of similar denominations of Khoqand. All bear the name of the current Ottoman sultan, whom Ya'qub Beg recognized as overlord in order to assure protection against both the Russians and Chinese.

All coins of Ya'qub were minted at Kashghar. For gold & silver coins in the name of the deceased Malla Khan that cite the mint as Khoqand, but struck at Kashghar, & dated 1288-1289, see #A3077 & B3077.

M3090.1 AV tilla, mithqal weight (4.5-4.6g), citing 'Abd RR  
al-'Aziz, struck 1290-1291  
Mint name with epithet *mahrusa* ("protected").

M3090.2 AV tilla, reduced weight (3.7g), similar, dated R  
1291-1294  
Mint name with epithet *dar al-saltana*.

N3090 AV tilla, citing Murad V, dated 1293 RRR

O3090 AV tilla, citing 'Abd al-Hamid II, date uncertain RRR  
The date has not been confirmed, but is most likely 1294.

P3090 AR ½ miscal, citing 'Abd al-'Aziz, struck 1290- C  
1295 (*sic*)  
Half miscals continued to be produced under the authority of the Chinese government after 1294/1877, many with Persian or Turkish inscriptions. These are catalogued in *Xinjiang Numismatics* and *SCWC*.

P3090 AE falus, citing 'Abd al-'Aziz, struck 1291-1294, S  
often undated  
The alleged year 1290 is 129x with the final digit missing.

### **temp. Habib Allah, rebel at Khotan, fl. 1283 / 1866**

R3090 AR miscal, anonymous, dated 1283 RR  
Sunni kalima on the obverse, *zarb khotan latif* on the reverse. An example dated 1282 has been reported, but its authenticity has been questioned.

## AFGHANISTAN

### DURRANI (SADOZAY BRANCH)

Aside from the generally excellent listing (but somewhat obsolete) in the *Standard Catalog of World Coins* (18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century editions), see the following:

Whitehead, R.B., *Catalogue of Coins in the Panjab Museum, Lahore. Vol. III: Coins of Nadir Shah and the Durrani Dynasty*, Oxford 1934. Full translations of the couplets can be found there.

*The Durrani were an Afghan family who rose to power in the service of Nadir Shah (1148-1160). The main branch was known as the Sadozay after their eponymous founder, Sado. They adopted the title of durr-i durrani, "pearl of pearls" upon the accession of Ahmad Shah in 1160/1747. By the late 1220s real power had fallen largely to various princes of the Barakzay branch of the Durrani clan, though nominal Sadozay princes continued to sit on the throne until 1258/1842. After 1216/1801, the Durrani patrimony was often split into concurrent branches, typically at Kabul, Qandahar, Herat and Peshawar, but due to complex overlapping of the branches, the rival rulers are listed here in approximate chronological order, irrespective of where they ruled.*

*Durrani coinage followed the Mughal standards as adopted by Nadir Shah of Iran. Some earlier Durrani coppers bear the name of the ruler and are listed in this section. Early anonymous coppers of the Durrani period and all later coppers are civic issues, and are consequently listed under the general rubric of Iranian Civic Copper.*

*Each mint enjoyed its own stylistic and calligraphic tradition, though with few exceptions (e.g., issues of Kashmir) the inscription was always uniform at all mints for a given ruler. Even when not legible or off flan, the mint can almost always be determined by calligraphic style and symbols. In this respect, Durrani coinage conforms to the traditions of later Mughal coinage of India. And as with Mughal coinage, Durrani inscriptions tend to be arranged similarly at all mints, though date and regnal year positions vary.*

*With few exceptions (as noted), fractional rupees are very rare. Not all known fractions are listed here, and additional fractional types continue to be discovered.*

*The relative rarity of mints and types can be ascertained from the listings in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century volumes of the *Standard Catalog of World Coins*, although most of its pricing is obsolete. With some exceptions, Durrani silver and gold coins are usually found in very fine or better grades, usually, but not always, carefully struck. Coppers are usually in fine or better condition, though often encrusted, corroded, or abominable struck.*

*For most types, each mint produced a distinctive subtype, ordinarily defined by cartouches, calligraphic style, and the presence of one or more symbols in the field. These distinctions are not noted in the listings here, but can be observed in SCWC, where most types and subtypes are illustrated by mint & variety.<sup>760</sup> In addition, several reigns saw the utilization of more than one couplet. As in the second edition, these distinctions are also not noted here. The mints are typically grouped into Afghan mints (Mashhad, Herat, Ahmadshahi<sup>761</sup> and Kabul) and Indian mints (located in modern Pakistan or India), as each group followed somewhat different patterns of design. Rupees of Indian mints were quite rare until the 1970s, but have become relatively available since then.*

*The Indian mints were under Durrani control as follows: Ahmadnagar Farrukhabad (AH1174-1176), Ahmadpur (1217), Anwala (1173-1174), Attock (1161, 1170-1199), Bahawalpur (1217-1225), Bareli (1173-1174), Bhakhar (1161-1234), Dera (1161-1218), Derajat (1166-1234<sup>762</sup>), Kashmir (1167, 1176-1235), Lahore (1161, 1165, 1170-*

<sup>760</sup> Due to the computerization of the SCWC data base, the Durrani, Alikozay and Barakzay coins are now organized by ruler rather than by mint. This new organization is more convenient only if the reader has already successfully determined the ruler, but in general, it stinks.

<sup>761</sup> Ahmadshahi was the epithetical name of Qandahar, introduced by Ahmad Shah (who else?) during his 10<sup>th</sup> year of reign.

<sup>762</sup> Rupees continued to be minted at Bhakhar in the name of Mahmud Shah after the Sikh conquest, 1235-1252. See types #A3104-B3104, 3134 and

1180, 1211-1213), Multan (1165-1185, 1194-1219), Muradabad (1173), Najibabad (1180), Peshawar (1160-1246), Sarhind (1164, 1173-1177), Shahjahanabad (= Delhi, 1170, 1173-1174), Sind (1170, 1173), and Tatta (1170-1174).

The original weight standard of the Durrani rupee maintained the classic Mughal value of 11.52g, the normative at nearly all mints until 1228/1813. Thereafter, most remaining mints developed local standards, noted in the listings (but confused in SCWC). The principal exception was Kashmir, which followed a local standard of about 11.00g throughout the Durrani period. Some other Indian mints also utilized a local standard prior to 1228, with weights in the range of 10.9 to 11.3g, standards than have not yet been adequately researched. Also unresearched is the reduction of silver fineness on Durrani coins from about 1216/1801 onwards, especially at Herat and Qandahar.

Durrani gold mohurs preserve the Mughal standard of 11.02g, though occasional examples are slightly lighter, typically 10.85-10.95g for specimens not worn or damaged, as was also the case for the Mughal mohurs, though to a less extent.

Regnal years were always in numerals except for year one, which is normally stated by the Arabic word *ahad* ("one"). Occasionally, some Indian mints employ regnal years different from those of the Afghan mints, normally referring to Durrani acquisition of that city.

Only those copper coins bearing a reference to the ruler are included with the Durrani listings. The anonymous coppers are included under the Iranian Civic Copper, third period. Whereas the gold and silver normally bear the name of the ruler incorporated into a verse couplet, the coppers normally have just the adjectival form of the ruler's name, as for example, *falus-i ahmadshahi*, *falus-i taimurshahi*, etc.

For anonymous civic copper struck at Durrani & Barakzay mints, see the third period section of Iranian Civic Copper, where their mints are marked with an asterisk (\*).

Some additional fractional denominations and nazarana rupees exist for certain reigns. A few of these are now listed in SCWC.

#### Ahmad Shah, 1160-1186 / 1747-1772

- 3090 AV mohur R  
Least rare are Mashhad and Shahjahanabad, despite their brief production.
- A3091 AV ashrafi (about 3.5g), Mashhad & Ahmadshahi mints only RR  
Previously unknown, some 25-30 pieces from Mashhad were discovered in 1994, all dated 1168. Ahmadshahi is RRR.
- 3091.1 AR sawai rupee (1¼ rupees), Dera mint, year 2 RRR  
Normal round flan, lion on obverse, only text on reverse. Sawai means ¼, so this issue was ¼, i.e., 25% heavier than the standard rupee. The 25% heavier silver denomination was first introduced by the Mughal ruler Jahangir.
- 3091.2 AR sawai rupee (1¼ rupees), Mashhad mint RRR  
Teardrop shape planchet, inscriptions only on both sides.
- 3092 AR rupee (11.52g) C  
Struck at most mints to this standard, which was equivalent to the contemporary Mughal standard. The following mints are known to have different weights: Derajat (about 11.10g), Kashmir (uncertain, probably full weight at the beginning, then reduced to about 11.20g after about 1180), and apparently also Sarhind and Tatta (exact weights undetermined).<sup>763</sup>
- 3092A AR nazarana rupee, struck on very broad thin flans (±35mm), Shahjahanabad mint only RRR  
Almost all known specimens are mounted and worn, having been used as decorative medals.
- 3092F AR ½ rupee, known from Ahmadshahi and Peshawar RRR
- 3092G AR ⅓ rupee (about 3.6g), lion on obverse (similar to type #3091.1 of Dera), Rikab mint<sup>764</sup> RRR
- 3092H AR ¼ rupee, mainly from Herat, known dated 1163 RRR
- 3092K AR 2 shahi (1/5 rupee), Mashhad mint, year 8 RRR
- 3093 AR shahi (1/10 rupee), standard couplet on obverse, mints of Mashhad (R) & Kabul (RRR) R  
Mashhad shahis are usually found holed or ex-mount.

- 3093A AR shahi (1/10 rupee), *ahmad shah durr-i durrani* on obverse, mint & date on reverse RR  
Known for Herat & Peshawar mints.
- 3094 AE dam, Kashmir mint only R  
The dam weighed 16-18 grams, occasionally slightly more, whereas the falus ranged from about 6 to 12 grams. Moreover, the dam is narrow and extremely thick, whereas the falus is rather broad and of medium thickness. The same is true for later reigns.
- 3095 AE falus S

#### Anonymous countermarked coins, circa 1170s-1230s / 1760s-1820s

The following countermarks were used by the Durrans in their Indian territories from about 1171 until at least the 1230s.

Nonetheless, the origin of these countermarks is unclear. Dated examples range from the 1170s to the 1230s and exist in great variety, of which those of the 1170s and 1180s are the most frequently encountered dated issues. They are found on a wide mixture of Durrani, Iranian and Indian coins, mostly rupees.

The place of the countermarking is unknown, as a mint name never appears in the countermark. Their prevalence on coins of Attock and of the Rohilla mints formerly led to their attribution to the Rohillas in Bihar and Bengal, but the presence of regnal years of Ahmad Shah (most commonly years 23-24) and other evidence confirms Durrani provenance for at least a substantial majority of these types. Some rare examples may be of Iranian origin, but for convenience I have assumed that they are all Durrani.<sup>765</sup>

Additional undertypes exist, all rare. See type #2663A for what is likely an earlier type.

The entire *rayij* series is desperately craving further research!

- A3096 AR 2 rupee of Iran (23.04g), countermarked *rayij* ("current") as #B3096, usually with date R
- B3096.1 AR rupee, Durrani, Iranian or Indian (most commonly Mughal or Rohilkhand) hosts, countermarked *rayij*, usually with date S
- B3096.2 AR rupee, similar *rayij* countermark but with regnal year of Ahmad Shah in addition to date S  
Most commonly 1183/23 or 1184/24. These are the only countermarked rupees that can be securely assigned to a specific ruler, although it is always possible that these countermarked rupees were used long after the inscribed date.
- C3096 AR 6 shahi of the Afsharid dynasty of Iran, with similar *rayij* countermark RR
- D3096 AR rupee, various hosts, countermarked *khalis* ("pure"), usually without date RR

#### Sulaiman Shah, 1186 / 1772

- M3096 AV mohur RRR
- 3096 AR rupee RR

#### Taimur Shah, as Nizam (viceroy), 1170-1186 / 1757-1772

- A3097 AV mohur RR
- 3097 AR rupee (11.52g) S  
Only the Multan mint struck these coins throughout Taimur's viceroyalty. Coins of other mints are known from years 1180-1186 (Bhakhar), and 1170-1171 only (Dera, Lahore, Sarhind and Sind, together with a few very rare later years for Lahore).
- 3098 AE falus RR

#### Taimur Shah, as Sultan, 1186-1207 / 1772-1793

Posthumously dated silver coins from Herat (1208-1212 & 1216) & Mashhad (1208-1209), together with gold mohurs of Herat dated 1208-1209, are actually issues of Mahmud Shah when in opposition to Shah Zaman (1207-1216).

- 3099 AV mohur S  
Kabul and Ahmadshahi are the most available mints, Peshawar only modestly rare. Ahmadshahi mohurs are frequently undated.

A3142-F3142 for other coins of Indian mints citing a Durrani ruler after leaving Durrani control.

<sup>763</sup> Further research needed to determine the local weight standards, especially at Kashmir.

<sup>764</sup> Zeno-52129, Ahmad Shah's only reported silver coin of Rikab.

<sup>765</sup> The proliferation of countermarking in the 1180s and 1190s may be related to the alterations in the notional value of rupees and other silver coins beginning about 1181/1767. British and other European influence perhaps played a substantial role in a policy that presumably guaranteed the monetary value of various silver coins.

3100	AR rupee (principally 11.52g) Rupees struck at Kashmir (11.00g) and some other Indian mints used a lighter standard. A revised design was introduced at Herat, Kabul & Qandahar in 1204. Whereas early dates are somewhat scarce for these three mints, issues of 1204-1207 are the most common rupees of Taimur. This revision was not adopted at Indian mints.	C	<b>Shah Shuja' al-Mulk, 2<sup>nd</sup> reign at Kabul, 1218-1224 / 1803-1809</b> Shah Shuja' al-Mulk ruled briefly at Kabul in 1216/1801 (1 <sup>st</sup> reign), but no coins of that ephemeral event have yet been discovered.
3100N	AR nazarana rupee, Kabul 1207/year 21 Unique specimen, about 35mm, from the William F. Spengler collection.	RRR	3119 AV double mohur, Bahawalpur mint only RRR
3101	AR 1/10 rupee (shahi), Mashhad mint only	RR	3120 AV mohur R
3102	AE dam, Kashmir mint only Well-struck examples with clear mint & date are rare.	S	3121 AR double rupee, Bahawalpur only RR
3103	AE falus Struck at Balkh (S), as well as at a number of Indian mints, principally Bhakhar & Multan (R).	S	3122 AR rupee C
<i>Later local issues in his name, more than 30 years later:</i>			3123 AR ¼ rupee RR
A3104	AR rupee, posthumous issue of Sind, full weight (10.9g), dated 1239-1245	S	3124 AE falus, Kashmir mint S
B3104	AR rupee, similar, but reduced weight (7.8g), dated 1252-1257 and undated Some issues either undated or dated 1252 bear the city name Haidarabad as well as the provincial name Sind (R).	C	3124B AE falus, Balkh mint, dated 1218 <sup>766</sup> RRR
<b>Humayun Shah, 1207 / 1793</b> All coins of this ruler were struck at Ahmadshahi.			3124A AE falus, countermarked <i>shah shuja'</i> in two lines on earlier types RR
3104	AV mohur	RRR	<b>Shah Shuja' al-Mulk ("3<sup>rd</sup> reign"), as local ruler at Peshawar 1227 / 1812</b>
3105	AR rupee	RRR	E3125 AR rupee RRR Known from Peshawar 1227/year one only.
<b>Shah Zaman, 1207-1216 / 1793-1801</b>			<b>Shah Shuja' al-Mulk ("4<sup>th</sup> reign"), as local ruler at Bhakhar 1233-1234 / 1817-1818</b>
3106	AV mohur	R	G3125 AR rupee RRR Known from Bhakhar 1234 (and possibly 1233, both without regnal year) and Peshawar 1234/year one.
3107	AR double rupee Struck only at Kabul & Ahmadshahi.	R	<b>Qaisar Shah, 2<sup>nd</sup> reign, in Kashmir only, 1222-1223 / 1807-1808</b>
3108	AR rupee (11.52g at most mints) Also struck at Mashhad, years 1212-1214 (RR).	C	3125 AR rupee R
3108A	AR rupee, with an additional couplet in the reverse margin, struck mainly at Ahmadshahi	S	<b>Ata Muhammad Bamizai Khan, in Kashmir, 1223-1228 / 1808-1813</b> This ruler was not himself of Durrani lineage, but a governor in Durrani service who rebelled in Kashmir. His quasi-anonymous coinage bears the name of Shah Nur al-Din, patron "saint" of Kashmir. For all metals, mint of Kashmir only
3109	AR ½ rupee	RR	A3126 AV double mohur (22.0g) <sup>767</sup> RRR
3110	AR ¼ rupee	RR	3126 AR rupee S
A3111	AR shahi (1/10 rupee), Mashhad mint only	RRR	3127 AE falus, inscriptions as on the rupee R
3111	AE falus (mainly Kashmir & Multan mints)	S	<b>Muhammad 'Azim, in Kashmir for Ayyub Shah, 1228-1234 / 1813-1819</b>
<b>Mahmud Shah, 1<sup>st</sup> reign at Kabul, 1216-1218 / 1801-1803</b> Two different couplets were used during this short reign, except for types #3115A and the falus, type #3117. For rupees of Herat, see type #3138.1.			3128 AE falus, Kashmir mint only RR Anonymous, identified by date and regnal year combination, of which only 1228/year 1 is occasionally seen. Muhammad 'Azim was technically a Barakzay, but recognized the powerless Ayyub Shah as his nominal overlord.
3112	AV double mohur, Bahawalpur mint only	RRR	<b>Mahmud Shah, 2<sup>nd</sup> reign at Kabul, 1224-1233 / 1809-1817</b> For various issues of Herat, see #V3138 ff.
3113	AV mohur, several mints	RR	3129 AV mohur R
3114	AR double rupee, Bahawalpur only	RR	3130 AR double rupee, Kabul mint only RRR
3115	AR rupee, couplet type, many mints Including Mashhad 1216, with reverse as Shah Zaman type #3108 of Mashhad (RRR). Mashhad returned to Iranian rule in 1218.	S	3131.1 AR rupee, full standard (11.52g), struck 1224-1228 C Full-weight rupees of Kabul 1228/year 5 are commonly found countermarked <i>rayij</i> , sometimes with the as yet unexplained numeral "9", perhaps for the year 1229.
3115A	AR rupee, with <i>Sultan Mahmud</i> in cartouche on obverse (without the couplet), blank border around (Mashhad mint only) Same reverse as type #2785-2786 of Nadir Mirza (Afsharid).	RRR	3131.2 AR rupee, reduced standard, struck 1228-1234 ( <i>sic</i> ), about 10.68g at Kabul and Peshawar, about 10.35g at Ahmadshahi, 10.80g at Kashmir C Each mint introduced a design change in 1229 to indicate the reduced weight. For example, at Peshawar the reverse frame was altered from a square to an octagon.
3116	AR ¼ rupee, type as #3115	RRR	
3117	AE falus, struck principally at Kashmir & Multan	R	
<b>Qaisar Shah, 1<sup>st</sup> reign, at Kabul &amp; Ahmadshahi (Qandahar), 1218 / 1803</b>			
A3118	AV mohur	RRR	
3118	AR rupee	RR	

<sup>766</sup> Zeno-3296.

<sup>767</sup> Single mohurs of Ata Muhammad Bamizai have recently been reported, but are considered modern forgeries. Modern forgeries of the double mohur appeared in 2010.

	Derajat rupees of this type dated 1235-1251 are posthumous Sikh issues, listed as type #B3142, weight about 10.80g.			
3131A	AR rupee (10.68g), <i>sultan mahmud</i> & date in central quatrefoil on obverse, Peshawar mint, 1231-1233	R		
3132	AR ½ rupee, Ahmadshahi mint (either standard)	RR		
3133	AE falus, in his name, Multan & Peshawar	S		
3134	AR ja'u ( <i>aka</i> timasha), struck by the local rulers of Ladakh in the name of Mahmud Shah	S		
	The mint name as <i>ibat</i> (Tibet), struck circa 1815-1842. Over this period, the weight declined from about 2.5g to 2.15g. The Durrani never took possession of Ladakh. Rather, the local king artificially recognized Durrani overlordship, thus pretending to protect his own independence against other enemies.			
	<b>Sultan 'Ali, 1233 / 1817</b>			
3134S	AR rupee, struck at Kabul 1233 only	RRR		
	<b>Ayyub Shah, 1233-1246 / 1817-1829</b>			
A3135	AV mohur	RRR		
3135	AR rupee (10.68g, as #3131.2), without central cartouche on obverse	S		
	Struck at Kashmir until 1234 (RR), at Ahmadshahi until 1237, at Kabul until 1239, Peshawar until 1245, and Bhakhar (dates undetermined). The Kashmir rupee weight is about 10.9-11.0g. Peshawar rupees dated year 11 but without Hijri year are remarkably common. It has been suggested that they were struck for several years under the Sikhs after the demise of Sultan Muhammad Tila'i in 1250, whose own coins (#3159) were struck 1247-1250.			
3135B	AR rupee (10.68g), <i>ayyub shah</i> in central obverse quatrefoil, Peshawar 1233 only	RR		
	Struck briefly between the death of Mahmud Shah and the brief 4 <sup>th</sup> reign of Shah Shuja' at Peshawar (KM-732).			
3135C	AR rupee, <i>sekke az shu'a'-i ayyub shah</i> <sup>768</sup> in large central obverse quatrefoil, Peshawar 1245-1246	RR		
	Both with regnal year 12 (KM-734).			
3135A	BI rupee, struck only at Ahmadshahi 1238-1239	RR		
	Struck in very debased silver, almost coppery in color, part of severe debasement at this mint from 1238 to 1243. See #A3138, C3138 & D3138 for Barakzay issues dated 1240-43, struck on similarly debased silver. <sup>769</sup>			
A3136	AR ½ rupee, known only from Ahmadshahi	RRR		
3136	AE falus, struck only at Peshawar	R		
	(Types #3137 and A3138 have been moved to the Barakzays.)			
	<b>Mahmud Shah, at Herat, 1216-1245 / 1801-1829</b>			
V3138	AV mohur, Herat mint	RRR		
3138.1	AR rupee, first standard (11.52g), struck 1216-1239	A		
	From the late 1220s onward, the silver purity was reduced, either from time to time or gradually, though the actual fineness has not yet been analyzed. Issues circa 1237-1239 are of severely debased billon, perhaps as poor as the contemporary issues of Ahmadshahi (probably less than 20% silver, the rest copper), and are relatively rare. Fine silver was restored in 1240, together with a weight reduction, now listed as type #3138.2. This type normally dated on both obverse & reverse, with mismatched dates often encountered, usually just one year apart.			
3138.2	AR rupee, second standard (10.2g), struck 1240-1243, fine silver <sup>770</sup>	R		
3139.1	AR ½ rupee, 1 <sup>st</sup> standard, known dated 1230	RRR		
3139.2	AR ½ rupee, 2 <sup>nd</sup> standard, normally dated 1243	R		
V3140	AR ⅓ rupee, 1 <sup>st</sup> standard, heavily debased, dated 1239 only	RRR		
A3140.1	AR ¼ rupee, 1 <sup>st</sup> standard, known dated 1230	RRR		
A3140.2	AR ¼ rupee, 2 <sup>nd</sup> standard, known dated 1241 and 1242	RRR		
3140	AR 1/6 rupee, 1 <sup>st</sup> standard	RR		
3141	AR 1/12 rupee, 1 <sup>st</sup> standard	RRR		
	<b>Mahmud Shah, local types in his name, mostly posthumous</b>			
	Miscellaneous types struck in his name by local rulers after his deposal at Kabul in 1233/1817. See also #3134.			
A3142	AR rupee, Bhakhar mint, dated 1239-1269	S		
	All bear the name <i>mahmud shah</i> in a central octofoil on obverse, whereas his regular issues have his name in normal horizontal inscriptions. Coins of 1259 (with lion) and later (with or without the lion) were struck under British authority (S).			
B3142	AR rupee (10.8-10.9g), Derajat, 1235-1251	S		
	Struck under Sikh authority by the local ruler Nawab Sher Muhammad as vassal of Ranjit Singh, but without any inscriptional or indicative evidence of Sikh issuance.			
C3142	AR rupee (11.1g), Bahawalpur, 1239-1250	R		
	Beginning in 1251, anonymous rupees were struck at three mints in Bahawalpur state (Bahawalpur, Ahmadpur, Khanpur). These fall outside the scope of this Checklist (see SCWC for details).			
D3142	AR rupee, reduced weight (8.2g), Ahmadpur, a mint in the Bahawalpur region, 1248-1249 only	RRR		
E3142	AE falus, Multan mint, circa 1253-1270	R		
F3142	AE falus, Kalat mint, posthumously dated in the 1280s & 1290s	S		
	The normal date is 1295, probably struck as a frozen year for at least a decade. Blundered dates are frequently encountered.			
	<b>Kamran Shah, at Herat only, 1245-1258 / 1829-1842</b>			
3142.1	AR rupee (10.35g), dated 1244 ( <i>sic</i> )	RRR		
	Kamran probably acceded in 1244, though the history texts uniformly place his accession in 1245. All Herat rupees dated 1244 bear the name of Kamran, together with his first couplet, <i>tala bar mehr nazad o noqreh bar mah / za fayz-i naqsh nam-i kamran shah</i> . <sup>771</sup>			
3142.2	AR rupee, Herat mint, dated 1244-1255	S		
	These rupees bear his 2 <sup>nd</sup> couplet, not yet fully deciphered, <i>mi-azad az mehr tala o noqreh az mah / bakht ... (bar?) sekke-ye kamran shah</i> . <sup>772</sup>			
A3143	AR ½ rupee (5.18g)	RR		
B3143	AR ¼ rupee (2.6g)	RRR		
3143	AR jendak (=1/6 rupee, 1.92g), known dated 1255-1257	RR		
	The word <i>jendak</i> means "fish scale" and was applied to these coins because of their tiny size. Extensive copper coins were struck at Herat during Kamran's reign, but are anonymous and thus included under type #3235.			
	<b>Shah Shuja' al-Mulk, 5<sup>th</sup> reign, as figurehead for the British army, 1255-1258 / 1839-1842</b>			
3144	AV mohur	R		
3145.1	AR rupee (9.40g), Kabul 1255 only, with long couplet	RR		
	Couplet <i>sekke zad bar sim o zar roushantar as khorshid o mah / sultan hami-ye din-e nabi shuja' al-mulk shah</i> . <sup>773</sup>			

<sup>768</sup> "Coin from the splendour of Ayyub Shah".

<sup>769</sup> The actual silver content has not yet been analyzed, but is likely less than 20%, perhaps as low as 10%.

<sup>770</sup> Many examples have been reported that are dated 1244, but the final "4" is oddly engraved. It seems to be more likely either a "3" (perhaps adjusted from a "2") or either a "4" reengraved as "3" or vice versa. For now I am regarding all of them as 1243.

<sup>771</sup> "Gold as the sun was struck and silver as the moon, by grace of engraving the name of Kamran Shah." SARC auction 7, lot 475.

<sup>772</sup> The first part of this couplet means "he struck gold from the sun and silver from the moon", but the second line remains perplexing. The 1244 example was found in a recent collection, to be published in 2012.

<sup>773</sup> "He struck coins in silver and gold, more brilliant than the sun and moon, the sultan, protector of the Prophet's religion, Shah Shuja' al-Mulk."

3145.2 AR rupee (9.40g), Kabul 1255 only, with obverse inscription his name and title only, *sultan shuja' al-mulk shah durr-i durran* R  
*Durr-i durran* means "pearl of pearls".

3145.3 AR rupee, similar, but with name & title shortened to just *sultan shuja' al-mulk shah* C  
Struck 1255-1258 at both Kabul & Ahmadshahi, for which only 1255 & 1256 are common.<sup>774</sup>

3146 AR ½ rupee RRR

3147 AR ¼ rupee RRR  
Both the ½ and ¼ rupees were struck only at Ahmadshahi, inscriptions as #3145.3.

#### Fath Jang, 1258 / 1842

3148 AR rupee (9.40g), four subtypes, each with a distinctive imperial legend (KM-488.1 to 488.4) R  
Kabul (R) and Ahmadshahi (RRR) mints.

#### Shahpur Shah, 1258 / 1842

3149 AR rupee (9.40g), Kabul only RR  
(Types #3150-3152, previously but incorrectly assigned to the Durranis, have been moved to the Barakzays, listed under Kohandil Khan & Rahamdil Khan.)

### ALIKOZAY

For references, see the entries for the Barakzays.

A minor branch of the Durrani family ruling briefly at Herat, from 1258/1842 until ousted by the Iranian Qajars in 1272/1856. All their coinage is anonymous. In the first and second editions I had accepted the received wisdom dating back to 19<sup>th</sup> century publications that had erroneously assigned these coins to the Sadozay branch of the Durranis.

All coins of the Alikozays were struck at Herat, normally well struck. Alikozay silver coins from 1263-1271 adopted the contemporary weight standards of the Qajars of Iran. The issue of 1261 followed the Qandahari rupee weight of 5.75g of Kohandil Khan (#3151), which had also been the Qajar qiran weight until reduced to 5.37g in 1255, six years earlier. There are no Alikozay coins known dated 1262.

#### temp. Yar Muhammad Khan, 1258-1267 / 1842-1851

3153.1 AR qandahari rupee (5.75g), struck 1261 only R

3153.2 AR qiran (5.37g), struck 1263-1267 S

All coins of this reign bear the kalima obverse, mint on reverse. The date is normally on the reverse.

A3154 AR ½ qiran (2.68g), reported only for 1263 RRR  
Known in the Tübingen collection (2.76g). The date is somewhat uncertain.

3154 AR jendak (1.92g), struck 1258-1260 RR  
The jendak was equal to 1/6 of the canonical Mughal rupee of 11.52g, also reckoned as ½ of a Qandahari rupee.

#### temp. Sa'id Muhammad Khan, 1267-1271 / 1851-1855

3156 AR qiran (4.61g), type as #3153, dated 1269-1270 R  
Coins of 1269-1270 are distinguishable from #3153.2 by weight, equal to 24 nokhod, reduced from 28 nokhod.

3156A AR qiran (5.37g), aphoristic obverse, dated 1271 only RR

The aphorism is *malek-e molk dar haqiqat ust*, "in truth, the possessor of kingship is He", i.e., God. There are two varieties, one with reverse (mint & date side) in a circle, one in a square. Note that the reduced weight of #3156 was abandoned.

#### temp. Muhammad Yusuf Khan Sadozai, 1272 / 1855-1856

Muhammad Yusuf was not an Alikozay but an obscure scion of the Sadozay s (*sic*) who had gained a following amongst the

<sup>774</sup> Kabul rupees of this type allegedly dated 1259 are often cited. They are really dated 125x, as the symbol misinterpreted as "9" is actually the diacritical mark for the "u" of the mint name Kabul, despite its location. The same mark appears on many of the Kabul rupees of Shuja' al-Mulk dated between 1255 and 1258.

Hazaras of northern Afghanistan. Upon his overthrow, Herat passed to Iranian Qajar control. Qajar types #2927 and 2930 were struck there 1273-1280 (S).

3155 AV tilla (about 3.1g), dated 1272 only RRR

Obverse & reverse fields enclosed in scalloped borders of 16 to 18 arcs. Otherwise, the legends and their arrangement are the same as #3156A of Sa'id Muhammad Khan.

### BARAKZAY<sup>775</sup>

In addition to the listings in the *Standard Catalog of World Coins* (now somewhat obsolete), the following are useful:

Album, Stephen, "The anonymous coinage of the Barakzays and their rivals in Afghanistan: A reappraisal", supplement to *ONS Newsletter* 159, Spring 1999.<sup>776</sup>

White-King, J., "History and Coinage of the Barakzay Dynasty of Afghanistan", *Numismatic Chronicle*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ser., 16, 1896, pp. 277-344, interesting but totally obsolete.

Another branch of the Durrani tribal alliance, rising to power in 1239/1824 and ousted by a palace coup in SH1352/1973 (one of the earliest Barakzay rulers, Purdil Khan, briefly assumed power in Qandahar in 1234/1819 and produced anonymous coins during that year, type #K3138). Except for some civic coppers, their hammered coinage ceased in 1308/1891. Later machine-struck coinage lies outside the scope of this Checklist, listed in SCWC. All coppers of this period are purely anonymous and are included with the listings of Iranian Civic Copper.

The listings of the Barakzays have been extensively rewritten, based on my research published in the 1999 article cited above. So far, I have not helped SCWC revise these rulers.

The weight standards of the silver coins are somewhat approximate, as insufficient specimens were available for weighing. For many issues, especially those struck during the 1240s and 1250s, the silver coins were somewhat debased.

With a few rare exceptions, Barakzay silver coinage was struck only at Kabul, Qandahar (named Ahmadshahi until 1279 and occasionally thereafter) and Herat, the gold coinage only at Kabul. The full rupee is the only common denomination for Kabul, its fractions always very rare. Qandahar (Ahmadshahi)<sup>777</sup> also struck full rupees, especially at the beginning and end of Barakzay coinage, but the much lighter qandahari rupee was its principal dominant issue from 1260 to 1298, thereafter the same weight as the Kabul rupee. The Iranian qiran was the sole denomination produced under the Barakzay at Herat, 1280-1308. Gold was apparently struck only for ceremonial purposes, as imported foreign gold coins served the needs of trade. The listings of silver and gold coinage in SCWC are excellent, though many attributions need to be revised. Copper falus of the Barakzay period are entirely anonymous and included under the Iranian Civic Coppers.

Most Barakzay silver and gold coins bear the date on both sides, with the result that mismatched dates are occasionally found, especially for the reign of 'Abd al-Rahman, the last issuer of hammered coins.

All Barakzay types whose numbers contain 3137, 3138, 3150, 3151 and 3152 were formerly listed as Durrani issues.

#### temp. Habib Allah, at Kabul, 1239 / 1824

3137 AR rupee (10.6g), anonymous, kalima obverse, struck at Kabul in 1239 only (KM473)<sup>778</sup> RRR

<sup>775</sup> The dynastic name is spelled either Barakzai or Barakzay. The Encyclopedia Britannica prefers Barakzay for all references, whereas Wikipedia suggests Barakzai for singular, Barakzay for plural, but uses either in various entries. Both are correct, and I've chosen Barakzay with the Y (why not?), at the suggestion of the proprietor of an Afghan restaurant near San Jose, California.

<sup>776</sup> The numerous reattributions in my article have not been incorporated into the SCWC, due to my own laziness.

Some additional types and dates from the William Spengler collection were sold at my third auction, World Numismatic Auctions #3, July 2008.

<sup>777</sup> All Barakzay issues of Qandahar dated 1234-1279 bear the mint name in the honorary form Ahmadshahi. From 1280 onwards, with a few rare exceptions, the traditional name Qandahar was restored.

<sup>778</sup> SICA 9:1129.

- 3137A AR rupee (10.6g), with legend *sekke-ye doulat-e soltan-e zaman*, struck at Kabul in 1239 only (KM476) R
- The legend translates as "coin of the government of the Sultan of Time". Two different arrangements of the obverse legend.
- temp. Sultan Muhammad, 1240-1241 / 1824-1826**
- Sultan Muhammad ruled together with his brother Yar Muhammad for the first several months. Coins of the joint reign and the following sole reign of Sultan Muhammad are typologically identical.
- 3137B AR rupee (9.85g), Kabul only (KM477) S
- Anonymous, with legend *fakhr kon ey sim o zar az sekke-ye saheb-e zaman*, "O strike silver and gold with the dies of the Master of Time". See #3157 of Dost Muhammad for similar rupees dated 1241-1245 with differently arranged inscriptions.
- temp. Purdil Khan, at Qandahar, 1<sup>st</sup> reign, 1234 / 1819**
- K3138 AR rupee (10.4g), anonymous, kalima obverse, struck only at Ahmadshahi in 1234 (KM160) RRR
- Later issues of the time of Purdil and his brother Sherdil dated 1234-1239 (circa 1819-1824) cite Ayyub Shah and are therefore included with Ayyub Shah's types #3135 and 3135A.
- temp. Sherdil Khan, at Qandahar, 1240-1241 / 1824-1826**
- A3138 BI rupee (10.4g), obverse bearing the short inscription, *ya shah-e ghouth-e a'zam* (KM165) R
- "O Shah, the greatest defender". Struck only at Ahmadshahi, 1240-1242, of such highly debased billon that they are sometimes misconstrued as copper coins (KM165). Coins dated 1242 were struck posthumously, perhaps because a new design had not yet been chosen by his successor.
- B3138 BI ½ rupee, similar (KM166) RR
- temp. Uncertain ruler, at Qandahar, 1241 / 1825**
- C3138 BI rupee (10.4g), obverse legend *sekke-ye saheb zaman* RRR
- Not yet in KM; example in the Tübingen collection (#99-16-68).
- temp. Purdil Khan, at Qandahar, 2<sup>nd</sup> reign, 1241-1245 / 1826-1830**
- Same inscriptions and layout as #A3138 of Sherdil Khan, struck only at Ahmadshahi.
- D3138 BI rupee (10.4g), anonymous, heavily debased silver, kalima obverse, dated 1242 & 1243 RR
- Kalima obverse, mint & date reverse. This debased silver type is included as part of KM168 in the current SCWC.
- E3138 AR rupee (9.15g), type as last but good silver, dated 1244 and 1245 only (KM168) R
- F3138 BI ½ rupee (5.2g), heavily debased metal, type as #D3138 (KM166) RRR
- temp. Kohandil Khan, at Qandahar, 1<sup>st</sup> reign, 1246-1255 / 1830-1839**
- H3138 AR rupee (9.15g), same arrangement as #E3138, distinguishable only by date (also KM168) C
- It remains unclear whether Kohandil succeeded his brother Purdil Khan late in 1245 or early in 1246.
- Dost Muhammad, at Kabul, 1<sup>st</sup> reign, 1241-1255 / 1826-1839**
- Other anonymous types of Kabul dated 1239-1241 that were formerly assigned to Dost Muhammad are now assigned to Habib Allah (1239) and Sultan Muhammad (1240-1241).
- Without the king's name:
- 3157 AR rupee (9.85g), first issue, anonymous, same inscriptions as #3137B but arranged with *saheb-e zaman* in central obverse quatrefoil (1241-1244) (KM-478) S
- 3157A AR rupee (9.85g), same inscriptions, but rearranged as on #3137B (1244-1245) (KM-479) R
- A3158 AR rupee (reduced weight, 9.45g), second issue, new couplet in the name of his deceased father, Payinda Khan (1245-1250) (KM480) C
- Several arrangements of obverse & reverse inscriptions.
- In his own name:
- 3158 AR rupee (9.45g), third issue, new couplet bearing his own name (1250-55) (KM481) C
- temp. Sultan Muhammad Tila'i, at Peshawar, 1247-1250 / 1831-1834**
- 3159 AR rupee (approximately 9.45g), anonymous, Peshawar mint only (KM739) S
- Hans Herrli points out that Sultan Muhammad Tila'a was appointed by the Sikh ruler Ranjit Singh as the feudatory ruler in Peshawar. However, Herrli does not consider Tila'i's coinage as a Sikh issue.
- Muhammad Zaman, at Kabul, 1<sup>st</sup> reign, 1257 / 1841-1842**
- K3160 AR rupee (9.45g) (KM485) R
- Short half couplet tentatively read as *madad kon darin zaman ya saheb oz-zaman*, "O Master of Time, help us during this time".
- Muhammad Zaman, at Kabul, 2<sup>nd</sup> reign, 1258 / 1842**
- 3160 AR rupee (9.45g) (KM486) RR
- Couplet identical to the first couplet of Shah Zaman, originally used 1207-1214 (#3108). Easily identified by its style, date and reduced weight.
- temp. Muhammad Akbar, at Kabul, late 1258 / 1842-1843**
- 3161 AR rupee (9.45g), anonymous type, kalima obverse, dated 1258 only (KM493) R
- Very similar to the rupee of Kabul dated 1239 (#3137), differing mainly by the omission of the marginal inscription around the kalima on the obverse.
- Dost Muhammad, 2<sup>nd</sup> reign, 1258-1279 / 1842-1863**
- All coins of Dost Muhammad struck during his second reign bear his full name. Herat never came under his control.
- A3160 AV tilla, Kabul mint only (KM499) RRR
- 3162 AR rupee (9.28g), in his name, Kabul (KM497) and Ahmadshahi (KM188) C
- Kabul rupees known dated all years 1259-1280 except 1260. Dost Muhammad died at Herat a few days before the end of 1279, so that the news of his death may not have reached Kabul until early in 1280. Thus rupees were struck in his name at Kabul in 1280, sometimes muled with dies dated 1279. Issues of 1259 & 1261 have fine calligraphy, rupees of Kabul 1262-1280 are much coarser, though occasionally, these later dies are quite artfully engraved. Coins of this type are frequently dated on both sides, so that mixed dates, never more than one year apart, are not particularly scarce.
- Issues of Ahmadshahi are dated only in 1272 and 1273 (R).
- 3162N AR nazarana rupee (9.28g), same as #3162 but struck on broad thin planchets RRR
- Diameter 28-29mm instead of 21-23mm.
- B3163 AR ½ rupee (3.09g), similar, known only from Kabul dated 1276 RRR
- 3163 AR qandahari rupee (5.55g), struck only at Qandahar (1272-1279) (see also #3151) (KM187.1, listed there as ½ rupee) C
- Mint name engraved as Ahmadshahi 1272-1273, then as Qandahar 1273-1279. Formerly misunderstood as a half rupee. An example dated 1281 was in the Spengler collection, probably a mule of a Dost Muhammad obverse with a Sher 'Ali reverse (KM187.2).
- Anonymous (undetermined ruler), at Qandahar, 1258-1259 / 1842-1843**
- V3150 AR rupee (9.15g), Ahmadshahi mint, 1258-1259 RRR
- With the Arabic obverse inscription *al-mulk lillah al-wahid al-qahhar* ("the kingship belongs to God, the One, the Almighty")

and dated on both sides, this type is perhaps the earliest issue of Kohandil Khan before the formal commencement of his second reign, though it might be a late issue of the short-term Durrani ruler Safdar Khan (b. Shah Shuja<sup>79</sup>). One example is known dated 1258 on the reverse from an otherwise unknown die, together with a normal 1259 obverse die. Others are dated either 1258 or 1259 on both sides.

**temp. Kohandil Khan, at Qandahar, 2<sup>nd</sup> reign, 1259-1271 / 1843-1855**

All coins of this reign are anonymous, with distinctive obverse inscriptions, *saheb-e molk-e haqiqi ust* ("the Master of Kingdom of Truth is He", a reference to God) for the heavy rupee and its fractions. The term *soltan-e jahan-e haqiqi ust* ("the Sultan of the World of Truth is He") was used for the light Qandahari rupee.

- |       |   |     |
|-------|---|-----|
| 3150  | AR rupee (9.15g), dated 1259 only (KM183)           | R   |
| 3150B | AR ½ rupee (3.05g), similar, also dated 1259        | RRR |
| 3151  | AR qandahari rupee (5.75g), dated 1260-1271 (KM182) | C   |

The Qandahari rupee was noted by several European visitors as equal to 10/17 of the Kabuli rupee, though a relationship of approximately 10/16.5 is more likely, assuming that the two mints maintained identical fineness. It is also equivalent to precisely half the traditional Mughal rupee of 11.52g.<sup>779</sup> Coins dated 1266-1271 are rare. Coins dated 1272 said to be of this type are now regarded as #3152 (q.v.).

**temp. Rahamdil Khan, at Qandahar, 1271-1272 / 1855-1856**

- |      |                                      |    |
|------|--------------------------------------|----|
| 3152 | AR ½ rupee (dated 1271-1272) (KM184) | RR |
|------|--------------------------------------|----|
- Anonymous coinage, distinguished from type #3151 of Kohandil Khan by the word *rayij* in teardrop cartouche in reverse center. (Numbers 3153-3155 are now listed under the Alikozay dynasty, just before the Barakzay listings.)

**temp. Muhammad Ya'qub, 1<sup>st</sup> reign, as local governor at Herat, 1280 / 1863**

Dost Muhammad died at Herat a few days before the end of 1279. His son Sher 'Ali hastened to Kabul. These types were struck under the authority of Sher 'Ali's son and deputy, Muhammad Ya'qub, before his father's succession at Kabul was secure. For later issues of Muhammad Ya'qub, see #3174 ff.

- |       |   |     |
|-------|---|-----|
| A3164 | AV tilla (3.45g), citing <i>saheb al-zaman</i> within a square on the obverse, mint & date on reverse | RRR |
| B3164 | AR qiran, similar <sup>780</sup>  | RRR |

**Sher 'Ali, 1280-1296 / 1863-1879**

Interrupted at Kabul and Qandahar by the two short reigns of Muhammad Afzal and Muhammad A'zam between 1283/1866 and 1285/1868, but he continued to be recognized at Herat during these years.

All normal rupees were struck solely at Kabul.

- |       |                            |     |
|-------|----------------------------|-----|
| E3164 | AV mohur, known dated 1288 | RRR |
| 3164  | AV tilla                   | RR  |
- An unusual variant was struck at Kabul (1293 & 1295) from dies intended for and inscribed with the denomination of the half rupee but with the weight of a double tilla.<sup>781</sup>

- |       |  |    |
|-------|--|----|
| T3165 | AR rupee (9.22g), milled type, dated 1280 only (KM502) | RR |
|-------|--|----|

A presentation rupee struck to celebrate the coronation of Sher 'Ali. Obverse couplet begins *be-vilay-e amir-e kull-e amir...*

- |        |   |   |
|--------|---|---|
| 3165.1 | AR rupee (9.22g), hammered, struck at Kabul 1280-1282 (KM503) | C |
| 3165.2 | AR rupee (9.22g), dated 1285 only (KM516)                     | R |
- Obverse couplet begins *za 'ayn-e marhamat...*  
Obverse couplet begins *za eltefat-e kathir...*

<sup>779</sup> The contemporary machine-struck British Indian rupee weighed 11.66g of sterling silver, thus with a net silver content of 10.69g. The fineness of the Barakzay rupees has never been analyzed and published.

<sup>780</sup> In the ANS collection.

<sup>781</sup> Cf. S. Album, price list #133, coin #37. The weight of this coin suggests that the intended denomination may have been a double tilla. As an award coin, its actual weight was likely irrelevant.

- |        |   |   |
|--------|---|---|
| 3165.3 | AR rupee (9.22g), five-stem toughra, struck 1285-1286 (KM518) | R |
|--------|---|---|
- Obverse inscription *amir sher 'ali khan-e afghan*. The reverse bears the denomination *yekrupiyeh* ("one rupee") in the center, surrounded by the mint, its epithet, and the date.

- |        |  |   |
|--------|--|---|
| 3165.4 | AR rupee (9.22g), three-stem toughra, struck 1286-1287 (KM517) | C |
|--------|--|---|
- As #3165.3 but without the word *afghan* on obverse.

- |        |   |   |
|--------|---|---|
| 3165.5 | AR rupee (9.22g), simple type, struck 1287-1296 (KM519) | C |
|--------|---|---|
- Obverse inscription merely *amir sher 'ali*. Without denomination. A few examples are beautifully produced.

- |       |   |    |
|-------|---|----|
| 3165A | AR nazarana rupee (9.22g), type as #3165.5, hammered on broad flans similar to those used for #3166.1, known from Kabul 1292 only | RR |
|-------|---|----|

- |        |  |   |
|--------|--|---|
| 3166.1 | AR rupee (9.22g, about 27mm), crudely milled, broad flan (about 27mm), fine calligraphy (Kabul only, 1292-1293) (KM-520) | S |
|--------|--|---|

- |        |   |   |
|--------|---|---|
| 3166.2 | AR rupee (9.22g, about 25mm), crudely milled, but narrower flan (about 25mm) and thicker calligraphy (Kabul 1293-1295) (KM-521) | C |
|--------|---|---|

Both subtypes of #3166 bear the ruler's name in the obverse center, surrounded by the kalima, and the denomination *yekrupiyeh* ("one rupee") in the reverse center. It is not known why the traditional handstruck type (#3165.5) was produced simultaneously with these primitively milled issues, apparently in more or less equal quantities, both from the Kabul mint.

This was the last Afghan circulating coin (along with the half rupee, #3168.2) to cite the kalima.

- |      |  |   |
|------|--|---|
| 3167 | AR qandahari rupee (5.55g), hammered (Qandahar mint only), several variants struck 1280-1295, with ruler's name (see SCWC for details) | C |
|------|--|---|

- |       |   |   |
|-------|---|---|
| 3167A | AR qiran (4.99g), struck at Herat 1280-1292, several types, all with ruler's name | S |
|-------|---|---|

- |       |   |   |
|-------|---|---|
| 3167B | AR qiran (= ½ rupee, 4.61 g), Herat mint, dated 1295 only | C |
|-------|---|---|
- From 1295-1308 the Herat qiran weighed exactly half the weight of the Kabuli rupee and equal to the machine-struck Iranian qiran first struck in 1294. The weight is exactly one mithqal.

- |        |  |   |
|--------|--|---|
| 3168.1 | AR ½ rupee, milled, fine calligraphy as on #3166.1 (Kabul 1292 only) | R |
|--------|--|---|
- With Persian denomination *nimrupiyeh* ("half rupee"), the same on #3168.2.

- |        |   |   |
|--------|---|---|
| 3168.2 | AR ½ rupee, milled, thick calligraphy as on #3166.2 (Kabul 1295 only) | C |
|--------|---|---|

- |      |                          |     |
|------|--------------------------|-----|
| 3169 | AR 1/6 rupee, Kabul mint | RRR |
|------|--------------------------|-----|

**Interregnum, 1282 / 1865-1866**

- |       |  |   |
|-------|--|---|
| A3170 | AR rupee, anonymous, Kabul mint only (KM504) | R |
|-------|--|---|
- The obverse bears the simple evocation *ya saheb oz-zaman*, "O Master of Time". Struck during the interregnum between the abdication of Sher 'Ali in Rabi' II 1282 out of grief over the loss of two of his sons and his resumption of power towards the end of the same year. Assigned to Sher 'Ali in SCWC.

**Muhammad Afzal, at Kabul & Qandahar, 1283-1284 / 1866-1867**

- |      |                                    |   |
|------|------------------------------------|---|
| 3170 | AR rupee (Kabul only)              | S |
| 3171 | AR qandahari rupee (Qandahar only) | R |
- Some of these qandahari rupees bear the mint name Ahmadshahi (RRR) instead of Qandahar.

**Muhammad A'zam, at Kabul & Qandahar, 1283-1285 / 1866-1868**

- |      |                                    |    |
|------|------------------------------------|----|
| 3172 | AR rupee (Kabul only)              | S  |
| 3173 | AR qandahari rupee (Qandahar only) | RR |

**Muhammad Ya'qub, 2<sup>nd</sup> reign, as independent ruler, 1296-1297 / 1879-1880**

See #A3164 & B3164 for his early issues as governor at Herat.

- 3174 AR rupee (9.22g) C  
 3175 AR qandahari rupee (5.55g) C  
 3175 AR qiran (½ rupee, 4.61g), Herat mint only S  
 A3176 AR ⅓ rupee RRR
- temp. Wali Muhammad, at Kabul, 1297 / 1880**
- 3176 AR rupee S  
 Inscribed *ya saheb oz-zaman*, “O Master of Time”, instead of a ruler’s name, the same as A-A3170, but stylistically altogether different. Usually dated on both sides.
- Wali Sher ‘Ali, at Qandahar, 1297 / 1880**  
 This ruler was named Sher ‘Ali and bore the title *wali-ye qandahari*. He is called Wali Sher ‘Ali to distinguish him from the previous Sher ‘Ali, who had died in 1296. Sher ‘Ali II would be a more appropriate name.
- A3177 AV tilla RRR  
 3177 AR kabuli rupee (9.22g), struck at Qandahar S  
 3178 AR qandahari rupee (5.55g), also struck at Qandahar S
- temp. Muhammad Ayyub, while besieging Qandahar, 1297 / 1880**
- 3179 AR ½ rupee, struck only at Qandahar S  
 Inscribed *al-mulku lillah*, “kingship is God’s.” The attribution to Muhammad Ayyub is tentative and demanding of further study.
- ‘Abd al-Rahman, 1297-1319 / 1880-1901**
- T3180 AV tilla, struck at Qandahar in 1298 RRR  
 3180 AR rupee (9.22g), hammered types (1297-1308) A  
 Struck only at Kabul and Qandahar. Some moderately rare Qandahar issues dated 1298 cite the mint name as Ahmadshahi. During this reign, Qandahar struck rupees after 1298 only to the Kabul standard (9.22g).  
 A machine-struck version of this type was prepared as a pattern by the Heaton mint in Birmingham, dated 1304 on obverse, 1303 on reverse (KM805) (R). Although technically a pattern, the large number of worn examples indicated that it entered into circulation. Regular machine-struck coinage began in 1308.  
**WARNING:** Debased metal forgeries of Kabul 1305 exist, originally said to have been made in India in the 1960s for the numismatic trade. I now believe that these were jeweler’s imitations, most likely manufactured in Afghanistan during the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, and that the Delhi dealer was unaware that they were not genuine. This is understandable, given how little genuine common types of Barakzay rupees cost in the 1960s, about 65¢ to \$1 each in bulk lots.
- 3181 AR qiran (= ½ rupee, 4.61g), hammered, Herat only C  
 A fractional denomination of Herat, probably ¼ qiran, is listed by SCWC without weight and called ⅓ rupee (KM-418, RRR). More information needed before it can be listed here.
- 3181Q AR qandahari rupee (5.55g), year 1298 RR  
 Known with mint name either Ahmadshahi or Qandahar.
- A3182 AR ⅓ rupee, hammered, mint of Kabul RR
- Muhammad Ishaq, rebel at Balkh, 1305-1306 / 1888**
- 3182 AR rupee R  
 Although minted at Balkh, all his coins are inscribed with the name and epithet of Kabul, save for a single example in the Ashmolean Museum with mint name Ard Sharif (“the illustrious land”), an epithet for Mazar-i Sharif near Balkh in northern Afghanistan.  
 Modern machinery was introduced at Kabul in 1308/1891. After 1308, the provincial mints of Qandahar and Herat continued to produce civic coppers, always hand-struck, sometimes overstruck on machine-struck coins from other countries. The machine-struck coinage is not described in this *Checklist*, but is listed in *SCWC*.

### IRANIAN CIVIC COPPER

Including the Afghan mints, several mints in the Caucasus, and issues of Baghdad during Iranian occupation.

See bibliographic entries under the Safavids. Also the following:

Valentine, William H., *Modern Copper Coins of the Muhammadan States*, London 1911 (reprint: London 1969). Especially useful for the Afghan mints.

Kutelia, Tinatin, *Catalogue of the Iranian copper coins in the state museum of Georgia*, Tbilisi 1990 (in Georgian, Russian & English).

Unfortunately, there exists no adequate study of this extensive series. The denominations are rarely known with any accuracy, the sequence of types (when undated) is thoroughly opaque. It is probable that many thousands of types have survived, probably more than ten or twenty thousand. All present collections, public or private, each contain only a small fraction of the known types, and almost all remain unpublished. Of accessible collections, those of the American Numismatic Society and the University of Tübingen have the largest representation of types, but both are discouragingly incomplete.

*Because the nature of copper coinage pursued different directions in Iran (including what is now Afghanistan) and Central Asia, I have divided the civic coppers into these two regions. Whereas Central Asian coppers are frequently found in large hoards, Iranian fulus are generally found individually, usually worn or corroded, as the result of extensive circulation. Hoards of more than a handful of pieces are almost never encountered.*<sup>782</sup>

*From about 800/1400 onwards, copper coinage in Iran (and in Central Asia from about 820/1420) became the prerogative of local authorities. The ruler was no longer cited, and few attempts were made to organize any semblance of uniformity amongst the mints. For convenience, the Iranian civic copper coinage can be divided into three periods. During the **first period**, from as early as the 780s/1380s at some mints to the early 900s/1500s throughout Iran, the average size was small (2-6 grams), and only a single denomination was normally produced, often called ‘adliya, though the generic term used by most numismatists for the “denomination” is fals. The coins are sometimes dated, and usually have geometric or floral designs, occasionally a pictorial device, on the obverse, normally both the mint and date on the reverse. They are usually found in worn condition, though when a large hoard of a single type has arisen, e.g. Balkh 860 and Badakhshan 868/869, higher grade specimens become relatively common.*

*The **second period** covers the 10<sup>th</sup>/16<sup>th</sup> century, and is characterized by larger flans (normally 5-10 grams, sometimes heavier), longer inscriptions, and the occasional pictorial device, usually an animal such as a lion, bull, or ram. Towards the end of the period, an attempt at a uniform coinage was promulgated within the Safavid territories, based on a series of denominations known as the ghaz (5 dinars, about 9 grams), qazbegi (10 dinars, about 18 grams), and bisti (20 dinars, about 36 grams). This remarkable series is described here separately (#K3215, the la‘nat series).*

*Iranian coppers of the second period and the early years of the third period were occasionally countermarked, usually with just the name of the mint, sometimes preceded by ‘adl or ‘adl shahi (#A3215) The most frequently encountered countermark mints are Kashan and Qumm.*

*The **third period** extended from towards the middle of the reign of ‘Abbas I until the introduction of modern machinery, circa 1010/1600 until 1295/1878 in Iran, but as late as 1348/1930 at some Afghan mints. The simultaneous production of multiple denominations continued occasionally at some mints, but both the weight standard and the preferred denomination varied from mint to mint. Typical weights vary from less than 4 to more than 20 grams, somewhat comparable to contemporary Indian Mughal & Princely State coppers. Each mint would select its preferred weight standard, often with a propensity for multiples of the 4.61g mithqal. Some cities chose to issue more than one denomination simultaneously.*

<sup>782</sup> During the 20 months I lived in Tehran between 1964 and 1973, I only encountered one large hoard of fulus, consisting of several hundred large heavy fulus, probably weighing about 17-20g each. The dealer kept them in a rusty old bowl, which he had been using as a heavy doorstep for years. They were almost all late 11<sup>th</sup>/17<sup>th</sup> century fulus of Kashan, with a few fulus of other mints, which I sorted out and purchased, for practically nothing.



A broad repertoire of pictorial & calligraphic types was employed at most mints, though poor quality of strike all too often obscures the artistry of the die work.

The coppers are listed here alphabetically by mint for each of the three periods. The listing is undoubtedly incomplete, especially for the first two periods, which are ill-represented in most public and private collections. The survival rate of these coins seems to have been disturbingly low, especially for the first two periods. However, the apparent low survival rate may reflect the numismatic market's disdain for these coppers prior to the 1980s, except for limited examples in superior condition. Not surprisingly, this series has always been popularly collected in Iran, where higher market prices have discouraged export since about 1970.<sup>783</sup>

#### FIRST PERIOD (CIRCA 780-907 / 1378-1501)

Included in this grouping are anonymous copper coins struck during the indicated period under the rule of the Timurid, Qara Qoyunlu, Aq Qoyunlu and other minor local dynasties. The few coins that actually bear the name of a ruler are listed with the silver and gold coins of the cited ruler.

With two exceptions, no coppers of this period are truly common.<sup>784</sup> This is likely due more to a low survival rate than to a low volume of production. Unlike contemporary Central Asian coppers, these issues were valid only locally and were not hoarded as a store of wealth. They circulated locally for lengthy periods, probably in reasonably large quantities, and are thus normally found worn or corroded. They were generally rather well manufactured.

Local terminology for copper denominations of this period is virtually unknown, although the terms *fals* or *fulus* were generic terms that are adopted here. Some coins are inscribed with the name 'adliya, especially from mints in central and southern Iran. Others, especially those of Khorasanian mints, are denominated as *fals* or *fulus*, but many other terms were undoubtedly used from time to time. Most copper coins of this period are dated, sometimes in words but more commonly in numerals.

Coins of this group are virtually never found countermarked, unlike their contemporary Central Asian coppers.

The rarity for types marked R or RR is tentative.

3183	Astarabad	RR
N3184	Badakhshan	S
	Known dated 868 and 869, with ibex on obverse, from a hoard of at least several hundred pieces. Coins of this type dated "828" are actually 868 with retrograde 6.	
T3184	Baku	RRR
	Known dated 882 (Zeno-103445).	
3184	Balkh	S
	Until the recent discovery of a hoard of about 1000 pieces, nearly all dated 860, this mint was very rare. Several other years are known, but never in large quantities.	
3185	Hamadan	RR
3186	Herat	C
	Probably always dated, struck occasionally from the 780s to the 840s, then virtually every year from about 850 until 913.	
3187	Isfahan	R
3187A	Isfarayin	RR
A3188	Kabul	S
	Struck from the 820s to the 870s, usually dated. After a long hiatus, copper production resumed in the 960s under the Mughals of India (excluded from this work).	
B3188	Kashan	RR
3188	Kirman	R
3189	Maragheh	RR

<sup>783</sup> When I lived in Tehran, 1964-1965, most coin dealers totally ignored the copper coins. Much to my surprise, I quickly learned that modest quantities of these coppers, together with machine-struck coppers and bus tokens of the 1950s, could be purchased at metal scrap yards, mixed together with old screws and bolts, auto parts, etc., and extraordinarily cheap. However, by the early 1970s, the copper coins were in demand, sold by dealers to collectors, and no longer "dirt-cheap".

<sup>784</sup> The only exceptions are two hoards from the northeastern region of Afghanistan, described under types #N3184 and 3184.

A3190	Mashhad	RR
B3190	Nimruz	S
	Fulus of this mint may also be regarded as anonymous issues of the later Mehrabanid kings of Sistan. At least a majority are dated, and it seems that more than one type was produced during some years. Almost always found in abysmal condition.	
3190	Nishapur	RR
3191	Qazwin	RR
A3192	Sabzawar	R
G3192	Saveh	RR
3192	Shabankara	RR
3193	Shiraz	R
N3194	Sijistan (= Sistan), known dated 837 & 876	RRR
3194	Sultaniya	RR
3195	Tabriz	R
A3196	Tun	R
3196	Yazd	RR

For Central Asian mints of this period, see #A3274 ff.

#### SECOND PERIOD (CIRCA 907-1010 / 1501-1600)

Coppers of the second period tend to be somewhat weakly struck, and are usually found quite worn, damaged or corroded. They were struck from relatively pure copper, which corrodes easily.

The conventional denominational term for coins of this period is *fulus*. Except for the *la'nat* series described immediately below, nearly all coins seem to have been struck to a single denomination, though its weight varied both from mint to mint, and sometimes chronologically at individual mints.

3197	Amid	S
	Anonymous fulus of Amid, Mardin and Ruha, usually undated, were first struck under Safavid rule (Isma'il I), replaced in the early 920s by Ottoman issues, first in the name of Selim I, then anonymous but dated with the accessional year of Süleyman I (926), followed by similar issues of his successors. The Ottoman issues naming the ruler or his accession year are catalogued under the appropriate rulers.	
3197B	Balkh	R
	With denomination <i>dangi</i> , normally undated but struck in the early 900s. Some rare late types are dated in the 960s.	
3198	Herat	R
3199	Iravan	RR
3200	Isfahan	R
3201	Ja'farabad	RR
A3202	Jarun	RRR
	Known both as a normal coin or as a countermark on various Iranian coppers.	
3202	Kashan	R
3203	Kazirun	RR
3204	Kirman	R
3205	Lahijan	R
	Mostly very tiny coins, weighing about one gram.	
3206	Mardin	S
3207	Mashhad	R
3208	Nakhjawan	RR
A3209	Nimruz	RRR
B3209	Paswa	RRR
3209	Qazwin	R
3210	Rasht	RR
3211	Ruha	R
3212	Tabriz	R
3213	Tehran	RR
A3214	Turbat	RRR
3214	Urdubad	RR

A3215 *countermarked types, various mints* R  
 The countermark is usually of the form 'adl-e shahi plus the mint name, occasionally with an epithet, occasionally without mint name. The word *shahi* is frequently omitted.  
 For Central Asian mints of this period, see #3286 ff.

### THE "LA'NAT" SERIES

Album, Stephen, "A late sixteenth century countermarked copper from Isfahan", *Numismatics International Bulletin*, v.16, no.2 (February 1982), pp.55-57.

*During the years 982-995 an attempt was made to establish a uniform coinage at all mints within the Safavid empire. These coins are characterized by the mint and date (often with a simple pictorial device, usually an animal) on the obverse, and with the short couplet peivasteh be-la'nat-e elahi taghayyor-deh-e folus-e shahi ("may he who alters<sup>785</sup> the royal fulus be eternally [condemned] to the damnation of God") filling the reverse field.*

Several denominations were struck with this inscription, as noted in the introduction to Iranian civic coppers. Since I have not preserved the information I gathered regarding which denominations were struck at which mints, I can only provide a single listing for each mint. There are also a few earlier types bearing this inscription, struck at Astarabad, Herat, Isfahan and Mashhad between the 920s and 950s. Most of the mint rarities are tentative, except for Isfahan & Tabriz.

- |          |  |     |
|----------|--|-----|
| K3215.14 | Aresh (dated 978 only)   | RRR |
| K3215.15 | Astarabad (earlier issues only, dated 921)   | RRR |
| K3215.1  | Dar al-Irshad (= Ardabil)  | RRR |
|          | <i>The epithet dar al-irshad may have been used to distinguish ardabil from aresh.</i>                                       |     |
| K3215.2  | Herat  | RR  |
|          | <i>All la'nat coins of this mint are most likely pre-982. Normally undated, but year 929 has been reported (Zeno-17729).</i> |     |
| K3215.3  | Isfahan  | R   |
|          | <i>Early issues also known, including one dated 931.</i>   |     |
| K3215.4  | Ja'farabad   | RR  |
| K3215.5  | Kashan   | R   |
| K3215.6  | Kazirun  | RRR |
| K3215.7  | Mashhad  | RR  |
|          | <i>Known only from the early series, including one dated 942.</i>  |     |
| K3215.8  | Paswa  | RRR |
| K3215.9  | Qazwin   | RR  |
| K3215.10 | Tabriz   | R   |
| K3215.11 | Tehran   | RR  |
| K3215.12 | Urdubad  | RR  |
| K3215.13 | Yazd   | RR  |

Other mints probably exist, but more research is essential.

### THIRD PERIOD (CIRCA 1010-1294 / 1600-1878)

*Many of the mints listed below operated only for short times. The long-working mints, noted by (†), operated for most of this period, and released large numbers of types, which were changed at intervals from annually to every few years.<sup>786</sup> Most coins were dated, but the date is often not visible due to defective manufacture, wear or corrosion. A general rarity is given for each mint. Individual types are frequently considerably rarer. Some of the more productive mints produced more than 100 types during this interval, few of which are truly common.*

<sup>785</sup> The reference is not to counterfeiting, but to the nefarious practice of "changing" the coinage, by which is meant the recalling of an old type at a ferocious discount, typically 50%. Though officially proscribed, this blatant abuse was widespread. One governor of Astarabad was eulogized in the inscription carved on his tomb (d. AH939) for never having "changed" the coinage during his governorship.

<sup>786</sup> Types were occasionally changed even more often than annually, as at Rasht, where as many as half a dozen or more types are known for a single year during the 1230s.

*Mints marked with (\*) were active primarily under Durrani and Barakzay rule after 1747. Durrani issues from Indian mints are omitted, as they always bear the name of the ruler and are therefore listed as issues of the appropriate ruler.*

Third period fulus circulated extensively, and are thus normally found in worn condition, often severely worn. Well-struck and well-preserved specimens are rare for all but a few types. The series has long been popular and highly valued in Iran since the late 1960s, with the result that attractive specimens are seldom seen outside Iran until market prices caught up in the west and elsewhere since the late 1990s.

Most types bear a pictorial obverse. Animal motifs were popular, including the lion, bull, deer, horse, camel, elephant, ram, hare, monkey, etc. The rat is depicted on a common series from Herat dated in the early 1100s (type #3235B). Some portray a hungry lion attacking a deer or a bull. Some are so badly engraved or preserved that the four-legged critter can only be defined as a "quadruped" of uncertain genre. Birds of various sorts were also popular, especially the peacock. One type shows a peacock with a juicy worm in its beak (Ardabil), another illustrates two geese facing (Sa'ujbulagh). Some show either one or two fish.

There are some with human figures, standing, seated, on horseback, mounted on a camel or elephant, even St. George slaying the dragon. Some are quite humorous, such as the soldier leaning on his bayoneted rifle, found on some coins of Kirman and Burujird. Still others might be nicknamed "lifeless", as they show a ship, bale mark, scales, sword, plants and plant motifs, the sunface, various geometric patterns, etc. Purely inscriptional types exist as well. An unusual type of Isfahan mimics the double-headed eagle of the Russian two kopeck coin of the 1810s, including fragments of a pseudo-Cyrillic inscription. Others are overstruck on genuine circulating Russian coppers (type #3273F).

There are seemingly infinite more designs and varieties of the obverse design than the limited sample mentioned above.

Unlike the silver and gold coinage struck during these centuries, the copper fulus rarely bears the mint epithet. A principal exception is the attempted uniform coinage of 1292-1294 produced primarily at Tehran, Tabriz, Qazwin, and Isfahan (#C3236 & D3236), permanently replaced by machine-struck copper coins late in 1294.

As in the second period, the generic term for the third period is *fulus*, as engraved on most copper coins of this period. However, from domestic and foreign contemporary reports, we know that there were several denominations, known as *qaz* or *ghaz* (= 5 dinars), *qazbegi* (= 10 dinars), *bisti* (= 20 dinars), and in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, also *nimshahi* ("half shahi", i.e., 25 dinars) and *shahi* (50 dinars), but these terms almost never appears on the coins. Unfortunately, given the present state of research, actual denominational names cannot be determined with any accuracy, and for that reason, all coins listed here have been lumped together as just *fulus* (plural *fulus*).

Existing fulus suggest that each issue followed specific weight standards, often based on 1, 2 or 4 mithqals (approximately 4.61g, 9.22g, 18.43g), with multiple denominations occasionally produced simultaneously. Alternative standards, based on a different basis, are also common. Individual specimens cluster around the current standard, but can weigh as much as 10-20% above or below the standard. Some mints, especially in Gilan and along the Persian Gulf, struck very light fulus, less than 1g for some very rare issues of Lahijan.

During the late Safavid period, circa 1087-1145, several major Iranian mints produced carefully manufactured specimens on large flans, normally round but occasionally hexagonal or octagonal, and always dated. These are known as prestige specimens and are listed separately under the appropriate mints. They are normally found looped, pierced or mounted, suggesting medallion rather than circulation intention. Their normal obverse designs are lion, lion & sun, or bull. Although struck at several different mints, only examples of Isfahan are occasionally available.

Since about 1995, interest in third period Iranian civic coppers has blossomed, with the result that well-preserved attractive specimens are highly sought after and remarkably pricey, even for the common mints, as we learned from the SARC auctions #5 and #6. Decent examples of very rare and extremely rare mints nowadays (2009) regularly fetch \$100 or more.

Afghan Mints: The Afghan mints are included within this group, as some of their issues fall outside the Durrani, Alikozay and Barakzay periods. These are Ahmadshahi (#3217), Badakhshan (#3220), Bahawalpur (#3221S), Balkh (#3222-3222A), Ghaznayn (#3231), Herat (#3235-3235B), Jalalabad (#3238), Kabul (#3239-3239A), Khanabad (#3242), Peshawar (#A3253), Qandahar (#3254-3254A), Tashqurghan (#3268), and the mintless types (#3273W).

3215 Abarquh

RR

3216	Abushahr (= Bushire)	R	3232	Gilan	R	
	Active from the early 1200s onward. A particularly interesting issue bears a European-style bale mark on the obverse. The only relatively available type is the lion-obverse dated 1270.			A province in northern Iran, whose capital was first at Lahijan, later at Rasht. It is not known where the coins signed <i>gilan</i> were actually struck. Probably 19 <sup>th</sup> century only.		
3217	Ahmadshahi*† (an epithetical name for Qandahar)	C	3233	Golpaygan, known dated 1243 only	RRR	
	Qandahar was known as Ahmadshahi from 1170/1757 until 1279/1862, sometimes with the epithet <i>ashraf al-bilad</i> , "most noble of cities"; named after the founder of the Durrani dynasty, Ahmad Shah (see #3253 for more information).			A small city in the northwest corner of Isfahan province.		
3218	Ardabil†	S	3234	Hamadan†	S	
	A falus dated 1026, published in the <i>ONS Newsletter</i> 202, p.18, and assigned to the mint of Aresh may in fact be a falus of Ardabil. Further specimens needed to confirm the mint.		3235	Herat*†	C	
A3219	Ashraf	RRR		Herat was the last mint to produce traditional copper fulus, in 1348 (1929/30). The final series, dated 1347-1348, comprises three denominations, 1, 10, and 20 paise and bears the name of the Barakzay ruler, Habibullah Ghazi (see <i>SCWC</i> for details). All earlier coppers of Herat are anonymous.		
	A small town in Mazandaran province, known only dated 1096 (duck on obverse).			A few varieties of this type dated in the 1240s and 1250s were recently marketed in two hoards of at least 400 pieces each.		
3219	Astarabad	R	3235A	Herat, similar, but overstruck on machine-struck coins, most commonly the 50 dinars of Iran struck 1294-1305	RR	
	Probably active only in the 13 <sup>th</sup> /19 <sup>th</sup> century, normally undated.			The overstrike is normally dated 1311, 1328 or 1332. The 1311 type was probably used for many years without change of date. Other hosts include the British Indian ¼ anna.		
3220	Badakhshan*	R	3235B	Herat, crudely struck type bearing a rat in an oval on both obverse & reverse, known dated 1101-1108 but usually undated	C	
	In operation only briefly under the Barakzays, circa 1300-1302. Some heavier undated issues may be earlier.			This unusual type is one of the very few types that have been found in large hoards more than once, each containing hundreds of pieces, if not 1000 or more.		
3221	Badkuba (= Baku)	RRR	A3236	Huwayza	RR	
	Late 18 <sup>th</sup> or early 19 <sup>th</sup> century, always undated, presumably issued under the authority of the local khanate.			Much rarer for copper than silver. Known dated 1231, but the date range of activity has not been established. Located in Khuzestan province near Susangerd, now abandoned.		
3221G	Baghdad	RRR	B3236	"Iran", without denomination, many types	S	
	Lion & sun right / mint, inscribed as <i>falus zarb-e baghdad</i> , undated. The term <i>falus</i> does not occur on Ottoman issues, whence this type was likely struck during Iranian occupation during the reigns of 'Abbas I and Safi I, 1033-1048.			The mint name is given just as <i>Iran</i> (dated 1250s to 1270s) or as <i>mamalek-e mahruse-ye Iran</i> , "the protected kingdoms of Iran", possibly struck exclusively at Tehran. These coins represented a series of only partially successful attempts to introduce a uniform copper coinage throughout the Qajar lands.		
3221S	Bahawalpur*	C	E3236	"Iran", without denomination, lion & sun in wreath	C	
	Struck from the 1190s until about 1321 (later issues cite the local nawab), including numerous Durrani anonymous issues from about 1217-1245 (R). Post-1250 coppers were issues of the local nawab and are classified as Indian Princely State issues.			Reverse inscription <i>falus-e rayeje-e mamalek-e mahruse-ye Iran</i> , "current falus of the protected kingdoms of Iran", dated 1271-1286 (date below lion). This is the most common civic copper of all, presumably struck only at Tehran, perhaps a partially successful attempt to restrict the production of fulus to Tehran.		
3222	Balkh*†	S	C3236	"Iran", with denomination 50 dinars ( <i>panjah dinar</i> ) below the lion	C	
	Active as a Durrani mint citing the ruler's name until about 1220, then as an autonomous mint 1221-1295. Often with epithet <i>umm al-bilad</i> , "mother of cities".			Lion and sun within wreath on obverse, mint name & date on reverse, dated 1292-1294, replaced by machine-struck copper late in 1294. Struck mainly at Tehran, Isfahan, Qazwin and Tabriz, of which Tehran is by far the most common.		
3222A	Balkh, under British authority & afterwards	R	D3236	"Iran", with denomination 25 dinars ( <i>bist o panj dinar</i> ), similar to #C3236	S	
	Anonymous, dated 1295, bearing a lion in the obverse or reverse field, probably struck for many years with frozen date.			3236	Iravan† (Yerevan in Armenia)	S
3223	Bihbihan	RR		3237	Isfahan†, normal strike	C
3224	Burujird, time of Fath 'Ali Shah only	RR		3237A	Isfahan, prestige strike	R
3225	Damghan	RR			From the 1080s to the 1130s, some Isfahan fulus were struck on specially prepared broad flans, usually round but occasionally hexagonal or octagonal. They bore the same designs as the normal strikes, but were much more carefully struck on much broader and usually heavier planchets. They are commonly found holed, as they were intended for decorative purposes.	
D3226	Daylam	RRR		3238	Jalalabad* (in Afghanistan)	RR
	Just <i>zarb-e daylam</i> on obverse, blank reverse.				Late 19 <sup>th</sup> century only, one type dated 1287, some with bungled dates, the rest undated. It was here that the British army was almost completely annihilated in 1258/1842, ending the disastrous First Anglo-Afghan War.	
3226	Dizful	R		3239	Kabul*†	C
3227	Doulatabad	RRR			One of the most common mints for copper coinage. From the 1230s onwards, Kabul coppers are often found overstruck on earlier types of the same or other mints, often multiply so. The overstrikes command no premium, even when legible. Machine-struck coinage was introduced in 1308.	
	Founded by Fath 'Ali Shah, Doulatabad (also transcribed as Dawlatabad) is now known as Arak. Its mint operated only during the time of Fath 'Ali Shah. These coins should not be confused with the Doulatabad coins of the Hyderabad state in south-central India.					
A3228	Farah	RRR				
	Located in western Afghanistan, south of Herat. Known only from a few rare coins normally dated 1295, with the rhyming epithet <i>dar al-rifah</i> , "the abode of prosperity", which it never was.					
3228	Farahabad	RRR				
	A 17 <sup>th</sup> century palace compound near Isfahan, founded by Shah 'Abbas I. Coinage circa 1040s-1050s, also in silver.					
3229	Fuman	RRR				
	Located a short distance southwest of Rasht.					
3230	Ganja	S				
	Later issues after about 1168 were struck under the independent khans, but without the name of the khan, thus regarded as civic.					
3231	Ghaznayn* (= Ghazni), active circa 1260-1300s	R				
	Very crude coins, frequently overstruck on earlier versions.					

3239A	Kabul, countermarked 'adl kabul on various earlier coppers (mostly Mughal or Delhi sultanate), late 16 <sup>th</sup> to early 17 <sup>th</sup> century	R	within just one year, each time the coins recalled at half their value, an exorbitant profiteering by the avaricious governor.	
3240	Kangan A rare 19 <sup>th</sup> century mint on the Persian Gulf coast, whose coins are known principally from the Siraf excavations. Sometimes written <i>kangan</i> with <i>waw</i> instead of <i>alif</i> .	RR		
3241	Kashan† Examples of Kashan of the late 17 <sup>th</sup> to early 18 <sup>th</sup> century are occasionally found countermarked with a sword (R).	C		
3241A	Kashan, prestige strikes (as at Isfahan)	RRR		
3242	Khanabad* (northern Afghanistan) Operated only under the Barakzays, very briefly, circa 1300-1302.	R		
A3243	Khurramabad A very rare mint operating only during the latter part of the reign of Fath 'Ali Shah.	RRR		
3243	Khuy†	S		
3244	Kirmanshahan Active only from the 1240s to the 1280s. An interesting and only moderately scarce type dated 1244 shows the motif of St. George slaying the dragon, perhaps imitating the contemporary British sovereign reverse.	S		
3245	Kirman† An interesting type dated 1246 shows a lazy soldier leaning on his rifle.	S		
3246	Lahijan Dated issues during the reign of Fath 'Ali Shah Qajar. Most if not all undated types were also struck during this period, except for the undated series with an average weight of about 1g, most likely struck during the 11 <sup>th</sup> /17 <sup>th</sup> century.	R		
3247	Lanjeh (modern Bandar Lengeh) In operation 1247 and 1259. All coins show a European-style bale mark on the obverse, and were either struck or cast.	R		
A3247	Lar Lar produced thick hexagonal coppers in the 1250s-1260s, as well as normal round fulus in 1135.	RR		
3248	Maragha	RR		
A3249	Marw (now Mary in Turkmenistan) Marw struck a few coppers in the 19 <sup>th</sup> century.	RRR		
3249	Mashhad† A particularly interesting and moderately scarce type dated 1246 bears the image of an elephant-rider on the obverse. Most fulus of this mint bear the epithet <i>moqaddas</i> , "holy", referring to the tomb of the 8 <sup>th</sup> Shi'ite Imam, 'Ali b. Musa al-Rida.	C		
3250	Mazandaran The mint bearing the provincial name Mazandaran was located at the city of Sari, perhaps occasionally at another location in the province such as Amul or Barfurushdih, and was renamed Tabaristan in 1236/1821. The most common type, often dated 1167, has a lovely peacock on the obverse.	S		
3251	Nakhjawan	R		
3252	Nihavand Active only in the 1240s and 1250s. (For the mint of Nukhwi, see #2953-2954.)	RR		
A3253	Peshawar* Most coppers of this mint, struck during the Afsharid and Durrani period, bear the name or regnal years of the ruler, and are listed under the appropriate rulers. Truly anonymous types are relatively rare. The Durrani issues are only scarce.	R		
3253	Qandahar*† (see also Ahmadshahi, type #3217) Some issues of the late 11 <sup>th</sup> /17 <sup>th</sup> and early 12 <sup>th</sup> /18 <sup>th</sup> centuries are struck on flans formed by folding a thin sheet of copper two or more times. The copper sheets are said to have been cut from old cooking pots, but I regard that as a spurious explanation. A popular and scarce issue dated 1296 shows a British crown enclosed within a wreath, believed to have been struck under British occupation during the Second Anglo-Afghan War (R). Many Qandahar coins dated in the 1270s & 1280s were overstruck on earlier Qandahar fulus, often multiply. A British visitor in 1859/1276 observed five or six recalls and overstrikes	C		
3253A	Qandahar*, similar, but overstruck on machine-struck 50 shahi of Iran, ¼ anna of Muscat & Oman and British India, dated AH1322/1904 Some are dated 1333, possibly an engraver's error for either 1322 or 1323.			S
3254	Qazwin†, normal strike			S
3254A	Qazwin, prestige strikes (as #3237A of Isfahan)			RRR
3255	Qumm†			S
3256	Ra'nash (in Khuzestan) Active only during the 1030s. Only copper coinage was struck at this rather unimportant town.			R
3257	Rasht† Especially prolific during the 13 <sup>th</sup> /19 <sup>th</sup> century, when a large variety of interesting types were struck, often on very broad round or rectangular flans (up to 40mm), at times with several design changes within a single year. Both pictorial & purely inscriptional types are known, often quite carefully manufactured.			C
R3258	Rikab Just <i>zab-e rikab</i> on obverse, blank reverse.			RRR
3258	Sa'ujbulagh (modern Mahabad in Eastern Azerbaijan in Iran) Active only during the 1230s, with the rare undated specimens perhaps struck at other times.			R
3259	Sabzawar			RR
A3260	Sanandaj A rare Kurdish mint, probably in operation only during the reign of Fath 'Ali Shah, though dated examples are unknown. The workmanship is extremely ineffective.			RR
3260	Sari Active under this name only during the 1250s and 1260s. At other times, the mint was known under the provincial name, either Mazandaran (before 1236) or Tabaristan (thereafter).			R
3261	Shamakhi (Shemakha)† Later issues after about 1168 were actually struck under the independent khans, but without the name of the khan, and are therefore reckoned as municipal issues.			R
A3261	Sheki Active only in the early 1240s (known dated 1242), at the mint of the khanate of Sheki while briefly under Qajar suzerainty. <sup>787</sup>			RRR
3262	Shiraz†			S
3262A	Shiraz, prestige struck (as #3237A of Isfahan)			RRR
3263	Shushtar			R
3264	Simnan			RR
3265	Sultanabad (modern Malayer in western Iran) Normally undated, but presumably struck only during the reign of Fath 'Ali Shah Qajar.			RRR
3266	Tabaristan (see also Mazandaran)			R
3267.1	Tabriz†, normal strike			C
3267.2	Tabriz, normal strike on rectangular flan (1130s)			R
3267A	Tabriz, prestige strike (as #3237A of Isfahan)			RR
3268	Tashqurghan* (northern Afghanistan) Operated only under the Barakzays, very briefly circa 1300.			RR
3269	Tehran† Scarce before about 1200. Most anonymous issues bearing the mint name <i>Iran</i> were probably struck here (see #B3236).			C
3269A	Tehran, prestige strike (as #3237A of Isfahan)			RRR
3270	Tiflis (Tbilisi in Georgia) For Georgian issues with name or initials of the local Bagratid ruler, see #2965 ff.			S
A3271	Tuyserkan Probably active only in the 1240s, simultaneous with its silver coinage.			RRR

<sup>787</sup> Private collection in Florida.

- R3271 Urdu (the military mint, not a specific city) RR  
One variety seems to be dated 1058.
- 3271 Urumi S  
Active briefly in the late 1000s and more frequently from 1204 until the 1240s or 1250s.
- 3272 Yazd† C
- 3273 Zanjan R  
Probably active only during the reign of the Qajar Fath 'Ali Shah.
- 3273F various mints (mainly Isfahan), overstruck on Russian 2 kopeks of the 1810s RR
- 3273R countermarked "rayij" on various hosts that are often illegible or unidentifiable R
- 3273W without mint name, usually undated, Afghan style, normally in the style of Qandahar and Kabul issues S  
Normally on small thick flans, believed struck during the late 1290s-1310s. Most have image on obverse, the word *fulus* alone on reverse, occasionally with date on one side or the other.
- 3273Y without mint name, often undated, Iranian style R  
Mostly small denominations; many, if not most, are believed to have been struck at mints in Gilan and Mazandaran provinces. With some experience, numismatists can readily distinguish Afghan and Iranian style mintless fulus in most cases.
- 3273Z mint off flan or illegible generally C  
Due to lack of published cataloguing most coins without legible mint (usually off flan) cannot be assigned to a specific mint. Copper coins with interesting obverse designs are still quite popular, even with the mint name off flan.

## CENTRAL ASIA CIVIC COPPER

### FIRST PERIOD (CIRCA 818-930S / 1415-1530)

Several mints continued producing copper coins after 1530. These are now assigned to the Second Period (types #3286-3291).

Davidovich, E.A., *Istoriya denezhnogo obrashcheniya srednevekovoj srednej Azii*, Moscow 1983.

Zeno.ru > Islamic World > Late Anonymous Civic Copper > Central Asia – Over 100 examples are currently listed, including some of the second period.

*Similar to contemporary Iranian copper fulus, these anonymous coins, usually known as the dangi (often marked as such on the coin), were struck at numerous mints under Timurid and early Shaybanid authority. There are no proper pictorial types, but many have fancy geometric or floral designs, and a very few have a coarsely engraved animal or bird. Most are found countermarked, often repeatedly, with individual countermarks and the host dangi often illegible.*

*The dangi seems to have been dated in distinct series, each of which was struck at a range of mints. The first series is dated 818, the second 823, the third 832, the fourth 860-861, the fifth 898-899, though a few mints produced coins with intermediate dates. It may be assumed that many dates were retained as frozen years for a decade or longer. For the sixth series, dated after 899, new designs were adopted more or less annually, until the 930s/1520s. Many types are undated and therefore have not yet been fitted into the sequence of types.*

*After the 930s some very coarse coppers were struck at a few mints, always undated and often on coarsely cut rectangular flans, sometimes chopped off thick copper wire ("bar" coins). Few of the latter have been published, nor have they been dated with any accuracy. These are now assigned to the second period (types #3286-3291).*

As for the Iranian & Afghan civic coppers, the Central Asian coppers are listed here by mint, and may all be assigned the denomination dangi, irrespective of local terminology. Most dangis of the first four series (818-861, usually frozen dates) have the mint name on the obverse, most commonly within an ornamental wreath, the date on the reverse, usually in words and preceded by the word *tarikh* ("year"). Designs of the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> series are variable, such as text only on both sides, floral design on obverse with all text on reverse, etc. A few rare types portray a creature, usually a bird or lion within a floral design on the obverse. There are numerous variations.

Most dangis weigh 4 to 6 grams, but specimens of a single type can range from less than 2 to more than 8 grams. The greatest weight range is observed for the common Bukhara 832 series, struck over many decades with frozen date. Hoards tend to contain a single type or group of related types, their weight clustered quite closely to the theoretical standard.

From about 818 onwards, all this coinage is anonymous and best regarded as civic coinage. Earlier coins bearing the name of a ruler are listed as under the appropriate ruler, Timurid from the 780s onward, other dynasties for earlier dates. From 818 until 905, all Central Asian mints were under Timurid control, and all came under Shaybanid authority during the following few years. Undated issues cannot be readily classified as Timurid or Shaybanid, though some collectors prefer to make such a distinction, at least for dated examples. In any case, research carried out largely by Davidovich has established that the anonymous copper coin types should not be assigned to specific rulers, but regarded as a generic regional currency.<sup>788</sup> For this reason, it has been hypothesized that new designs or countermarks were used strictly for financial reasons, equivalent to a form of taxation. This would explain the frequent use of new types (usually dated) and countermarks (almost never dated) during the politically troublesome period between the death of the Timurid Sultan Ahmad in 899 and the 920s, during the reign of the second Shaybanid sultan, Kuchkunji, by which time the region was more or less unified under Shaybanid rule.

Most Central Asian coppers were somewhat carelessly struck, often with considerable areas of flatness. They circulated extensively, and are often found heavily worn or corroded. Unlike their Iranian counterparts, which appear to have been valid only in the city of issue and its dependencies (and are found as individual finds, almost never in hoards), Central Asian coppers were used as a regional, rather than a local currency, and have often been found in large hoards. As a result, they are rather well-known, though new types and countermarks continue to be discovered. Unfortunately, no thorough reference catalog of the series has yet been undertaken.

Types listed here by mint include both the regular and countermarked issues bearing that mint name, the latter for the latest countermark applied to that coin. Mintless countermarks are consolidated as type #3285, which itself comprises innumerable varieties.

- A3274 Akhshi RR
- 3274 Andigan R  
An example of this mint is dated 995, surprisingly late for a Central Asian copper, and rather carefully struck.
- A3275 Andikhuy (known dated 860) RRR
- 3275 Bukhara C  
The 832 type of this mint is the most common of all the Central Asia dangis, and was likely produced with frozen date for as long as 60 years, both official issues of the Bukhara mint, and private imitations from undetermined locations in Central Asia.
- A3276 Farkat RR
- 3276 Hisar S  
The anonymous copper coins showing the deer and dated 907 (occasionally undated) from Hisar, Qunduz and Tirmidh are traditionally assigned to Amir Khuro (types #3009-3010). Issues from all three mints may have been struck for a considerable length of time, perhaps as late as 916 or 917.  
The year 907 is by far the most common type of Hisar.
- A3277 Karmin RR
- C3277 Kashghar RRR  
Dated 850, anonymous, struck during the reign of the Eastern Chaghatayid ruler Isan Buqa.
- 3277 Khuttalan (most commonly dated 852) R
- 3277E Khwarizm (known dated 914 and 933) RR
- 3277F Kish RRR
- 3277K Kufin RRR
- 3277M Marghilan RRR
- 3277R Miyan-Kal RRR  
Countermarked types only, indicated by Davidovich, pp. 98-99.
- 3278 Marw RR
- 3278O Otrar, dated 818 RRR

<sup>788</sup> Using overstrikes, countermarks and hoard evidence, Davidovich has been able to sequence virtually all the undated issues, and has shown that type changes do not coincide with changes of ruler or dynasty.

3278P Parak	RRR	3287 Bukhara	S
3279 Qarshi	S	S3288 Sabran	RRR
Q3280 Qunduz	RR	T3288 Sayram (Sairam)	RRR
Issues dated 907, classified as #3009, are common.		3288 Samarqand	S
S3280 Sabran	RRR	3289 Tashkent	R
See Zeno-58447 for further reference.		3289K Turkistan	RRR
3280 Samarqand	C	3290 <i>without mint name</i> , clear inscriptions	S
One remarkable type, dated 914, is inscribed "one mithqal, half dangi" (RR), thus querying the dangi denomination as applicable to all of these coins.		3291 <i>without mint name or mint name illegible</i> , partial inscriptions only	S
The earliest confirmed anonymous civic issues of this mint are dated 818 (813 may also exist), with the denominational name <i>'adliya</i> , and 819, inscribed <i>mubarak bad</i> in the obverse center.		Items classified as #3291 include examples that may have the mint name, but off flan or so poorly spelled as to be illegible.	
3281 Shahrukhiya	RRR	There are no useful studies of these horrible copper pulis. Very few have been published, even in archaeological reports. Undoubtedly, this series will need to be rewritten after more publications appear.	
T3282 Taliqan	RRR	<i>Numbers 3300-3499 are reserved for the Qarakhanids, which were completely reworked for the second edition.</i>	
Undated only, non-inscriptional reverse, probably 17 <sup>th</sup> century or slightly later (thanks to Greg Cole for this information).		<i>Numbers 3500-3599 are reserved for Arab-Byzantine, completely rewritten in the third edition, following Tony Goodwin's classification.</i>	
3282 Tashkand (Tashkent)	R		
An unusual example is clearly dated 818 (Zeno-16186), same design as Samarqand 818.			
3283 Tirmidh (Termez)	R		
Issues dated 907, classified as #3009, are only scarce.			
3284 Urdu (the military or camp mint)	R		
A3285 <i>other mints</i> , not specified here, similar styles	at least RR		
B3285 <i>without mention of mint</i> , sometimes with floral patterns only on obverse & reverse	S		
3285 <i>countermarked</i> , without mint name	C		
There is a great variety of countermarks. Most varieties contain the mint name, often with a denominational term as well, and therefore classified here together with regular coins of the appropriate mint. Some just bear an indication of revalidation, such as <i>khub</i> ("good") (#B3285). Countermarks were rarely dated; Davidovich has shown that they were employed mainly from the 890s/1480s to the late 920s/early 1520s. They are frequently only partially legible, either because the countermark was carelessly applied or was stamped with a worn or broken punch.			
<b><u>SECOND PERIOD (CIRCA 930S-1190S / 1520S-1770S)</u></b>			
For references, See Central Asian copper, first period.			
<i>Coarsely made copper coins (pulis) continued to be issued in Central Asia for more than 250 years after circa 935/1530, though it is conceivable that a lengthy gap extended from about 1530 until close to the end of the Shaybanid dynasty in 1007/1599. Almost all copper coins of this period were very poorly manufactured. Most lack a mint name, or are so egregiously produced that only a small fraction of the inscription is visible, and they are almost always undated.</i>			
<i>It is probable that this series continued until the 1190s/1770s, when they were replaced by more carefully struck pulis, usually dated, beginning just after 1200. Even though usually anonymous, they are listed here under their respective kingdoms, Bukhara for Bukhara, Khoqand for Khoqand and Ferghana, Khiva for Khwarizm (aka Khivaq), as they are customarily categorized in that fashion by numismatists.</i>			
Countermarked examples exist and are included with items #3287-3291, according to their mint name and legibility. Most examples are struck on round or more-or-less round flans. Others are struck either on small thick rectangular flans or on chunks chopped from a thick wire, known as bar coins (#3286), extremely primitive.			
The term <i>pul</i> is the generic denomination assigned here to all copper coins of the second period. Alternative denominational names may occasionally have been locally applied.			
3286 <i>normally without mint, bar-shaped flan</i> , probably late 11 <sup>th</sup> -12 <sup>th</sup> / 17 <sup>th</sup> -18 <sup>th</sup> century	R		
Some show the mint name Bukhara or Samarqand, perhaps others as well, but most are mintless. Some were produced on very thick rectangular or cut-wire flans. Types 3287-3291 are normally struck on flans that are either more-or-less round or squarish.			
3286A Andigan, dated 995	RR		
Carefully struck, unlike the usual primitive coppers of this period.			

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