

A CRITICAL AND COMPARATIVE STUDY OF EARLY ARABIAN COINS
ON THE BASIS OF
ARABIC TEXTUAL EVIDENCE AND ACTUAL FINDS

A thesis presented to the University of Leeds

by

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For the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

October 1977

This dissertation has never been submitted to this
or any other University

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PREFACE

This thesis has been written with five specific aims in view. The first is the study of the coins circulating in pre-Islamic and early Islamic Arabia according to both Arabic textual sources and coin finds from Arabia. The second aim is to study the currency situation during the very early Islamic period according to the historical evidence. The third concerns the minting activities in Umayyad Arabia on the basis of both historical and numismatic evidence. Our fourth purpose is the study of the coin finds from Arabia and the implication of their distribution in ancient Arabia. The fifth purpose is the study of the mining operations in ancient Arabia according to literary sources and geological reports, and to assess their relevance to minting activities there.

There appears to be a need for an investigation into a study regarding the coins which circulated in Arabia from c. the sixth to the middle of the eighth century A.D. These up to now have received no satisfactory separate study. Nor has any attempt been made in recent times to compile a summary of the different types of numismatic literary, historical, geological and other relevant evidence, to study the pattern of distribution of the currencies which circulated in pre-Islamic and early Islamic Arabia, and those minted in Umayyad Arabia. It seems thus worthwhile to compile and analyse the evidence in one comprehensive study.

For our study, we have examined the coin collections in both the Museum of the University of Riyadh (AMRU) and Department of Antiquities and Museums (DAM) and in addition in a number of private coin collections in Saudi Arabia. We discovered that about ninety percent of these coins are owned by collectors living in Mecca, Jeddah, Medina, Tabūk and different towns in the north of Ḥijāz; only very little privately owned material was to be found in other regions in Saudi Arabia. This necessitated a number of journeys to examine these collections in, inter alia, al-Wajh, 'Umluj, Mecca, al-Medina, and also al-Aḥsā'.

Apart from such travel, the first stage in our field study was the examination of the coins preserved in the two public museums in Riyadh. This was followed by the preparation of casts and photographing of the coins in order to make possible comparison between the coin types preserved in the AMRU and DAM and the coin types kept in the private coin collections in Saudi Arabia. The coin types preserved in the AMRU and DAM were made the basis of the catalogue of types found, duplicate examples in private hands being represented in the coin finds only with exception of course of unique specimens and types in private hands which were not represented in the AMRU and DAM.

We have only examined and catalogued those coins of which the Arabian provenance is demonstrable. Specimens which may possibly be of Arabian provenance, but to which a doubt attaches, have not been included.

With regard to the reading of quotation of mint names and inscriptions inscribed on the Umayyad coins of pre-reform and post-reform types, we have followed J. Walker.

Full details of all books and articles cited appear in the Bibliography; shortened references have been used throughout each chapter.

I would like to acknowledge with gratitude the constant help which I have had from my supervisor, Dr. B.S.J. Isserlin, the Head of the Department of Semitic Studies, in helping to clarify the presentation of my arguments at many points, for introducing me to important aspects of historical research, and for his advice on various matters. I want similarly to express my deepest thanks to my co-supervisor Mrs. Helen W. Brown, M.A., Senior Assistant Keeper of Heberden Coin Room in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, who has generously made her numismatic experience available to me; she has made many valuable suggestions and drawn my attention to various references important for the present work. To both of them I express my warm thanks for all their valuable advice given on the subject matter of this thesis.

I must express my gratitude to Dr. M.J.L. Young of the University of Leeds for giving me on numerous occasions the benefit of his learning and judgement in regard to corrections and a number of valuable suggestions. It is a pleasure to acknowledge the generous help which I have received from him. My special thanks are due to Mr. R.Y. Ebied of the Department of Semitic Studies who introduced me to the study of Syriac, and who has kindly checked the translation of the Syriac text cited in the present work. I am much indebted to Dr. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Anṣarī, the Head of the Department of History and Archaeology, who is in charge of the Archaeological Museum of the Riyadh University for his generous help. He has been of great help in facilitating my access to certain collections of importance in Saudi Arabia. He has also kindly answered a number of my queries. My thanks are due too to Dr. 'Abd Allāh Maṣrī, the Director of the Department of Antiquities and Museums of the Ministry of Education in

Saudi Arabia, for his kind permission to study, prepare casts of, and photograph the coins relating to this study, and also for fruitful discussions with him and advice from him on various matters.

I have also to express my thanks to the following owners of private coin collections, dealers, and jewellers in Saudi Arabia, who have kindly put at my disposal their privately owned coins and supplied me with photocopies and important information relating to the sites and the sources from which they obtained the coins: Mr. Ḥ. Nuzhat, Mr. A. al-Zāmil, Mr. A. al-'Ikrish, all of Riyadh; Mr. H. 'Ajlān of al-Medina, the jewellers Mr. A. al-Ghassāl, Mr. D. Salāma, Mr. H. Faḍl all of al-Medina and the coin changer Mr. M.Ḥ. Nāfi' of al-Medina; the dealer Mr. 'Abd Allāh 'Īd of Mecca; and the dealers 'Alī Ḥasan 'Amrī and Ḥ. al-Ḥarbī of Tabūk.

I am also grateful to those who kindly helped me in the identification of certain specimens, and provided photocopies and other material, including Professor H. Mattingly of the School of History in the University of Leeds, Doctor C. Kraay of the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, Mr. N.M. Lowick of the Department of Coins and Medals in the British Museum, London, M.R. Curiel of Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Mr. M. Bates, Associate Curator of Islamic Coins of the American Numismatic Society, New York, Shaikh 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Bāz, the President of the Administration Centre of Scientific Research and Iftā' in Saudi Arabia and the Fatwā Committee of Kuwait particularly the President, Shaikh 'Abd Allāh 'Āl Nūri, my brother Hashim D. Hakiem for much invaluable aid and especially for having made his geological expertise available to me, my brother Mansoor Hakiem and friend Aḥmad Ṣāliḥ al-Qain for their kindness for help in preparing casts

during my field study in Saudi Arabia, and Mr. S. Shamma of Jeddah.

I should also like to thank the members and staff of the Faculty of Arts in the University of Riyadh, the Archaeological Museum of the University of Riyadh, the Department of Antiquities and Museums of the Ministry of Education in Saudi Arabia, and in particular Dr. M. al-Ḥāzmī (who was Dean of the Faculty of Arts during my field study), the antiquarian Mr. A. Yūsuf, the photographer Mr. M.A. Maṣrī, Mr. 'Awaḍ Shamlān and Mr. M. al-Ṭayyib of the Department of Antiquities and Museum belonging to the Ministry of Education in Saudi Arabia.

I am greatly indebted to a number of local historians, librarians of public libraries, and owners of private libraries in al-Medina who have kindly allowed me to examine Arabic manuscripts, particularly Shaikh al-Sharīf al-'Ayyāshī who has made his wide knowledge of the names, locations of wells and mosques, etc., in ancient Medina and Khaibar available to me, Shaikh M. Maḥzar al-Fārūqī the owner of al-Maktaba al-Aḥmadiyya, Shaikh M. al-Iqinnī, the librarian of Maktabat Shaikh al-Islam 'Ārif Ḥikmat, and Shaikh M.S. Buṣāṭī who is in charge of al-Maktaba al-Buṣāṭiyya.

I want also to thank the Brotherton Library, and the Department of Photography in the University of Leeds. My special thanks are to Mr. W. Brice of the School of Geography in the University of Manchester for his drawing the maps of ancient and early Islamic Arabia. I would like to thank Mr. K. Khālīd for weighing the coins and Miss S. Nemes for typing parts of the work.

My special thanks are due to the University of Riyadh for their grant towards the costs of university education

and living expenses, the Emirates of al-Medina and Tabūk and in particular Sheikh S.N. al-Sidairī the Deputy of the Emirate of al-Madina for his help in connection with my visit to al-Wajh, 'Umluj, Yanbu', and the Saudi Arabian Educational Office in London.

I am greatly indebted to my wife Najāt Amīn Barri whose patience and encouragement has given me the opportunity to prepare this thesis.

I must express my deepest gratitude to my father Darwīsh Muḥammad Hakīem, my mother 'Azīza 'Abd al-Malik Ṣiddīq, my sisters Rauḍa and 'Ā'isha, my brothers Khālīd, Ibrāhīm, Manṣūr, Sa'ūd and Ḥātīm for indispensable assistance of different kinds.

Finally, my thanks are due to Mr. V. Daykin for his careful typing of this dissertation.

'Abd al-'Azīz Darwīsh Hakīem

List of Abbreviations

AMRU	Archaeological Museum of Riyadh University
<u>ANSMN</u>	<u>American Numismatic Society Museum Notes,</u> New York
<u>BIE</u>	<u>Bulletin d'Institute Egyptian</u>
<u>BM</u>	British Museum Catalogue
DAM	Department of Antiquities and Museums of the Ministry of Education in Saudi Arabia
D.G.M.R.	Directorate General of Mineral Resources, in Saudi Arabia
Hill, <u>Arabia</u>	<u>Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Arabia</u> <u>Mesopotamia and Persia</u>
Hitti, <u>Arabs</u>	<u>The History of the Arabs</u>
<u>JESHO</u>	<u>Journal of Economic and Social History of</u> <u>the Orient</u>
<u>JNES</u>	<u>Journal of Near East Studies</u>
<u>MN</u>	<u>Museum Notes</u>
Morrisson, <u>Byzantines I</u>	<u>Catalogue des monnaies byzantine de la</u> <u>bibliothèque nationale, vol. I (Paris, 1970)</u>
Morrisson, <u>Byzantines II</u>	<u>Catalogue des monnaies byzantine de la</u> <u>bibliothèque nationale, vol. II</u>
<u>NC</u>	<u>Numismatic Circular</u>
<u>NCh</u>	<u>Numismatic Chronicle</u>
<u>NNM</u>	<u>Numismatic Notes and Monographs</u>
<u>Num Zeit</u>	<u>Numismatische Zeitschrift</u>
Miles, <u>RIC</u>	<u>Rare Islamic Coins</u>
<u>RIC</u>	<u>The Roman Imperial Coinage</u>
<u>SOAS</u>	School of Oriental and African Studies
Walker I	<u>A Catalogue of the Muhammadan Coins,</u> Volume I, <u>Arab-Sassanian Coins</u> (London, 1941)
Walker II	<u>A Catalogue of the Muhammadan Coins</u> <u>Arab-Byzantine and Post-Reform Umayyad Coins</u> (London, 1956)
<u>ZDMG</u>	<u>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen</u> <u>Gesellschaft</u>

NB. Unless otherwise specified, references to the catalogue
(cat. no. . . .) are to our catalogue in Chapter VI.

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Plate XII	Umayyad Post-Reform (silver) type

TRANSLITERATIONArabic lettersTransliterationShort vowels

همزة

'

ا a

ا

a

ا u

ب

b

ا i

ت

t

ث

th

ج

j

ح

ḥ

Long vowels

خ

kh

ا ā

د

d

ا ū

ذ

dh

ا ī

ر

r

ز

z

س

s

ش

sh

Diphthongs

ص

ṣ

ا ai

ض

ḍ

ا au

ط

ṭ

ظ

ẓ

ع

'

gh

ف

f

ق

q

ك

k

ل

l

م

m

<u>Arabic letters</u>	<u>Transliteration</u>
ن	n
هـ	h
و	w
ي	y
ل	lā
ت	t

N.B. In both the translation and transliteration of Arabic texts and inscription engraved on the coins, the above system has been followed. Names which have become familiar to readers in an English form such as Mecca, caliph, Sassanian are used as such. The names of the coin find spots have been retained as given on the maps issued by the Ministry of Petroleum and Mineral Resources in Saudi Arabia. The Arabic definite article in well-known names such as al-Baṣra, al-Kūfa, al-Medina, al-'Irāq, al-Ḥajjāj, al-Yamama etc., has been retained as such. In respect of the authors' names, these have been given as in their works.

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

SOURCES

The material set forth in this thesis is derived from Arabic and European textual sources, as well as coin collections in Saudi Arabia. This study of the coinage types circulating in Arabia from the third to the eighth centuries A.D. is to the best of our knowledge the first attempt to investigate this significant period in Arabian numismatic history.

1. Texts Dealing with Coins

A. Classical European Authors

The accounts of the classical Greek and Roman writers of interest to us are not primarily concerned with coinage.

Three sources are of importance. Firstly, there is The Library of History¹ of Diodorus Siculus (lived 40 B.C.)². Diodorus devotes two parts of chapters (Book III, 47, 2-9) to a discussion of the tribes of South Arabia and the wealth of the Sabaeans. The information given by him adds nothing directly to our knowledge of numismatics in South Arabia

¹ The Loeb edition, prepared and translated into English by C.H. Oldfather has been used (London, 1935).

² P. Harvey, The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature (Oxford, 1969), p. 136.

during his period, but it is of some value as providing information concerning contemporary gold mining activities in South Arabia. Strabo (64/63 B.C.-A.D.21 at least)¹ in his work entitled The Geography of Strabo² likewise mentions nothing concerning the local South Arabian coinage, but in Book VII 7, 345 he gives information relating to the exchange of the Arabian spices and precious stones for gold and silver.³ The Periplus (c. A.D.70)⁴ mentions that Roman gold and silver coins reached the South Arabian markets located in Muza and Cana.⁵

B. Mediaeval Arab Authors

Arabic textual sources bearing upon the subject are of three kinds: classical Arabic historical works containing separate chapters entirely devoted to coinage; classical Arabic works not containing such specialised chapters, but with relevant information scattered widely throughout their pages; and finally, the Arabic geographical literature. Of these three classes of Arabic texts, of the two most important items in the first class of which we give translations (see pp.181-96), we have to list:

(a) Works with separate chapters devoted to the subject:

The earliest of these is the work produced by al-Balādhurī⁶

¹ N. Hammond, The Oxford Classical Dictionary, (Oxford, 1970), p. 347

² The Loeb edition, edited with an English translation by H.L. Jones (London, 1932), has been used.

³ See below, ch. IV, 84.

⁴ P. Hitti, The History of the Arabs, 10th ed. (London, 1970), p. 49

⁵ J. Miller, The Spice Trade of the Roman Empire, 29 B.C -A.D. 641 (Oxford 1965), p. 178. See below, ch. IV, 84.

⁶ Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Balādhurī, one of the outstanding historians of the 9th century A.D. (3rd century A.H.). His volume Futūḥ al-Buldān supplies the important source material

(d. c. 941/330) entitled Futūh al-Buldān which contains a chapter entitled 'Amr al-Nuqūd (On Coins). This chapter, like the whole of al-Balādhurī's work, is interwoven with historical narrative and detailed chains of tradition (isnāds). The main body of the chapter is concerned with the coins circulating in Arabia in pre-Islamic times. In addition, the author offers the relationship between the weight standard of the coins during pre and early Islamic times, according to different isnāds. Finally, information is given on the dating of the monetary reforms, together with the reasons for them. Of importance too is his statement that the mint of Damascus was active in early Islamic times. No other authors have chapters on this subject, based on isnāds.

The second work is the much later Kitāb Shudhūr al-'Uqūd fī Dhikr al-Nuqūd by al-Maqrīzī (d. c. 1470/845).¹ Thus the period between the deaths of al-Balādhurī and al-Maqrīzī is about 510 years. This work contains two chapters on coins: the first, entitled Al-Nuqūd al-Qadīma (Ancient Coins), supplies information mainly about the coins in common currency during the jāhiliyya (pre-Islamic) period. The second chapter is entitled Al-Nuqūd al-Islāmiyya (Islamic Coins) and gives information about the relationship between the weight standard of the coins used in Arabia in pre-Islamic and early Islamic times. Both al-Balādhurī and al-Maqrīzī

for any research into the social and cultural aspects of life at the time of the Arab conquest. The work has been edited by M. J. de Goeje, Liber Expugnationis Regionum (Leiden, 1863-6).

¹ The above-mentioned work of al-Maqrīzī is based on both textual and numismatic evidence and was edited in 1797 by the German orientalist and numismatist Tychsen and translated in the same year by Silvestre de Saucy. The chapter has also been published more recently by A. al-Karmaly (Baghdad, 1939). S.M. Beḥr al-'Ulūm in his Islamic Coins also published the relevant extract from al-Maqrīzī (with revision and additions).

also supply information about the inscriptions on coins in early Islamic times. The relationship between the mithqāl (i.e., the dinar) and the dirham is also defined by al-Maqrīzī.

Of somewhat less value for our subject is the third work which contains a separate chapter on coins, the Muqaddima of Ibn Khaldūn¹ (d. 1406/808--thus the period between the deaths of al-Balādhurī and Ibn Khaldūn is approximately 478 years). This chapter is entitled Al-Sikka. Ibn Khaldūn in this chapter provides information in some detail about the manufacture of coins, and the dies employed in minting, together with information about mint authority and the figured types on the coins. After discussing the relationship between the weight standard of the dirham and dinar, he states that two different types of gold coins were circulating in Mecca in pre-Islamic times, giving notes on the meaning of the term al-sikka.

(b) We next list those Arabic texts which include scattered information about coins. Here we mention first the work of Abū Yūsuf (d. 798/182) entitled Kitāb al-Kharāj,² in which the illustrious Ḥanāfī jurist deals with the various forms and methods of fiscal exploitation, in the course of his discussion providing details concerning the relationship between the weight standard of the coins (dinar and dirham) and the names of the silver coins during pre-Umayyad and Umayyad times.

The next writer to be mentioned is al-Ṭabarī (d. 923/310; thus the period between the deaths of Abū Yūsuf

¹ The edition used here is the one published in Cairo, 1914/1332.

² We have used the edition translated into French by E. Fagnan, Abū Yūsuf Ya'kub, Le livre de l'impôt foncier l'impôt (Kitāb al-Kharāj), traduit et annoté par E. Fagnan (Paris, 1921); and the 2nd ed. published in Cairo, 1952.

al-Ṭabarī is approximately 125 years). The work of al-Ṭabarī, Ta'rīkh al-'Umam wal-Mulūk, includes information about the relationship between the Arabs and the Byzantines during the seventh and first half of the eighth century A.D., and also incidentally throws some light on the reasons for the reform of the monetary system.¹

Our next authority is al-Mas'ūdī, who lived in the fourth century A.H. (he probably died around 346). His work Murūj al-Dhahab wa Ma'din al-Jawhar² refers to the reasons for the introduction of the Arab monetary reforms as well as the relations prevailing between 'Abd al-Malik and Justinian's empire. A little more than a hundred years after al-Mas'ūdī lived al-Māwardī (d. c. 1058/450); in his book entitled Kitāb al-Aḥkām al-Ṣultāniyya³ there are found, in chapters 13 and 20, details about the first Muslim rulers to strike purely epigraphical coins, in addition to some valuable information regarding counterfeit coins, and the duty of a ruler to punish those guilty of striking false issues. A.H. 808 (the same year in which Ibn Khaldūn died) is generally accepted as that of the death of al-Damḡirī, author of Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān al-Kubrā⁴ the first volume of which supplies extremely important information as to the reasons behind the striking of the first reformed issue, going on then to describe the attitude of 'Abd al-Malik to the Byzantine empire and the Byzantines' reaction to his rule. Also from the ninth century A.D., comes the work of al-Baihaqī, entitled al-Maḥāsin wa

¹ The edition used here is the one published in Cairo, 1941.

² Ed. and trans. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille, II (Paris, 1861-1930).

³ The edition used here is the one published in Cairo, A.H. 1328.

⁴ The edition used here is the one published in Cairo, 1954.

al-Maṣāwī¹ giving details of the origin of the monetary reforms and details of the relationship between 'Abd al-Malik and Byzantium.

(c) Turning now to the third category of Arabic textual sources, those of the Arabic geographers, we must first mention the work of al-Hamdānī, written after A.D. 942, the Kitāb al-Jawharatain al-'Atīqatain al-Mā'i'atain min aṣ-Ṣafra' wal-Baiḍa'.² Hamdānī's writings inform us of the locations of the gold and silver mines in Arabia, the extraction of metal from ore, the processes of refining, etc., as well as giving details of the people who controlled the silver mines in central Arabia, and the names of the silver coins. Next in importance comes the work of Ibn Khurdāhba (who died about 920/300), Al-Masālik wa al-Mamālik³ where the locations of certain gold mines in Arabia are given and described. The third geographical reference in this category is the Nuzhat al-Mushtāq fī Ikhtirāq al-'Afāq⁴ of al-Idrīsī (d. 1181/577) which again gives information about various localities in Arabia where mines were found.

C. Modern Writers

The beginning of the serious study of the problems of the coinage of Arabia goes back to the 18th century A.D. Initially, studies of the pre-Umayyad and Umayyad coinages were limited to editing Arabic sources and translating them into German, French, English, or Latin. One of the most distinguished scholars at this stage was O.G. Tychsen, who

¹ The edition used here is the one published in Cairo, 1906.

² Ed. with a German trans. by Christopher Toll, Uppsala, 1968.

³ The edition used here is that of Leiden, 1889.

⁴ The edition used here is that of Rome, 1952.

translated the work of al-Maqrīzī as Historia Monetae Arabicae.¹

During the first seventy years of the nineteenth century, little of interest was contributed to our subject, although there were some studies of mining. Progress in the study of coins was resumed when J. Stickel published the coin collection of Jena in his Handbuch zur Morgenländischen Münzkunde.² He embodied great experience in this work. His catalogue (vol. II) includes some rare early Islamic issues, and the legends on them are analysed in detail. In addition, a reliable contribution was made by W. Tiesenhausen. His work consists of two volumes, the first being entitled Moneti Vostochnova Khalifata.³ This work is a veritable mine of information on the most important literature before 1873 on the coins relevant to our subject. It is also based on first-hand knowledge of the early Muslim coinage as it was known in 1873. Somewhat later, in 1879, H. Sauvage published his Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de la numismatique et de la métrologie musulmanes.⁴ This work is of permanent value as a collection of material, but offers us no discussion or comments. At the same time, advances were being made in the historical presentation of early Muslim coinages, notably by H. Lavoix in his Catalogue des monnaies musulmanes de la Bibliothèque Nationale.⁵ This work (vol. I) contains an introduction which is a careful study of the various statements contained in the leading

¹ Rostock, 1797.

² 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1870).

³ St. Petersburg, 1873.

⁴ Paris, 1879-83.

⁵ 3 vols. (Paris, 1887-96).

Arabic authorities, in an effort to reconcile the complicated literary statements with the numismatic evidence. Somewhat later, S. Lane-Poole¹ made a number of useful contributions in the field of early Muslim numismatics, in particular vol. IX of the Catalogue of oriental coins in the British Museum² and the Catalogue of the collection of Arabic coins preserved in the Khedivial library at Cairo.³ In both these works, S. Lane-Poole describes and illustrates a considerable number of Umayyad gold and copper coins only a few of which had not been published before.⁴ He does, however, consider both the weight standard of gold coins and the inscriptions.

Mention must also be made of Ismā'il G. Edhem whose work entitled Maskūkāt Islāmiyya Qadīma Qatālūghī appeared in A.H. 1312 at Constantinople. It describes early Islamic coins preserved in the Istanbul Museum.⁵

In 1922, in British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins, G. Hill published the coins of North and South Arabia and the neighbouring countries.⁶ Hill was the first to study the coinages of ancient Arabia for their own sake. He catalogued coins in the three traditional metals (gold, silver, and copper) which can be ascribed to North and South Arabian rulers

¹ The summary account of these statements by S. Lane-Poole, NC 1884, 3rd ser. vol. IV, pp. 66-96, is not always reliable.

² London, 1889.

³ London, 1897.

⁴ S. Lane-Poole's catalogue entirely omits the Arab-Sassanian type, while the Arab-Bayzantine type is unaccompanied by analysis or discussion of the iconography.

⁵ The works of both Lane-Poole and Edhem are confusing in their arrangement, so that their argument is sometimes not easy to follow. They do not greatly advance our knowledge of either the purpose of the reform, or the structure of the post-reform Umayyad gold coinage.

⁶ G. Hill, Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Arabia, Mesopotamia and Persia (London, 1922).

and discusses the justification for each attribution. The introductory sections of this book (pp. xi-xxxvi) contain a survey of the ancient North and South Arabian states, as well as a detailed survey of the coins themselves (types, legends, epigraphy, mints, etc.). The data from ancient Arabia are discussed by the author under the following chapter headings: (1) Kings of Nabataea; (2) Arabia Provincia; (3) Arabia Felix. The work includes background material (numismatic, historical, and geographical) relating to many of the specimens described and illustrated. It includes also a number of useful bibliographical references to writings of numismatists, historians, and geographers. In spite of some chronological confusion surrounding the south Arabian rulers, it may be said that, since the publication of this work, students of ancient Arabian coinage have an acceptable framework within which to work.

Particular attention must be drawn to an extensive bibliographical work based on a variety of differing sources entitled Bibliography of Moslem Numismatics by L.A. Mayer.¹ However, in spite of Mayer's coverage of a period of two hundred years, he does not attempt to include the Arabic literature on coins, e.g., the works of al-Maqrīzī, al-Māwardī, al-Balādhurī, al-Nawawī, Ibn Khaldūn.

Special recognition should be given to the work of J. Walker² entitled A Catalogue of the Muhammadan Coins, vol. I,

¹ 2nd ed. (London, 1954). Mayer concerns himself only with works of the modern period (the last two centuries), and his bibliography is remarkably comprehensive as regards the works of western writers.

² We consider these two catalogues of J. Walker (in spite of their status as catalogues of Umayyad and Abbasid coins in the British Museum) as being something more than the museum's official catalogue, because they approximate to a corpus rather than a catalogue.

Arab-Sassanian Coins¹ and A Catalogue of Muhammadan Coins .Arab-Byzantine and Post-Reform Umayyad Coins.² The publication of these volumes of Islamic coins in the British Museum highlights the value of coin specimens as documentary historical evidence for the early Islamic era. In the two volumes discussed here, historians and students of the early Islamic coinage may discover vital and substantial material, mostly datable with precision. The entire first volume and a sizeable portion of the second deal with coins of the transitional period, based initially on Sassanian and Byzantine models. These volumes are essential tools for the investigator of early Islamic history. Walker provides a detailed picture of the development of Umayyad coinage. In order to make the works as comprehensive as possible, he listed not only the entire published literature, but also much unpublished material which he had noted in visits to numerous public and private coin collections in America, Europe, and the Middle East. Full indices of the post-reform coinage, details of the mints and their localities, names and inscriptions, accompany each volume. Although he must be given credit for attempting to relate the coins to their historical context, and to use non-numismatic evidence to throw light on his subject, he goes astray from time to time; examples are given below at Appendix E. However, so thorough and complete is the coverage in the two volumes of each and every published coin of our subject that only in isolated cases would even the perfectionist feel the need to refer to any of the sources from which Walker derived his material, e.g., Ahmad Zia Bey, A.Mordtmann, H. Lavoix, H. Sauvair, L. Fr. de Saulcy,

¹ London, 1941.

² London, 1956.

E. von Zambaur, Mrs. Ulla S. Linder Welin, Prince Philippe de Saxe-Cobourg, W. Wroth (vol. II) and W. Tiesenhausen, in search of extra details.

Of vital importance for research into Muslim coinage are the publications of George Miles. He was a scholar of great range and unusual learning, with a marked capacity for penetrating and critical analysis, and a characteristically disciplined and austere approach. He left many important specialist studies as well as several general works covering long periods of the Muslim coinage. Of particular importance are his "Early Arabic Glass Weights and Stamps",¹ "Rare Islamic Coins",² and his essay "The Earliest Arab Gold Coinage".³ But while it is true that Miles's essay "The Earliest Arab Gold Coinage" has extensive references to original sources, numismatic interpretation, and historical notes, nevertheless, his suggestions so far as the present subject is concerned, are not substantially different from the conclusions of Walker (e.g., the proposition that A.H. 77 witnesses the disappearance of the Byzantine (Greek) type of dinar and the issue of the dinar of the post-reform coinage).

Three useful catalogues can be dealt with briefly. The first of these is that of the coin collection of the Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo.⁴ This massive volume is mainly useful because so many of the early Islamic issues Fahmy describes were found locally. The catalogue aims to be comprehensive and includes a historical discussion of the problem of the relationship between the reform of the Islamic

¹ NNM, 111, 1948.

² NNM, 118, 1950.

³ ANS, MN 13, 1967.

⁴ A.R. Fahmy, Mawsu'at an-Nuqūd al-'Arabiya wa 'Ilm an-Nummiyāt, I, Fağr as-Sikka al-'Arabiya (Cairo, 1965)

gold coinage and the foreign policy of 'Abd al-Malik following the pattern laid down by Walker (vol. II) but taking into consideration other dynasties not included in Walker's work. It is furnished with a useful introduction (pp. 8-53) to Islamic coinage with particular reference to the meaning of the word al-sikka.¹

The second catalogue is that of M. Abū 'l-Faraj al-'Ush published by the Direction Générale des Antiquités et des Musées of the Syrian Arab Republic which is likely to be of considerable help to students of the early Islamic silver coinage.² Since the number of specimens is comparatively limited (228), they have been studied in this catalogue in very great detail, more than was possible, for example, for al-Naqshabandī in his comparable Al-Dirham al-Islāmī.³ The catalogue is generously illustrated, and each type is meticulously studied. In interpreting the Pahlevi inscriptions, al-'Ush generally follows the issues found in F.D.J. Paruck, Sāsānian Coins⁴ and R. Göbl in "Aufbau der Münzprägung des Sassaniden-Staates",⁵ and Walker (vol. I) but he attempts sometimes to break new ground particularly when dealing with the matter of coin inscriptions and their interpretation (see, e.g., his new interpretation of the Arabic lettering نَكْرَه , pl. VIII, 192 and p. 35).

The third catalogue is that of H. Gaube entitled Arabosasanidische Numismatik (Handbücher der mittelasiatischen Numismatik, Band II, 1973) following on the lines of Walker's

¹ See below, ch. V, p. 140.

² M. al-'Ush, Trésor de Monnaies d'Argent Trouvé à Umm-Hajarah (Damascus, 1972).

³ Vol. I, The Islamic Dirham of Sassanian Type (Baghdad 1969/1389).

⁴ Bombay, 1924.

⁵ In Ein asiatischer Staat (Wiesbaden, 1954).

extensive introduction to his work Arab-Sassanian Coins. Gaube studied the Arab-Sassanian coins issued not only by the Umayyads but also by the anti-Umayyad rebels such as Qaṭarī ibn al-Fujā'a and the partisans of the Zubairids. The work includes useful information about the Arabization of the dīwān as well as the reform of the coinage by 'Abd al-Malik. The mint names have been treated in detail by the author.

A final brief reference may be made to less comprehensive surveys of work on the pre-Umayyad and Umayyad coinages and related problems in the specialist journals (NNM, NCh, MN, NC, ZDMG, JESHO). A complete list of these was given by L. Mayer.¹ The bibliography was brought up to date in a Survey of Numismatic Research.²

Attention must also be paid to the extensive scientific standard catalogues of the Roman and Byzantine coins housed in the British Museum,³ the Bibliothèque Nationale,⁴ and the Dumbarton Oaks and Whitemore Collections⁵ for guidance on coin types, metrological elements, and related topics.

2. Texts Dealing with Mining in Arabia

Apart from the museum catalogues, there is relevant material for our purposes in publications concerned with mints and mining activities in ancient and mediaeval Arabia. Studies

¹ See above, p. 9.

² 1960-1965 (ed. K. Skaare and G. Miles (Copenhagen, 1967)), and 1966-1971 (ed. J. Yvon and H.W. Brown (New York, 1973)).

³ H. Mattingly, Roman Imperial Coinage (London, vol. V, 1967, VII, 1966, and IX, 1951). W. Wroth, Catalogue of the Imperial Byzantine Coins in the British Museum, 2 vols. (London, 1908).

⁴ C. Morrisson, Catalogue des monnaies byzantines de la Bibliothèque Nationale, 2 vols. (Paris, 1970).

⁵ P. Grierson, Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whitemore Collection, vols. I and II (Washington, 1966, 1968).

of the activities of mints and mines in Arabia have been made by both geologists and historians.

On the geological side, the chief source of information about this topic is the maps and reports prepared during the last 32 years (1939-1974) by the Directorate General of Mineral Resources of Saudi Arabia (Jeddah). There are also reports by research workers who were active before the Directorate was set up. Especially to be noted is the work of D. Schaffner,¹ who during twenty years of work in Saudi Arabia (1939-1959) examined and reported on many ancient workings, as well as the late Aḥmad Fakhrī, who travelled widely for the Directorate-General of Mineral Resources and later for the Saudi government. More recent geological contributions have been made by Drs. V. Kahr, M.A. Bhutta and G.F. Brown: and W.H. Maclean, Conrad Martin and others. Special mention must be made of Conrad Martin's basic work on the history of ancient mine workings and their methods of production.²

Recent research on this topic by Moḥsin El-Abid³ and A. al-Wohaibī⁴ has shown less interest in this subject than the geological reports now available would warrant, and neither author uses coins as evidence to contribute towards the solution of various problems, such as those relating to the output of the mints and the locations of the Arabian mines. Both, however, contain extensive bibliographies and devote

¹ For details of this report, and others discussed in this chapter below, see Bibliography.

² See Report no. 118, 1973, Jeddah.

³ M. El-Abid, "Mittelalterliche Bergwerke und ihre Lagerstätten in den Arabischen Ländern nach Arabischen Geographen und Historikern", thesis, Bonn, 1963.

⁴ A. al-Wohaibī, The Northern Hijaz in the Writing of the Arab Geographers 800-1150 (Beirut, 1973).

chapters relevant to our subject. A. al-Wohaibī has laid firm foundations for some areas of research, particularly the location of the mint of the Banū Sulaim. He has in general opened new lines of study towards a better understanding of the locations of some of the gold and silver mines in Arabia.

3. The Numismatic Material

Another source of information for our subject is the (as yet little known and indeed uncatalogued) coin collections in Saudi Arabia. The discovery of hoards of Arab and non-Arab coins of pre-Islamic and early Islamic times (which are housed in various public and private collections in Saudi Arabia) raises a number of questions which are vital to the monetary history of ancient Arabia, but which have up to now proved very difficult to solve. When were these coins introduced into Arabia, and by what routes did they enter the country?¹ The most important public coin collection in Saudi Arabia is housed in the Museum of the Faculty of Arts² in the University of Riyadh; it contains approximately 1,700 specimens of coins of 33 different types--Ḥimyarite, Byzantine, Roman, Arab-Sassanian, Umayyad, Abbasid, Ṭūlunid, Fāṭimid, Ottoman Turkish, etc.--all of which were found in Arabia. Part of the great value of this collection from the scientific point of view is derived from the fact that it contains a very great range of the main coin-types, though their exact find-spots are not always recorded. The history of this coin

¹ For the study of the distribution of the coins, see ch. V.

² This museum was established by Dr. A. Ansari in 1967/1387 and the creation of the coin collection was largely due to his interest and expertise. It was decided that the museum should undertake the assembling of a representative coin collection of all types of coin circulating and minted in ancient, mediaeval, and modern Arabia.

collection can to a large extent be reconstructed because most of the coins do have indications of provenance, and the names of dealers and the dates of acquisition have in all cases been noted. One of the most important special items purchased for this museum is a hoard from Ṣan'ā' in the Yemen.¹ The Ṣan'ā' hoard is the first recorded find of Ḥimyarite silver coins now held in any collection in Saudi Arabia. All identifiable coins in this hoard are Ḥimyarite: in the listing given below (see cat. nos. 37-62) very worn and damaged specimens have been omitted.

The Museum attached to the Saudi Ministry of Education, Department of Antiquities² possesses approximately 400 coins of 10 categories (Byzantine gold and copper coins, Sassanian silver coins, Umayyad gold coins, Mamlukī, Saljuqī, and Ṣulaiḥī South Arabian copper coins).

The largest and most important private coin collection in Saudi Arabia is that of Sheikh Ḥāmid Nuzhat in Riyadh, part of his superb collection of antiquities. This coin collection contains over 1,000 coins, the great majority of which are Byzantine, Sassanian, and Umayyad issues. The find-spots of some of these coins have been recorded by the owner, but without descriptions. The great value of this collection from the numismatic point of view derives from the considerable number of Byzantine coin types, and the early Islamic copper coins contained in it, and the hoard of Umayyad

¹ The Ṣan'ā' hoard was found in Ṣan'ā' in 1972, and was taken by the finder to Najrān in Saudi Arabia, where Dr. Ansari purchased it for the museum.

² This museum was established in 1964/1383 some years before the AMRU. It owes its revival and reconstruction in 1973 to the efforts of Dr. A.H. Maṣrī; its present activities include the acquiring and tracing, for collection, of all the available archaeological data found in modern Saudi Arabia relating to ancient, mediaeval, and modern Arabia.

gold dinars discovered in the Sharshūra (washhouse for the dead) to the south of the Great Mosque in al-Medina during its widening in 1953 (A.H. 1370).

Next in importance is the collection of Shqikh Ḥamza 'Ajlān of Medina; his coin collection comprises different types of Byzantine gold coins and gold dinars, and Arab-Sassanian silver coins which are excellently preserved and listed.¹

Another important coin collection is that owned by 'Abd Allāh 'Āiḍ in Mecca. It contains more than 21 Byzantine gold coins of Phocas (602-610),² and 27 gold issues of Herclius (610-641),³ 18 Sassanian silver drachmas of Khusrau II (59 -628),⁴ and two Ḥimyarite silver coins of one unit the origin of which has not been disclosed but which were probably found not far from Mecca. In addition there are two Byzantine gold issues struck during the reign of Phocas picked up by Shqikh 'Abd Allāh at 'Umm al-Dūd near Mecca. There are also 17 dinars from the Umayyad and Abbasid periods, those from the Umayyad period being issues of Hishām ibn 'Abd al-Malik (724-743/105-125).⁵

Another private coin collection we have visited belongs to 'Ali Ḥasan 'Āmūdī of Tabūk, who has formed a considerable collection of coins composed exclusively of examples found on the site of Jabal Ghunaim south of Tabūk (see map 1).

Yet another private coin collection, part of which

¹ The collection was purchased for the AMRU where it is now housed.

² P. Whitting, Byzantine Coins (London, 1973), p. 130.

³ Ibid., p. 140.

⁴ M. Abu al-Faraj al-'Ush, The Silver Hoard of Damascus (Damascus, 1972), p. 48.

⁵ Ibid., p. 15.

we have been able to examine, is that of 'Ali Fāḍil of Jeddah, where he is a dealer. His coins are of the following types:

(1) Sassanian, Khusrau II; (2) Arab-Sassanian; (3) Umayyad post-reform gold and copper coins. The most important item in the Fāḍil collection is a hoard of Umayyad post-reform gold coins which was found buried in an earthen pot in the town of al-Wajh, in the northern province of the Ḥijāz.

Among the private coin collections there is also that of Ḥaḍīḡ al-Ḥarbī at Tabūk. The most important part of this collection is the hoard found about 25 kilometres south of al-Khubar in the east of Saudi Arabia. The hoard was discovered in A.D. 1972 (A.H. 1392). The coins had apparently been buried in a small jar of glazed earthenware. The writer was informed by the owner that some of the pieces were stuck to broken fragments of the jar, and that in other cases groups of coins were stuck together. The total number was something like eight silver specimens. The dirhams which we have examined are mainly Arab-Sassanian coin types.

Chapter II

SURVEY OF THE ANCIENT ARABIAN COINAGE ACCORDING TO THE MEDIAEVAL ARAB AUTHORS

The main purpose of this chapter is to study the essential statements given by the mediaeval Arab authors regarding the various kinds of volumes of coins circulating in pre-Islamic Arabia, and the Umayyad coinage which followed.

1. Coins Circulating in Arabia

During pre-Islamic (jāhiliyya) Time

In the opinion of most of the mediaeval Arab historians, the coins in circulation during the jāhiliyya in Arabia comprised Qaiṣariyya gold dinars, Kisrawiyya silver dirhams, and Ḥimyarite coins; and these were in no way similar to each other. We can collate their statements as follows: the gold coins which were used during the jāhiliyya¹ were brought to Arabia from the Byzantine empire.² They were called Qaiṣariyya³ dinars, Hiraqliyya⁴ dinars, and Rūmiyya⁵ dinars. All the mediaeval Arab authors who mention the circulation of gold coins in Mecca on the eve of Islam state that the dinar is equivalent⁶ to a mithqāl and the relationship of the dinar

¹ Al-Balādhurī, Futūḥ al-Buldān (Beirut, 1958), p. 473.

² Al-Maqrīzī, Shudhūr al-'Uqūd fī Dhikr al-Nuqūd, p. 4.

³ Al-Balādhurī, op. cit., p. 475.

⁴ Ibid., p. 478.

⁵ Al-Maqrīzī, op. cit., p. 2.

⁶ Ibid., p. 3; al-Māwardī, Al-Aḥkām al-Ṣulṭāniyya, p. 163.

to the dirham was 16 to 7.¹

Abū Ya'lā states that there were small dirhams current in Yemen, each weighing two and a half dāniq.² On the other hand, al-Māwardī mentions that the weight standard of the Yamānī dirham during pre-Islamic times was one dāniq, and he comments on its rarity.³ It is worth noting that al-Balādhurī⁴ confirms the circulation of the Ḥimyarite dirhams in Arabia but does not give any details about their weight standard. Ibn Khaldūn states that the weight standard of the Ḥimyarite dirhams was 6 dāniq.⁵

Ibn Khaldūn and al-Nawawī⁶ speak of a kind of dirham called Maghribiyya (مغربية) which was in circulation in Mecca during the jāhiliyya, but they do not give any details about the metal from which it was made, nor of its country of origin. It is quite probable (if the statement is correct) that it was of silver since the Arab historians have shown that the word dirham is almost invariably applied to coins of silver.

On the other hand, al-Maqrīzī reports that the kind of dirham called Baghliyya⁷ was current in Arabia during the jāhiliyya and these were referred to as "the black and perfect" (السود الوافية). He adds that the Baghlī or black perfect dirhams came from Persia. Al-Damairī states that these were to be attributed to a Jewish moneyer called Ra's al-Baghl (رأس البغل). He coined, for 'Umar I, dirhams which bore the

¹ Al-Balādhurī, op. cit., p. 473.

² J. 'Ali, Al-Mufaṣṣal fī Ta'rīkh al-'Arab Qabl al-Islām, 7 (Beirut, 1971), p. 499.

³ Al-Aḥkām al-Ṣultāniyya, p. 147.

⁴ Al-'Ibar wa Dīwān al-Mubtada' wa al-Khabar, I (Cairo, A.H. 1353), p. 464.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ 'Ali, op. cit., p. 499.

⁷ Al-Maqrīzī, op. cit., p. 1.

effigy of a king sitting on a throne, beneath which was engraved a legend in Pahlavi "Nūsh Khūr".¹

Other mediaeval Arab historians have discussed the Baghlī dirham but give different linguistic forms of the term, e.g., bughallī. Al-Ṭabāṭibā'ī² suggests that Baghlī was the name of the Jewish chief who built the temple of the Magi and minted the dirhams ascribed to him in the city of Arminia in Persia, but there is one called Armyia³ in Persia. On the other hand, Ṣ al-'Ulūm⁴ adds that the Baghlī dirhams can be attributed to an ancient city called Baghl in Babylon. Yet Ṣ. al-'Ulūm on the authority of al-Ṭuraiḥī thought that the word Baghly written with no fatha on the letter ġ, and a stress (shadda) on the last letter "y" (ى), refers to the name of a city in Iraq. The position is thus confused, but it is possible that Baghlī dirhams can be traced to a famous minter Ra's al-Baghl; it would, however, be surprising if, as al-Damḡirī reports,⁵ the Ra's al-Baghl who minted the dirhams during the pre-Islamic times should also have struck the dirhams of 'Umar I. However, it is possible that this family monopolised the minting of dirhams and that a member of the family struck dirhams for 'Umar I.

The other kind of dirham⁶ which is mentioned by many of the mediaeval Arab texts as current in pre-Islamic and early Islamic times (the period of the Prophet and his four successors), is the Ṭabarīan dirham⁷ (دراهم طبریه).⁸

¹ Al-Damḡirī, Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān al-Kubrā, I, p. 161.

² Ṣ. Beḥr al-'Ulūm, Al-Nuqūd al-Islāmiyya, p. 49.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid., p. 50.

⁵ Op. cit., p. 161

⁶ Al-Maqrīzī, op. cit., p. 3 and Ibn Khaldūn, op. cit., p. 462.

⁷ See Appendix B, p. 188.

⁸ Ṣ. Beḥr al-'Ulūm, op. cit., p. 48 states that A. al-Karmaly has rightly stated that "Ṭabarīan" refers to the dirhams which were struck in Ṭabaristān and not Tabaria in Syria.

None of the mediaeval Arab historians share al-Maqrīzī's opinion that there were dirhams known as Juwārqiyya or Jūdāqiyya current in pre-Islamic and early Islamic times.

Al-Karmaly¹ states that Jūrqn̄n (جورقان) was a suburb near Hamadhān. However, we have not been able to trace a place called Jūrqn̄n, either in the encyclopaedias or in other books, such as the Mu'jam al-Buldān or the mint list of J. Walker, or in Zambaur's Die Münzprägungen Des Islams.² There does, however, exist a suburb near Hamdhān called Jūrān (جوران).³ Al-Maqrīzī himself, in his other book, Ighāthet al-'Umma mentions dirhams called Juwārfiyya (جوارفيه). Ṣ. Beḥr al-'Ulūm on the authority of Ziyāda and al-Shayyāl states that some copies of Ighāthet al-'Umma have Jūdāqiyya (جوداقيه) and Juwārfa (جوارفه), while the Shudhūr text has Juwārqiyya (جوارقيه). He adds that Silvestre de Sacy could not find any explanation for this word, and suggests that it might be read as Jarārqa (جراقه), stating that according to some manuscripts, Jarārqa is the plural of Jirīqī (جريقي) which means "Greek" (إغريقي).⁴

According to the Muḥīt al-Muḥīt, the words "Jarāq" and "Jarāf" both mean "the dark thing" and, according to the same work, the word "Jurāqia" may indicate a kind of black dirham.⁵ It could be inferred from these statements that Greek silver coins were in use in Mecca during the pre-Islamic

¹ Al-Karmaly, Al-Nuqūd al-'Arabiyya wa 'Ilm al-Numiyyat (Cairo, 1939).

² E. von Zambaur in his manual lists a town called Djūdān (جودان) I (Wiesbaden, 1968), p. 101.

³ Al-Karmaly, op. cit., p. 122.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

period or they were Ḥimyarite coins which were struck on the last Attic type. This would seem likely in any case, if there were coins called Jūdāqiyya circulating in ancient Arabia. Al-Māwardī states that the silver coins were called al-wariq (ورق);¹ the word wariq occurs in several South Arabian inscriptions, in such phrases as "khamsī warqim" and "'ashrī warqim", which presumably refer to weights or some kind of coin.² The term wrq is mentioned in ancient South Arabian inscriptions and by the mediaeval Arab sources. None of the modern writers on this subject such as Ryckmans, or Pirenne mention the use of the term wrqm in the Qur'ān,³ or in the texts of the mediaeval Arab sources. One of these, al-Hamdānī, states: "As for silver, it is 'Luḥain', in the language of Ḥimyar, with 'ḍamma' over the 'lām' (ل) meaning 'al-wariq' (silver); and al-wariq is a name given to dirhams."⁴

Turning now to specific points relevant to the circulation of coins in Mecca on the eve of Islam, one of al-Maqrīzī's statements refers to the use of the gold dinar and the silver dirḥam by the Meccans as ingots according to the local weight, which they fixed (وكانوا يتبايعون بأوزان اصطلاحوا) ^{عليها}.⁵ There is, however, an insufficient variety of gold and silver types to provide adequate confirmation of Maqrīzī's statement. Yet there are references in literature by two Arab historians prior to al-Maqrīzī. These are al-Balādhurī and al-Ṭabarī, and al-Maqrīzī may have drawn on one of them

¹ Al-Aḥkām al-Ṣultāniyya, p. 148 and M. al-Rayyis, Al-Kharāj wa al-Nuḥum lil-Dawla al-Islāmiyya (Cairo, 1969), p. 370.

² 'Ali, op. cit., 7, p. 501.

³ XVIII, 18.

⁴ D. M. Dunlop, "Sources of Gold and Silver in Islam", in Studia Islamica, VIII (1961), p. 36.

⁵ Op. cit., p. 4.

for his statement. These two statements together clearly suggest that silver coins were used as ingots during the few years preceding the Hijra in A.D. 622. One of them states that when Muḥammad married Khadīja, he paid to her as a nuptial gift "twelve awqiya and nushshan (half) and the awqiya was [weighed] forty dirhams" (إثني عشرة أوقية ونشاً (نصف) (والأوقية أربعون درهماً).¹ In the other example, reference to the use of the coins by Quraish according to local weights is made in the episode of the finding of Bilāl al-Ḥabashī by Abū Bakr (when both became Muslims); ill-treated by his master Umayya Ibn Khalaf² in Mecca, the slave Bilāl wanted to abandon Islam, until Abū Bakr paid five awqīyas and freed him.³ The above two statements do not mean that the Quraish in all their dealings used coins only by weight (al marco); they also used silver dirhams according to their value (al pezzo): for instance, the female camel which Abū Bakr purchased to take himself and Muḥammad from Mecca to Yathrib is mentioned as being bought from Nu'm Ibn Qushāir for 800 dirhams (اشترأها أبو بكر من نعم بن قشير بثمانمائة درهم).⁴ A second instance is the statement related to the purchasing of the slave Ya'qūb al-Mudbir (Ya'qūb al-Qibṭī) for 800 or 900 dirhams.⁵

Though the above shows that both the use of coins by weight and their use al pezzo were known in Mecca in the known in Mecca in the few years preceding the Hijra, we

¹ Al-Maqrīzī, op. cit., p. 2; for the meaning of nash, see Appendix B, pp. 188ff.

² Ansāb al-Ashrāf, I (Cairo, 1959), p. 97.

³ For a discussion of whether Umayya or Abū Jahl was the master of Bilāl, see Ibn al-Athīr, 'Usd al-Ghaba fī Ma'rifat al-Ṣaḥāba, I (Tehran, A.H. 1334), p. 206.

⁴ Ibn Qutaiba, Kitāb al-Ma'ārif (Leiden, 1850), p. 88.

⁵ Ibn al-Athīr, op. cit., III, p. 230.

cannot be sure which of the two systems was employed by the merchants from Quraish when dealing with people of other external areas, such as Syria or South Arabia. They may, for example, have used the Byzantine solidi in their dealings with the merchants of Syria. Similarly they may have dealt in Himyarite or Sassanian silver issues in their contacts with the people of Yemen, particularly during the period when Yemen was ruled by the Sassanians (c. A.D. 575-628).¹ We have to leave this question open.

2. Coins Circulating in Arabia During the Early Islamic Period: Aspects of the Umayyad Coinage

We find that all the mediaeval Arab authors without exception agree that the Prophet gave his approval to the standard of pre-Islamic coins.

Among the mediaeval Arab historians, Ibn Khaldūn is alone in stating that:

ولما جاء الاسلام كانوا يتعاملون بالذهب والفضة وكانت دنانير
الفرس ودراهمهم بين أيديهم يردونها في معاملتهم الى الوزن
الى ان تفاحش الغش في الدنانير والدراهم وامر عبد الملك
الحجاج على ما نقل سعيد بن المسيب وابوالزناد، بضرب
الدراهم .

"When Islam came, the Arabs in their dealings used gold and silver [coins by al marco]. They used the Sassanian gold dinars² and silver dirhams which were in circulation among them according to their weights. When forged dinars and dirhams became very common, 'Abd al-Malik on the authority of

¹ Hitti, Arabs, p. 66.

² R. Göbl, Sassanian Numismatics (Braunschweig, 1968), p. 28, states that only Shapur II minted gold in any quantity. Other rulers used gold only for festive issues. Surviving gold coins are rare, and none have been found in Arabia.

Sa'īd Ibn al-Musayyab and Abū al-Zanād ordered al-Ḥajjāj to strike dirhams."¹

Al-Maqrīzī² states that the first Arab dirham of typical Sassanian type was issued during 'Umar I's reign in A.H. 18, while al-Māwardī's³ version is that this happened in 'Abd al-Malik's time. Whereas coins from 'Abd al-Malik's time survive in abundance, none have so far been found dating from the reign of 'Umar I and al-Maqrīzī's statement cannot be substantiated by the surviving coins. On the other hand, most of the sources agree that Sumairiyya dirhams were struck at Damascus during 'Abd al-Malik's reign. These coins were named after a Jew from Taimā' called Sumair.⁴

Ibn Khaldūn reports that "It was said that Muṣ'ab Ibn al-Zubair was the first to issue dinars and dirhams on behalf of his brother 'Abd Allāh. They bear 'بركة الله' on one side and 'اسم الله' on the other. These coins were changed by al-Ḥajjāj [i.e., melted down] one year after."⁵

Al-Balādhurī also mentions that Muṣ'ab struck gold dinars. But we have no numismatic evidence to endorse the statement that Muṣ'ab Ibn al-Zubair issued gold dinars. The dirhams which had been issued by Ibn al-Zubair's brother were melted down by al-Ḥajjāj, according to al-Balādhurī who quotes al-Ḥajjāj as saying: "We do not want anything from the godless or hypocritical".⁶ Al-Maqrīzī⁷ and Abū Ya'lā⁸ mention that

¹ Ibn Khaldūn, Al-'Ibar wa Dīwān al-Mubtada' wa al-Khabar, I, p. 463.

² Op. cit., p. 34.

³ Op. cit., p. 148.

⁴ Al-Maqrīzī, op. cit., p. 4, and al-Balādhurī, op. cit., p. 656.

⁵ Op. cit., p. 656.

⁶ Al-Maqrīzī, op. cit., p. 6.

⁷ Op. cit., p. 4.

⁸ Al-Aḥkām al-Ṣultāniyya, p. 148.

'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubair struck circular (مدوّس) dirham in Mecca during his reign.

The main dates suggested for the appearance of reformed silver issues chiefly fall within the period A.H. 74-76. For example, al-Māwardī on the authority of Abū al-Zīnād reports that al-Ḥajjāj on behalf of 'Abd al-Malik issued dirhams in A.H. 74.¹ The account given by al-Balādhurī is that al-Ḥajjāj issued dirhams at the end of A.H. 75 (694-695), afterwards giving orders for them to be struck in all districts in A.H. 76 (695-696).²

The above group of authors represent those who name al-Ḥajjāj as the first to have issued the reformed dirhams. Al-Maqrīzī in contrast declared 'Abd al-Malik to have been the first and that he struck dirham and dinars after the consolidation of the regime. "In A.H. 76 'Abd al-Malik issued dinars and dirhams on the weight standard one dirham equals 15 qīrāṭ. These dirhams were struck also in al-'Irāq. When these coins reached al-Medina there were many of the companions who objected because the coins bore an effigy."³ It could be said that both the Sassanian silver dirhams⁴ and the Byzantine gold solidi bear images on their obverses, but the populace of al-Medina as a part of the Umayyad caliphate must have been familiar with these traditional currencies. The companions' objection must therefore have been to an image different from the usual one (i.e., on the Sassanian and Byzantine coins). In other words, one can be fairly confident

¹ Op. cit., p. 655.

² Op. cit., p. 4.

³ Al-Maqrīzī, op. cit., p. 10.

⁴ Walker, I, p. 25, no. Zub I (fig. 2).

in inferring that this dirham type is that with "Arab-Sassanian obverse and standing caliph reverse."¹ Accordingly, it might be that the date (i.e., A.H. 76) given by al-Maqrīzī is not correct (i.e., that the year was 75 or 73, not 76).² If so, then the coins which were struck by al-Ḥajjāj and which reached al-Medina must have been of the standing caliph type with or without sword. However, if the date given by al-Maqrīzī (i.e., A.H. 76) is correct then we would expect the appearance of dirhams with standing caliph in A.H. 76.

In a few cases, there is numismatic evidence to endorse the Arab authors in their accounts of the inscriptions occurring on the silver issues, but more often it is lacking. The sources assert certain modifications concerning the addition of Arabic inscriptions to the silver dirhams of a typical Sassanian type, to which 'Umar I added, "Thank God", or in some instance, "Muḥammad is God's messenger", or "No God but Allāh".³ There is no numismatic evidence to substantiate their statements concerning the addition of these Arabic legends, or of the date A.H. 18 which they mentioned.

As for other examples, it should be stated that no issues up till now have appeared bearing the inscription "Nūkh Shūr" under the bust or elsewhere in any published reference to the Sassanian silver coinage or the Arab Sassanian coinage. This statement of al-Damḡīrī must be considered as a folk etymology.⁴

¹ J. Walker, "Some New Arab-Sassanian Coins" in NC, XII, nos. 1 and 2 (1952), pp. 106-107.

² Al-Maqrīzī, op. cit., p. 8. Some of the modern Arab historians such as al-Karmaly, Al-Nuqūd al-'Arabiyya wa 'Ilm al-Numiyyāt, p. 31 and J. 'Ali, Al-Mufaṣṣal fī Ta'rīkh al-'Arab, 7, p. 501, mention al-Maqrīzī's statement without comment.

³ Op. cit., p. 79.

⁴ Op. cit., p. 15.

Numismatic evidence confirms the mediaeval Arab statement regarding the occurrence of only "He is God, God the Eternal", without the word "Say" at the beginning. It must be observed,¹ however, that al-Maqrīzī's statement to the effect that the verse "Say, God is one" occurred on the silver issues struck by al-Ḥajjāj, cannot up till now be substantiated from known gold, silver, or copper coins attributed to the pre-Umayyad and Umayyad period.²

In connection with this, al-Balādhurī mentioned that the inscription "Blessing" was engraved on the silver dirhams of Sassanian type which were issued by 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Zubair's brother in al-'Irāq.³ Al-Maqrīzī gives the same statement except that the inscription is said to have been "God commands people to be loyal and just".⁴ According to numismatic evidence, the inscription "Blessing" appears on the reverse of copper coins⁵ of pre-reform type and on the obverse of the silver dirham of Arab-Ephthalite coins only,⁶ and not on the Zubairī silver coinage. The inscription mentioned by al-Maqrīzī (i.e, "God commands . . .") appears up till now on copper coins of the post-reform type only,⁷ and not on the silver coins attributed to 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Zubair's reign. This point is to be kept in mind for later consideration.⁸ In respect of legends on such gold dinars or silver dirhams (of pre-reform or post-reform types) none have

¹ Walker, Catalogue of Muhammadan Coins Arab-Byzantine and Post Reform Umayyad Coins, p. 104, nos. Kh. 4, 253 and 254.

² Op. cit., p. 655.

³ Op. cit., p. 7.

⁴ Op. cit., p.5.

⁵ Walker, I, p.125, no. 242(Fig.6).

⁶ Ibid.p.127, no. ANS. I7.

⁷ Walker, II, p.223, no.727.

⁸ See below, ch. IV, p. 92ff.

ever been forthcoming bearing the name of 'Abd al-Malik and his regnal years, as Ibn Khaldūn states. Ibn Khaldūn's account (i.e., *ونقش عليهما السكه باسمه وتاريخه*)¹ could only be justified if the pronoun ha at the end of the word and the similar pronoun at the end of the second word related to the coin itself, i.e., the word dinar and/or dirham. This is hard to accept.

Our studies of those sections in the works of Arab mediaeval historians devoted entirely to numismatic questions lead us to the general conclusion that all of them are agreed (with the exception of those who add that Maghribī coins and Juwārqiyya dirhams were in use in Mecca on the eve of Islam) that three distinct coinages were circulating in Arabia, and more particularly in Mecca at this important time (6th to early 7th centuries A.D.). These three coinages were:

- (1) Byzantine gold coins;
- (2) Sassanian silver issues;
- (3) Ḥimyarite dirhams.

It is significant that none of these historians attribute specific types of coins to specific periods or rulers. There is no reference to anything connected with the inscriptions on the coins in circulation in Mecca on the eve of Islam. Nor do they mention anything about the copper coins in use there during the jāhiliyya. None of them mention the circulation of Byzantine silver coins in Arabia. They all agree, it is true, that the Byzantine gold issues common in Arabia came from al-Shām, while the silver dirhams originated in Persia. There are some certain statements made by most of the mediaeval writers, upon which they are in complete harmony,

¹ Op. cit., p. 644. 5.7

either by positive assertion or negative omission. In particular, their accounts fail to report whether the South Arabian dirhams in use in Mecca before the dawn of Islam are the Ḥimyarite silver issues which were struck by Ḥimyarite authority (the second kingdom declined c. A.D. 525),¹ or whether they came from private unofficial workshops set up for striking these silver issues and if the latter, did these minting activities take place in the Yemen, or Mecca, or elsewhere in Arabia or even outside? Were the die sinkers of these silver issues of Arab nationality or not? Our numismatic evidence does not allow us to decide.

It is probably in fact that these silver issues forming the common currency in the mercantile centre of Mecca represent some of the original Ḥimyarite silver products which continued to be used in Mecca, for the following reasons:

1. Of the native historians, not one gives any hint concerning the matter of the melting down of coins, and we suggest therefore that individuals may have melted down the silver issues for personal purposes, such as making necklaces or items of jewellery, though to what extent it is hard to say. It is likely, however, that such melting down took place only on a small scale, for the reason that in Mecca on the eve of Islam there existed no authority with power officially to call in any particular issue, ban its further use, and melt it down.

2. From the statements that few Ḥimyarite dirhams² were circulating side by side with the Sassanian silver issues and the Byzantine gold, we should infer that the word "few",

¹ Hitti, Arabs, pp. 60-62.

² Al-Māwardī, Al-Aḥkām al-Ṣultāniyya, p. 147, and al-Balādhurī, op. cit., p. 654.

by relating to the Ḥimyarite issues only, shows that the Ḥimyarite issues became scarce and intermittent in production, on the one hand because issues were melted down and on the other because the Ḥimyarite kingdom had declined; whereas the output of Byzantine and Sassanian issues was continued because those empires were still flourishing. To this can be added the indisputable fact that coins of undoubtedly Ḥimyarite type are found in Arabia.

3. Furthermore, there is the statement of al-Maqrīzī, referred to earlier, that Juwārqiyya silver coins were used in Mecca in the jāhiliyya;¹ this may mean that they were struck outside Arabia. In fact, all the forgoing evidence, together with the coins actually found in Arabia bears out the statements of the Arab chroniclers that there were Ḥimyarite dirhams circulating in Arabia on the eve of Islam.

A final question, which still awaits a complete answer, leads on from the statement by the mediaeval authority that the Ḥimyarite dirhams were few in number: why did the Prophet confirm the continued use of the Sassanian silver issues and the Byzantine gold issues, yet fail to confirm the maintenance of the Ḥimyarite silver products, while all three issues bore effigies on their obverses? Surely because the circulation of Ḥimyarite coins was of such long standing and their numbers were probably fewer.

¹ Op. cit., p. 3.

Chapter III

ISLAM AND THE CURRENCY

The purpose of this chapter is to study to what extent the two main currencies of Arabia were affected in their various numismatic aspects by the coming of Islam. The period covered by this chapter, 622-683/1-64,¹ can be divided into two stages: first, 622-661/1-40, the time of the Prophet and his four successors who took al-Medina as their capital (including, besides, the short reign of 'Ali 656-661/35-40,² who made al-Kūfa his capital); and second, 661-683/41-64³ from the transference of the capital of the caliphate to Damascus by Mu'āwiya Ibn Abū Sufyān in 661/41 to the end of the Umayyad Sufyānid regime in 683/64. But for our general outline, the study of the reform of the coinage will be extended beyond the limits of the period (622-683/1-64) to reach 750/132⁴ (i.e., to include the reign of 'Abd al-Malik and the remaining Umayyad caliphs with particular attention to the consolidation of the Umayyad regime and the relationship between 'Abd al-Malik and Justinian II as reflected in monetary matters).

¹ P. Hitti, Lebanon in History from the Earliest Times to the Present (London, 1957), p. 247.

² P. Hitti, History of Syria Including Lebanon and Palestine (London, 1951), p. 532.

³ M. al-'Ush, The Silver Hoard of Damascus, p. 15.

⁴ Hitti, Arabs, p. 285.

The first mentioned period saw the first political and religious unification of Arabia. In view of the significance of this period (622-661) for coin systems, it is regrettable that no numismatic research has been devoted to it so far. Though for most purposes these decades are silent, certain points may be deduced, and in spite of the scanty textual and numismatic evidence, distinct phases in the development of this early transition period can be regarded as likely. Perhaps some idea of the currencies in circulation can be obtained for the eve of Islam, directly or indirectly, through the use of new terms related to the income of the state, the daily life of the people, and the varying weight standard of the coins in circulation. The study of the coinage in these years, particularly in the time of the Prophet, by revealing which coins continued throughout the period and which permanently disappeared, establishes a basis for understanding the origin and development of the early Muslim coinage.

* * * * *

A. The Early Stage (A.D. 622-661/A.H. 1-40)

(i) To the Death of Abū Bakr

The wealthy mercantile community of Mecca was greatly affected by the results of the migration of the Prophet and his adherents in A.D. 622, to the city of Yathrib which was given the new name, al-Madina.

In the years directly following upon their Hijra, it is clear that the Prophet made no specific move to modify the arrangements concerning the coins which were circulating and used in Arabia during the seventh century A.D. This was important, for al-Islām created or developed the importance

of the coinage by using new institutions such as al-zakāt, al-ghanīma, al-jizya, al-kharāj, al-'ushr, and al-anfāl, all of which potentially required the use of money. The administrative system's principal source of revenue was al-zakāt, which is one of the basic elements¹ of al-Islām--the third "pillar". The rate of al-zakāt imposed by the Prophet was as follows: five dirḥams (alternatively defined as one nawā), on each ounce of pure (not mixed) silver. He also imposed a dinar on each twenty dinars of income.²

This ruling developed the importance of the coinage in that it applied precise names, weight standards, and values to the gold and silver coins, fixing the relationships between them. All this was in contrast to pre-Islamic times when the relative values of the coinage had constantly fluctuated, especially in Mecca.³

The confirmation by the Prophet of the permissibility of the continued use in Arabia of silver Sassanian drachmas and Byzantine gold dinars forms the main numismatic interest in the time of Muḥammad himself and of Abū Bakr. Abū Bakr followed the lead of the Prophet in making no specific change in the form of the coinage, as the study of historical accounts shows.

(ii) The Coinage during the Reign of 'Umar I (634-644/13-23):

Gold, Silver, Copper

General Background

Abū Bakr died in 633/634,⁴ to be succeeded by 'Umar

I. The latter is recognised as having been one of the greatest

¹ Abū Yūsuf, op. cit., p. 140.

² Al-Māwardī, op. cit., p. 18.

³ Abū Yūsuf, op. cit., pp. 12-14.

⁴ Hitti, Arabs, p. 139.

of the caliphs, and his reign forms a landmark in the extension of the caliphate. His rule had a marked influence on the whole economic and administrative structure¹ of the new Islamic state. He set up a network of military positions, at strategically chosen points; these encampments (miṣr, plural amsār) acted as regional and communication centres, or headquarters.² Some of them (e.g., al-Baṣra and al-Kūfa) developed later into cities and became minting centres for the issuing of silver coins. Their names appear on several issues of silver coins in reigns later than 'Umar I (see below), which throws an interesting light on the origins of certain mints.³ The new dating system, introduced by 'Umar I and taking the Hijra as its starting point, was intended to emphasize both the unity of the caliphate and its common Muslim creed.

The ordinary serving soldier (al-mujāhid) under 'Umar I normally received his basic pay⁴ in dirhams, according to a public register (dīwān). It is probable that the experienced civil administrations of the Sassanian and Byzantine regimes were retained throughout the period under discussion.⁵

A thorough familiarity with both types of currency had been attained by the new Arab rulers--townspeople (in Mecca and al-Medina) and countryfolk alike, even those living not too remote from the great trade routes of ancient Arabia; they were apparently not ignorant of how to relate a gold coin to a copper one (with both of which they were familiar), which

¹ Abū Yūsuf, op. cit., p. 18.

² Ibid., p. 21.

³ For details of mint activities in Arabia together with the interpretation of such terms, see below ch. V, p. II3 ff.

⁴ Al-Balādhurī, op. cit., p. 217.

⁵ Hitti, Arabs, p. 171.

shows distinct progress from the preceding years. The evidence for this comes from coin finds in the territory of modern Saudi Arabia of both Byzantine gold and copper coins struck during the reigns of the following emperors:

1. Leo I 457-474 (AV 'Cat.' no. 10).
2. Anastasius I 491-518 (AE Cat. no. 11).
3. Justinian I 527-565 (AE Cat. nos. 14, 15).
4. Maurice Tiberius 582-602 (AV Cat. no. 16).
5. Phocas 602-610 (AV Cat. nos. AV 18, AE no. 21).
6. Heraclius 610-640 (AV Cat. no. 23 and AE nos. 27, 28).

These finds were made in Mecca, al-Medina, Tabūk and al-Şuwaidira,¹ places located in the area through which the main traditional ancient trade routes ran. In addition, more positive evidence is found in the works of the mediaeval Arab authors who stated that Qaişariyya gold coins circulated in Mecca during the jāhiliyya time.² That the new Arab authorities were by this period acquainted with the Byzantine and Sassanian systems which were to become the foundations of the subsequent bi-metallic Muslim currency, seems an indisputable fact.

We find that, according to al-Balādhurī,³ 'Umar I applied himself to the question of dirhams because forged dirhams had become common, and counterfeit dirhams were driving the sound ones out of circulation. This caused confusion in the national economy. He therefore had the idea of issuing dirhams made of camel leather instead of silver, but the people who were concerned with the matter claimed that in that case, soon no camels would be found.

¹ See below, ch. IV, and map no. I.

² Abū Yūsuf, op. cit., pp. 42-47; and al-Maqrīzī, op. cit., p. 1.

³ Ibid.

Two observations should be made about al-Balādhurī's account. First, it would suggest that the Arabs had no real experience in the field of coinage, and secondly, that 'Umar I was the originator of the Islamic coinage. Al-Balādhurī is alone in mentioning that 'Umar I planned this innovation, and there is no evidence that the idea was put into practice.

'Umar I's reign is different in these various respects from the preceding silent reigns, i.e., the times of the Prophet and Abū Bakr. The reign of 'Umar I also saw the foundation of the Bait al-Māl and the dīwān.¹ The issue of gold and silver coins was geared to the needs of the caliphate, whether for taxing subjects or paying salaries² or gifts (ḥuṭiyāt). We know nothing about the purchasing power of the copper fals nor do we have its weight standard; the comparative rates between the fulūs and the two traditional monetary metals still in use (i.e., gold and silver) in this period up to the end of the Umayyad state are also still uncertain. Did the absence of references to copper coins in the texts in the field of jurisprudence and other Arab sources mean that there was no definite rate between the fulūs and other coins, did it mean that its (i.e., the fulūs) purchasing power was so low as to be not worth mentioning? In fact, we cannot tell. Possibly the rate varied.

(a) The Gold Coinage

We have found no textual or numismatic evidence for the striking of gold coins by 'Umar I or his governors. Whether the gold coins in circulation were limited to Byzantine solidi minted outside the caliphate, for the reason that no mints for gold coins were yet established in Islamic territory,

¹ Abū Yūsuf, op. cit., p. 13.

² Ibid., p. 18.

we cannot be certain, but it seems probable.

(b) The Silver Coinage

The statements made by many of the mediaeval Arab historians (in addition to the statement that 'Umar I dealt with the question of counterfeit dirhams)¹ that 'Umar I issued dirhams, were accepted by some of the numismatists of the nineteenth century such as E. Thomas, J. Stickel, H. Lavoix, and Ghalib Edhem² as a result of their interpretation of the date inscriptions on the reverse of the silver Sassanian types as Hijra years. This theory found acceptance for twenty-nine years, i.e., from 1850, when Thomas published his article, till 1879, when Mordtmann published his second opinion. In 1941, Walker³ deduced correctly that the initial years under review do not justify us in ascribing the dirhams bearing them to the reign of 'Umar I. He writes:

"Mordtmann afterwards revised his view. In ZDMG, 1879, p. 83, he argued rightly that the Arabs in the year A.H. 20 were not in possession of Iran and therefore could not be credited with striking such coins at such an early date. The majority of these coins, moreover, have the mint-signature no. 52a in Pehlevi. This has usually been interpreted as =IZD, i.e. Yezd. If this were the case, a Hijra date for the Arab pieces would be impossible since the capture of that city had not been effected at that time. The possibility that the mint-signature in question, however, is not Yezd but, as the present writer is more inclined to believe, SK i.e. Sistan, does not invalidate Mordtmann's line of argument. Besides, we have the remarkable coin in the British Museum (no. 1) which is of this date and bears a mint-signature (no.40) which almost certainly stands for Merv, a place still farther removed from the sphere of Arab conquest at the time proposed. The most tenable conclusion, therefore, that we come to is, that the date on the Arab coins which have the name Yezdigird is reckoned in terms of the native era of Yezdigird (Y.E.) and that in consequence Y.E. 20 = A.H. 31. But it must also be borne in

¹ See above, p. 37.

² Walker, I, p.xxxvi.

³ Ibid.

mind that the certified mint-signatures on the Arab-Sassanian coins of Yazdigird III (no. 60 = BJ?; no. 40 = MR., and no. 52a = SK.) are also known on the regular Sassanian issues of the year 20 of that monarch. There is, then, always the possibility that the Arabs not only copied his name but also the mint-signatures and date without any regard to actual time or place of minting, although, if this were the case, it is remarkable that their imitations should be confined to one particular year."¹

(c) The Copper Coinage

The scant attention paid by scholars so far to specific copper coin types in the early years of Islam is probably due to the scarcity and near-illegibility of the inscriptions on the specimens; thus the fulūs come well behind the dinar and dirham in detailed analysis.

J. Walker discusses all the different opinions of earlier scholars concerning the interpretation of the enigmatic legends occurring on a few copper issues, grouped by him under "Uncertain and Probable Arab-Byzantine".² They are dated by him as "preceding the reign of the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik (A.D. 685-705)." He reached no firm conclusions however:

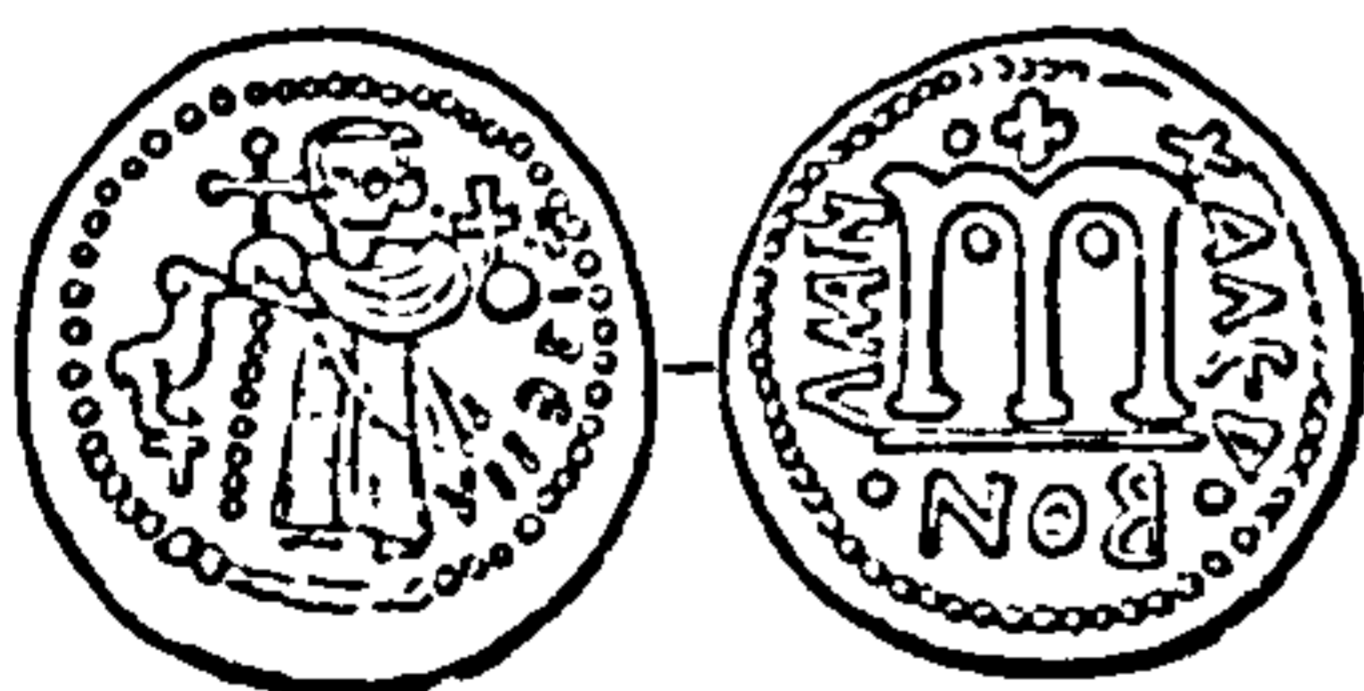


FIG. 7

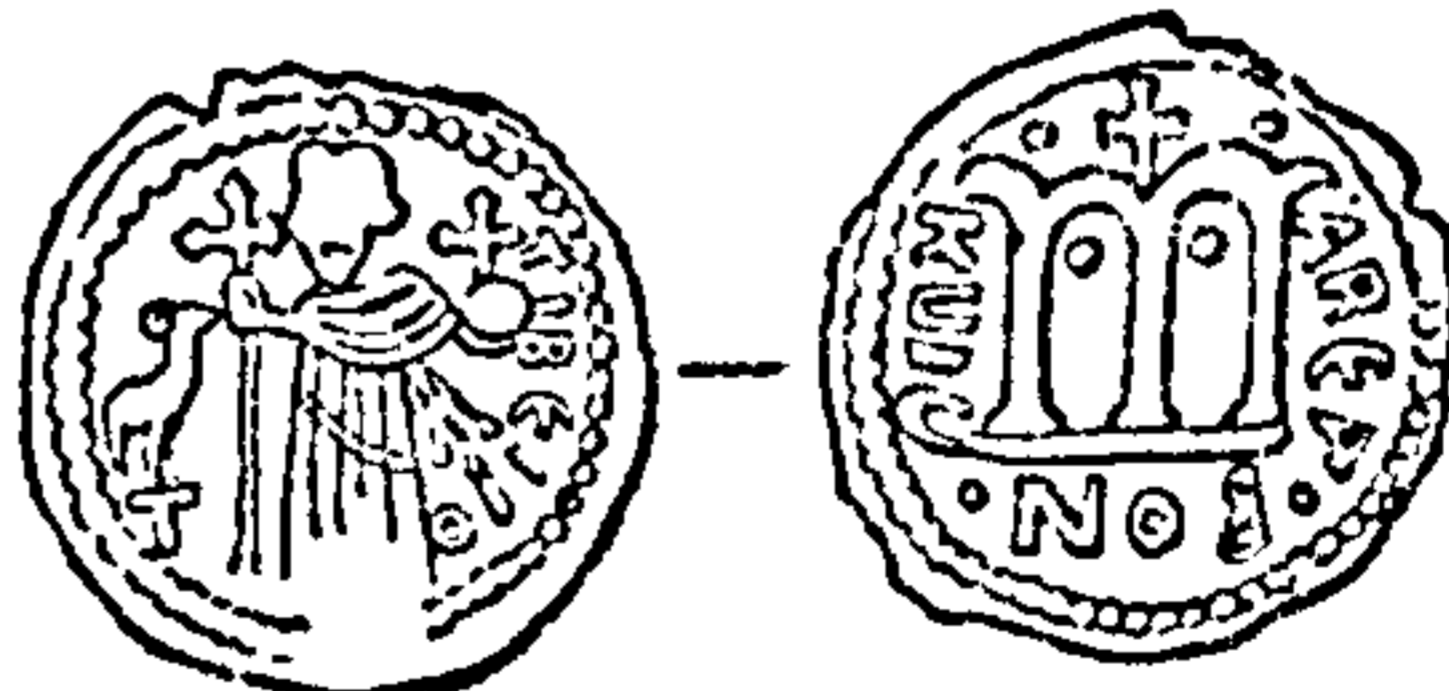


FIG. 8

"It seems to the present writer, however, that the above reproductions (figs. 7 and 8) must be regarded as varieties of the same object, and that none of the foregoing elucidations is completely acceptable. The legends are probably blundered, and even if a particularly clear specimen were to turn up, might not make sense. The one portion that is certain is that in the exergue 'NOB'. This is, perhaps, a truncation of the common

¹ Ibid.

² Walker, II, pp. 46-49.

Byzantine exergual legend CoNoB, a mint-signature which is not confined to Constantinople."

(iii) The Coinage During the Reign of 'Uthmān Ibn 'Affān (644-656/23-35): Gold, Silver, Copper

After the assassination of 'Umar I by Abū Lu'lu'at al-Magūsī who lived in al-Medina, 'Uthmān was proclaimed caliph in 644/23.² The reign of 'Uthmān lasted twelve years, during which the conquest of Persia, Adharbaijān and part of Armīniya was completed.³ In his reign also, the last Sassanian monarch, Yezdigird III, died in A.D. 651/2.⁴ Among the administrative measures which have an indirect bearing on our subject was the appointment of Mu'āwiya as the absolute wālī of Syria-Palestine; Egypt was completely under the authority of the new provincial governor 'Abd Allāh Ibn Abī al-Sarḥ, and 'Abd Allāh Ibn Mas'ūd was deposed from his post as Ṣāhib Bait al-Māl in al-Kūfa, and his post came directly under the control, firstly of the provincial governor al-Walīd Ibn 'Uqba, and later of Sa'id Ibn al-'Āṣ;⁵ also Marwān Ibn al-Ḥakam was appointed by the caliph "over the important financial bureau of the state register." Most of the nominations were among the direct reasons for the killing of the aged caliph in 656/35⁶ by the rebels from al-Kūfa and Egypt.

(a) The Gold and Copper Coins

No gold or copper coins have been ascribed to 'Uthmān in the texts of the mediaeval Arab writers, nor have any such

¹ Ibid. p. 49.

² Hitti, History of Syria, p. 429.

³ Ibid. p. 429.

⁴ Al-Naqshabandī, op. cit., p. 12

⁵ Hitti, op. cit., p. 428.

⁶ Walker, I, p. xxiii.

been attributed to his reign up to the present.

(b) The Silver Coinage

The silver dirhams of Yazdigird III¹ type which the Arabs struck for "a brief space after Yazdigird's downfall and death still actually bore his name but had Arabic legends in the margin."² Walker also argues³ that the last year of Yazdigird III Vist = 20 corresponds to the Hijra year 31, and the year 21, the first after the death of Yazdigird III, corresponds to A.H. 32.⁴ 'Uthmān Ibn 'Affān ruled from A.H. 23-35/A.D. 656-661. It must follow that the silver dirhams of Yazdigird III type, and bearing the date 20 (vist) in Pahlavi and with Kufic inscriptions جيد and بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ⁵ were minted during the caliphate of 'Uthmān. This numismatic evidence confirms al-Maqrīzī's statement that 'Uthmān issue dirhams, though he records the Kufic inscription⁶ as الله اكبر.

(iv) The Coinage During the Reign of 'Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib (656-61/35-40)⁷

'Ali was proclaimed caliph after the murder of 'Uthmān; his short reign was beset with civil strife from beginning to end. 'Ali's most pressing problem was to secure recognition from the opposition party of Ṭalḥa and his

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid. p. xxxv.

³ Al-'Ush, Tresor de monnaies d'argent trouvé à Umm-Hajarah, p. 18. He also mentions al-Birūnī's noting that the Magians dated their calendar from the death of Yazdigird (with whose death the Sassanian kingdom came to an end). It is still the practice among the Zoroastrians of Iran.

⁴ Walker, op.cit. p. xxxvi and p. 5, no. M.I.

⁵ Ibid. p. 3, nos. I, 2.

⁶ Al-Maqrīzī, op.cit. p. 8.

⁷ Hitti, Arabs, p. 179.

supporters in al-Ḥijāz and al-'Irāq, as well as from the provincial governor Mu'āwiya. Some of the important results of 'Ali's struggle with the opposition may be listed as follows:

1. The defeat of Ṭalḥa and his party at the Battle of the Camel.¹
2. The transference of the capital from al-Medina to al-Kūfa.²
3. The strength of the Kharijite sect after the murder of 'Ali in 661/40.³

It would not be inappropriate to mention here that they adopted the slogan " لا حڪم الا لله " to be engraved later on silver dirhams issued by the Kharijite leader Qaṭarī Ibn al-Fujā'a (688-698/69-70).⁴

There is no historical statement or numismatic evidence to suggest that 'Ali issued gold dinars or copper fulūs. Yet there are, however, two literary statements referring to the silver coinage during 'Ali's era. The first is contained in a mediaeval Arab text, viz. al-Qalqashandī: "Undoubtedly [Mu'āwiya] . . . issued dirhams of the Sassanian coin type similar to the ones struck by 'Umar I, 'Uthmān, and 'Ali."⁵ The second is a modern European appraisal: "The regular coinage with purely Muslim inscriptions begins with the issue of a silver coin at Baṣra, in 40 A.H. (A.D. 660),⁶ by the Caliph Ali . . ."⁷ In fact, no numismatic evidence up to now has confirmed either the mediaeval statement or that

¹ Ibid., p. 179.

² Ibid., p. 180.

³ Walker, I, p. xxx.

⁴ Al-'Ush, op. cit., p. 25, nos. 165, 166. And he correctly calls to our attention that Walker I, p. 112 (refers to Qaṭarī as al-Qaṭarī, a form never found in any reference).

⁵ Ṣinā'at al-'Inshā', II, p. 126.

⁶ The issue nominally of al-Baṣra, 40 A.H., has been adequately explained by Walker, II, p. lxii, as an issue of A.H. 94.

⁷ Encyclopaedia Britannica, 11th ed. (1911), vol. 19, p. 204, art. "Numismatics". The authors of the article were Sir G.F. Hill, R.S. Poole, and H.A. Gruber.

of the twentieth century in the Encyclopaedia Britannica. But that 'Ali in fact issued silver coins of some type (i.e., not a reformed type) may indeed be correct since, as we have pointed out above, there are silver coins attributable to the era of 'Uthmān, and as we shall mention below, the caliph who came to power after 'Ali issued silver coins. It is perfectly likely that 'Ali struck silver coins, though perhaps not in large numbers; and it is likewise explicable that few or no examples should have survived, since the caliphs after 'Ali made considerable efforts to efface anything connected with that ruler, and would have melted down any silver issues struck by him.

B. The Transitional Stage (A.D. 661-683 A.H. 41-64)

The next stage in the period under review is that in which Damascus was made the capital of the caliphate by Mu'āwiya, who gained power in 661/40.

At his accession, Mu'āwiya I was already an experienced statesman. He appointed reliable collaborators and counsellors such as 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ, Ziyād, Ibn Abī Sufyān, and 'Ubaid Allāh ibn Ziyād, but he was not dominated by them.¹ Within a few years of accession, Mu'āwiya as the founder of the Umayyad dynasty had recreated the unity of the caliphate after the dissensions caused by the civil war. During his reign, 661-680/40-60, the caliphate enjoyed a state of internal peace. Such conditions allowed or even impelled Mu'āwiya to devote attention to the coinage.

¹ For his relationship with the Byzantine emperor, see below, p. 52.

(i) The Coinage During the Reign of Mu'āwīya I (661-680/41-60);Gold, Silver, Copper(a) The Gold Coinage

There are two important statements by historians concerning the gold and silver coins of Mu'āwīya I. The earlier is that of an unknown Syriac author:

”مما صنع في حقنوه. رجا في ارضه واهلها من اهلها. صلبا
 ولبا واهلها. دونه رجا من اهلها. لا اهلها من اهلها. دونه
 قتلها من اهلها. دونه رجا من اهلها. دونه رجا من اهلها.
 واهلها من اهلها. دونه رجا من اهلها. دونه رجا من اهلها.
 دونه رجا من اهلها. دونه رجا من اهلها. دونه رجا من اهلها.
 اهلها من اهلها. دونه رجا من اهلها. دونه رجا من اهلها.
 دونه رجا من اهلها. دونه رجا من اهلها. دونه رجا من اهلها.“

”In July A.H. 40,” Mu'āwīya also struck gold and silver [coins] but the populace did not accept them, because there was no cross on them; as also Mu'āwīya's effigy was without a crown, unlike those of the other kings of the world.”¹

The second statement appears in al-Maqrīzī, who states that:

”ضرب معاوية ايضا دنانير عليها تمثال متقلدا سيفا، فوقع منها دينار
 ردى في يد شيخ من الجند، فجا به الى معاوية، وقال: يا معاوية،
 انا وجدنا ضريك شر ضرب . . .“

”Mu'āwīya struck dinars, showing an effigy girded with a sword. An imperfect dinar fell into the hands of an old man in the army. He brought it to Mu'āwīya and said: Oh Mu'āwīya we have found your coinage the worst ever struck . . .“²

Fahmy, contradicting the above statements, adduces an argument which can be summarised as follows. Mu'āwīya I's

¹ This is taken from a Syriac text edited with a German translation and a commentary by Th. Nöldeke in "Zur Geschichte der Araber im I. Jahrh. d. H. aus Syriachen Quellen" in ZDMG (1887), p. 91. Walker, II, p. xxv, erroneously gives the references as ZDMG, 1885, pp. 85, 96.

² For the rest of the statement see Appendix B, p. 190.

gold coins, if any were struck, have not survived; possibly they were melted down at the reform of the gold coinage by 'Abd al-Malik. Yet the more likely interpretation is that Mu'āwiya did not strike gold coins because the appearance of this new type would have been a source of friction with the Byzantine emperor.¹ Walker affirms: ". . . no gold coin of Mu'āwiya has ever turned up in modern times."² In addition to this, he points out that the gold dinars of the standing caliph type bear the dates 74, 75, or 77 and were consequently issued during the reign of 'Abd al-Malik (685-705/65-86).³

The most recent pronouncement on the gold coins of Mu'āwiya I was made by Ş. al-'Ulūm⁴ in 1971 in referring to the discovery of three gold pieces in mainland China in the Islamic burial ground of Siyān. The reading of the inscriptions made by a committee of Chinese archaeologists is quoted by Ş. al-'Ulūm as follows:

"On the obverse [of each dinar] the Kufic inscription in three lines:

لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له

محمد رسول الله

ارسله بالهدى ودين الحق

and on the margin, in Kufic script also

ضرب هذا الدينار . . . على يد معاوية بن أبي سفيان

this dinar struck in A.H. 28 by Mu'āwiya ibn Abī Sufyān."

The lack of information precludes any reliable conclusion regarding this find. The date A.H. 28 must be

¹ A.R. Fahmy, op. cit., p. 37

² Walker, II, p. xxxi.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Al-Nuqūd al-Islāmiyya (Al-Najaf, 1971), pp. 64, 65.

rejected because the dates of the Umayyad gold dinars of Siyān have also been, more plausibly, read:

- (i) A.H. 84
- (ii) A.H. 129.¹

(b) The Silver Coinage

The main feature of the silver issues bearing the name of Mu'āwiya I or his governors in Persia is that the names of the issuer are in Pahlavi script.² The few dirhams with Mu'āwiya's name, and the date A.H. 41, appear to have been struck in the mint of Darabjird.³ "Similar coins of the same mint and date are also known to us, not only in the name of Mu'āwiya's right-hand man . . . Ziyād ibn Abī Sufyān, and of the latter's deputy in Baṣra, Sumra ibn Jundab, but also of 'Abdallāh ibn 'Āmir . . . Besides these governors the following also held office under Mu'āwiya and issued coins with their own names: 'Ubaidallāh ibn Ziyād and 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ziyād."⁴ It is significant that the identification of the dirhams issued by Mu'āwiya I and Ziyād confirm the statements found in the accounts of al-Maqrīzī⁵ and al-Naqshabandī.⁶

(c) The Copper Coinage

No copper issue up to the present time has been found bearing the name of Mu'āwiya I or a date which places the coin in his reign. Nevertheless, Walker recalls with reference to the reign of Mu'āwiya I, the above-mentioned Syriac and Arabic statements, even though neither of them

¹ Kao-Ku, no. 8, August 1965, pp. 420-423.

² Walker, I, p. 36 no. 50 and p. 37, nos. Z3 and B7.

³ Ibid., p. 26, no. B3; al-'Ush, op. cit., p. 21, no. 159.

⁴ Ibid., p. xxxviii.

⁵ Op. cit., p. 4.

⁶ Al-Dirham, pp. 17-18.

mentions the copper coins, and he suggests "it is quite possible that the copper coins of subdivision III, Standing Caliph Type were first issued under Mu'āwiya."¹

(ii) The Coinage During the Reign of Yazīd I (680-683/60-64):

Gold, Silver, Copper

Mu'awiyah I before his death 680/60² nominated his son Yazīd I to be his successor.³ Yazīd's short reign was affected by two waves of opposition: the Zubairī elements in al-Ḥijāz, and the Shī'a in Iraq.⁴

(a) The Gold and Copper Coins

No coins of these metals have been ascribed to the reign of Yazīd I by the mediaeval Arab chroniclers nor are any specimens known.

(b) The Silver Coinage

All the mediaeval Arab authors, followed by the numismatists, have passed over the period of Yazīd I without attributing to it any particular activity in the field of coinage. For example, the governor 'Ubaid Allāh ibn Ziyād is mentioned by Walker as one of the governors⁵ under Mu'āwiya I also issuing coins; this is true, and there are silver dirhams with his name, bearing the dates A.H. 58 and 59.⁷ There are silver issues, too, showing the name of 'Ubaid Allāh ibn Ziyād, with the dates A.H. 61⁸ and 62⁹ which place them

¹ Walker, II, p. xxxi.

² Ibid., p. xxiv.

³ Hitti, Arabs, p. 166.

⁴ Belyaev, The Arab Caliphate (London, 1969), p. 168.

⁵ Walker, I, p. xlvii.

⁶ See above, p. 47.

⁷ Walker, op. cit., p. 58, nos. 79, 81.

⁸ Al-'Ush, op. cit., p. 29, no. 178; and he mentions that no coin similar to it has been published.

⁹ Walker, op. cit., p. 59, no. 87.

in the reign of Yazīd I because his father died in A.H. 60.¹ From this we can state that in the reign of Yazīd I, silver coins were struck by 'Ubaid Allāh ibn Ziyād of the Arab-Sassanian type in al-Baṣra and Darbjird.

(iii) The Coinage During the Reign of Mu'āwiya II (683-684/64-64: Gold, Silver, Copper

Succeeding his father, he ruled for only four months before his death. No coins in any of the three metals have been ascribed to him by historical data or numismatic evidence.

(iv) Relationship with the Byzantines

Since relations with their Byzantine neighbours affected the Arab gold and copper coins to an important extent, it seems best to treat this matter at some length. For this purpose we shall go back in time, reviewing developments from the earliest stages of Islam.

The great year of victories for the Byzantine imperial forces against the Sassanians, extending again the territory within which Byzantine currency was officially valid, coincided with year one of the Hijra (A.D. 622). Simultaneously with the triumph of Heraclius, the way towards the eventual religious and political framework of Islam was, however, steadily being prepared by Muḥammad. His victory at Mu'ta in A.D. 629 over the Syrians was an indication of his growing personal influence.²

Following the swift annexation in A.D. 634 under

¹ Ibid., p. xxxviii.

² G. Ostrogorsky, History of the Byzantine State, trans. J. Hussey, Oxford, 1968, p. 110.

Caliph 'Umar I of the territory just recovered for Byzantium from the Sassanians, the Arab armies achieved their decisive success at the battle of al-Yarmūk (A.D. 636);¹ Byzantine imperial resistance crumbled completely, leading to the final capitulation of the Syrian capital, Antioch, together with the other chief centres.² Thus, a further extensive series of territories where the Byzantine currency system was in force was added to the lands of the caliphate.³

After consolidating their gains in Mesopotamia, Syria, and Palestine the Arabs were free to undertake ventures in the areas of Armenia and Asia Minor,⁴ land where the Byzantine coinage was in circulation.

The winter of A.D. 642-643 saw penetration into Armenian lands, and led by Mu'āwiya, governor of Syria, the Muslim armies launched an invasion of Cappadocia in A.D. 647, which brought them the gain of Caesarea. There followed a profitable Phrygian campaign, in which Mu'āwiya invaded the whole country, taking numerous captives and wealth to enrich the coffers of the Syrian capital.⁵ In addition, an outstanding contribution of Mu'āwiya to the Muslim cause in this period (i.e., during 'Uthmān's reign) was his construction of a powerful navy.⁶ However, the murder of 'Uthmān, which coincided with the outbreaks of civil unrest at this time meant that the Arab forces were not able to seize their opportunity to mount an attack on Constantinople. Although the naval battle

¹ Hitti, Arabs, p. 152.

² Ostrogorsky, op. cit., p. 111 and Hitti, op. cit., p. 153.

³ See below, p. 52.

⁴ Hitti, Arabs, p. 115.

⁵ Ibid., p. 116.

⁶ I. El-'Adawī, The Omayyads and Byzantines (Cairo, 1963), pp. 83-87.

of Dhāt al-Ṣawārī completely changed the naval balance of power, the domestic crisis prevented the victory from being fully exploited.¹ The unrest already increasing in the final days of 'Uthmān came to a head with his assassination in 656/35.²

Subsequently, 'Alī was elected caliph in al-Medina and Mu'āwiya protested against his appointment in Syria. Already by A.D. 659, Mu'āwiya seeing that circumstances necessitated a détente with Byzantium, negotiated a peace with the imperial enemy, even to the extent of promising tribute of gold coins to Constans II.³ Here the numismatic aspect becomes of direct interest again. As signatory to the treaty with Constans II, the Arab leader was recognised no longer as the governor of the province of Syria, but as a sovereign ruler; he was indeed perhaps pledging himself to pay tribute in order to gain official acknowledgement from the Emperor Constans II.

With the immediate pressure in the east relieved, Constans II was free to concentrate on his European provinces.⁴ Mu'āwiya I in turn, devoted himself to the establishment of his Umayyad dynasty. The period following the death of Constans II, who was succeeded by his youthful son Constantine IV (A.D. 668-685), initiated a crucial phase in the Arab-Byzantine war, with fateful repercussions.⁵

For the next few years, from the early months of A.D. 674 up to A.D. 678⁶ an unrelenting struggle was waged

¹ Hitti, op. cit., p. 201 and Ostrogorsky, op. cit., p. 117.

² Ibid., p. 179.

³ Ostrogorsky, op. cit., p. 117.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid., p. 123.

⁶ Ibid., pp. 123-124.

for the capital, the Muslims' army retiring at intervals to their base at Cyzicus for redeployment and repairs. Yet now Constantinople was to frustrate all the furious Arab attacks, including a summer-long siege. Crippling losses sustained in a series of sea battles within sight of the city gates, and the shock of the new weapon of "Greek Fire", saved Constantinople and drove the Arabs to seek an armistice.¹

With this failure, the heavy defeat in Asia Minor, and the need for soldiers to protect the crown, prince Yazīd forced the aged caliph "to conclude a thirty years' peace with Byzantium and he agreed to pay"² to Constantine IV 3,000 gold dinars and to return fifty prisoners and send fifty horses every year.

The two tributes of "1,000 numismata" every day, and 3,000 gold dinars every year, levied on Mu'āwiya I, would assuredly have been paid in normal Byzantine coins. These tributes strengthen the assumption that up to the expiry (659-660/39 and 678-679/59) of these two treaties, the Arabs undertook no kind of reformation of the gold coinage. Thus the significance of these two tributes lies in the reason they suggest why Mu'āwiya should have issued neither experimental gold dinars, nor a reformed type of dinar; these would not have been acceptable to Constans II (A.D. 641-648)³ and Constantine IV (A.D. 668-685).⁴ This would of course militate against the two historical statements given by the anonymous Syriac chronicle and al-Maqrīzī that Mu'āwiya I issued gold

¹ Ibid., pp. 123-124; J. Bury, History of the Later Roman Empire from Arcadius to Irene (395-800), II (London, 1889), p. 197.

² Ibid., pp. 124-125.

³ W. Wroth, Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the British Museum, I, p. 255.

⁴ Ibid., II, p. 313.

dinars bearing an effigy.¹

(v) Consolidation of the Umayyad Regime

During the three years preceding the accession of 'Abd al-Malik in 685/65, the political and economic situation of the caliphate had fallen into complete disorder. 'Abd al-Malik had to struggle hard for several years to defend his heritage.

The warfare with his Byzantine neighbours,² which since 684/98 had continued without interruption with changing fortunes, kept some of his best troops at the frontiers.³ Civil war and rebellion had broken out in many parts of the state.

His dangerous rival 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubair had found recognition as caliph by a considerable part of the population in Arabia, al-'Irāq, Egypt, and Syria. Some rebellious commanders taking advantage of the general unrest were trying to make their provinces independent of the Umayyad regime.⁴ The Khārijite sects were spreading devastation and bloodshed.

In such circumstances, it is no wonder that the currency system was under considerable strain, for 'Abd al-Malik was forced to mint increasing quantities of coins to pay for the wars and for the payment of tribute to the Byzantine empire.⁵

However, he succeeded in replacing the silver coinage of Ibn al-Zubair and Qaṭarī ibn al-Fujā'a, one of the Khārijite leaders in al-'Irāq and Fāris,⁶ and improving his own coinage.

¹ See above, pp. 45f.

² Hitti, Arabs, p. 81.

³ Al-Ṭabarī, op. cit., II, p. 128.

⁴ Al-Rayyis, op. cit., p. 215.

⁵ See below, p. 54.

⁶ Al-Rayyis, op. cit., p. 226.

This achievement was necessarily related to his success. 'Abd al-Malik may have realized from the beginning of his reign that with reference to matters of coinage in general, the key to the maintenance of the regime in this as in other respects lay in the ability of the caliph to choose governors to whom he could delegate, either partially or fully, the duties of the state--especially the burdens of provincial administration --while keeping in his own hand control of the central government. One of his choices fell upon his right hand man, al-Ḥajjāj, who must have been responsible for melting down the silver coins of Qaṭarī, just as, according to historical statement, he melted down those of ibn al-Zubair.¹

The year A.D. 685/65 marked, however, the beginning of the reigns of both 'Abd al-Malik² and also the warlike Justinian II. The continuing struggle between the caliphate and the Byzantine empire, now more than twenty years old, was resumed when the armies of the Byzantine emperor began to threaten northern Syria.³ Incited by the Byzantine military command, the Marḍaites (jarājima) who had always been a thorn in the side of the Umayyads, launched a series of raids far into Syria, sometimes penetrating as far as Palestine. They were supported from time to time by the Byzantines themselves who provided them with military instructors. 'Abd al-Malik responded by sending Umayyad troops to the northern border. In order to check the Byzantine menace and gain freedom of movement, he had been forced to pay a tribute of 3,000 dinars⁴ to Justinian II. The significance of this tribute lies in the

¹ Al-Maqrīzī, op. cit., p. 4.

² Walker, II, p. liv.

³ Belyaev, op. cit., p. 168.

⁴ Ibid., p. 175.

fact that 'Abd al-Malik at that stage also undertook no sort of Arabization of the gold dinars. In this way 'Abd al-Malik followed the same tactics as Mu'āwīya I. The subsequent improvement in the relationship between the two rulers entailed a reduction in the activities of the Marḍaites and gave the Umayyad ruler the chance to turn his attention to internal problems. But when 'Abd al-Malik re-established the stability of the Umayyad caliphate, he did not follow Mu'āwīya's plan of attacking Constantinople itself. Hostile relations with Justinian II were resumed when the Byzantine Government reacted against the changing of the traditional gold coinage¹ by its Arabization by the Muslims. The reign of al-Walīd I (A.D. 705-715) was similar to that of his father in respect of his relations with the Byzantines.

When Sulaimān came to power (A.D. 715-717) he was responsible for ordering his brother Maslama to conduct the final large-scale siege of Constantinople (A.D. 716-717), accounts of which are preserved in many sources. Though the attacks were well supported by land and sea, Byzantine resistance eventually proved too much for a force that had already suffered severely from famine and cold. After this, no lasting major Arab expansion into Byzantine territory was to take place.²

(vi) Interpretation and Comments Relating to the Reform of the Gold Coinage

We must now pay closer attention to matters of Arab monetary policy during this turbulent period. One of the main achievements of 'Abd al-Malik was the official replacement of Greek or Pahlavi by Arabic in the dīwān, as well as for

¹ Hitti, Arabs, p. 204.

² Ibid., p. 217.

the coin inscriptions. By effecting the acceptance of the Arabic language as the norm for administrative and commercial purposes, the new rulers were able to exercise control over the fiscal ministry. Though many statements¹ bracket together 'Abd al-Malik and his son al-Walīd I as the guiding spirits behind the measures, in fact the latter was concerned only with the completion of the administrative plans initiated by his father.

In al-'Irāq and its eastern domains, a similar transformation was instigated by the efficient viceroy al-Ḥajjāj. Hitti² correctly attributes the whole official process to a deliberate and carefully designed official strategy, dismissing the suggestion by al-Balādhurī that the mere accident of a Greek clerk relieving himself in an ink-pot was the real cause.

All the mediaeval Arab sources correctly attribute the monetary reform of the gold and silver coins to 'Abd al-Malik,³ with the exception of the two isolated statements given by the unknown Syriac historian and al-Maqrīzī⁴ to the effect that Mu'āwiya I issued a gold dinar with an effigy. These literary sources are mute in all respects about the reform of the copper coins; this is a point to be borne in mind for later consideration.

Modern numismatists such as J. Walker,⁵ G. Miles,⁶ P. Grierson,⁷ and Fahmy,⁸ have devoted prolonged attention to

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

³ Al-Balādhurī, op. cit., pp. 654-657, al-Ṭabarī, op. cit., III, p. 344, and al-Damīrī, op. cit., I, pp. 62-63.

⁴ See above, p. 45.

⁵ Walker, II, pp. lii-lxx.

⁶ "The Earliest Arab Gold Coinage", ANSMN, 13, 1967-8, pp. 205-229.

⁷ "The Monetary Reforms of 'Abd al-Malik", JESHO, 3 (Cambridge-Bruxelles, 1960), pp. 241-251.

⁸ Op. cit., pp. 38-50.

the reform of coinage carried out by 'Abd al-Malik. This they may have studied from many aspects, namely those of chronology, typology, epigraphy, and weight standard. In general, the opinions of Miles, Grierson, and Fahmy on some basic points, such as the dates of the reform of the gold and silver coinage, do not differ from the ones held by Walker, for example that the reform of the gold dinar took place in A.H. 77 and the reform of the silver dirham in A.H. 79.

As for the question of the reason behind the reform of the gold coins, the mediaeval Arab writers¹ are followed by Walker who says:

"It was during the Caliphate of 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān that the great Coinage Reforms took place. The change is usually attributed in large measure to the anti-Muslim policy of the Byzantine Emperor Justinian II but the Caliph may have been equally anti-Christian . . . on the papyri exported to Byzantium from Egypt, then in Muslim hands, the protocols, or official headings written on them to guarantee their authenticity, came to be written not only in Greek but also in Arabic, with phrases proclaiming inter alia that Muhammad was Allah's apostle and that there was no God except Allah, e.g.

OYK ECTI ΘEOC EI MH O ΘEOC MONOC

MAAMET ANOCTOΛOC ΘEOY

لا اله الا الله وحده محمد رسول الله

"

This evoked a hostile response from the Christians, whose counter-measures came close to including defamatory references to the Prophet on the Byzantine gold solidi used as official tender by the Egyptian Arabs but, Walker states, "there is no evidence that the Byzantines ever put their threat into execution."²

In fact, it is hard to accept the views of either the Arab writers or of Walker that the action constituted the

¹ Al-Balādhurī, op. cit., p. 654.

² Walker, II, p. liv.

main reason for the reforming of the gold coinage, because the Arabization and changing of the gold coinage implemented by 'Abd al-Malik formed but a natural stage in the development towards the full Arabicization of the state. The above story (of the papyri) may indeed have been the direct reason for the reforming of the gold coins. However, some of the underlying reasons are:

1. Just as 'Abd al-Malik¹ planned to Arabicize the administration, he intended also to reform the currency, seeing that the time was ripe to extirpate all traces of Byzantine influence in this as other respects.
2. The internal political and economic situation in the caliphate was now far healthier than that prevailing in the Byzantine empire, and 'Abd al-Malik himself could well have realized that Justinian II could not take any military action if monetary measures unpalatable to the Byzantines were undertaken, owing to the internal unsettled situation in the Byzantine state.²
3. It is possible that during the reign of 'Abd al-Malik, a sufficient quantity of gold to replace the supply of gold dinars from the Byzantine empire was afforded by the re-opening of ancient gold mines or the opening of new ones within the borders of the caliphate, especially in Arabia.

¹ Hitti, Arabs, p. 217.

² For full details see Ostrogorsky, op. cit., pp. 129-140.

Chapter IV

COIN FINDS AND THEIR DISTRIBUTION

1. Coin Finds

Coin finds in Arabia are of direct relevance to a study of the currency history of the regions of the country. Neither the conflicting nature of accumulated opinions on the topic, nor the occasional disagreement of the literary sources, prevent the establishment of a provisional presentation of the coinage of the country. But it must be noted that against the positive aspect of the available evidence--the discovery of occasional Roman copper coins, Byzantine gold and copper issues, Sassanian drachmas, Himyarite silver dirhams, Umayyad silver dirhams (Arab-Sassanian type), copper fulūs (Arab-Byzantine type), and Umayyad coinage (Post-Reform type) in the three traditional metals--must be set the negative aspect: the total absence so far of any find of Axumite coins, Roman gold and silver issues, Sassanian gold and copper coins, or Byzantine silver coins; and the future discovery of these latter types or issues would of course modify any conclusions which can be reached at present.

The sparseness of numismatic evidence in general and the lamentable lack of organised material, particularly in some of the private collections, is a serious hindrance to the study of the monetary history of ancient Arabia. This

applies to Saudi Arabia as to other parts of the Arabian peninsula. Few dealers in Saudi Arabia have kept hoards intact or centralized. Dealers doing business close to the source of the coins are frequently obliged for commercial reasons to parcel out any substantial hoard into a number of small lots; it is quite normal to come upon several such units originating from the same find. As a result, unfortunately, the reliability of any such parcelled material as evidence for the classification of specific types is apt to be impaired by the unintentional intermingling of one hoard with another in the process of transmission. Faced with the fact, for example, that collections revealing coins of the Byzantine emperors often appear in the northern part of Ḥijāz (including Mecca and al-Medina), we must discount the possibility that the coins listed from a number of private collections might considerably represent scattered members from a single or a small number of hoards, rather than constituting a larger number of separate finds.

Besides, it is necessary to consider that some of the foreign importations, or the Ḥimyarite or Nabatean Arab pieces, may have continued to circulate in some parts of Arabia even after the types had been superseded in their country of origin. Compare, for example, the Austrian silver thalers of Maria Theresa, first struck in the eighteenth century, which continued in use in the Yemen until 1965.¹ Thus the various imported types circulated in some districts of Arabia, side by side with the local ones.² Did the Arabs

¹ K. Hedges, The Coinage and History of Yaman, p. 172.

² The chief problem in this connection is to determine the rate of exchange, and also whether the inflow of different imported coins into commercial centres without any local currency led to the creation of new local relationships between those currencies. Such had been the case with the people of

in pre and early Islamic times use the coins according to their weights?¹ Keeping in mind these considerations (without as yet considering the date of the coins' entry into Arabia or the chronology of circulation), we may group the coin finds of pre-Islamic, early Islamic, and Umayyad Arabia as follows:

A. Imported Currencies:

- (i) Roman coins
- (ii) Byzantine coins

B. Local Currencies:

- (i) Ḥimyarite coins
- (ii) Anonymous South Arabian coins
- (iii) Umayyad coins
- (iv) Mixed coin finds
 - (a) mixed coin find contains Umayyad and Abbasid gold coins
 - (b) mixed coin find contains Sassanian silver issues, dirhams of Arab-Sassanian type, epigraphical Abbasid dirham and Abbasid silver issues of Arab-Sassanian type.

We will begin with coin finds in Arabia containing pieces from c. 300 to 760 (excluding the Ḥimyarite coins). For this particular period, the exact find spots are in several cases uncertain;² and for this reason we will not list or locate them on the map where they are uncertain, but only those for which precise information can be supplied. The finds may be listed as:

Mecca before Islam according to al-Maqrīzī. Walker, II, p. xcv, writes, "the Arab chroniclers who mention the early coinage, state that the relationship of the dirham to the mithqāl was 10 to 7."

¹ See above, p. 24.

² Owing to the fact that some of the dealers relied entirely on their memory in making statements.

- A(i) The Wajh find of 1968 (cat. nos. 2, 3, 4)
- A(ii) The Bi'r Qunair find of 1961 (cat. nos. 5, 6, 7, 8)
- A(iii) The isolated find of Najrān region, date unknown
(cat. no. 9)
- A(iv) The Tabūk find of 1960 (cat. nos. 18, 21, 23, 26, 28)
- A(v) The Wādī al-Ṣuwaidira find ?, of 1969? (cat. nos.
19, 25, 35)¹
- B(i) The Ṣan'ā' find, date unknown (cat. nos. 37, 38, 39,
40, 41, 42, 43, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53,
55, 56, 58, 59, 60, 61)
- B(ii) The South of al-Wajh and North of 'Umluj find of
1968 (cat. nos. 44, 54, 57)
- B(iii) The Ta'iz find, date unknown (cat. no. 62)
- B(iv) The Ḥīrū find of 1968 (cat. nos. 79, 96, 111)
- B(v) The Fur' find about 1970 (cat. nos. 68, 74, 75, 76,
77, 78, 80)
- B(vi) The Khubar find of 1966

* * * * *

- A(i) The Wajh find (cat. nos. 2, 3)

The Wajh find originally consisted of eleven coins found during the digging of the well in Zuraib (زريب) on the east of al-Wajh (see map 1). Only seven pieces are preserved in the collection of Ḥ. Nuzhat; the rest have been purchased by other dealers in Saudi Arabia. Three of the seven which we were able to examine in good condition are of the type identifiable to the reign of Maximinus (A.D. 294-313).

- A(ii) The Bi'r Qunair find of 1961 (cat. nos. 5, 6, 7, 8)

The Bi'r Qunair is east of the town of 'Umluj. In

¹ The general appearance of the coins indicates that they come from different hoards.

1961 a private collector in al-Medina afforded reliable information about a hoard found there, corroborated by the engineer who brought it to him together with a photograph of the exact find spot. The script on the reverse of no. 6 among the five Roman copper coins composing the find is illegible as a result of extensive wear. The date of burial of the Bi'r Qunair find is A.D. 379-395. They are of types struck during the reigns of Constantine (A.D. 313-337) and during the reign of Theodosius I (A.D. 397-395).

A(iii) The isolated find of Najrān region, date unknown
(cat. no. 9)

One Roman copper coin struck during the reign of Theodosius I (A.D. 379-395).

A(iv) The Tabūk find of 1960 (cat. nos. 18, 21, 23, 26, 28)

About sixteen years ago, Mr. A.H. 'Āmūdī acquired a find of 43 coins. The earliest detailed record of this find states that about 1960 some brickmakers, working at the western foot of the mountain of Ghunaim in the neighbourhood of Taimā', found 38 gold coins and 5 copper coins. Of these, only 12 are still in the possession of A.H. 'Āmūdī; they are mainly in good condition and the container in which these coins were found is also with him, according to his own statement. The rest of this find, he affirms, was purchased for the private collection of Mr. Ḥ. 'Ajlān of al-Medina.¹ These twelve issues in sound condition, which we have examined, consist of eight Byzantine gold and four Byzantine copper issues, as follows:

1. Phocas (602-610, cat. nos. 18, 21)²

¹ Most of Ḥ. 'Ajlān's collection is now in the AMRU by purchase.

² P. Whitting, op.cit., p150.

2. Heraclius and son (610-641, cat no. 23)¹

3. Heraclius and family (cat. nos. 26, 28)

Since the find contained issues of both Phocas and Heraclius, it seems possible that both issues were circulating in the northern part of al-Ḥijāz in the same years.² The date of the burial of the find according to the last issue (cat. no. 26) would be some time after A.D. 629/30 (to allow some time for circulation after entering the country).

A(v) The Wādī al-Ṣuwaidra coin finds of 1969? (cat.nos. 19, 25, 35)

The information given by the owners of this find concerning the find spots and the number of the coins is not reliable, and it seems possible that the specimens which they allowed me to examine are from different finds, in particular, the solidi of Constans II. Accordingly, as a matter of caution, we suggest that the so-called al-Ṣuwaidra find should be treated as a number of separate finds. In other words, we cannot use the Ṣuwaidra coins treated together, as evidence for a picture of the Byzantine coins circulating together in pre-Islamic Arabia.

In 1969? an earthen pot with a silver seal³ was found in this wādī. The find originally contained about 140 gold and copper coins, most of which were sold on the jewellery market of al-Medina. Mr. D. Salama (who is a dealer in jewellery) and Mr. M. Nāfi' (a money changer) succeeded in safeguarding 29 gold and 7 copper coins. On examining these,

¹ Ibid.

² The coin type of Heraclius and his son, as found in Arabia, is represented in considerable numbers in the AMRU, the collections of Ḥ. Nuzhat, 'Ikrish, and other coin collections in Saudi Arabia.

³ The seal is now in the possession of the jeweller, A. Ghassāl in al-Medina.

we find that the gold issue is Byzantine solidus of three different types:

11 specimens of Phocas

8 issues of Heraclius

10 coins of Constans II

The copper coins are of the following type:

Heraclius and family. Similar to no. 28, represented in the coin find of Tabūk.

B(i) The Şan'ā' find, date unknown (cat. nos. 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 55, 56, 58, 59, 60, 61)¹

Before going into further description or comment, we feel it is necessary to call the attention to points concerning the location of the find. This must be treated with the greatest caution, because the dealer who tried to introduce the find into Saudi Arabia via Najrān gave no reliable information concerning the exact site in Şan'ā' (i.e., whether to the east or west of Şan'ā'). Nor is there any information about the container of the find, and what were the circumstances of its discovery. The find is now housed in the AMRU. The condition of the silver coins when we examined them in the course of our field-work, shows them to be incrustated with relatively intractable black deposit covering the corrosion patches.

This deposit is difficult to remove, so that it forms part of the surface of the coins. Most of the pieces are stuck together and any attempt at separation causes damage to the surface of the coins themselves. We have

¹ Here again, we have to call the attention ^{we had} that our concern in the Ḥimyarite coins is to catalogue them without putting the dates of their issue.

examined the specimens which have been cleaned chemically.¹ These silver issues are generally typical and well known South Arabian pre-Islamic types. They were issued within the period c. 100 B.C.-50 A.D. and are of two different sizes, i.e., two denominations, one unit (cat. nos. 37, 55) and half unit (cat. no. 58). From the issues we have identified, we are unable, unfortunately, to throw any new light on the still problematic chronology of the ancient South Arabian rulers. So, to be on the safe side, we should assume that this coin find sheds no new light on the obscure chronological sequence of the Ḥimyarite rulers, nor, since the coins show comparatively little sign of wear, would one be justified in assuming that their period of circulation was particularly long. The Ḥimyarite silver coins are of the following main class: Imitation of the later Attic types.²

B(ii) The South of al-Wajh and North of 'Umluj find of 1968
(cat. nos. 44, 54, 57)

Attention must be drawn to the fact that the exact find spot of this hoard is in some doubt. The finder lives in Tabūk and was in al-Wajh, and all that can be said is that the hoard was found in the mining area south of al-Wajh and north of 'Umluj. Furthermore, we were able to examine only three specimens from this find, and this may not represent the original total. These three issues are Ḥimyarite silver coins.

B(iii) The Ta'iz find, date unknown (cat. no. 62)

The Ta'izan copper issue is a unique and anonymous, though possibly South Arabia, coin. The issue has been

¹ All the included specimens cleaned in the Dept. of Chemistry of the University of Riyadh.

² Hill, op. cit., pp. liv-lix.

published for the first time here, for comment see our catalogue, no. 62.

B(iv) The Ḥīrū find of 1968 (cat. nos. 79, 96, 111)

In the wādī of al-Ḥamḍ located north of al-Medina, to the north of the ancient mining area of 'Umluj, a number of coins was found scattered on the surface of the ground; when picked up, the coins were found to be only a few metres from each other. This coin find, part of which is now in a private collection in Tabūk and some in a collection in al-Medina, comprises 7 gold and 4 copper issues, including some notable rarities. Five of the gold coins are of the usual Umayyad epigraphical gold dinar type, all bearing the same date, A.H. 111 (no. 96). Another is an epigraphical Abbasid dinar with the name of Ja'far (no. 111). Such issues from the same die are few, bearing the name Ja'far in the bottom of the field and the date A.H. 180 in the margin of the reverse. The third gold issue which we have examined is in a very worn condition because of the clipping of its edge and hammering, making it impossible to trace some of the strokes of the letters or even to distinguish the obverse from the reverse. The copper issues forming the rest of this find are of two types:

1. Epigraphical Umayyad type, with mint name (no. 79)
2. Epigraphical, perhaps Abbasid, copper issue

An examination of the available specimens from the Ḥīrū find shows that the coins are unlikely to be from a single hoard. In other words, we cannot venture to determine the date of the burial of the hoard on the basis of the date engraved on the latest gold coin (viz. A.H. 180). Nor do we have sufficient evidence to tell whether the Umayyad dinars bearing

the date A.H. 111 and the Abbasid one just mentioned were used according to their weights during the years preceding the date appearing on the latter coin (i.e, A.H. 180).

B(v) The Fur' find of about 1970 (cat. nos. 68, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 80)

During the winter of 1970, this small find was made in the Wādī al-Fur' about 60 miles south of the town of Badr. While roadmen were digging to establish a small camp or halt station for some members of the company working on road repairs between al-Medina and Jeddah, they found the coins in a small grey earthenware pot, which was damaged in the course of discovery. According to the engineer, Mr. 'Alī A. al-Ṭāhir, who purchased part of the find from the workmen, the coins numbered 15 copper pieces. The coins bought by al-Ṭāhir are four¹ pieces which we examined and five other copper coins, now housed in the coin collection of Ḥ. Nuzhaṭ which were also seen by us. The general condition of the nine coins suggests that all belong to the find, since their patinas are all similar.² When examining three copper pieces from these nine coins, we are unable to interpret the legends or identify their obverse or reverse type, owing to their very worn condition. Those coins (6 in all) which are in good enough condition for examination to yield some information are of the following types:

1. One coin of pre-reform (Greek and Arabic legends) Umayyad coin type, cat. no. 68
2. Three issues, post-reform type (without the

¹ Two of these four coins are now in the private collection of M. Hakim.

² The similarity of the patina has been confirmed by the chemical analysis of some fragments by the Department of Soil, Faculty of Engineering, University of Riyadh.

- mint name), cat. nos. 74, 76, 77
3. One coin, post-reform type (with the mint name),
cat. no. 78
 4. An unpublished post-reform issue (with name of
mint), cat. no. 80

All the five specimens listed above (i.e., of post-reform type with or without mint name), including of course the unpublished one, bear the usual Umayyad inscriptions on their obverses and reverses. The coins of al-Fur' throw no new light on the general varieties of weight standard of the Umayyad pre and post-reform copper coins.¹

The unpublished piece (fig. I) is not well rounded, perhaps because of cutting or clipping, and its edge is smooth. There is no trace of double-striking or blank areas. The outer inscription has been blundered (for more detailed illustration see the catalogue), but the inscriptions within the field are clear.



obverse reverse

17.5 mm, 1.6 gm
(cat. no. 80)

(Fig. I)

The reverse inscription is the usual one on Umayyad copper coins, excepting of course the mint name (*سك*). The inscription on the obverse is the usual Umayyad inscription on the copper coins of the post-reform type.

¹ Thus no attempt has been made to analyse the direct or indirect reasons for the varieties in weight standard of the copper coins in the Umayyad period.

There are epigraphical differences to be observed between this rare coin and the Umayyad coppers bearing the names of the mints, Ḥimṣ, Ba'lbak, Damascus (cat. nos. 69, 78, 79); Ḥalab,¹ Baisan.² Firstly, there is a characteristic style of joining the ﻻ of Muḥammad and Mecca and ﻻ (in lā sharīk) to the following letters. Furthermore, although there is room in the exergue to use the standard larger form of the ﻻ the engraver applied his own style of the letters. Another characteristic of his style is the horizontal form of the ﺭ in rasūl. The punches with which the ﻻ (in lā sharīk) and the ﻻ (in Mecca) were made were so small that the resulting letters were almost formless, since it was very difficult to combine the punch marks satisfactorily with the neighbouring letters.³

It may be noted that one dot has been placed beneath the letter bā' in the word duriba on the reverse of the Umayyad gold dinars which bear the mint name (Amīr al-Mu'minīn bi al-Ḥijāz) and which are dated A.H. 105 (cat. no. 93), although two dots have been engraved under the letter yā in the word lā sharīk on the obverse of the Meccan specimen. There is a possibility of a link between the appearance of these dots on the gold dinars and the Meccan issue bearing the place of striking as the Mecca mint and the mint of Amīr al-Mu'minīn bi al-Ḥijāz. In other words, was our unique coin influenced by techniques used in the die-cutting of Mecca?

¹ Walker II, p. 243, no. 789.

² Ibid., p. 240, no. Bel. 4.

³ We find that our previous attempt at reading the obverse inscription (i.e., $\text{ﻻ ﺍﻟﻪ ﺍﻻ ﺍﻟﻠﻪ ﺣﻖ ﻻ ﺭﻳﺐ}$), is unacceptable or untenable because the form ﻻ in ﻻ ﺷﺮﻳﻚ must represent two letters, i.e., ﺭ and ﺵ . If the form ﻻ is ﺭ , why then did the die-sinker who follows one characteristic style (i.e., his own style) engrave the ﺭ in rasūl as ' ?

No other example of this fascinating coin is known to us from the published catalogues of Walker or any subsequent publications, nor does any similar specimen exist in the museums of Baghdad, Damascus, Cairo, Şan'ā', or Kuwait. The coin illustrated is thus of no known type. The arrangement of the inscription and the position of the mint name (Mecca) would, however, be usual for the post-reform Umayyad copper type, and the inscriptions on the obverse and the reverse in our coin correspond exactly with many of the Umayyad coppers struck between the years following the reform of the coinage and the end of the Umayyad dynasty. Since, therefore, the style and content of the inscription in the obverse and reverse field (with the exception of course of the exergual name Mecca) and the finding of Umayyad copper issues link up this issue under discussion with the post-reform copper issues, it may be reasonable (in view also of the copper issues found with it, particularly in the standing figure example) not to link this issue with the thirty years before the decline of the Umayyad dynasty (750/132).¹

As regards the date of burial, we may argue that the homogenous character of the al-Fur' discovery allows a reasonable hypothesis for fixing the date of its deposit, as well as its attribution to particular rulers. Assuming that the coins circulated for between five and ten years, the find was probably buried c. 700-705 during 'Abd al-Malik's reign (685-705/65-86), before the striking of the first dated and epigraphic copper issue (A.H. 87/705).² Though it is easy to apply this hypothesis to normal coin finds, it is harder

¹ Hitti, Arabs, p. 285.

² Walker, II, p. 253, no. P. 130.

in the case of the first copper finds from Arabia, for the reasons already given.

None of the Arab sources give any general or specific indication in their historical accounts of pre and early Islamic times that Mecca was the centre of any minting activities with the exception of al-Maqrīzī and Abū Ya'alā. They state:

”فلما قام أمير المؤمنين عبد الله بن الزبير رضى الله عنهما بمكة ضرب دراهم مدوره فكان أول من ضرب الدراهم المستديره وإنما كانت قبل ذلك ما ضرب منها ممسوح غليظ قصير فدورها عبد الله ونقش باحد الوجهين محمد رسول الله وبالأخر امر الله بالوفا¹ والعدل وضرب أخوه مصعب بن الزبير دراهم بالعراق”

"The Commander of the Faithful, 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubair, struck round dirhams in Mecca. He was the first one to strike circular dirhams, in contrast with the previous ones which were smooth, thick, and short [sic], but not round. In addition to the above, he struck on one face of the dirham 'Muḥammad is God's messenger,' and on the other 'God orders people to be loyal and just'. Meanwhile, in Iraq, Ibn al-Zubair's brother, Muṣ'ab, issued dirhams."

Although al-Maqrīzī states that the issues were dirhams (i.e., silver coins), the find of al-Fur' is copper. This might imply that ibn al-Zubair struck both dirhams and fals. The inscriptions legible on the dirhams (according to al-Maqrīzī and Abū Ya'alā) correspond to the inscription on the obverse of the al-Fur' coin; however, that on the reverse shows no similarity. Al-Maqrīzī and Abū Ya'alā's statement would apply to most of the post-reform Umayyad copper coins; but, as indicated above they explicitly state that this inscription occurred on dirhams.

An additional interest in this issue is that it

¹ Al-Maqrīzī, op.cit., p. 4.

enables us to increase the number of mints in Arabia during Umayyad times from two to five. This total comprises, first, the mint of 'Umān,¹ which issued silver dirhams; second, the mint of the Ma'din Amīr al-Mu'minīn bi al-Ḥijāz, which issued gold coins bearing the date 105 A.H. (cat. no. 93), third the mint issuing the coins of al-Fur', that of Mecca (cat. no. 80), fourth, the mint of Wab'a,² and fifth the mint of "Bi al-Madina Ma'din Amīr al-Mu'minīn" (cat. no. 81) which issued undated copper coin.

The question arises as to the date of this Meccan issue. Does al-Maqrīzī and Abū Ya'lā's statement that the mint of Mecca was active during the years of 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubair shed light on the date of this issue? The only link between al-Maqrīzī and Abū Ya'lā's statement on the one hand and the Meccan issue is the presence of the mint name Mecca on the other hand. One is therefore not justified in attributing this issue to ibn al-Zubair who ruled, and was killed, before the reform of the coinage by 'Abd al-Malik took place in 696-697/77, 698-699/79, and c. 699-700/80-81, of the dinar, the dirham, and the fals.³ This point has some relevance to our discussion below of the mudawwar fals.⁴

B(vi) The Khubar find of 1966

This hoard was found by D. Macleod and published by R. Morris who gives its find spot as the small village of al-Raka, about 6 miles north of the town al-Khubar in the eastern part of Saudi Arabia (see map no. 2), informing us that this hoard is "the second largest early Islamic hoard

¹ Walker, II, p. 168, Ties. 16.

² Ibid., p. 202, no. P. 113

³ Ibid., p. liii.

⁴ See below, p. 95.

from this area."¹ We are also told something of the circumstances and condition of the hoard; apart from a few loose ones, the bulk of the coins were apparently disfigured by two or more cement blotches. These corrosion deposits were particularly heavy around the edges; many of them had the mint lustre still visible. It is not improbable that they were originally folded in cloth material, prior to burial. The contents of this hoard were 42 silver issues identified by Morris as representing the following types:²

Pre-Islamic Sassanian drachma (5) (Kobad, 2nd regien-Khusrau II, A.D. 499-532)³

Arab-Sassanian dirhams (2) (Khusrau II type, A.D. 590-627)

Post-reform Umayyad dirhams (2)

Epigraphical Abbasid dirhams (28)

Abbasid dirhams (Arab-Sassanian type)(5)

The date of the burial of the hoard (on the basis of the date appearing on the latest issue represented the date of burial) is given by Morris as 785/168-169. In other words, the five dirhams with the date A.H. 168 (سنة ثمان وستين ومائه) and the mint name البيامة,⁴ on the obverse of nos. 31-35⁵ are the latest coins in the hoard; while the oldest one is the drachm

¹ R. Morris, Royal Numismatic Society's Coin Hoards, vol. I (no. 269), 1966, pp. 2-10, gives no indication as to the present whereabouts of the hoard.

² We list the types here with some slight modification not in the order, but in the terminology used, so that it conforms to the arrangement of the present dissertation.

³ Morris, op. cit., p. 5.

⁴ Morris incorrectly states that the mediaeval name, as given on the dirhams of al-Yamāma, is still in use today. In fact there is no provincial administrative district in Saudi Arabia called by this name.

⁵ These numbers in fact are those given in the article of R. Morris, op. cit., p. 9.

no. 1, which is attributed by Morris to the second reign of Kubad, in spite of the fact that its reverse is "covered"¹ and on the obverse "the head is absent."²

Part of the importance of the Tabūk, the Şan'ā', the Fur', and the Khubar hoards in particular (apart, of course, from the light thrown by these finds together with the other finds listed above and below, on the coin distribution of pre and early Islamic Arabia) lies in the possible additional numismatic evidence it supplies; specifically, coin finds from these particular two districts (i.e., north of al-Ḥijāz (including Mecca and al-Medina) ancient al-Baḥrain), and from other parts of Saudi Arabia, may shed light on the statement of al-Balādhurī and al-Maqrīzī that the people of Mecca used gold or silver issues according to local weights, which they fixed among themselves.³ The certainty of the preceding find spots may give us a general indication (together with the help of the historical evidence and the places in which the dealers live) of the circulating areas of the coins contained in these finds and also in the stray finds of which there is no recorded evidence; in addition, they assist the mapping of the general distribution of the different currencies (see below the distribution of the coins).

C. The stray finds preserved in AMRU and DAM (cat. nos. 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33)

Of the stray finds⁴ preserved in the two museums

¹ R. Morris, ibid., p. 5.

² Ibid.

³ See above, p. 23.

⁴ This refers only to those examined in our field work, i.e., the coins purchased by or presented to AMRU and DAM before 1974.

in Riyadh, with which we are concerned, the absence of any exact records of localities¹ is probably due to the dealers' themselves having no such records. The types of the stray finds preserved in the two museums are the familiar Byzantine solidus, the follis, the Sassanian dirham and Umayyad gold, silver, and copper coins. These types are represented in the above lists. This does not apply of course, to the anonymous (cat. no. 62). Also, both museums have coins of various types from different periods, in addition to the above listed types. Thus, there are some coin types featured in the AMRU and DAM which resemble those in the above finds; at the same time both museums possess various specimens in the three traditional metals which do not appear in the finds (with the exception specifically mentioned).

C(i) Byzantine gold coins (cat. nos. 10, 14, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 34, 35)

The stray finds of Byzantine gold solidi in the AMRU² and DAM are of the following types:

Leo I (457-474,³ cat. no. 10)

Maurice Tiberius (582-602,⁴ cat. no. 14)

Phocas (602-610, cat. nos. 16, 17,⁵ 18)

Heraclius (610-641,⁶ cat. nos. 20, 21, 22, 23, 24)

Constans II (641-668,⁷ cat. nos. 27, 28, 29, 30,

¹ The doubtfulness of the exact find spots prevents any complete plotting of the circulation areas.

² All the specimens of the three traditional metals (AV, AR, AE), which are in the AMRU and DAM are in good condition.

³ Ostrogorsky, op. cit., p. 61.

⁴ Whitting, op. cit., p. 67.

⁵ See above, p. 63.

⁶ See above, p. 64.

⁷ Whitting, op. cit., p. 145.

31, 32)

Constantine VIII (1-26-1028,¹ cat. no. 34)

Romanus III (1028-1034,² cat. no. 35)

C(ii) Byzantine copper coins (cat. nos. 11, 12, 13, 15, 19, 25, 26, 33)³

Both museums have Byzantine copper coins of the following types:

Justinian I (527-565,⁴ cat. nos. 11, 12, 13)

Maurice Tiberius (cat. no. 15)

Phocas (cat. no. 19)

Heraclius (cat. nos. 25, 26)

Basil II (976-1025, cat. no. 33)⁵

C(iii) Umayyad gold, post-reform (cat. nos. 82, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102)

The gold coins of Umayyad type preserved in the two museums are of the well-known epigraphical type; none of the gold coins indicate a long period of circulation. The earliest dinar or gold issue is dated 79/698 and the latest dinar or gold issue is dated 131/749, while the earliest dinar in the DAM bears the date 97/715. The gold issues in both museums do not fully represent the reigns of the period A.H. 79. These gold coins were struck during the reigns of the following Umayyad caliphs:

'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān (685-705/65-86, cat. no. 82)

Al-Walīd ibn 'Abd al-Malik (705-715/86-96, cat. nos.

¹ Ibid., p. 187.

² Ibid.

³ All those gold and copper pieces were among the coins purchased from 'Ajlān of al-Medina and Khauja of Mecca. For details of which coins belong to each museum, AMRU and DAM, see catalogue.

⁴ Whitting, op. cit., p. 67.

⁵ Ibid., p. 187.

87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92)

Hishām ibn 'Abd al-Malik (724-743/105-125, cat. nos. 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100)

Marwān II (744-750/127-132, cat. nos. 101, 102)

C(iv) Sassanian and Umayyad silver coins (cat. nos. 67, 63, 64, 65, 66, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110)

The stray silver finds relevant to the present study are small in number compared with the Byzantine gold and copper coins and the Umayyad gold dinars. Thus the stray silver coins in the two museums of Arab-Sassanian dirham type are more limited in number than the other coins of various types from various periods. It may be that this limitation is due to the fact that about 95 per cent of the stray finds come from the Ḥijāz (a phenomenon that may have a bearing on the distribution--see below), or it may be because the survival period of silver is shorter than that of gold or copper. A third possibility is that only a few of the private collections from different districts of Saudi Arabia have been studied (quite apart, of course, from the rarity of excavations). The silver coins from the stray finds housed in AMRU and DAM are of the following coin types:

1. An anonymous Sassanian silver coin (Khusrau II silver type?) (cat. no. 67)
2. Arab-Sassanian coin type (cat. nos. 63, 64, 65, 66)
3. Pure epigraphical Umayyad coin type (cat. nos. 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110)

C(v) Umayyad copper, pre and post-reform (cat. nos. 69, 70, 72, 73, 75, 77, 78)

The copper issues preserved in the two museums include various identifiable specimens from coin types of

different periods. The good condition of the coins indicates a limited circulation, as is the case with the gold dinars preserved in the same places.

The Umayyad copper coins are of the following types:

1. Pre-reform Umayyad copper coins of the "Standing Caliph coin type" (cat. nos. 69, 70)
2. Post-reform copper types (cat. nos. 72, 73, 75, 77, 78)

Before going on to trace the distribution of the coins in Arabia, a discussion of a specific point concerning the case of coins by the Meccans will follow the conclusions we have arrived at from examining the finds--the exact find spots of both these and of stray finds which are established beyond any doubt. The conclusions to be obtained from the above are: first, none of the gold and silver issues in any of these finds represent any intermediate stage in the reform through which the dinars and dirhams have passed. Thus no stages in the development from the Byzantine gold¹ coinage or Sassanian² silver are traceable here. However, two definite stages of the pre-reform copper type are represented in both public and private coin collections in Saudi Arabia. These are the "Greek and Arabic Legends" and the "Standing Caliph types"³ (cat. nos. 68, 69, 70).

Secondly, none of the coins we have examined⁴ bear the name of mints located in Arabia, with the two

¹ Walker, II, p. 42, no. P.13, "Arab Imitation of Heraclius and two sons type" and *ibid.*, "Standing Caliph type".

² Walker, I, p. 25, no. Zub I, Arab-Sassanian obverse and Standing Caliph reverse.

³ See Appendix C, pp. 197 f.

⁴ For minting activities in Umayyad Arabia, see below, pp. 113 f.

exceptions of the two unique Umayyad fulūs bearing the name مكة and the name المدينة,¹ the only known issues in any metal having the name Mecca and the name al-Medina in any period preceding the seventh century A.D.

The coins struck in Mecca reveal a skill that compares well with many of the post-reform Umayyad copper coins. Nevertheless, it is difficult from the handiwork of the die-sinker either to affirm or deny that this issue must have succeeded certain "barbaric" issues, because the craftsman may have been already experienced in coining before his coming to Mecca as a pilgrim or emigrant, or as a supporter of some sect or party hostile to the Umayyad regime, such as the Caliph 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubair.

Thirdly, many of the locations of finds which are certain are in the areas of the main trade routes through ancient Arabia from north to south (see map 2). Also the stray finds (i.e., the coins preserved in the AMRU and DAM) were purchased from dealers who live in the commercial centres of ancient Arabia., e.g., Mecca, Tabūk, and Medina. This may be useful in tracing the ancient routes (both land and sea) by which the currencies entered Arabia to circulate there. Until 1973, no coin find as far as we know, was unearthed in the central and southern parts of Saudi Arabia² and al-Ta'if.

Fourthly, the number of coin finds, with their constituent types up to 1973, does not in itself provide a complete chronological series for the Byzantine emperors while the stray finds or the gold coins from them, preserved in AMRU and DAM, provide a more complete representation between the Byzantine gold coins, in the finds showing types of

¹ See below, pp. 121 ff.

² Except Najrān region. See above, p. 63.

Heraclius and his successors, and the chronological series of 'Abd al-Malik and two of his sons who became caliphs.¹

2. The Distribution of the Currencies

Before demarcating the distribution of coins in pre-Islamic Arabia, we must note that all our sources of information concerning the tribal movements along certain routes, in search of grazing and trade, come from mediaeval and Arabic literature.² It seems probable that most of these trade routes and centres used during early Islamic, mediaeval, and even present times were used for both religious purposes (i.e, the hajj and the ziyāra) and mercantile purposes,³ as can be deduced from the place names in the jāhiliyya poems and from the books of mediaeval Arab geographers when they too described the routes in Arabia.⁴

Unfortunately, the mediaeval Arab biographers who record for example, the wars between al-Medina and other towns in Arabia, the delegations from different parts of Arabia, and the names of the 'āmils who were sent to the tribal chiefs to collect zakāt and ṣadaqāt during the time of the Prophet do not mention useful details concerning the routes, or names of places through which they passed as, for instance, in the case of the route which the Prophet and his army used for al-Medina to Tabūk, did they travel via the main trade route and stop in the traditional rest places? It is quite probable they did not, for military reasons. Even Arab geographers who wrote about the different routes and gave their

¹ See above, pp. 77f.

² J. 'Alī, op. cit., 7, p. 331.

³ Ibid., p. 332.

⁴ Ibid.

distances in marāḥil or farāsikh, provide no clue as to the age of these routes,¹ nor did they record, for example (in the case of routes which were pre-Islamic), the changes which had been effected as a result of changes in religious usages. Thus the indications concerning the distribution of the currencies, together with other archaeological data, may be the only sources which may give useful evidence about the trade routes at the times when these coins were used. Indeed, perhaps the main value of the examination of coin finds as numismatic evidence lies in the indication they give of the distribution or areas of circulation of each currency type in ancient Arabia. With this in mind, we propose to trace and map the distribution of the currency types (Roman, Sassanian, Byzantine, Ḥimyarite, and Umayyad)--though not of the coin types within the currencies. Judging from the inscriptions represented in the coin finds (excepting of course, anonymous ones and the two unique copper coins from Ta'iz and Fur', and the silver dirhams coined in al-Yamāma) more than twenty named mints issued well-known Roman, Byzantine, Sassanian, as well as Umayyad gold, silver, and copper coins.² In geographical terms, the generally regional character of the currency distribution is further corroborated by a review of the districts through which the main, and secondary, trade routes ran and by which these currencies entered ancient Arabia. Roman coins have been discovered mainly in the northern Ḥijāz except for the isolated find of Najrān, while Byzantine gold and copper coins were collected from a single province--Ḥijāz--including Mecca and al-Medina. The Ḥimyarite coins are found chiefly in Yemen, excluding the isolated find

¹ Ibid., p. 333.

² For the names of the mints, see the catalogue.

of al-Wajh. The Sassanian coins circulated in two parts of Arabia, Mecca and ancient al-Baḥrain and the Umayyad gold dinars, silver dirhams, and copper coins of both pre and post-reform types have been found mainly in the Ḥijāz, and in particular in Mecca, al-Medina, and the surrounding areas. Broadly speaking, the evidence of these find confirmations from Arabia indicates the following:

1. The Roman coins which circulated in Arabia were only of one metal--copper.
2. The later Byzantine coins which entered Arabia and were introduced into circulation were of two metals--gold and copper.
3. The Sassanian coinage which has been identified as having been circulated in Arabia is of one metal--silver. (There was no Sassanian copper coinage after the 4th century A.D. and gold issues were very rare.)
4. The South Arabian coins found in Arabia (according to coin find evidence were also of only one metal, namely silver (with the exception of the anonymous copper coin --cat. no. 62).
5. The Umayyad coins have been found in all three traditional metals.
6. The circulation of the Roman, Sassanian, and Byzantine coinage may reflect the flourishing of the respective towns and commercial stations located in the area through which the trade routes run.
7. The sporadic invasion by the nomadic tribes who lived near the trade routes may on occasion have caused, directly or indirectly, some disturbance in the circulation of such coins in ancient Arabia.

(i) The Distribution of Roman Coins (Map 2)

As we saw, evidence of the pre-Islamic coin finds in Arabia shows that the Roman copper coins are the only ones which entered and circulated in any considerable number. In other words, neither gold nor silver coins seem to have appeared in coin finds made in Arabia even up to the present time. This poses a problem, for it has been repeatedly assumed (e.g., by Miller) that the trade between ancient South Arabia and the Roman world led to a sizeable transfer of gold including quite possibly gold coins. Thus, at a comparatively early stage of this trade, Strabo (64-63 B.C.-A.D. 21 at least)¹ wrote that the South Arabians "were very wealthy and sold the spices and most valuable stones for gold and silver."² He also mentions that the people in South Arabia sold aromatics and the most precious stones for gold and silver.³ Similarly, the Periplus (c. A.D. 70)⁴ gives information relating to the spread of Roman gold and silver coins to various South Arabian markets of spices which were located in the ports such as Muza and Cana in Arabia. The spread of the Roman gold and silver coins to South Arabia (if the Periplus's statement can be supported) indicates that the purposes of the importation can be summarised as follows:

1. "To finance the purchase of some spice or other high-value commodity not susceptible to common barter."⁵
2. The import of gold and silver metal in the form of coinage

¹ N. Hammond, The Oxford Classical Dictionary (Oxford, 1970), p. 343.

² J. Miller, op.cit., p.178.

³ Ibid., p. 216.

⁴ Hitti, Arabs, p. 49.

⁵ Miller, op. cit., p. 232.

was for the purpose of supplying currency to ports such as Muza and Cana with which the Romans traded in addition to the local South Arabian coinage which was there.¹

3. "The shipment of precious metals in the form of coinage" might represent gifts to "the king and local chief of Himyar at Muza to the king of Cana."²

Unfortunately, the textual evidence is not so far supported, as we saw, by numismatic evidence; there are at present no finds of Roman gold and silver coins in the whole Arabian peninsula in general and in South Arabia in particular. The lack of gold and silver coin finds is puzzling, and the resulting uncertainty must be taken into consideration when any study of the distribution of coins in Arabia is attempted. As a reverse illustration of the discrepancy between textual and coin find evidence, we may recall here that al-Balādhurī and ibn Khaldūn, and al-Maqrīzī, followed Strabo and the Periplus in their silence about the circulation of Roman copper coins in ancient Arabia: the coin finds, nevertheless, confirm the circulation of these coins in northern al-Ḥājjāz and Najrān. The matter must be left over for fuller documentation by finds in the future.

Inhabited and apparently urban sites are the deposits of most of these copper coins, which suggests their previous circulation in these areas.

There seems to be only small variations between the sizes of the Roman coin finds from different centuries. The earliest and the smallest of these finds comes from Northern Arabia and was a coin struck during the reign of Gallienus (A.D. 253-268, cat. no. 1).

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

Another find of the three specimens minted during the reign of Maximinus (A.D. 294-313, cat. nos. 2, 3, 4) from al-Wajh, while the largest but not the latest, was a coin find from Bi'r Qunair of four issues minted during the reigns of Constantine (A.D. 313-337, cat. nos. 5, 6, 7) and Theodosius I (A.D. 379-395, cat. no.8). The latest isolated find comes from the Najrān region and was minted during the reign of Theodosius I (cat. no. 9). The one copper coin of Theodosius I is the only Roman coin to have been found not in northern Arabia, but a long way from it in the Najrān region in the southern part of Saudi Arabia (Map 1).

To summarise, we can say that the nearest town to the Roman empire in North Arabia to have used Roman coins was Tabūk as evidenced by the coin find there, and the furthest was Najrān. Both of these are located in the area of the main trade route from South Arabia and the west. On present evidence, these Roman copper coins were in at least occasional circulation between 16° and 28° N latitude and 36° and 45° E longitude.

(ii) The Distribution of Byzantine Coins (Maps 3a, 3b, 3c, 3d)

The list of Byzantine coin finds gives some idea of the circulation life of the different types of Byzantine coins and their occasional use in Arabia even as late as 341 years after the striking of the Umayyad dinars of the post-reform type in 696-697/77.

The regional character of the distribution of Byzantine coins is parallel to the distribution of the Roman coins, that is, both the Roman and Byzantine coins circulated mainly in northern Arabia, including al-Medina and Mecca, with the difference that the furthest find spot of the

Byzantine coins is Um al-Dūd, south of Mecca, whereas that of the Roman coins is Najrān.

The Byzantine gold coins are represented in coin finds in large numbers, the earliest gold coins being those of Leo I (A.D. 457-474, cat. no. 10) from al-Medina; the second is of Maurice Tiberius (A.D. 582-602, cat. no. 14); the third is of Phocas (A.D. 602-610, cat. no. 18); the fourth is the gold coins struck during the reign of Heraclius (A.D. 610-640, cat. no. 22); the fifth gold coin represented is of Constans II (A.D. 641-668, cat. no. 27); the sixth is one struck during the reign of Constantine VIII (A.D. 1025-1028, cat. no. 34); and the latest, and one of the smallest finds, from al-Medina, is the single gold coin of Romanus III (A.D. 1028-1034, cat. no. 35). It seems from the very few latest examples, i.e., those of Constantine VIII and Romanus III, that these coins entered Arabia either through the agency of the Muslims who lived in the area bordering the Byzantine Empire or they might have been brought in by the Muslims of the Byzantine Empire itself.

The earliest Byzantine copper coins are those from al-Medina struck during the reign of Justinian I (A.D. 527-565, cat. no. 11); the next earliest, also from al-Medina, was a coin minted during the reign of Maurice Tiberius (A.D. 582-602, cat. no. 15); the next are the copper coins issued during the reign of Phocas (A.D. 602-610, cat. no. 19); the next is the copper coin struck during the reign of Heraclius (A.D. 610-640, cat. no. 26); the latest copper coin, also from al-Medina, was issued during the years of Basil (A.D. 976-1025, cat. no. 33).

At least eight per cent of the coin finds were from

the northern part of Arabia. In contrast to the single metal of the Roman coins (copper) and the Sassanian (silver), the Byzantine ones were found in two traditional metals, namely gold and silver.

The distribution of Byzantine copper coins--which were found in numbers comparable to those of the Roman copper coins in the coin finds--is different from that of the latter: the Roman ones were circulating in places located in the northern and southern sections of the main trade route, while the Byzantine coins were circulating only in the places around the northern and middle sections of the route.

(iii) The Distribution of Sassanian Coins (Map 4)

The Sassanian coins are another example of the non-Arab coins which circulated in ancient Arabia. These coins were only in silver and were found in two parts of Arabia--Mecca and al-Medina and where the main trade route¹ from the east joined the Persian Gulf with Mecca. The statements made by most of the mediaeval Arab authors that Sassanian coins were circulated in Mecca in pre-Islamic times can be substantiated since there are strong finds of Sassanian dirhams Khusrau II and Arab-Sassanian type (cat. nos. 63, 64, 65, 66) in Mecca and at al-Medina apart from al-Baḥrain. It should be noted that the mediaeval Arab authors give indications to the direction of arrival of these coins into Mecca,² but they do not mention the circulation of Sassanian coins in the district of ancient al-Baḥrain in the eastern part of Arabia. Up to the present time, the earliest Sassanian coins found are those drachmas of Kubad II's reign (A.D.

¹ The Sassanian silver coins preserved in AMRU and DAM were purchased from Mr. A. Khauja of Mecca and Mr. H. 'Ajlān of al-Medina.

² See above, p. 19.

499-532) which are represented in the mixed hoard of al-Khubar.¹ Here again, these coins have been deposited with Sassanian silver coins of the Arab-Sassanian type (Khusrau II type),² Umayyad dirhams of the post-reform type, Abbasid silver coins --Arab-Sassanian and epigraphical types--and anonymous ones. The representation of these different types from the sixth to the eighth centuries A.D. which also appeared outside Arabia³ has been held by Morris to indicate that they were used by weight and not according to currency value.

Finally, our information of the exact find spots of the Arab-Sassanian type is not very satisfactory. The specimens of this type which are preserved in the AMRU and DAM were purchased from Mecca and al-Medina (cat. nos. 63, 64, 65, 66, 67). As far as the circulation of these Arab-Sassanian types is concerned, these dirhams are the first to be found in an area distant from the traditional district, namely ancient al-Baḥrain.

(iv) Distribution of Himyarite Coins (Map 5)

Judging from the three Himyarite coin finds, the coins of which have been listed in detail,⁴ we find that the regional character of the distribution of two coin finds, namely the silver coins from Ṣan'ā' (cat. nos. 37-61)⁵ and the anonymous copper coin from Ta'iz (cat. no. 62) is corroborated by their original territory, whereas the third one, from an ancient mining site halfway between al-Wajh and 'Umluj comprising three of the same type silver coins (cat.

¹ See above, p. 73.

² Ruled A.D. 590-627.

³ Iran, see above, pp. 73-74.

⁴ See above, pp. 65-66.

⁵ Excluding nos. 44, 54, 57.

nos. 44, 45, 57) shows the occasional occurrence of these coins outside their original province in the area bordering the main trade route. This coin find appears to be the only one so far to have been found far from Yemen, on an ancient mining site halfway between al-Wajh and 'Umluj (see map no. 1). In other words, this hoard has survived from about the first century B.C. to make a surprising appearance in northern Arabia.

The circulation of the Ḥimyarite coins as far as S. al-Wajh/N. 'Umluj area is not mentioned by any mediaeval author. According to the mediaeval authors, Mecca was the farthest commercial centre in Arabia into which the Ḥimyarite coins came. The discovery of the Ḥimyarite silver coins in northern Arabia is of particular importance, because in addition to expanding the known distribution of such coins within Arabia, these coins may also provide evidence as to the period in which Ḥimyarite military and economic power flourished. The reason for the circulation of these coins in 'Umluj or al-Wajh, where the earlier and contemporary Roman copper coins were used, cannot be determined with certainty. It is likely, however, that it was caused by the flourishing trade of the maritime routes in the Red Sea area. The presence of this Ḥimyarite find in the area of the sea port of 'Umluj, in the absence of any Roman silver coins, irrespective of the size of the find, does not in itself prove that the Ḥimyarite coins were the main silver currency there, owing to the lack of hoard evidence of Ḥimyarite coins from northern Arabia as a whole, although one may argue that the Roman coins of the third century were of copper only.

(v) The Distribution of Umayyad Coins (Map 6)

Despite the fact that the political and economic system of Arabia was generally altered in many respects after the coming of Islam, by comparison the circulation of the coins was hardly affected. In other words, the situation of the coin circulation was, in the main, as it had been on the eve of Islam. This pattern might have been continued till about 683/64, with some disturbance in particular months or years such as the year during which 'Uthmān was assassinated. It is, however, quite probable that the circulation of coins, especially in al-Medina and Mecca, was affected by the state of unrest preceding the establishment of the regime of the Zubairī in Arabia. With these considerations in mind, the distribution of coins will be treated under the following heads:

1. The distribution of pre-reform coins

(a) Gold coins

No gold dinar of pre-reform type is known to be preserved either in any public or private coin collections up to 1974 in Saudi Arabia.

(b) Silver coins

Our knowledge of the hoards found in Arabia (in particular in Mecca and al-Medina) of this coin type is not, as yet, very satisfactory.

(c) Copper coins

Only three specimens of pre-reform copper coins have been found up to the present. All three came from isolated finds from al-Medina. These three specimens of different types (cat. nos. 68, 69, 70) were struck during 'Abd al-Malik's reign in the years preceding the reform of

the copper coinage (c. A.D. 700).

Before turning to the distribution of the post-reform types, attention should first be drawn to a gap of about nine years in sequence of issues represented during the period of unrest in Arabia from the last year of Yazīd I's reign (683/64)¹ until the end of the first steps for the reconstruction of the caliphate by 'Abd al-Malik in 692/73, beginning, that is, with the battle of al-Ḥarra² and ending with the crushing of 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubair who had held power in al-Ḥijāz, South Arabia, al-'Irāq, Egypt, and parts of Syria.³ The situation concerning coins, particularly in the Meccan headquarters of ibn al-Zubair and al-Medina (another of his strongholds in Arabia) at this period is uncertain. In this obscurity lies, we suggest, a clue that may contribute to the solution of one of the important problems of Arabian numismatic history during this period. The coins were geared to meet the need of the rapacious ibn al-Zubair, who not only needed them to pay the stipends of his soldiers, but who was also intent upon hoarding as much as possible. In addition, coinage was required for circulation among the people and to facilitate the payment of zakāt. Accordingly, there must have been coins in some number in circulation, but of what kind of metal they were we cannot say for sure, although the balance of probability is that these coins which were circulating included some of the Byzantine gold coins which were still current and large numbers of dirhams of Arab-Sassanian type, struck by ibn al-Zubair's brother, Muṣ'ab, in Iraq, and bearing 'Abd Allāh

¹ Al-'Ush, Catalogue du Musée National de Dames, p. 185.

² Hitti, Arabs, p. 191.

³ Ibid., p. 192.

ibn al-Zubair's name and title, and also local anonymous copper coins minted in Mecca, as well as in parts of Syria (or vice versa).

Ibn al-Zubair's silver coins are likely to have been in circulation in the capital, Mecca, as well as in al-Medina, since they were in circulation in al-'Irāq during the governorate of Muṣ'ab. These coins may have been called in, and restruck, or melted down by al-Ḥajjāj, who was appointed governor by 'Abd al-Malik over most of Arabia for two years¹ (from 692-694) after he had overthrown 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubair.

The mediaeval Arab sources do not state that al-Ḥajjāj melted down ibn al-Zubair's coins, but they do state that he melted down the dirhams struck by Muṣ'ab saying: "We do not want any trace left of the hypocrite."

Obviously, if al-Ḥajjāj melted down ibn al-Zubair's dirhams in al-'Irāq, he must also have melted down coins which circulated in both Mecca and al-Medina, particularly as he wished to destroy any trace of ibn al-Zubair and thereby give any hope to the people that the first capital of the caliphate might be brought back to the cradle of Islam.

The most likely explanation for the find of a large number of Byzantine gold coins,² particularly those of Phocas and Heraclius, in Mecca and al-Medina and surrounding areas, is that there was at this particular period some upheaval or disturbance in the circumstances of those people who did not support the Umayyad dynasty, such as the threat of warfare, and later the battle of al-Ḥarra and the two sieges³ of Mecca:

¹ Ibid.

² Cat. nos. 18, 19, 20, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26.

³ The first siege was by al-Ḥuṣain ibn Numair al-Sukūnī in 683/64, ibid., p. 192; and the second was by al-Ḥajjāj in 692, ibid., p. 207.

in al-Medina and Mecca, the owners of such coins would be inclined to hide them. Then in these times of danger, a considerable proportion of the hidden coins would be lost through their owners' deaths. A person would hoard the coins which were in local circulation and would also, probably, select coins of good quality and showing little wear. This of course does not mean that the gold coins were the only ones in circulation, and in future we may well discover coin finds containing coins of the other traditional metals. In any case, the discovery of any further coin finds from this period (683-692/64-73) would be bound to throw considerable light on the reign of ibn al-Zubair in Arabia.

Al-Maqrīzī and the mediaeval Arab writers who preceded and succeeded him never mention the copper coins of the Umayyad period; their statements always concern the silver and gold coins. This conflicts with the coin evidence. For instance, they record that 'Abd al-Malik struck gold coins, yet there is abundant coin evidence that he struck copper too. There are many coins bearing his name (cat. no. 69). This may be because the silver and gold coins were the main currency in the Umayyad caliphate (with of course the exception of the year or years of shortage which we are not concerned to trace).

The lists of kharāj from different parts of the caliphate are recorded only in dirhams and dinars. For example, the lists from Syria/Palestine, Jordan, Egypt, al-'Irāq, and Samarqand show:

400,000 dinars from Damascus

800,000 or 700,000 dinars from Ḥimş, Qinisrīn, and

al-'Awāşim

180,000 dinars from al-'Urdun¹

¹ Al-Rayyis, op. cit., p. 228.

3,000,000 dinars from Miṣr

130,000,000 dirhams from al-'Irāq

2,000,000 dirhams from Samarqand.¹

The mediaeval Arab writers and the lists of kharāj cannot mean that there were no copper coins circulating in the caliphate, for according to copper coin evidence, these coins must have circulated. It is most likely that the mediaeval Arab authors do not mention copper coins because their purchasing power was very low, and their circulation was not on the same level as the dinars and dirhams on the one hand, and on the other the range of circulation of these copper coins varied from one part to another within the caliphate. It may also be that the statements of the mediaeval Arab authors do not include copper coins because the assessment and payment of kharāj, jizya, blood-money, etc. were always in dirhams and/or dinars.² This poses the question whether the mediaeval Arab accounts in fact intended to cover copper coins in their general statements on the coinage, without specifically mentioning them. The following analysis is intended to elucidate this point.

Recently, S. Shamma³ of Jeddah published for the first time a copper coin (cat. no. 71) with the inscription "'Abd Allāh Amīr al-Mu'minīn" which he attributes to the Abbasid caliphate but without giving any indication of the particular period within the Abbasid caliphate. At the same time he interpreted the word between 'Abd Allāh and Amīr al-Mu'minīn, "mudawwar" as "muzawwir", without, however, giving

¹ Ibid., pp. 275-276.

² Abū Yūsuf, op. cit., pp. 42, 122.

³ In a paper entitled "Caliphal Relations with Makka and al-Madina as reflected by coins" read at the Colloquium on Islamic Coins held at The School of Oriental and African Studies, London, 1976.

any sort of epigraphical analysis or general comparative description (he does not discuss for example, the form of the letter and whether it is well formed, nor the find spot of the coin). He states:

"It is an Abbasid false [sic] on the margin of which is inscribed . . . Abdullah, the guide of the Commander of the Believer', but this fals indicates how important to a Caliph was his personal visit to Mecca and al-Madinah. Even a coin, though a copper coin, was issued in the name of the guide who accompanied the Caliph."

Shamma has nothing to add¹ concerning this copper coin. It is very difficult to accept this reading of muzawwir (rather than mudawwar), on account of the following considerations:

1. There is no historical evidence that any of the Umayyad or Abbasid caliphs employed a muzawwir to accompany them in order to instruct or teach them to deliver the "Greeting" (al-Tahiyya) to the Prophet, Abū Bakr, and 'Umar I.
2. There is no trace of a dot above the letter و, besides which the form of this letter is not similar to the last letter و. In other words the vertical stroke of the و is shorter than the vertical stroke of the last letter و. The only difference between the Arabic و and و is a dot. Accordingly, we must assume that if the die-sinker knew how to engrave the last letter correctly, he must have been capable of engraving the second letter equally correctly, it is very unlikely that the die-sinker made a mistake and engraved و for و.

³ We have to understand from Shamma's statement that this "fals indicates how important to a Caliph was his personal visit to Mecca and al-Madinah", that a copper coin must have been minted in the name of a muṭawwif as well as that of a

¹ Personal communication.

muzawwir since he invokes the name "Makka" with the implication that a coin might be struck there in the name of a muṭawwif.

4. The engraving of the inscription "'Abd Allāh" without any laqab or kunya suggests that it must have been struck for a caliph, or at least a governor, and not an ordinary citizen (such as 'Abd Allāh Muzawwir) and this is confirmed by the silver coins of Arab-Sassanian type with the inscription "'Abd Allāh Amīr al-Mu'minīn" which is attributed to 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubair. It was normal for the caliph's name (ism) on the coinage to be prefixed with the epithet 'Abd Allāh (Servant of God), but in the case of ibn al-Zubair this would have resulted in the repetition of the epithet, since ibn al-Zubair's name (ism) was 'Abd Allāh. The die-sinker therefore inscribed 'Abd Allāh only once. In this connection we may refer to the silver coins, attributed by J. Walker to ibn al-Zubair, bearing only "'Abd Allāh Amīr al-Mu'minīn"¹ as well as in the copper coins struck during the reign of 'Abd al-Malik with the inscription "'Abd Allāh 'Abd al-Malik" without "Marwān" (cat. no. 69). Furthermore, we must state that no copper coins of any type and attributed to 'Abd al-Malik or any Umayyad caliph bear the inscription "'Abd Allāh" alone, e.g., "'Abd Allāh 'Abd al-Malik, Amīr al-Mu'minīn".²

We can only propose that the second letter in the controversial word is dāl. First this remarkable word inscribed on this equally remarkable coin, in all probability can be read as "mudawwar" which, occurring on this copper coin, supports our suggestion that what the mediaeval Arab writers had to say about silver coins equally referred to copper coins.

¹ Walker, I, p. 33, no. Do. 1.

² Walker, II, p. 32, no. Vat. 2, p. 33, nos. 105, 106, p. 34, no. 113, p. 35, no. 1.

A parallel for this is the fact that the Kufic inscription "God commands people to be loyal and just" appears only on copper coins while al-Maqrīzī states that it is to be found on dirhams.¹ Secondly, it is very likely that the discovery of the word mudawwar accords with al-Maqrīzī and Abū Ya'īlā's accounts to the effect that "'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubair issued the mudawwara dirhams" because silver dirhams of Arab-Sassanian type, attributed to the reign of 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubair by J. Walker² have on their obverses the same inscriptions as are on the copper specimen published by S. Shamma, with the exception of course of the word mudawwar.

5. It is highly probable, therefore, that Shamma has been influenced by the colloquial usage of the word muzawwar as used in al-Medina. Nevertheless, even today most of the rulers of Muslim countries who visit the graves of the Prophet, Abū Bakr, and 'Umar I, and other places in al-Medina, are accompanied by a dalīl, not by a muzawwir, because every dalīl can be a muzawwir but not vice versa. A full discussion of the difference between these two words is, however, not our concern.

2. The distribution of post-reform coins (Maps 6, 7, 8)

The post-reform coin types are represented in all the three traditional metals. Our evidence of this type from finds in Arabia in comparison with the pre-reform type is very satisfactory. Identification of the coin type in relation to the find spots leads to the conclusion that this type circulated in areas and cities located in the northern, eastern,

¹ See above, p. 72.

² Walker, I, p. 33, nos. Do. 1, ANS. 7, ANS. 8, and 42.

and western districts of present-day Saudi Arabia.

To sum up, we must state that the fitting of these pre and early Islamic coins (with the exception of the post-reform Umayyad coins) into this period is not as easy or as rewarding as one would wish, because these coins do not elucidate fully, though they do throw some light on ancient Arabia's situation in relation to the political, economic, and military events occurring from 1 B.C. to A.D. 750 excepting of course those years after the advent of Islam.

Is the disappearance of Roman gold and silver coins connected with the discovery of the Roman copper issues which (according to coin find evidence)¹ were the only imported Roman coins circulating in Arabia² in the second and third centuries A.D.?

There are two objections to this hypothesis. Firstly, the almost total lack of coin finds of Roman gold and silver, while Strabo and the Periplus give information relating to the spread of Roman gold and silver coins to South Arabia only.³ There is no mention by any mediaeval Arab author of the circulation of Roman silver coins in Arabia, although they wrote about the Roman gold coins circulating in Mecca in pre-Islamic times. It is highly possible that they were referring to Byzantine gold coins and not Roman ones for the following reasons:

1. The word al-Rūm mentioned in the Qur'ān⁴ means the Byzantine empire during its struggle with the Sassanian kingdom.

¹ Our catalogue, nos. 1-9.

² For details concerning the coins of North and South Arabia, see Hill, op. cit., introductory section pp. xi-xxxvi

³ There is almost total lack of information from literary sources, such as, e.g., Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, and the Periplus relating to the spread of Roman coins to the north of Arabia. See also above, p. 84.

⁴ Sūra, 30, 1.

2. The modern term Byzantine was not yet in use.

3. In spite of all the Byzantine gold coins found in modern Saudi Arabia, not one Roman gold coin has appeared up to the present time.

Turning now to the second objection which is the hoarding of the Roman copper coins. Since these, according to the evidence we have up to the present, were the more easily obtainable, naturally they were hoarded in much greater numbers than Roman gold and silver coins.¹ In other words, according to coin finds, it is highly probable that the presence of Roman copper coins was due to their use by merchants as they crossed the main trade route to pay for the rest houses, use of wells, etc., at commercial centres, particularly the small ones in the north, middle, and the beginning of the southern section. The costs incurred were never high enough to warrant the use of gold or silver coins. Against this stands the fact that Byzantine gold coins from the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries A.D. had been found in places not too far from the ones in which the Roman copper coin hoards were found (see maps nos. 2 and 3a).

The evidence of the three non-Arab currencies permits us to conclude that by direct or indirect channels the people of Mecca and al-Wajh and those who lived in the commercial centres in the second and third centuries A.D. used these copper coins struck around the reign of Constantine. These coins probably entered the area because of the flourishing state of trade and are not to be linked with any particular year or event.

¹ See above, p. 84.

Chapter V

MINTING, ANCIENT MINES, AND NOMENCLATURE OF COINS

The purpose of this chapter is to outline minting history in Arabia from the very early Islamic period to the end of the Umayyad caliphate, against its relevant background.

Our study is devoted to three main topics: whether or not the coining of money took place in Arabia during the time of the Prophet and his four successors, linked with the question what was the source of minting authority, and what was the development of this authority during the reigns of Mu'āwiya, 'Abd al-Malik, and his son Hishām. (In other words our aim is to determine whether or not the theoretical authority vested in Muḥammad and his successors during the very early Islamic period provided, on the evidence of textual sources rather than numismatic evidence, the basis for the actual exercise of minting authority in the Umayyad caliphate).

The chapter then traces the activities of the mints in Arabia during the Umayyad period which then produced gold, silver, and copper coins of specific types only. Since these mints were operating under Marwānid caliphs of the Umayyad dynasty, this activity must be determined through an inquiry into the history of these mints in Arabia. It is also worth keeping in mind the chronological aspect, and the fact that the coinage was affected by the extension of conquests. We

therefore study:

1. The theoretical basis for minting in Arabia, and supplement this by two brief general and comparative studies concerning the Byzantine currency in Syria-Palestine and the Sassanian Currency in al-'Irāq and Fāris during the reigns of Mu'āwiya I, 'Abd al-Malik, and Hishām; we will then turn to Arabia again to trace the minting activities there.
2. The description of the location of the mines of gold, silver, and copper in ancient Arabia up to the end of the Umayyad caliphate only. Associated with the question of the location of mines is that of the identity of the people who worked these mines; were the mines still being worked by Zoroastrians nearly four centuries after the reign of 'Umar I (634-644/13-23)?
3. The name of the coins, based on the fact that the non-Arab names (i.e. the dinar, dirham, and fals) are the only ones appearing up to the end of the Umayyad caliphate on the coins.

Minting

Though the Arabs--with the exception of the states of North^{west} and South Arabia--had behind them no long tradition or experience of minting, their governors, in planning the new Islamic state, were to devote considerable attention to the problem of the issuing of coin. This became necessary as a result of the rapid Arab conquest in the seventh century A.D of large regions which previously formed part of the Byzantine or Sassanian realms--both of which regimes could boast of long-established and fully stabilized systems of coinage.

The monetary situation in Arabia at the time when Islam arose was somewhat confused. In Mecca, for instance,

coins of the long-defunct Ḥimyarite dynasty of South Arabia were still in use.¹ It was there, too, that essential civil and business deals were effected in Byzantine currency, or in Sassanian dirhams.² How remarkable to reflect that in this source and seed-bed of future caliphates, the affluent commercial classes of the main cities (such as Mecca, al-Medina, and al-Ta'if) possessed no mints.

Conditions in this period form the basis of the Umayyad coinage, at least from the theoretical if not the practical point of view. Numismatic evidence, scarce though it may be, permits us to distinguish certain phases in this development.

There is neither numismatic evidence nor literary data to indicate that the Prophet and the early caliphs (al-Rāshidūn) inherited or founded minting activities in Arabia. In fact, the coming of Islam and its spread over Arabia also did not result in any sudden rise of minting activities. The only literary statement which may bear directly on this topic is that the Prophet asked the populace of al-Medina not to break down the sikka (coins) of the Muslims which were circulating among them.³ This statement is the earliest direct or indirect indication concerning currency or minting, and demonstrates that the currency or minting authority was in the hands of the Prophet and thus his successor, the caliph. Later, during the reign of 'Umar I, a delegation from al-'Irāq asked him to reduce the weight standard of the dirhams. 'Umar I also dealt with the question of counterfeit dirhams which

¹ Al-Balādhurī, op. cit., p. 655.

² Ibid.

³ Al-Māwardī, op. cit., p. 149.

were driving the sound ones out of circulation.¹ These statements may be taken to give some support to the assumption that the currency or minting authority was directly in the hands of the caliph.

To judge by numismatic and textual evidence, no mints were as yet opened in Arabia during the period 622-634/1-13. However, the widespread demand for currency for the payment of zakāt from all over Arabia and 'ushr must have made itself felt. We shall deal somewhat later with the question of when minting activity in Arabia actually did begin. Before this, we must look at what the situation was in the neighbouring countries, Byzantine Syria and Palestine, and Sassanian Iraq, which were to influence what happened in Arabia.

1. The Western Province/Syria and Palestine

Centralization had been the salient feature of the Byzantine imperial minting policy and system; of the leading cities of the empire only Antioch, in Syria, was allowed to share with Constantinople the privilege and right of issuing copper coins and probably gold currency.²

Syria owes its status of special prosperity in the empire to her favourable geographical position along the key trade routes of the east, and to the commercial dynamism which won for her vast profits from mercantile opportunism, earning her the title, pays éponge in some quarters.³ The upheavals caused by the subsequent invasions and counter-invasions from

¹ See above, p. 37.

² P. Whitting, op.cit., p.68.

³ The economic importance of Syria is assessed in Heyd, Histoire du Commerce du Levant, I, pp. 19-24.

about 614 A.D. onwards (Persian, Byzantine, and finally the Arab) inevitably led to a marked decline in commercial enterprises. The reserves built up, however, during the more peaceful periods of the Byzantine rule acted as a basis for further financial and minting initiatives, at least on a local scale; for their needs, fresh series of copper coins were issued.

However, from Heraclius's time onwards, according to historical evidence, Antioch (still the capital¹ of Syria well after other towns had surrendered to the Arabs in A.D. 640)² saw no further gold and copper issues during the Byzantine period.³

The Arab newcomers, already acquainted with the mints centralized under the emperor, were content to allow new mints, with local issues to copper, to operate in Syria-Palestine. These issued copper coins which were modelled on the Byzantine follis, for most of two decades (A.D. 640-c. 700), with some modifications such as the suppression of the name of the emperor and the engraving of the name of the mint in Greek--and often bilingually in both Greek and Kufic. Broadly speaking, this statement concerns the period extending from the early years of conquest and up to the reform of the copper coinage by 'Abd al-Malik in c. A.D. 700.⁴

The question arises, were any of the mints established in Syria to replace that of Antioch between A.D. 613 and 628⁵ (the years during which Syria-Palestine was ruled by

¹ Ostrogorsky, op. cit., p. 111.

² Ibid.

³ Whitting, op. cit., p. 128.

⁴ Walker, II, p. liii.

⁵ Ostrogorsky, op. cit., pp. 95, 103.

the Sassanians and which do not concern us directly)?

With the Arab conquests, there appeared a number of new mints. Why did the Arabs introduce such a variety instead of recreating the mint of Antioch? Could it be that it was to deprive the local inhabitants of their privileges? The reasons are complex although some would appear quite logical. We must consider whether the closure of the mint of Antioch was connected with the position of the city so close to the fighting areas. Then again, the transference of the regional government under the wālī from Antioch to Damascus had a corresponding effect on the minting system. This move led at once to the appearance of numerous smaller mints striking copper coins bearing different monogramatic inscriptions,¹ but why this was so we are unable to state. It might have been due to a shortage of gold coins, or perhaps simply a shortage of gold itself, because of the political unrest during the years of conquest, or even during the four years of struggle between 'Alī and Mu'āwiya when Syria/Palestine had fallen into complete disorder, i.e., during the three years preceding the reign of 'Abd al-Malik.²

These new mints were really ancient pre-Byzantine mints of classical times resuscitated as the following table shows--presenting the classical and Arab names as established by Walker.³

Arab name	Classical name	Arab name	Classical name
Buṣrā	Bostra	Ṣūr	Tyre
Ba'labak	Heliopolis	Ṭabariya	Tiberias

¹ Ibid.

² See above, p. 53.

³ Op. cit., p. xciii.

Bait Jabrīn	Eleutheropolis	'Askalān	Ascalon
Baisān	Scythopolis	'Akkā	Ace- ptolemaïs
Ḥarrān	Carrhae	'Ammān	Philadelphia
Ḥalab	Beroea	<u>G</u> hazza	Gaza
Ḥimṣ	Emesa	Ḳinnasrīn	Chalcis
Dimishḳ	Damascus	Ḳūrus	Cyrrhus
al-Ruhā (Urfa)	Edessa	Ludd	Diospolis
Ṣaffūriya	Sepphoris	Manbij	Hierapolis
		Niṣībīn	Nisibis

2. The Eastern Province/Iraq

Decentralization tendencies, so much at variance with the former Byzantine policy, are again evident in the fiscal organisation of the Sassanian territories. The number of official Sassanian mints which issued identifiable dirhams of the Arab-Sassanian types is 37.¹

Though no historical statement exists to tell of the control exercised by the Sassanian head of state over this scattered complex of minting centres, it is possible to state a few definite facts from the evidence of the extant coins, such as, "The Sassanian monetary system had been one of silver monometallism, with negligible issues in other metals"² in contrast to the Byzantine currency system which was based mainly on the gold solidus and copper follis, and "though Heraclius had revived a coinage of silver the evidence of coin-finds suggests that his hexagrams had no wide circulation in Syria."³

¹ Walker, I, pp, cii-cv and Miles, "A New Umayyad Mint" in ANSMN, IV, 1950, pp. 115-116.

² Grierson, op. cit., p. 242.

³ Ibid.

In the Syrian-Palestine region, it had been comparatively simple for the Arabs to effect the administrative practical change from one regime to another; but in al-Iraq and Fāris, by continuing Sassanian tradition, they allowed the continuation of a monetary system in that part of their caliphate which was fundamentally different from the one found in the western part.

Nevertheless, the marked divergence between the minting situation of the eastern and western parts of their dominions did not, so far as we can tell, reflect any deliberate difference of policy towards the two parts of the caliphate. Rather it reflected the practical continuation of the situation they inherited, and the increase in the number of mints in Syria was the result of civil needs which did not exist before (i.e., during the Byzantine period), as the table above indicates.

We next come to the half-way stage between the initial period of the conquest, and the period following the great Umayyad reform, a stage involving far reaching changes in administration and the coinage.

From the point of view of minting policy, the dominating figure at this stage was Caliph Mu'āwiya I (661-680/41-60): he was noted chiefly for taking the first steps towards a centralised monetary system' which provided a sound foundation, modelled largely on the proved structures of the historic administration of the east, namely al-'Irāq and Fāris, for all that followed. It was the wālī of the eastern realm, Ziyād, who effected the measures relating to the dirham of the Arab-Sassanian type, by striking dirhams bearing the name of Caliph Mu'āwiya ibn Abū Sufyān¹ and ones with his own name, Ziyād ibn

¹ Walker, I, p. 26, no. 36.

Abū Sufyān¹ in Pahlavi script. He was acting under the direct instructions of Caliph Mu'āwiya I himself, who is also credited with having been responsible for the introduction of the standing figure dinar, though the Syrian chronicle and al-Maqrīzī's statements await confirmation by numismatic evidence.²

To sum up, it can safely be asserted that the caliphate of Mu'āwiya I may mark the first initial extension of Arab control over some mints taken from the preceding Sassanian regime. There is, on the other hand, no numismatic evidence up to now which indicates that the reigns of the three caliphs who preceded Mu'āwiya I (i.e., 'Umar I, 'Uthmān, and 'Alī) mark the rise of any Arab authority over the mints in either east or west. We can point out that the local Arab-Sassanian mints fell increasingly under the control of regional administrations acting in the name of the central government, as the appearance of a few dirhams from the mints of "Darabjird", bearing the name of Mu'āwiya I³ and the dirhams with the name of Ziyād⁴ coined in the same mint, proves. The years during which the reforms of gold, silver, and copper coins took place are of some importance for a proper understanding of the history of minting during 'Abd al-Malik's and Hishām's reign. The reforms of the dinar, dirham, and fils, took place in 696/77, 698/79, and c. 700/81⁵ respectively. In A.H. 76,⁶ 'Abd al-Malik issued gold and silver coins and wrote to al-Ḥajjāj ordering him to issue dirhams.

¹ Ibid., p. 40, no. 58.

² See above, p. 45.

³ Walker, op. cit., p. 25, no. 35.

⁴ Ibid., p. 40, no. 58.

⁵ Walker, II, p. liii.

⁶ In connection with this, we must state that the earliest example known of the "Standing Caliph Type" is of A.H. 74 (with another issue of A.H. 75). Miles, "The Earliest Arab Gold Coinage" in ANSMN, 13, 1967, pp. 212-213.

When the dinars and dirhams of 'Abd al-Malik arrived at al-Medina, with an effigy (ṣūra), the rest of the Companions who were there objected to the effigy on the coins; but despite this objection the famous Tābi'i Sa'id ibn al-Musayyab¹ used them. Al-Maqrīzī also states, without giving the date, that 'Abd al-Malik issued the epigraphical dinars in Damascus, and also had asked a Jewish coin maker named Sumair who was originally from Taimā' to coin silver dirhams. These silver dirhams were subsequently called Sumairiyya dirhams after the minter.² 'Abd al-Malik sent the sikka (die) to al-Ḥajjāj, who distributed it to the minting centres with orders to mint according to this pure epigraphical sikka.³ However, to demonstrate the direct authority of the caliph over the mint, 'Abd al-Malik did not allow any other mint in Syria other than his capital, Damascus, to mint or issue any gold coin. 'Abd al-Malik himself punished an individual who struck a coin from a different die, although there is no recorded evidence as to the type or metal of this coin.⁴ In the meantime, the provincial wālī in al-'Irāq and Fāris, al-Ḥajjāj (according to a statement by al-Balādhurī), in order to ensure that the commands of the caliph were carried out, assigned to the minters a special locality, viz. Wāṣiṭ, outside which they were not permitted to coin. He allowed merchants to use the official Wāṣiṭ mint to coin their dirhams.⁵ Thus no individual mints were permitted to strike dirhams except the official one at, or in the region of Wāṣiṭ. The firm control exercised by

¹ Al-Maqrīzī, op. cit., p. 4.

² Al-Balādhurī, op. cit., p. 656.

³ Al-Maqrīzī, op. cit., p. 10.

⁴ Al-Rayyis, op. cit., p. 386.

⁵ Al-Balādhurī, op. cit., p. 656.

al-Ḥajjāj over the minting of the silver coinage is indicated by al-Balādhurī's statement that he branded official marks on the hands of the mint workers so that people allowed to work in the mint would be recognised.¹

With the succession to power of Hishām ibn 'Abd al-Malik (724-743/105-125)¹ who was well known for his successful financial policy, the tendency inherited from the Byzantines to centralize the issuing of the gold coinage was made more effective. The dinars of post-reform type (without the name of the caliph or the name of the mint, but with the Hijra years) were struck in Damascus; and in addition there are a few dinars bearing the name of the mint, namely Ma'din Amīr al-Mu'minīn, and Ma'din Amīr al-Mu'minīn bi al-Ḥijāz, a point to be kept in mind for later consideration.

With regard to silver coinage, for the first time since the conquest of the former Sassanian dominions, a considerable approach towards the centralization of the minting of the post-reform type took place; Hishām made a more determined attempt than his father to centralize the minting of silver coins in Wāṣiṭ. He did not succeed in this, but he was able to maintain the inherited system of the gold coinage.

To explain this, one must appeal to both textual and coin evidence. Al-Maqrīzī states that:

"In A.H. 106 Hishām ordered the provincial wālī Khālīd ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Qasrī to restore the standard (يعيد المعيار) of the dirhams to seven dāniq and to annul the dies from every town or mint except Wāṣiṭ. Accordingly al-Qasrī struck the dirhams in Wāṣiṭ but only after he had enlarged the sikka (die)."³

¹ Ibid.

² Walker, II, p. 297.

³ Op. cit., p. 6.

After investigating the mint names engraved on the dirhams, the identification of which is generally agreed upon, and which were struck between A.H. 106 and 125¹ in the east, we reach the conclusion that there were another five traditional Sassanian mints producing dirhams in addition to the new Umayyad mint at Wāṣiṭ. The following table gives a list of the names of the five mints, as well as the dates which appear on these dirhams.

Name of Mint		Date		References
Arabic	Transliteration	A.H.	A.D.	
زرنج	Zaranj	107	725/6	Walker, II, p. 132, nos. 1, 4
ارمينيا	Arminiya	108	726/7	<i>ibid.</i> , p. 111, no. 267
مدينة بلخ البيضا	Madīnat Balkh al-Baiḍa	111	729/30	<i>ibid.</i> , p. 128, no. 22
بلخ	Balkh	114	732/3	<i>ibid.</i> , p. 127, no. 70
الباب	Al-Bāb	115	733/4	<i>ibid.</i> , p. 123, no. Ties. 5

It will be seen that the evidence offered by these coins does not support al-Maqrīzī's statement regarding the provincial wālī (i.e., al-Qasrī) acting on behalf of Caliph Hishām and effectively centralizing the minting of dirhams in the mint of Wāṣiṭ.

One can safely assume that Hishām was the source of authority behind the minting of silver coinage, though his provincial authorities also had some influence on minting policy.

¹ I.e., between the date mentioned by Maqrīzī (A.H. 106) and the end of the reign of Hishām.

3. Minting Activities in Umayyad Arabia

We turn now to the distribution of mints in Arabia. With regard to minting activities in general and the output of mints in particular and actual production from the very beginning of the fourth century A.D. and up to the middle of the eighth century A.D. (i.e, A.D. 300-750-132) our information from both the classical European and mediaeval Arab authors is extremely scanty. The date of the latest coins struck in pre-Islamic South Arabia known up to now is c. A.D. 300.¹ The earliest date known for the silver coin minted in Islamic Arabia is A.H.90 (A.D. 708-709). According to the evidence of coin finds, it is certain that Umayyad coins of post-reform type in the three traditional metals were produced at a number of different mints in Arabia.

The mints can be listed, according to the metals, as follows:

No.	Metal	Mint Name	Date A.H.	Rarity	Type
1.	AV	Ma'din Amīr al-Mu'minīn	91	A few known	Post-reform
2.	AV	Ma'din Amīr al-Mu'minīn bi al-Ḥijāz	105	A few known	Post-reform
3.	AR	'Umān	90	Unique	Post-reform
4.	AR	Wab'a	93	Unique	Post-reform
5.	AE	Mecca	undated	Very rare	Post-reform
6.	AE	bi al-Madīna ² Ma'din Amīr al-Mu'minīn	undated	Very rare	Post-reform

¹ J. Pirenne, Le Royaume Sud-Arabe de Qatabān et sa datation (Louvain, 1961), p. 64.

² See Appendix E.

The silver coins struck in 'Umān in A.H. 90¹ is the first known numismatic witness in Arabia to the resumption of rule of the Umayyads (i.e., 17 years after the death of 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubair which was in 73/692-693 in Mecca).²

Concerning the list just given, a number of points relevant to the history of minting can be made.

1. Virtually nothing is known of the organisation and personnel of the mints in Arabia either for the years covered by the above coin evidence or for the wider period from the first year of al-Hijra up to the fall of the Umayyad caliphate i.e., 622-750/1-132.
2. These six mints produced no known pre-reform coins.
3. There is no definite evidence to prove that the consolidation of the Umayyad regime by 'Abd al-Malik in Arabia was accompanied by the opening of any new mints in Arabia.
4. Because of the scarcity of textual and numismatic data, it is extremely difficult to gauge the immediate effects of the Umayyad re-conquest of Arabia, after the murder of ibn al-Zubair, upon the minting activities in the peninsula in general and Mecca and al-Medina in particular; the only evidence we have (before and after the resumption of rule of the Umayyads) is the statement given by al-Maqrīzī and Abū Ya'lā³ that ibn al-Zubair issued "mudawwar" dirhams in Mecca.
5. The exact similarities of all the post-reform dinars and dirhams of the Umayyad caliphs attributed to the mint of Damascus and Wāṣiṭ to those of Ma'din Amīr al-Mu'minīn and Wab'a in respect of style, epigraphy, and weight, would seem to indicate that Arabia in the years A.H. 90, 91, 93, and 105

¹ Walker, II, p. 168, no. Ties. 16.

² Hitti, op. cit., p. 193.

³ See above, p. 72.

had experienced mint workers able to produce dinars, dirhams and fulūs of the same standard of fineness as the dinars and dirhams struck in Damascus and Wāṣiṭ and during the reigns of al-Walīd I and Hishām. This raises the question, were the die-sinkers or other workers in the four mints (namely, Ma'din Amīr al-Mu'minīn bi al-Ḥijāz, 'Umān, Wab'a, Mecca and al-Medina) Arabs or non-Arabs? In fact, this question is one of considerable historical importance but is not easy to answer. However, the accounts of al-Balādhurī, al-Maqrīzī, and al-Dumḡirī contain statements that the engraving of the dies during the two reigns of 'Umar I and 'Abd al-Malik was in the hands of non-Arabs. These statements (which may indirectly bear on the subject) refer to a Persian die-sinker called Ra's al-Baghl who struck dirhams for 'Umar I; and a Jewish moneyer called Sumair who engraved the die of the dirham of the post-reform type for 'Abd al-Malik. Whether these reports are true or not, it is clear that generally speaking the Arabs lacked minting experience. Accordingly, the Arabs adapted and imitated the traditional Byzantine gold and copper coins in Syria-Palestine as well as the Sassanian silver currency in al-'Irāq and Fāris till the circumstances were ripe for 'Abd al-Malik to reform the coinage (the reform of the dinars took place in A.H.77/A.D.696-697, the reform of the silver coinage in A.H.79/A.D.698-699, and the reform of the copper coinage in c. A.H.81/A.D.700). Yet, we cannot be entirely sure that coins bearing the name of the mints Mecca, al-Medina, Ma'din Amīr al-Mu'minīn with or without bi al-Ḥijāz, 'Umān, and Wab'a were all, or any of them, struck by non-Arabs.

We now turn to the identity of the mints themselves. The identification of the location (cities) in which these

mints were opened has in the main created no problem among scholars with the exception of the location of the two mints, Wab'a or Wabā' (وَبْأ , or وَبَا)¹ and Ma'din Amīr al-Mu'minīn bi al-Ḥijāz.

Regarding the mint of Wab'a, E. Zambaur describes Wabā'a (وَبَا) as "in Ostarabien, Wadi Nakhla, Wegteilung der Pilgerstrasse von Baḥrain, Yemen, Khaṭṭ und 'Umān,"² following Yāqūt. Similarly Walker, on the authority of H. Lavoix who follows Yāqūt, states, "Its location, at any rate, is more likely to have been here than in Palestine as given by Codrington."³ Secondly, with reference to the mint of Ma'din Amīr al-Mu'minīn bi al-Ḥijāz, in 1920 Casanova published his second⁴ fuller discussion of the only two dinars bearing the name Ma'din Amīr al-Mu'minīn bi al-Ḥijāz known to him. He based his discussion largely on historical and geographical texts written by mediaeval Arab authors, but took into consideration also "the accounts of modern travellers and explorers, and all the existing maps"⁵ as well as the legends on the only two dinars mentioned above (cat. no. 93). On the basis of these criteria, Casanova reached the "conclusion that 'the mine of the Commander of the Believers in al-Ḥijāz' is to be identified with Ma'din (later Ḥarrah) Banī Sulaim, southeast of Madina and northwest of Mecca, on the route between Baghdad and Mecca."⁶

¹ The form of the name of this mint is engraved on the dirham as وَبْأ , while in the texts as وَبَا ; we follow the form occurring on the dirham.

² Op. cit., p. 269.

³ Op. cit., p. xcii.

⁴ "Une mine d'or au Ḥidjaz", extrait, Bulletin de la Section de Géographie, 35 (Paris, 1920), pp. 69-125.

⁵ Miles, RIC, ANSNM, 1950, p. 20. On the question of the location of this traditional gold mine, see S. al-Rashid, A Critical Study of the Pilgrim Road between Kufa and Mecca (Darb Zubayda) with the Aid of Fieldwork, Text, pp. 177-179 and 134-136, Ph.D. Thesis, Leeds University, 1977.

⁶ Ibid.

Later, in 1950 and 1961, Miles in two articles entitled "Rare Islamic Coins"¹ and "A Unique Umayyad Dinar of 91 H/A.D.709/10"² again examined in detail the data regarding the location of Ma'din Amīr al-Mu'minīn bi al-Ḥijāz, as well as the die linkage with the corresponding normal Umayyad dinar (i.e., the dinars with the date A.H. 91 and 105 struck in Damascus, inscriptions correspond in every way with the exception of the words "Ma'din Amīr al-Mu'minīn" on the dinar of 91 and "Ma'din Amīr al-Mu'minīn bi al-Ḥijāz" on the ones bearing the date 105/724). His conclusion was that the coins with the legend "Ma'din Amīr al-Mu'minīn" were also issued by the Damascus mint.³ However, there are a number of considerations that seem to bear on the topic and more especially on Miles's interpretation.

The discovery of the two dinars bearing on their reverses the Hijra date 91 as well as the inscription "Ma'din Amīr al-Mu'minīn" only, is of crucial importance. Most of the mediaeval Arabic accounts contain the traditional story that 'Umar II bought a gold mine located in al-Ḥijāz from the sons of Bilāl ibn ^{al-}Ḥārith during his caliphate (717-720/99-101). If we follow the Arabic texts, as Casanova⁴ and Fahmy⁵ did, we may conclude that this mine which was bought by 'Umar II was known from that time onwards as "the mine of the Commander of the faithful". Then the question immediately arises about the use of the designation "Ma'din Amīr al-Mu'minīn" on two dinars struck before 'Umar II during the caliphate of al-Walīd I (705-715/86-96)⁶ and bearing the Hijra year 91 and also the other coin of A.H. 105 (A.D. 724). Do these dinars of A.H. 91

¹ Op. cit., p. 20.

² Revue Numismatique, XIV, 1972, pp. 262-268.

³ Walker, op. cit., p. 297.

⁴ Op. cit., p. 79.

⁵ Op. cit., p. 306.

⁶ Miles, op. cit., p. 266.

indicate that al-Walīd I owned a gold mine or mines in Arabia (or somewhere else) during his caliphate and before 'Umar II bought the traditional one from Bilāl's sons. The analysis and comparison made by Miles on the one hand between the two dinars of A.H. 91 and 105 and the normal Umayyad dinars of A.H. 91 and 105 on the other, allowed him to conclude, "I think we must assume that this special issue, like the usual ones was the product of Damascus . . ." ¹

This conclusion might indeed possibly apply to the dinars of A.H. 91, i.e., the ones bearing "Ma'din Amīr al-Mu'minīn" without the word bi al-Ḥijāz. It must be assumed that if Miles's statement is true, the accounts of the mediaeval Arab writers to the effect that 'Umar II bought this gold mine from Bilāl's sons are not accurate.

However, there is one objection to the conclusion given by Miles. He specifies the production of gold as occurring in only one mine in Arabia, namely the Ma'din Amīr al-Mu'minīn, which produced the gold for minting the dinar of A.H.91. This, according to Miles, is the same one as the Ma'din Amīr al-Mu'minīn of al-Ḥijāz which produced the gold for the dinar of A.H. 105. This would exclude the possibility of the latter mine being a different mine from the former. However, according to textual statements as well as on geological grounds ² there apparently were a considerable number of gold mines working in A.D. 750. Thus it would be quite reasonable to assume that al-Walīd I had one or possibly several gold mines in Arabia during the same general period as the existence of the mine of Bilāl ibn al-Ḥārith.

¹ Op. cit., p. 267.

² See Appendix D.

In addition to the above mentioned points, there are a number of others which are relevant to the question concerning the identity of Ma'din Amīr al-Mu'minīn. First, Miles states with some probability that the dinars bearing the date 105 (A.D. 724, cat. no. 93) and the inscription "Ma'din Amīr al-Mu'minīn bi al-Ḥijāz" were struck during the reign of Hishām (724-743/105-125),¹ and not during the reign of his brother Yazīd II (720-724/101-105).² The caliphate of Hishām began in the same year as that in which Yazīd II died, i.e, A.H. 105. This view conflicts with the numismatic and historical evidence that the centralization of the production of Umayyad silver coins reached its peak during the reign of Hishām in al-'Irāq and Fāris.³ It is therefore quite reasonable to assume that Hishām must have assured the centralization of the gold coinage before he took steps towards the centralization of the production of silver coins in A.H. 106, only one year after his succession.

Secondly, with regard to the history of this mine, Miles commented that:

"The newly discovered dinar makes it evident that the mine was so called at least eight years before the Caliph 'Umar's rule and we must therefore conclude either that the mine actually was acquired by the Caliph al-Walīd I, or that it was known as the mine of the commander of the believers from the Prophet's time onward."⁴

It is, however, impossible to accept this latter suggestion in particular for the time of the Prophet for the following reasons:

¹ Miles, op. cit., p. 266.

² Ibid.

³ See above, p. 108.

⁴ Miles, op. cit., p. 266.

1. The very well known bequests made by Muḥammad include no mines.¹
2. Abū Bakr used the title "Khalīfat Rasūl Allāh".²
3. 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb in the early months of his caliphate used the title "Amīr al-Mu'minīn"³ instead of the title "Khalīfat Khalīfat Rasūl Allāh". Thus, if there was a mine belonging to the Prophet it must have been known as "the mine of the Prophet"; the description would be different in the case of the caliph Abū Bakr.

Miles was the first to raise the question of whether the "Ma'din . . ." engraved on the gold dinars of A.H. 91 and 105 referred to the name of a mint or a gold mine. We believe his view needs to be revised on this point. Miles states:

"The question remains whether the dinars of 91 and 105 were really struck at the mine, i.e., whether the phrase Ma'din Amīr al-Mu'minīn is used on the coins in the sense of a mint-name in the way mint-names appear on earlier dirhams and fulūs and later on dinars. I believe the answer is clearly no. For one thing we have the evidence of the die identity of the reverse of the specimen of the regular issue of 91 H. in the American Numismatic Society and of the reverse of the unique dinar in the Cabinet des Médailles. I may add also that the die of the obverse of a regular issue of 105 H in the American Numismatic Society . . . is probably identical (Fig. 4) with the obverse die of the A.N.S. mine⁴ specimen. Another specimen of the regular 105 issue in the A.N.S. (SEAD, no. 83) has a different, but very similar, obverse die. I think we must assume that this special issue, like the usual ones was the product of the Damascus mint, and that the phrase Ma'din, etc., refers to the gold from which the coin was struck."⁵

The chief objection to this conclusion comes from the very

¹ For a full description of these bequests, see Ibn Sa'd, Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kabīr, 2, ed. Josef Hovitz (Leiden, 1904/1321).

² Al-Ṭabarī, op. cit., p. 265 and ibn Sa'd, op. cit., III, p. 202.

³ Ibid.

⁴ The correct name of this gold mine is Mahd al-Dhahab.

⁵ Miles, op. cit., pp. 266-267.

recently published coin-evidence, which was not available to Miles when he wrote his two articles on this topic. In April 1976, S. Shamma published for the first time a unique copper coin of the Umayyad post-reform type (cat. no. 82), i.e., the same type as the dinars of A.H. 91 and 105. This unique copper coin bears the following inscriptions:



Obverse

Reverse

لا اله

محمد

الا الله

رسول

وحده

الله

outside marginal inscription

ضرب بالمدينة معدن امير المؤمنين

(cat. no. 81)

(Fig. 2)

Briefly, we can conclude from this specimen that this copper coin must have been struck in the mint of al-Medina.

The term "Ma'din" which is preceded by "bi al-Madīna" might here appear in the sense of the name of a mint; this meaning in fact is systematically employed by al-'Ush in his work entitled Trésor de monnaies d'argent trouvé à Umm-Hajarah where معدن regularly means "mint", examples are as follows:

¹ المعدن : مد دد = AS = أصفهان

² المعدن : د نك = NH = نهاوند

³ المعدن : دد ص = ST = اصطخر

¹ Al-'Ush, Trésor de monnaies d'argent trouvé à Umm-Hajarah, p. 3, no. 1.

² Ibid., no. 2.

³ Ibid., p. 33, no. 190.

There are considerable numbers of Umayyad copper coins of the same type (i.e., the post-reform type)¹ which have been studied and catalogued by Walker, which bear the name of different mints, together with the same central inscription (on their obverses and reverses) as the Medinan coin; the marginal inscription is, however, different, viz. ضرب بالمدينة. معدن امير المؤمنين.

Additional indications from which we can conclude that the term ma'din engraved on this specimen could refer to a mint (rather than a mine only) located in the Medina region are as follows:

1. No historical data, as far as is known, indicate that the region of al-Medina contained a mine belonging to any Umayyad caliph or to the subject of any Umayyad caliph.
2. In any case, the dirham of the post-reform type bearing the name of the mint 'Umān as well as the Hijra year 90² on its obverse indicates that there was an experienced die engraver in Arabia before the dates appearing on the two dinars bearing "Ma'din Amīr al-Mu'minīn" only, i.e., the two with the Hijra year 91. About the same time, the dirham of the same type struck in Wab'a in A.H. 93³ indicates that there was an experienced engraver there before the dinars of A.H. 105 were struck in the mint of Ma'din Amīr al-Mu'minīn bi al-Ḥijāz. For the sake of caution, we exclude the undated Meccan and Medinan fulūs (cat. nos. 80, 81) from the argument. The Directorate General of Mineral Resources in Saudi Arabia (up to 1977) included no references to ancient copper in the

¹ Walker, II, p. 239, no. 781, p. 243, no. 794, p. 255, no. 846, p. 264, no. P.134.

² Ibid., p. 168, no. Ties. 16.

³ Ibid., p. 201, no. P. 113.

region of al-Medina.¹

3. Alternatively of course, keeping to the normal meaning of معدن as "mine", the inscription could perhaps be taken to mean that the coins were struck in al-Medina, but the metals (gold or copper respectively) came from a mine, or mines, belonging to the caliph which need not have been very near al-Medina. However, we cannot prove that any of the Umayyad caliphs owned a copper mine, and indeed no mine for copper is at present known near al-Medina; though it may have been mined in the Umayyad caliphate elsewhere (see below).

In connection with the meaning of the word ma'din it is necessary to refer to a paper read in 1976 by S. Shamma of Jeddah at the Colloquium on Islamic Coins held at the School of Oriental and African Studies in London. This paper was entitled "Caliphal Relations with Makka and al-Madina as reflected by coins".² In it, the author referred to a unique Umayyad copper coin in his own private collection (the find spot of which was not given). The marginal inscription on the reverse of this specimen indicates the coin "was struck in al-Madinah Ma'din Amīr al-Mu'minīn." Shamma states that

"'Ma'din Amīr al-Mu'minīn' and 'Ma'din Amīr al-Mu'minīn bi al-Ḥijāz' are al-Madina, . . . that the 91 dinar was struck by the Caliph al-Walīd b. 'Abdul Malik who led the pilgrimage and visited al-Madina that year and that the 105 dinar was struck by his brother, the Caliph Hishām b. 'Abdul-Malik who was in al-Madina in 105. The meaning of 'Ma'din' on these remarkable coins does not mean, therefore, 'mine' but carries another meaning of the word namely 'the source (of blessing)', that is to say that al-Madina . . . is₃ a source of blessing to the two striking Caliphs."

¹ Reports, nos. 17, 21 (1974), nos. 91, 100, 105 (1975) and no. 114 (1977).

² I am grateful to Mr. Shamma for supplying me with a copy of this paper, as well as the photograph of the Medinan copper coin.

³ Shamma, op. cit., p. 5.

It is convenient here to quote Miles, who also sought alternative meanings for the word ma'din: "One might then raise the question whether ma'din here has its other meaning, 'metal, mineral', rather than 'mine'. This question I must leave open . . ."¹

When we look for a definition of the word ma'din, it would seem advisable to refer to the most authoritative Arab dictionaries, such as Lisān al-'Arab, Tāj al-'Arūs, and al-Qāmūs al-Muhīṭ as well as E.W. Lane's Arabic-English Lexicon based on the study of the former. We find no reference to these in the three articles by Miles and Shamma referred to above concerning the meaning of the term ma'din. The fundamental objection to their interpretations comes from the Arabic dictionaries. They all agree in their definition of the meaning of the term ma'din.

The interpretations in Lisān al-'Arab run as follows:

" . . . المَعْدِنُ بكسر الدال وحو المكان الذي يثبت فيه الناس لان أهله يقيمون فيه ولا يحولون عنه شتاء ولا صيفاً، ومَعْدِن كل شىء من ذلك، ومَعْدِن الذهب والفضة سمي مَعْدِنًا لا نبات الله منه جواهرهما وإثباته إياه في الارض حتى عَدَنَ أى ثبت فيها وقال الليث: المَعْدِنُ مكان كل شىء يكون فيه أصله ومبدؤه نحو مَعْدِن الذهب والفضة والاشياء وفي الحديث فَعَنَ معادن العرب تسألونى قالوا: نعم أى اصولها التى ينسبون اليها ويتفاخرون بها وفلان مَعْدِنٌ للخير والتم اذا جبل عليهما، . . . قال المَعْدِن الذى يخرج من المَعْدِن الصخر - ثم يَكْسِرُها يبتغى فيها الذهب وفي حديث بلال ابن الحرث: أقطع (The Prophet) معادنَ القليليه، المعادن: المواضع التى يستخرج منها جواهر الارض"²

¹ Miles, op. cit., p. 267.

² Ibn Manẓūr, Lisān al-'Arab, XIII (ن - هـ) (Cairo, A.H. 1300), p. 279.

The following is the text of the entry in the Arabic-English Lexicon of E.W. Lane:

"مَدِينٌ (Ṣ, Mgh, MṢb, Ḳ & C.,) and according to some مَدِينٌ also, but this is not of established authority, (TA,) A mine i.e. a place of the origination of the جواهر [meaning native Ores] of gold and the like: (Ḳ): the place of the origination of anything (Lth, TA:) or the gold and silver, [and any other metal or mineral] such as is of value, created by God in the earth: (Mgh:) so called because the people thereof remain there (Ṣ, Mgh, MṢb, Ḳ) always (Ḳ) summer and winter; (Ṣ, Mgh, MṢb;) or because the native are created therein by God has remained fixed in it, (MṢb;) [and the like is said in the Mgh and Ḳ;] or as some say, from عدت الحجر meaning, it signifies also a place of fixedness of nothing. (Ṣ, TA.) And معادن signifies also origins or sources. (TA.) [Hence the saying,] † حجر معدن التمر [Hejer is famous as the place of production of dates]. (Ṣ in art بضع and [Hence] one says ‡ ومعدن للخير والكرم [He is a natural source of goodness and generosity], meaning that he was created with disposition thereto. (TA.) [And هم كرام¹ المعادن they are generous in respect of their origins."]

These entries indicate that it is necessary to reject the fanciful interpretation of Shamma of the word ma'din inscribed on the Medinan copper as well as well as on the gold of A.H. 105 (A.D. 724).

The meaning of the word ma'din, to be equivalent to the "source of blessing", must be used with an attributive word, e.g., "Ma'din al-Baraka" or "Ma'din al-Khair". Thus the appearance of the word ma'din in the inscription "Ḍuriba bi al-Madīna Ma'din Amīr al-Mu'minīn", used without such an additional term, means that it cannot be given the significance proposed by Shamma.

The suggestion that the coins which bear the word under consideration were struck because the two caliphs (i.e., al-Walīd I and Hishām) led the Hajj, or visited al-Medina, is not convincing, since the existence of the evidence that

¹ E.W. Lane, Arabic-English Lexicon, III, Book I, (ف-ض) (London, 1874), p. 1977.

Hishām visited al-Medina in A.H. 105 (A.D. 724) is based on no historical statement. Al-Ṭabarī states on the authority of al-Wāqidī (who was told by Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Sharḥabīl from his father) that Ibrāhīm ibn Hishām, the Caliph Hishām's maternal uncle,¹ led the Ḥajj in A.H. 105, and he asked (i.e., 'Aṭā' ibn Rabāḥ) when he was supposed to deliver the Khuṭba in Mecca.² However, al-Ṭabarī on the authority of Aḥmad ibn Thābit from Ishāq ibn 'Īsā as well as al-Wāqidī and others, states that Hishām ibn 'Abd al-Malik led the Ḥajj³ in A.H. 106 (A.D. 725). Thus Shamma is on weak ground when he says that Hishām visited al-Medina in the same year as he came to power, i.e., A.H. 105.

If the word ma'din refers to al-Medina as "source of blessing" as Shamma claims, then we might expect the discovery of a coin or coins referring to Mecca as a "source of blessing", but no such specimen has been discovered up to the present. On the other hand, it must be admitted that the suggestion that ma'din in this context means "mint" is faced with the difficulty that the Arab lexicographers did not record this admittedly technical meaning. The matter must be left undecided.

As regards geographical location, the distribution of five mints in early Islamic Arabia, namely Mecca, al-Medina, Wab'a, 'Umān, and Ma'din Amīr al-Mu'minīn bi al-Ḥijāz, accords with the importance of the cities and other places at the time. In other words, many of the cities and places which had Umayyad mints owed their importance to their religious, commercial, and strategic positions.

¹ Al-Ṭabarī, op. cit., 7-8, p.180.

² Ibid., p. 187.

³ Ibid., p. 182.

Ancient Mines

We now turn to the subject of the ancient mines in Arabia. Our main object is to examine whether the ancient mines were operated by the Arabs or by non-Arabs, as well as to arrive at a closer dating of the working of the mines during the Umayyad caliphate, in the light of numismatic evidence available up to the present.

The mines in Arabia¹ were already known in antiquity for their wealth of metals, especially of gold. In the first half of the first millenium B.C. the people of the Near East, the Hebrews, Phoenicians, and the Assyrians, knew Arabian gold. King Solomon had equipped expeditions to the Red Sea in order to acquire it, and he is reported to have obtained fantastic amounts.²

Diodorus Siculus (wrote c. 60-30 B.C.)³ in his account of Arabia, states that it possessed gold mines. According to him, the difference between the gold nuggets extracted in the north and those found in the south was that those found in the land inhabited by the "Alilaioi and Gasandes"⁴ were extracted from underground galleries and were yellow in colour (lit. "not fiery in colour", "unfired"); the size of the smallest nugget was about that of "the stone of fruit, and the largest not much smaller than a royal nut"; while the

¹ For a full list of ancient mines of gold and silver at present known in Arabia we refer to our Appendix D which is based on the reports issued by the D.G.M.R. in Saudi Arabia.

² El-Abid, op.cit., p. 10.

³ N. Hammond, op. cit., p. 347.

⁴ Pauly-Wissowa, RealEnzyklopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft (Stuttgart, vol. I, col. 1483), states that "Alilaioi" was located on the western coast of the northern Hijāz.

gold from South Arabia was dug directly from the earth (open tip mines) and "it is found in nuggets about the size of chestnuts and is fiery-red in colour."¹

A little later Strabo (64-63 B.C.-A.D. 21 at least)² in his Geographica, mentions that gold dust was found in the land inhabited by the nomadic people called the "Debai".³ He adds that these people were not experienced in refining gold dust. Strabo also states, regarding the land of the "Nabataioi"⁴ (which was located next to the land of the "Debai") that "Gold obtained by digging is found in their country--not gold-dust, but gold-nuggets, which do not require much purification."⁵ With regard to the size of these gold nuggets Strabo states that they were found in three different sizes. The smallest gold nuggets had the size of a fruitstone, the medium ones were of the size of a medlar fruit, and the largest the size of a walnut.⁶ Concerning the silver mines, Strabo alone states that silver was found in the land of the "Nabataioi", but he gives no further information.

Thus Diodorus and Strabo both state that gold was found in north Arabia (i.e., in the lands of the "Debai" and the "Nabataioi"). Neither of them, however, gives any technical details about mining operations.

¹ Diodorus Siculus, Bibliothēkē Historikē, Book II, 49.3-50.

² Ibid.

³ N. Hammond, op. cit., p. 1017.

⁴ Strabo, Geographica, Book VII, 16.14.18. Pauly-Wissowa, op. cit., vol. IV, p. 2242 states that "Debai" was located on the western coast of the northern Ḥijāz.

⁵ Pauly-Wissowa, op. cit., vol. XVI, II, p. 1453, on the authority of most of the classical European authors, states that part of the "Nabataioi" was located in the north west of Arabia.

⁶ Strabo, op. cit.

Later, in the sixth century A.D., gold finds in the Yemen are mentioned in the folk-tale of Saif ibn Dhī-Yazan; when Khusrau (A.D. 531-579) gave him 10,000 dirhams as a present, he distributed them to the local people saying, "What shall I do with what the King has given me? Why, the land I come from is made of gold and silver!"¹

The question of the history of the ancient mines in Islamic Arabia has been studied by El-Abid. He omits, however, dealing with a number of topics, firstly, the question of the identity of the miners (mu'addinūn) i.e., were they Arab Muslims or not, and secondly with the numismatic data as evidence for the history of the mining operations during the Umayyad caliphate. His observations, besides the results of recent geological investigations are relevant for our investigations which are the main subject of the following pages.

On geological grounds it is probable that all the ancient mines of the three metals principally used for coinage lie within a well-defined region called the Arabian Shield i.e, al-Ḥijāz and Najd.

In Saudi Arabia alone, more than 100 ancient mines have been discovered during recent years.² The reports of Drs. V. Khan and C. Hamind,³ and Martin⁴ state that the sites of "ancient mines, ruins of smelters and dumps, crushing and grinding implements, villages, and tailings convey an impression of widespread ancient mining, mostly during the eighth and ninth centuries A.D." Our knowledge of these kinds of

¹ El-Abid, op. cit., p. 18.

² See Appendix D.

³ Geological Survey in Saudi Arabia, 1 July 1965 to June 1966: Geo. Survey open-file rept. 7, pp. 19, 24.

⁴ C. Martin, Mining in Ancient Arabia, project no. 137, p. 43 (1972).

metalliferous rock is largely due to American investigations. In 1932, the American engineer, K. Twitchell, who had been engaged in water development projects for the Yemen and later for Saudi Arabia, stated that the gold lavished on King Solomon's temple may have come from the highlands of Ḥijāz.¹ Under Twitchell's direction, exploration during the next five years brought to light indications of the extent of ancient mining operations in Saudi Arabia. Many ancient mines were rediscovered and examined by the Directorate General of Mineral Resources.

The depth of most of the ancient gold and silver mines is less than thirty metres, but some of the gold mines in particular reached depths of about 90-100 metres.² With regard to the length of the ancient mine galleries, there are a few of as much as 150-160 metres long.³

The length, the depth, the stratification of the dumps, and the evidence from the underground operations indicate several periods of mining operations, pre-Islamic and Islamic up to the 11th century A.D. There are very few ancient mines of the two precious metals (i.e., gold and silver) which yield a single mineral or ore, most of them produce a spectrum of several minerals.⁴ In respect to these, the aim of the ancient mining operations was the production of the gold and silver.⁵

¹ Ibid., p. 43.

² W. Overstreet, Summary of Results from a Journey, Feb. 8, April 1966, to Bi'r Idimah, Jabel Ashirah and the Sarrat Mountains, p. 27.

³ Martin, op. cit., p. 41.

⁴ Ibid., p. 42.

⁵ W. Smith, Geochemical Investigations of Wadi Bidah, open file rept. Jeddah, 1975, p. 7, and C. Martin, op. cit., p. 43.

The shafts and galleries of the ancient mines in Saudi Arabia are now mostly filled with stones and sand. However, their locations can be identified by the piles of waste material as well as the ruins of the scattered stone houses or huts near the mines, as in the case of the silver mine of Samīra in Najd.¹ However, more often the houses "were arranged in regular fashion like barracks, indicating that the enterprise was planned at least at some stage and did not grow up haphazardly."²

Mining Methods in Ancient Arabia

We have scarcely any historical information on certain basic questions concerning the types of mining methods in use in ancient Arabia.

The mediaeval Arab writers possessed no technical knowledge, and thus we have no details about the pre-Islamic and early Islamic types of mining methods. However, there is some scattered information about later mining, which we shall consider below.

Recently, the geologist C. Martin, who has investigated the methods of use in ancient Arabia, reached the conclusion that:

"Most of the work was carried out in shallow pits open to the surface because the weathered, partly crumbled ore was easily extracted. The firmer rock was shattered by building a fire against it, then suddenly quenching the heated face. It was broken down further with stone hammers, and the coarser particles of gold were picked out, after which the ore was reduced to a fine sand on grinding stones. These stones are still to be found at most mining sites. The finer gold was

¹ Samīra, as a silver mine, does not receive attention in the books of the mediaeval Arab authors, nor in the thesis of El-Abid; but it is quite probable that it may have been mentioned under a different name. In any case, it is not our concern to identify the locations of the individual mines.

² Martin, op. cit., p. 43.

separated from the valueless material by agitating the sand in water, simulating stream action."¹

The eleventh century A.D. represents a period of decline in mining activity. "The mines cease by the end of the 11th century. Carbon 14 dating of charcoal remains as well as a number of inscriptions corroborate the evidence of this decline."² The question immediately arises as to why "such a mining industry, having endured more than 2,000 years, and with hundreds of workings scattered all over the Arabian Shield, should have ceased completely nearly a thousand years ago, only to be revived in the present century."³ It may well be that in addition to the political effects of the Islamic expansion, there were extensive economic repercussions within Arabia which have not been documented, including the wholesale desertion of mining works by their active work forces on account of the more attractive profits offered elsewhere. "The merchants, too, may have been drawn to the new and more profitable centres of power at Damascus, al-Baṣrah and al-Kufah."⁴

We now turn to mining operations in the seventh century A.D. in Islamic Arabia. By the coming of Islam, mines and their products are mentioned in historical accounts, and in addition we find in the Islamic law books statements to the effect that the owner or owners of a gold and silver mine had to pay a fifth of his profit as zakāt. Some of the biographies of the Prophet refer to gold mines. In other words, during the time of Muḥammad and Abū Bakr, gold was in sufficiently abundant supply to merit discussion.

¹ Ibid.

² Project Report no. 17, 1971, p. 16.

³ Martin, op. cit., p. 44.

⁴ Ibid., p. 45.

The wealth of the gold mines located on the land inhabited by the Banū Sulaim tribe is expressed in a considerable number of historical statements in the biographies of the Prophet. Both ibn Hishām¹ and ibn Sa'd² for example mentioned that an Arab from this gold mining country, having gold nuggets from the mines of his tribe with him, came to Mecca in order to pay a debt to the Prophet, but even having done so the Sulaimī had a piece of gold nugget as big as a dove's egg left over.

The following list contains the names of the ancient mines (i.e., of gold, silver, and copper) arranged according to the region within which they were located.

Name of Mine	Region	Type of Metal	Contents and References
Ma'din al-Qabaliyya	Al-Ḥijāz (to the s.w. of al-Medina in the region of Juhaina)	AV	El-Abid, <u>op. cit.</u> , p. 12
Ma'din 'Aynūna	Al-Ḥijāz (n.w. ancient Midian)	AV	Midian is the first area of Arabia whose metal resources have been investigated by Europeans. The English traveller Richard Burton twice persuaded the Egyptian Khedive Ismā'il to allow him to lead expeditions there (in 1877 and 1878). The region of Midian belonged to Ismā'il's realm at that time. See R.F. Burton, <u>The Gold-mines of Midian and the Ruined Midianite Cities</u> , p. 251.
Ma'din Yanbu'	Al-Ḥijāz	AV	El-Abid, <u>op. cit.</u> , p. 14.

¹ Al-Sīra al-Nabawiyya (Cairo, 1937), p. 142.

² Op. cit., I, p. 123.

Ma'din Banū Sulaim	al-Ḥijāz	AV	<p>One of the richest gold mines in Saudi Arabia. "The mine now called 'Mahd al-Dahab' about 170 kilometres south-east of al-Madina, on grounds of location, should correspond to Ma'din Banī Sulaym of the Hijaz". This was reopened by the Saudi Arabia mining syndicate and operated from 1939 to 1954. The geologist Martin concluded also that this gold mine "was re-opened by Abū Bakr 1300 years earlier" (<u>ibid.</u>). This opinion is in favour of ibn al-Athir's statement (<u>Al-Kāmil fī al-Ta'rikh</u>, II (Cairo, A.H. 1274), p. 290). Whether King Solomon's treasure came from this mine as K. Twitchell suggested will probably never be known (Martin, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 45).</p>
Ma'din al-Ḥarraḡa	South Midian	Unspeci- fied	<p>R. Kaḡhala, <u>Gughrafiyyat Jazīrat al-'Arab</u> (Beirut, 1968), p. 22.</p>
Ma'din al-Nuqra	al-Ḥijāz	AR & AE	<p>With regard to the question of what metals were mined at Nuqra, silver or copper, El-Abid states "it cannot be clearly understood from the Arabic sources whether the place can be considered to have been a gold-mine. The word al-Nuqra, plural nuqar stands for melted pieces of precious metal, i.e., gold and silver, in classical Arabic usage. One could conclude from this that this mine was also a gold-mine." (<u>op. cit.</u>, p. 16). However, the recent geological investigation indicates that there were ancient mining operations within the Nuqra district and these ancient mines are of silver and copper (F. Schaffner, 1965, <u>Report for the year 1375 A.H. on the 53 Ancient Workings</u>, pp. 65-3 also Schaffner,</p>

			<u>Nuqrah Ancient Copper Workings</u> (Jeddah, 1971), pp. 17, 31)); only al-Nuqra mine without doubt operated at the time of the Prophet and maybe until the Umayyad and Abbasid caliphates (El-Abid, <u>op. cit.</u> , p. 17).
Ma'din al-'Abla	South of Hijāz ('Asīr)	unspecified	Ḥ. al-Gāsir, <u>Fī Sarāt Ghamid wa Zahrān</u> , p. 367.
Ma'din Ḥillīt	Najd	AV	El-Abid, <u>op. cit.</u> , p. 17.
Ma'din Muwazzar	Najd	AV	<u>Ibid.</u> , p. 18.
Ma'din al-Ḥasan	Najd	AV	<u>Ibid.</u> , p. 19.
Ma'din al-Ṭaniya	Najd	AV	<u>Ibid.</u> , p. 20.
Ma'din 'Asam	Najd	AV	<u>Ibid.</u>
Ma'din al-'Aqīq	Najd	AV	The location of this mine is inadequately fixed by the Arab geographers. However, El-Abid successfully reconciled their statements and concluded that it lay on the road from Yamāma to Yemen.
Ma'din Muḥabḥat	Najd	AV	Kaḥḥala, <u>op. cit.</u> , p. 23.
Ma'din Hajira	Najd	AV	<u>Ibid.</u>
Ma'din al-Qaṣṣaṣ	Najd	AV	<u>Ibid.</u>
Ma'din Abraq Khathrab	Najd	AR	<u>Ibid.</u> El-Abid states on the authority of al-Iṣṭakhrī that the latest date of activity at this mine was the 11th century A.D.
Ma'din al-Mu'khara	Najd	AV	J. 'Alī, <u>op. cit.</u> , p. 513.
Ma'din Thakhb	Najd	AV	<u>Ibid.</u>

Ma'din al-Qashra	Najd	AV	<u>Ibid.</u>
Ma'din Khuṣṣa	Najd	AV	<u>Ibid.</u>
Ma'din Shamām	Najd	AV	See El-Abid, <u>op. cit.</u> , p. 35 and 'Alī, <u>op. cit.</u> , p. 515; for the race and religion of the workers in this mine, see below, p. 137.
Ma'din Ḥatrab	Najd	AV	El-Abid., <u>op. cit.</u> , p. 35.
Ma'din al-Raḍrāḍ	Najd	AV	<u>Ibid.</u> , p. 36.
Ma'din Khazba	Najd	AV	'Alī, <u>op. cit.</u> , p. 515. It is worth noting that 'Alī mentions ten gold and silver mines in ancient Arabia, but does not give their location.
Ma'din Ḍankān	Yemen	AV	El-Abid, <u>op. cit.</u> , p. 25.
Ma'din al-Qufa'a	Yemen	AV	<u>Ibid.</u> , p. 26.
Ma'din Baish	Yemen	AV	<u>Ibid.</u> and 'Alī, <u>op. cit.</u> p. 512.
Ma'din Shawila (or Shuwaila)	Yemen	unspeci- fied	Kaḥḥala, <u>op. cit.</u> , p. 24.
Ma'din Shība	Yemen	unspeci- fied	<u>Ibid.</u>
Ma'din Farawim	Yemen	unspeci- fied	<u>Ibid.</u> , plausibly suggests that the name Farawim refers to Farwa.
Ma'din al-Riḥrāḥ	Yemen	AR	<u>Ibid.</u> , p. 20.

As shown above, many localities and specific mines, to the number of 22 in all, and their products are mentioned in the Arab Geographers' texts. Only two of these can be identified with certainty¹ as operating in the seventh century

¹ I.S. Lefevre, Mineral Resources and Geology of al-Wajh Area (Jeddah, 1962), p. 34.

A.D., i.e., the Ma'din of the Banū Sulaim and the Ma'din of al-Nuqra.

Unfortunately, the references in the texts are generally short and do not tell us as much as we might wish; but they do provide valuable information concerning the people who worked the mines or the workers who provided ancillary services for them, including facts about their religion. One of the important facts regarding the mines of central Arabia up to the time when al-Hamdānī wrote (fourth century A.H./eleventh century A.D.) was that at least some of them were worked by Zoroastrians (majūs). It is very difficult to decide if these Zoroastrians were Persians, or Arabs who had embraced the Magian religion. Al-Ṭabarī and Abū Yūsuf mention in their treatises that there were majūs who were Persians in the time of al-Hamdānī or Arabs who embraced the Magian religion. Abū Yūsuf mentions in his treatise that there were Majī from the tribe of Banū 'Abd al-Qais in ancient al-Baḥrain and those living in Hajar paid al-jizya to the Prophet.¹ Al-Hamdānī is the only one among the writers who gives information about the work of the Zoroastrians of the silver-copper mine Shamām in central Arabia. His statement says, "One of the mines in the region of Najd is the silver and copper mine of Shamām. Shamām is a large village within which there were thousands of Zoroastrians. According to what is said, in the village of Shamām there were two fire temples. It is in ruins. Its prosperity was in the Jāhiliyya and during most of the time of Islam."²

This passage may cast doubt on the statements that 'Umar I drove all the non-Muslims from Arabia, although it

¹ Op. cit., p. 67.

² D. M. Dunlop, op. cit., p. 40.

might be argued that they were driven out during his reign, only to return afterwards. However, we have found no evidence for this. The two statements may perhaps be reconciled by the assumption that 'Umar I deported only the non-Arab Magī and left the Arab ones to stay on condition that they pay al-jizya. The non-Arab Magī who had been captured from the Persian army were allowed to stay in Islamic Arabia, such as Abū Lu'lu'āt al-Majūsī¹ who later killed 'Umar I in al-Medina. All these Magī were probably still there till the time of al-Hamdānī, who is the latest author to write about the Magī in central Arabia and their work in mining. In this connection, al-Hamdānī states that there were two hundred Jews in the town of al-'Aqīq on the border of Yemen and 'Asīr where there was a mine. We have, however, little information on their business and the length of time during which they were there.²

Some precisely dated evidence comes from the coins themselves, viz. the gold dinars bearing the inscription "Ma'din Amīr al-Mu'minīn" and the dates A.H. 91 and 105. These dates are engraved on two dinars of post-reform type (cat. nos. 88 and 93) which bear the "Ma'din Amīr al-Mu'minīn (struck during the reign of al-Walīd I) and the same inscription plus the word "bi al-Ḥijāz) found on a coin issued during the reign of Yazīd II). This agrees well with the geological conclusion that "there is no doubt . . . that most of the mines were already ancient in Muhammad's day."³

¹ Abū Yūsuf, op. cit., pp. 67, 122, 124, 128.

² 'Alī, op. cit., 7, p. 508.

³ Martin, op. cit., p. 47.

Nomenclature of Coins

A list of coin-names compiled from South Arabian Epigraphs and mediaeval Arab authors

The following is a list arranged alphabetically of coin names which occur in the epigraphic records of South Arabia and those mentioned in the writing of the mediaeval Arabs. This list has been compiled in the hope that it may provide a fairly complete idea of coin types as they were known to those who engraved inscriptions on coins in early South Arabia or wrote texts in the Middle Ages. The sources drawn on are indicated in the reference columns, the distribution areas (the tribe) and times (i.e, pre-Islamic and Islamic) being in separate columns.

All the designations of coins found in the sources utilised have been listed below with the intention of making clear the distinction between coin names which were merely local, and those which were common to Arabia as a whole and beyond, many of which are mentioned in the Qur'ān or the Hadīth (with the exception of the term wariq (ورق) which is mentioned in the Qur'ān in reference to coins used outside Arabia).¹ In fact, we did not find any individual names on the Umayyad coinage, pre-reform or post-reform types with the exception of the words wāfin² and jā'iz.³ Unfortunately, the meaning of the majority of terms is unknown and suggestions generally based on their literal meanings cannot be substantiated.

¹ Qur'ān, sūra XVIII, 19. 'Alī. op. cit., p. 501, on

the authority of A. Jamm, Sabaen states that the term wariq is a specific term for gold in Qatabanian text and he outlines the market regulations, rights of merchants, etc. in the town of TMS.

² Walker II, p.33, no. 106.

³ Walker I, p. 96, no. 192.

Coin Name	Type of Metal	Province (Tribe)	Date		References and Comments
			Pre-Islamic	Islamic	
<u>al-Nāq</u>	AV & AR	al-Ḥijāz			J. 'Alī, <u>op. cit.</u> , 7, p. 502
<u>al-Sikka</u>				Islamic	A. Fahmy, <u>op. cit.</u> , p. 58. The very early Islamic period witnessed the first use of the term <u>sikka</u> . The word has in fact many meanings all of the without exception relevant to the numismatic field. The earliest in date is "coins", i.e., <u>al-sikka</u> was equivalent to "currency". This meaning must be the one intended by the Prophet when he asked the people not to break down the <u>sikka</u> which was current among the Muslims, because no minting activities took place in Arabia during Muḥammad's lifetime. Another meaning of <u>al-sikka</u> is "die", a meaning used by most mediaeval authors such as al-Balādhurī, Abū Yūsuf, al-Mārwadī, and ibn Khaldūn. Furthermore, <u>al-sikka</u> means "mint activities and the people who run them."
<u>Balt</u>	un-specified	South Arabia	pre-Islamic		'Alī, <u>op. cit.</u> , p. 491
<u>Dīnār</u>)	AV	common	pre-Islamic	Islamic	Non-Arab names imported along with the coins to which they first applied (<u>denarius</u> , <u>drachma</u> , and <u>follis</u>). F. Albert, <u>Dictionary of Numismatic Names</u> , I (U.S.A. 1916), pp. 66, 82. Incidentally, although a <u>dinaris</u> is a AV coin and <u>denarius</u> was commonly used for a AR coin in Roman times, the correct term for a Roman gold coin was <u>denarius aureus</u> (i.e., gold <u>denarius</u>), often abbreviated to <u>aureus</u> . Albert, <u>op. cit.</u> , pp. 14, 63.
<u>Dirham</u>)	AR	common	"	"	
<u>Fals</u>)	AE	common	"	"	

<u>Dāniq</u>		common		Islamic	Al-Karmaly, <u>op. cit.</u> , p. 27, mentions that every <u>dāniq</u> equals 1/6 <u>dirham</u> .
<u>Drāhim al-Asjād</u>	AR	Mecca	pre-Islamic		'Alī, <u>op. cit.</u> , p. 497.
<u>Luhyan</u>	AR	South Arabia	pre-Islamic		Al-Hamdānī, <u>op. cit.</u> , p. 134, and states, "as for silver it is <u>Luhyan</u> in the language of Ḥimyar and among al-Arab al-'Āriba with <u>damma</u> of the <u>lām</u> and the meaning "silver" and " <u>wariq</u> " were both used as synonyms for " <u>dirhams</u> ".
<u>Nash</u>	AR	Mecca	pre-Islamic		'Alī, <u>op. cit.</u> , p. 502. He states on the authority of Abū Ya'lā that one <u>nash</u> equals twenty <u>dirhams</u> .
<u>al-Nummī</u>	AR	al-Ḥira (Iraq)	pre-Islamic		<u>Ibid.</u> , p. 503. The <u>nummī</u> is the silver <u>dirham</u> with lead or copper.
<u>Qutā'</u>	AR	Hudhail			<u>Ibid.</u> , p. 402.
<u>al-Sikkī</u>	AV				<u>Ibid.</u> , p. 497.
<u>al-Wariq</u>	un-specified	South Arabia	pre-Islamic		<u>Ibid.</u> , p. 501. The word <u>wariq</u> occurs in several South Arabian inscriptions in such phrases as " <u>khamsi warqim</u> " and " <u>'Ashri warqim</u> " which presumably refer to weights of coins. However, the word <u>wariq</u> refers to coins during Islamic time (see above, p. 139).

Chapter VI

THE CATALOGUE

Principles of the Arrangement of the Catalogue

We have arranged the coin types in chronological order within the reign of each ruler. We have taken care to include in the catalogue only those types the inscriptions of which clearly identify them as belonging to specific rulers, period, and mint, with the exception of the Ḥimyarite silver and the anonymous Byzantine copper coins. We have only catalogued ten specimens of Umayyad gold dinars of post-reform types, among the ones listed here, and copper coins.

The present catalogue is tabulated as follows: each coin type has a separate number. The details of each specific coin type are given in one line, providing ten separate items of information, thus:

1. Diameter in millimetres
2. Weight in grammes
3. Name of mint concerned
4. Official mark
5. Obverse inscription
6. Reverse inscription
7. Date of issue
8. Name of the find
9. Reference to standard works
10. Present location in Saudi Arabia

The usual abbreviations are used: AV, AR, and AE for gold, silver, and copper coins, and l and r for left and right, f for field, m for margin, ins. for inscription, and ref. for reference.

Gallienus (joint reign) 253-260¹

No.	Metal Diameter (mm)	Weight (g.)	Mint	Officina Mark	Obverse	Reverse	Date of Issue	Published Ref.	Find Name & Comments	Present location in Saudi Arabia
1	AE 20.4	3.9	(Eastern Mint)		(G)ALLIENUS AUG ...	Obliterated	c.257 -258	<u>RIC, N, pt. 1</u> , pp. 33, 66, pl. 11 no. 31	Isolated find N. al-Hijāz	M. Ḥakim
2	AE 20.5	2.5	(H)A (Heraclea)	(H)A	<u>Maximinus 294-313</u> (F)L VAL CONSTANTIVS (NOB)CAE)S	CONCORDIA MILITVM	c.294	<u>RIC, VI, p. 53, pl. 12, no. 14</u>	al-Wajh	Nuzhat
3	AE 20.1	3.6	<u>.XXI.</u> (2) (Alexandria) (or Siscia)	A	IMP C MA MAXIMIANUS P F AUG	CONCORDIA MILITVM	c.294 -311	<u>RIC, VI, p. 188,</u>	al-Wajh (Alexandria and Siscia were alone in using the formula XXI)	Private Collection in Saudi Arabia

¹ Gallienus's sole reign began in 260 and he was murdered in 268. For details see M. Cary, A History of Rome (London, 1975), pp. 509-511

² The formula XXI here relates to the Maximal Edict (c. A.D. 300). For details concerning the Maximal Edict, see H. Mattingly, op. cit., VI, p. 651.

4	AE 21.6	2.1	(Cyziqus)	KΓ	IMP C M A MAXIMIANUS P F AUG	CONCORDIA MILITVM	c.295 -296	RIC, VI P.580, Pl.14, no.13.	al-Wajh	Private Collection in Saudi Arabia
5	AE 18.6	2.7	(P or S)TR (Trier)	—	Constantine CONSTANTIN -VS MAX AVG	Constantine 313-337 VICTORIAE LAETAE PRINC PERP	319	RIC, VII P.182, Pl.4, no.231	Nuzhat	Nuzhat
6	AE 18.4	3.6	(R)P (Rome)?	(R)I(F)	only a few traces visible	only a few traces visible	313	RIC, VII P.296, Pl.7, 2, 33	Nuzhat	Nuzhat
7	AE 16.3	2	(Rome)?	—	(V)RBS(ROMA)	Obliterated	330- 334	RIC, VII P.334, Pl.8, no.316	Private collection in Saudi Arabia	Private collection in Saudi Arabia
8	AE 20.7	5.6	(Antioch)?	—	DN THEODO- (SIVS PF) AVG	GLORIA RO- -MANORVM	c.379 -383	RIC, IX pp.282 -283, cf Pl.XIV, no.14	Bi'r Qunair	Private collection in Saudi Arabia
9	AE 17.4	3.5	ANT (Antioch)	Γ	as no. 8	CONCOR -DIA AVGGG	378- 383	RIC, IX P.284 Pl.xiv, no.9	Bi'r Qunair	Private collection in Saudi Arabia
									Isolated find from Najran	M. Hakim


15	AE 24	11.15	<u>THEUP</u> (Antioch)		<u>ONMAVRIS</u> (A?) NPAUT	M above, cross; on L, A on P, X N N O	591- 592	<u>BMC, I</u> 144/171	Purchased from al-Medina	AMRU
16	AV 17.8	4.40	<u>CONOB</u> (Constantinople)		<u>Phocas, 602-610</u> (ONN for ON) VICTORIA ONN FOCAS PERP'AVG	VICTORIA AVGG; at end, I		<u>BMC, I</u> 163/23	Traces of double striking	AMRU and 'Amūdi
17	AV 18	4.42	as above		as above but ON instead of ONN	as above but at end of ins. E		<u>BMC, I</u> 163/10		AMRU and 'Amūdi
18	AV 18	4.41	as above		as above	as above but ins. top damaged, at end of ins. Z		<u>BMC, I</u> 163/15		
19	AE 27.8	10.30	<u>THEUP</u> (Antioch)		<u>ONFOCA</u> NEP (EAV)	<u>m</u> above, cross; to I (III 2 II)? to I A N N O	605- 606	<u>BMC, I</u> 176/111		AMRU, Nuzhat and 'Amūdi
20	AV 19	4.38	<u>CONOB</u> (Constantinople)		<u>Heraclius, 610-640</u> dNHERACLI USPPAVG	VICTORIAN AVGUF	c.610 -613	<u>BMC, I</u> 185/2		DAM
21	AV 18.6	4.37	as above		ddNNHER (ACLIUSE ThERACCN STPPAV)	VICTORIAN AVGUE	c.613 -630	<u>BMC, I</u> 187/21		AMRU and 'Amūdi

22	AV 18	4.45	as above	(ddNNhERAC LIUETHERA) (CON)STPPAV	VICTORIA AVGM(E)? on r. z	c. 630 or later	BMC, I 187/27	AMRU
23	AV 17.8	4.42	as above	as above	as above but at end of ins. IK(?)	c. 630 or later	BMC, I 188/35	AMRU
24	AV 18.7	4.49	as above	ins. off the flan.	VICTORIA AVGM ⊖ on r. /, l. h	c. 629 -630	BMC, I 190/49	AMRU
25	AE 24.6	9.5	<u>KYZ(?)</u> (Cyzicus)	inscription illegible	M. on r., <u> ()</u> ? I A N N O above, traces of cross	611- 612	BMC, I 219/254	AMRU
26	AE 21.2	7.2	<u>NIK</u> (Nicomidia)	Three figures standing (Heraclius in centre, Heraclius Constantine on r. and Martina on l) Each wears crown with cross and long robes and holds in r globus cr.	M. on r, s, I A N N O above, cross	616- 617	BMC, I 218/246	AMRU

A


27	AV 18.3	4.39	<u>CONOB</u> (Constantinople)	<u>CONSTANTINUS</u> TINUSPPAVI	<u>CONSTANS II, 641</u> VICTORIA ANGIK	c.641 -651	cf <u>BMC, I</u> 256/12	AMRU
28	AV .18	4.43	as above	as above but the legend is mostly obliterated	as above	c.641 -651	<u>BMC, I</u> 257/19	AMRU
29	AV 18.6	4.42	as above	as no. 27	as above but <u>Δ</u> at end of ins. in field	651/2 -659	<u>BMC, I</u> 258/33	AMRU
30	AV 18.5	4.39	as above	as above		651/2 -659	<u>BMC, I</u> 258/33	AMRU
31	AV 18.3	4.43	<u>CONOB</u> (Constantinople)	inscription off the flan	r inscrip- tion as above, obliter- ated		Morrisson <u>Byzantine</u> I, pl. lvi, 06	AMRU
32	AV 19	4.44	as above	<u>NONCONSTANTINUS</u> <u>CONSTANTINUS</u>	as above but <u>Θ</u> at end of inscription	654- 659	<u>BMC, I</u> 259/40	AMRU

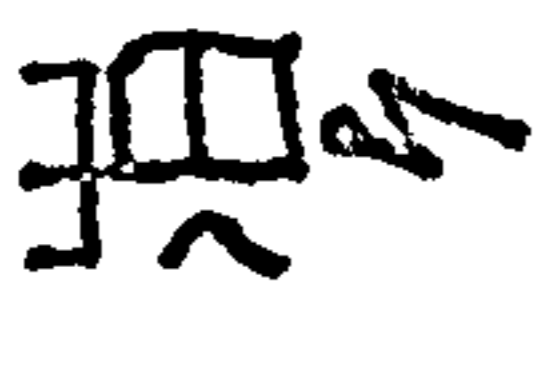
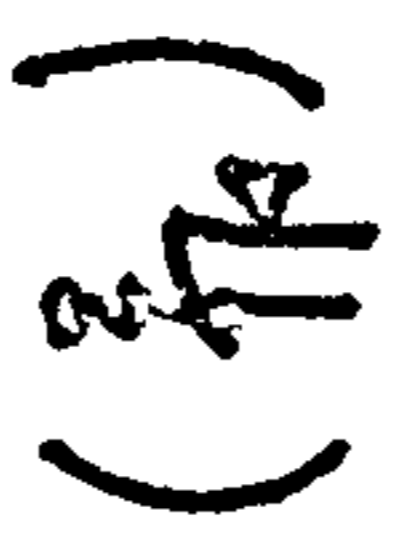

Basil II, "Bulgaroktanos", Joint Reign 976-1025

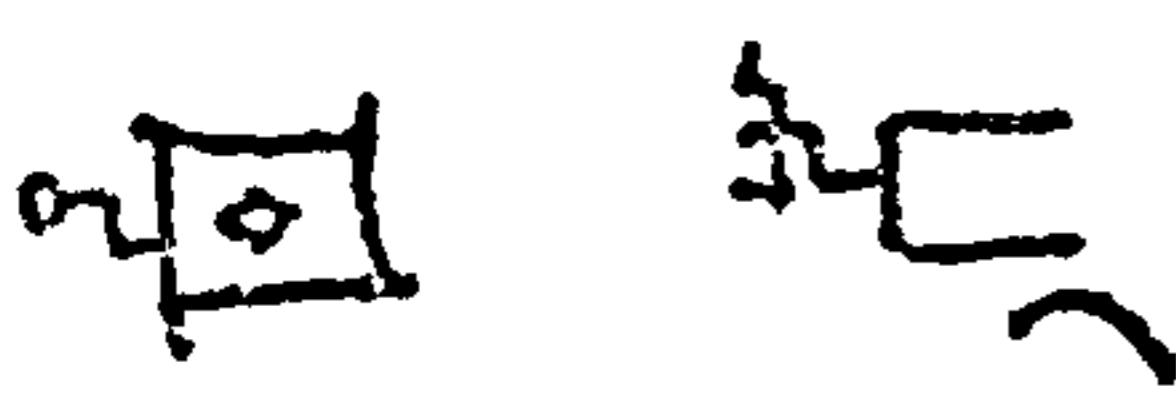

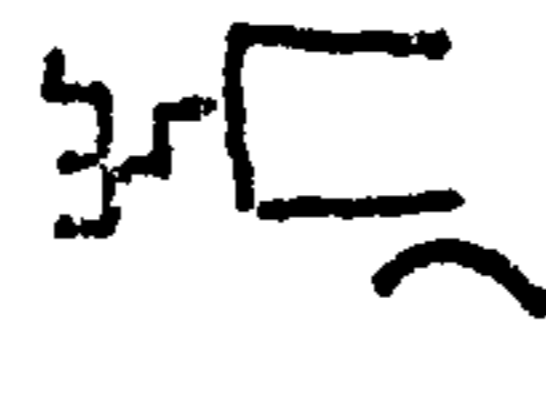
33	AE 24.8	4.9	Constantinople	Inscription obliterated Bust of Christ, facing wearing nimbus cr.	(+)lh(s) (X)RISTU(S) basILE(U) BASIL(E) ornament,  traces of circle bottom l.	BMC, II 489/37	Purchased from al-Medina, Morrisson, Byzantines II, pls. xxx-xxl groups this type under anonymous coins	AMRU
34	AV 20.9	4.46	Constantinople	+CWST/ATH/ BASILE USRM!	+lhSXISREXREG NANTlhm	BMC, II 492/3	Type 2	AMRU
35	AV 19.7	4.43	CONOB (Constantinople)	9CEBOH9/ RWMahw	+lhSXISREXREG NANTlhm	BMC, II 494/1		AMRU

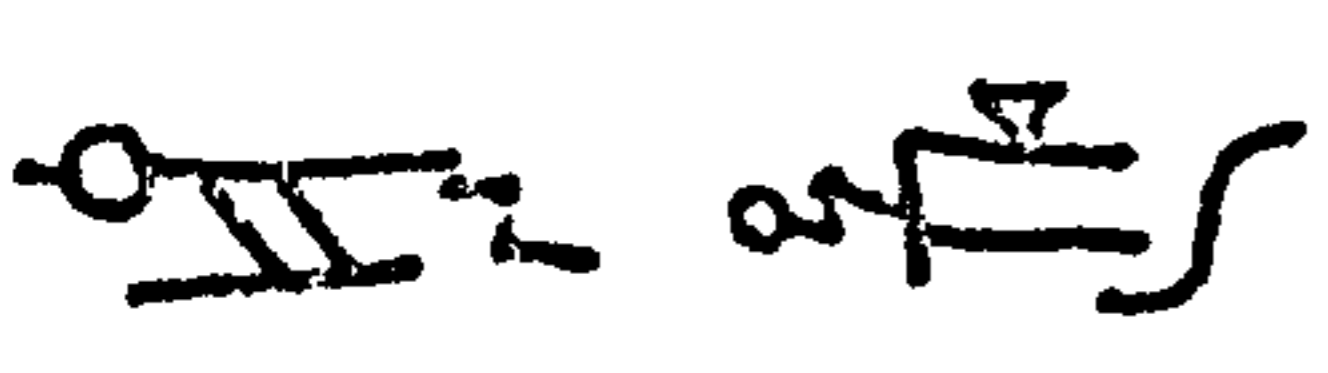
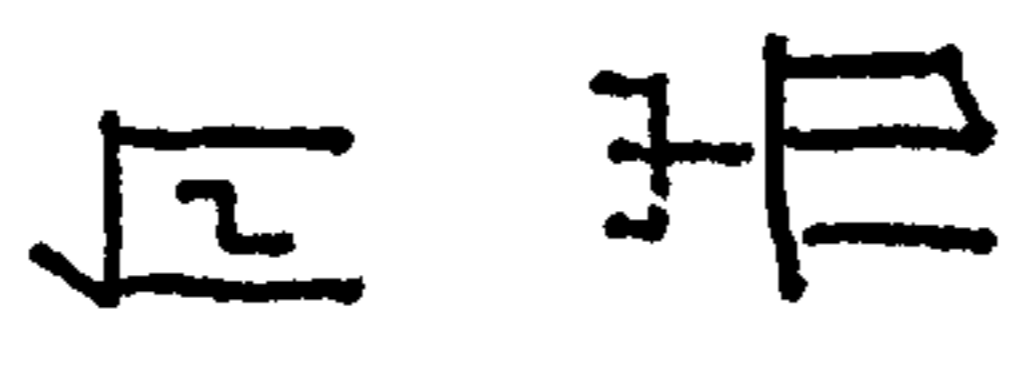
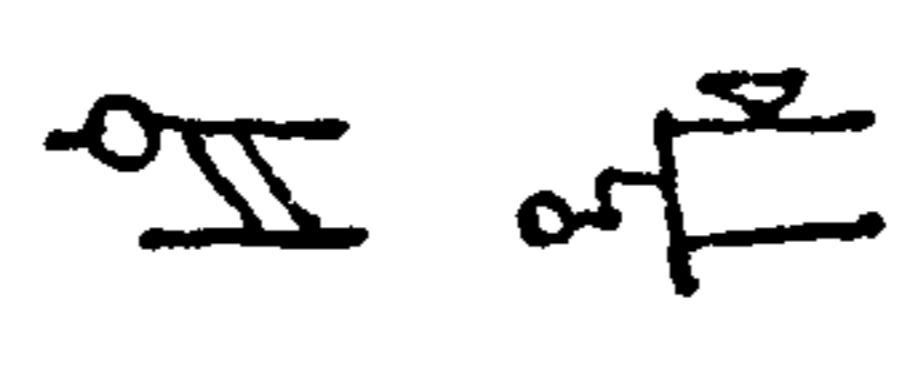
36


no no. 36

no.	Metal dia. mm	Wt. (g)	Monograms	Obverse	Reverse	Date of issue	Pub. Ref.	Find Name & Comment	Present Location in Saudi Arabia
37	AR 20	4.93		Within a wreath, beardless male head r, laureate, with long hair, usually in ringlets	Within a border made of small handleless amphorae owl standing r. on amphora	c.100-24 BC	Hill, <u>Arabia</u> 55/4	Şan'a'	AMRU
38	AR 21.8	4.98	as above	as above, head partly obliterated	as above, but flan clipped $\frac{1}{2}$ bottom	c.100-24 BC	<u>ibid.</u>	Şan'a'	AMRU
39	AR 22.3	5.21	as above	as above but double struck so as to give appearance of two heads jugate	as above but ins. closer to the owl	c.100-24 BC	<u>ibid.</u>	Şan'a'	AMRU
40	AR 22.2	5.18	as above	as no. 37	as no. 37 but ins. partly biundered, double struck, $\frac{1}{2}$ below the tail	c.100-24 BC	<u>ibid.</u>	Şan'a'	AMRU
41	AR 24.6	5.39	as above	as no 37, but irregular	as no. 37	c.100-24 BC	Hill, <u>Arabia</u> 56/11	Şan'a'	AMRU
42	AR 23	4.89	as above	as no. 37	as above	c.100-24 BC	<u>ibid.</u>	Şan'a'	AMRU
43	AR 23	4.89	as above	as no. 37	as no. 37				

44	AR 20	3.78	as above	Within a wreath beardless male r. laureate, with long hair but not in ringlets, clipped top r, and l.	as no. 37, clipped, top and l.	c.100- 24 BC	Hill, Arabia 59/24	N.'Umluj -S.al- Wajh area	Private collec- tion in Saudi Arabia
45	AR 22	4.97	on l. 	Within a wreath, beardless male head r, laureate; hair in long ringlets	as above	c.100- 24 BC	<u>ibid.</u>	Şan'a'	AMRU
46	AR 23	5.27	as above r. ()	as above but l mono- grams obliterated	as above	c.100- 24 BC	<u>ibid.</u>	Şan'a'	AMRU
47	AR 23.8	5.40	as no. 45	as no. 45	as above	c.100- 24 BC	<u>ibid.</u>	Şan'a'	AMRU
48	AR 23	4.42	as above	as above, damaged l	as above but different monograms	c.24BC A.D.50	Hill, Arabia 60/32	Şan'a'	AMRU
49	AR 20	4.90	as above	Within a wreath beardless male head r, laureate, resembling Augustus; the wreath is tied below with X, behind head, 	as no. 45	c.24BC A.D.50	<u>ibid.</u>	Şan'a'	AMRU

50	AR 22	4.50	on l, on r,		Within a wreath, showing pellet in crescent, beardless male head r, leaureate, resembling Augustus	as above but different monograms	c.24 B.C.- A.D.50	Hill, Arabia 61/34	Şan'ā'	AMRU
51	AR 24	4.90	on l, on r,	()? 	as no. 50	as above	c.24 B.C.- A.D.50	<u>ibid.</u>	Şan'ā'	AMRU
52	AR 23	5.4	as above		as above	as above	c.24 B.C.- A.D.50	<u>ibid.</u>	Şan'ā'	AMRU
53	AR 21	4.97	as above		as above	as above	c.24 B.C.- A.D.50	<u>ibid.</u>	Şan'ā'	
54	AR 22.3	5.16	as no. 51		as no. 51	as above.	c.24 B.C.- A.D.50	<u>ibid.</u>	N.'Umluj -S. al-Wajh area	Private collection in Saudi Arabia
55	AR 15.3	2.49	as no. 50 but no)		as no. 50	as above	c.24 B.C.- A.D.50	Hill, Arabia 62/42	Şan'ā' (half unit)	AMRU

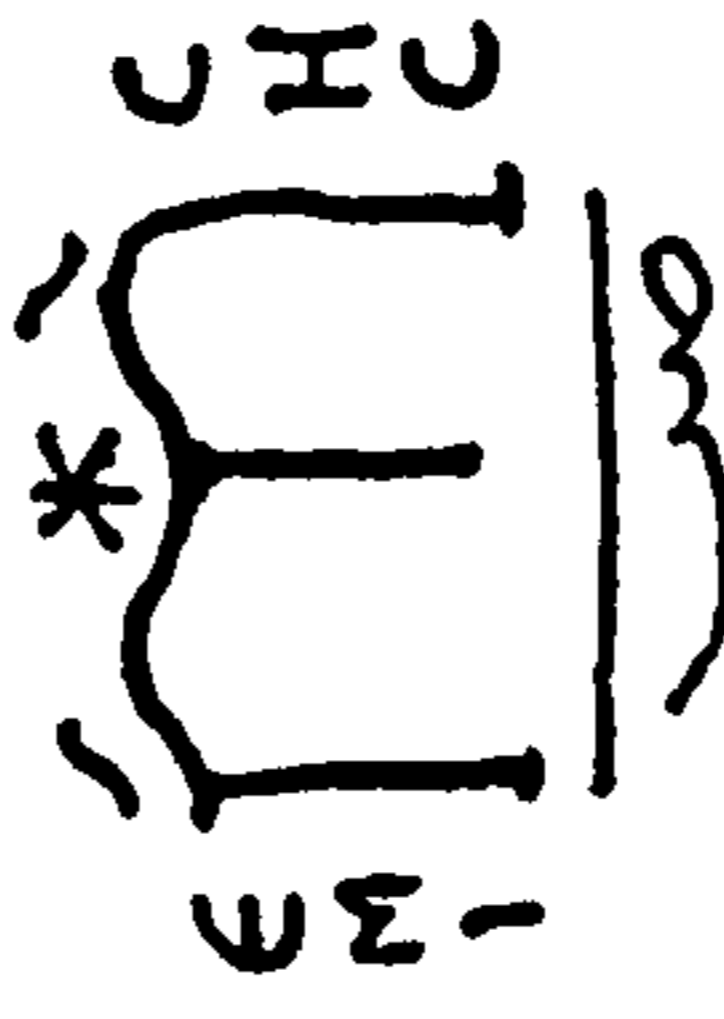
56	AR SS	5.12	on l. on r.		as no. 45	as no. 45 but different monograms	c.100- 24 BC	Hill, Arabia 57/16	Şan'ā'	AMRU
57	AR 20	4.97	on l. on r.		as no. 42	as no. 42 but different monograms	c.100- 24 BC	Hill, Arabia 57/14	N.'Umluj -S. al- Wajh area	Private collec- tion in Saudi Arabia
58	AR 12	2.62	on l. on r.		as no. 56	as no. 56	c.100- 24 BC	Hill, Arabia 58/19	Şan'ā' (half unit)	AMRU
59	AR 6.3	1.48			Anonymous	Anonymous			Şan'ā' for full details about 59, 60, 61, see Hill, Arabia, pp. 64- 67	AMRU


No.	Metal	Wt. (g)	Mint	Obverse	Reverse	Date of Issue	Pub. Ref.	Find-Name and Comments	Present location in Saudi Arabia
60	AR 8-9	1.90		Anonymous	Anonymous			Şan 'ā'	AMRU
61	AR 8	1.52		Anonymous	Anonymous			Şan 'ā'	AMRU
62	AE 19	5.2		No traces of inscription	No traces of inscription, but cross lines 			Ta'iz, unique, unidentified coin of Arabian provenance, perhaps Sabaean coin, Minaean coin, Qatabanian copper issue, or Himyarite one	Private collection in Saudi Arabia

UMAYYAD COINS

Pre-Reform (Silver) Type

No.	Metal Dia. mm.	Wt. (g)	Mint	Obverse	Reverse	Date of Issue	Pub. Ref.	Find-Name and Comments	Present location in Saudi Arabia
63	AR 32.5	2.89	Merv	Sassanian bust (Khusrau II)	Sassanian fire altar and attendants; mint signature no. 40=MR; (i.e., Merv); date YAJVIST.	21Y.E.=(A.H. 32).	Walker, I 5/ETN.1	No Kufic obverse marginal legend	AMRU and DAT
64	AR 30.9	3.4	Nihavand	as above	as above; mint signature no. 43=NH; date YAJHL.	A.H. 40	Walker, I 51/B.10	as above	AMRU

65	AR 22.3	2.47	al-Raiy	Sassanian bust, legend on: I. AUBITALA I. I. ZIYATAN م. ۞ ۞ ۞ الله as no. but I. legend obliterated (AFZUT GDH) م. (سرف)? Trace of Sassanian bust, I legend (KHUSRAU)?	as above; mint signature no. 48=RD; date HSHTSHST	A.H. 68	Walker, I 69/B.16	AMRU	
66	AR 32.8	2.96	Bishāpūr		as above; mint signature no. 12 = Bish; date (PNJAH)?	year 50	Walker, I 21/33	AMRU and DAT	
67	AR 32.7	2.98			Traces of usual Sassanian fire altar, mint signature obliterated; date YAJDH=year 11?			AMRU	
<u>Pre-Reform (Copper) Type</u>									
68	AE 22.3	4.70	Himş	Bust, Byzantine style I KAAON I ۞ Standing Caliph type; ins. mostly obliterated (المعبد الله امير المؤمنين)		c.A.D. 640	Walker, II 20/57	Nuzhat	
69	AE 23	2.9	Himş		۞ downwards I 5-pointed star م. لا اله الا الله وحده محمد (رسول الله)	A.D. 685-705	Walker, II 35/118	AMRU	

70	AE 17	3.95	Sarmīn	Standing Caliph, standing with 1 hand grasping sheathed sword and 1 hand laid on pommel; marginal ins. obscure, 1 downwards: (?) حاه له 1 ins. obliterated, traces of outer beaded circle		c.A.D. 670- 685	Walker, II 28/94	AMRU
71	AE 19.8			Post-Reform (Copper) Type Within incomplete circle: لا اله الا الله in f. لا اله الا الله marginal ins.: (لاشر) يك له ضرب هذا الفليس but rest ins. off flan	Within incomplete circle: f. محمد الله رسول marginal ins.: امير المؤمنين... عبد الله partly visible (or off flan) مد ولا			Shamma
72	AE 20	2.62		Within two intersecting squares forming an octagon: لا اله الا الله وحدوه	Within a square: محمد الله رسول outside marginal inscription: (بسم) الله (امر) به الامير (ال) وليد بن اليد f. (بال) موصل	A.H. 114- 121	Walker, II 283/933	AMRU

¹ Al-Walīd ibn Talīd was the governor of al-Mūṣīl during these years, Walker II, p. 283.

73	AE 10	1.81	لا اله الا الله الله الله	(ر)سول ل وحيده	Naqsha- bandi, I, 103/103	AMRU
111	AV 18.2	3.75	لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له in margin (محمد) رسول الله ارسله	محمد رسول الله جعفر in margin: ست ثمنين ومائه . . .	A.H. 180 <u>ibid.</u>	private collection in al-Medina
74	AE 21.2	3.4	لا اله الا الله وحده	محمد رسول الله	C.A.D 700 Walker, I 210/638	Nuzhat
75	AE 17.2	2.95	Inscription as above but 5-pointed star at top of <u>hā'</u> in the word Allāh	Inscription as above	C.A.D 700 Walker, I 210/638	AMRU
76	AE 14.5	3.5	Inscription as above but without star	لا اله الا الله وحده	C.A.D 700	Nāfi'
77	AE 17.5	2.71	Inscription as above	Inscription as no. 74 but star at top of the <u>mīm</u> in the word Muḥammad	C.A.D 700 Walker, II 210/638	'Ikrish
78	AE 15.9	2.92	لا اله الا الله بعبك	محمد رسول الله	C.A.D 700 Walker, II 237/766	Nuzhat

79	AE 17.1	3.15	Damascus	<p>لا اله الا الله رسول الله (وحد) له ضرب بدمشق</p> <p>m</p>	<p>محمد رسول الله (الله)</p> <p>ضرب بدمشق</p> <p>m</p>	c.A.D 700	No similar (with دمشق on both sides) has been published	M.Hakim
80	AE	2.7	Mecca	<p>لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له</p> <p>m</p>	<p>* محمد رسول الله مكة</p>	c.A.D 700	al-Fur, unique	
81	AE		al-Medina	<p>Within a triple (or quadruple) circle: لا اله الا الله وحده</p> <p>m</p>	<p>Within a circle محمد رسول الله</p> <p>outside marginal inscription: ضرب بالمدينة معدن امير المؤمنين faint traces of outer circle</p>		unique	Shamma
82	AV 18.2	4.18	—	<p>لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له</p> <p>f</p> <p>محمد رسول الله ارسله باليهدى ودين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله</p> <p>m</p>	<p>الله احد الله الصدق لم يلد ولم يولد</p> <p>f</p> <p>بسم الله ضرب هذا الدين في سنة ثمان وسبعين</p> <p>m</p>	A.H. 78	Purchased from al-Medina	AMRU
83	AV 18.9	4.24	—	<p>ins. as above</p>	<p>ins. as above but في سنة تسع وسبعين</p>	A.H.	Purchased from al-Medina	AMRU

79	AE 17.1	3.15	Damascus	<p>لا اله الا الله الاله وحده ضرب بدمشق</p> <p>m</p>	<p>محمد رسول الله (ه) ضرب بدمشق</p> <p>m</p>	C.A.D 700	No similar (with مشق on both sides) has been published	
80	AE	2.7	Mecca	<p>لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له</p> <p>m</p>	<p>* محمد رسول الله مكة</p>	C.A.D 700	al-Fur' unique	M.Hakim
81	AE		al-Medina	<p>Within a triple (or quadruple) circle: لا اله الا الله وحده</p>	<p>Within a circle محمد رسول الله outside marginal inscription: ضرب بالمدينة معدن امير المؤمنين faint traces of outer circle</p>		unique	Shamma
82	AV 18.2	4.18	—	<p>لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له</p> <p>m</p> <p>محمد رسول الله ارسله بالبهدى ودين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله</p>	<p>f</p> <p>الله احد الله الصد لم يلد ولم يولد بسم الله ضرب هذا الداير في سنة ثمان وسبعين</p>	A.H. 78	Purchased from al-Medina	AMRU
83	AV 18.9	4.24	—	<p>ins. as above</p>	<p>ins. as above but في سنة تسع وسبعين</p>	A.H.	Purchased from al-Medina	AMRU

84	AV 18.8	4.22	—	Ins. as above	Ins. as above but في سنة ثمنين	A.H. 80	Walker, II Purchased from al-Medina	AMRU
85	AV 19	4.25	—	Ins. as above	Ins. as above but without the في before the date اثنتين وثمنين	A.H. 82	Walker, II 86/192 Purchased from al-Medina في before the date is omitted from year 1 81 onwards	AMRU
86	AV 17.8	3.98	—	Ins. as above	Ins. as above but اربع وثمنين	A.H. 84	Walker, II 86/194 Purchased from al-Medina	AMRU
87	AV 18.5	—	—	Ins. as above	Ins. as above but تسعين	A.H. 90	Walker, II 88/201 Purchased from al-Medina	AMRU
88	AV	4.22	Ma'di Amīr al-Mu'minīn	f لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له معدن امير المؤمنين m as no.	f الله احد الله الحمد لم يلد ولم يولد بسم الله ضرب هذا الدائير سنة احدى وتسعين	A.H. 91	Miles, "A unique Umayyad Dinar of 91 H/A.D. 709-10" in <u>Revue</u> <u>Numismat-</u> <u>ique, vie</u> <u>série,</u> Tome XIV, (Paris, 1972), pp. 264-268	Shamma

89	AV 19.6	4.22	—	Ins. as no. 82	Ins. as no. 82. but point below B of <u>duriba</u> and تنتين وتسعين	A.H. 92	Fahmy, Fajr 296/34	Purchased from al-Medina	AMRU
90	AV 19.9	4.23	—	Ins. as above	Ins. as no. 82 but الـ بع وتسعين	A.H. 94	Walker, II 90/207	Purchased from al-Medina	AMRU
91	AV 19.4	4.25	—	Ins. as above	Ins. as above but خمس وتسعين	A.H. 95	Fahmy	Purchased from al-Medina	AMRU
92	AV 19.8	4.26	—	Ins. as above	Ins. as above but منه	A.H. 100	Walker, II 92/216	Purchased from al-Medina	AMRU
93	AV 20	4.20	Ma'din Amir al- Mu'minin bi al-Hijaz	Ins. as above	Ins. as above but in m خمس ومنه in f معدن أمير المؤمنين بالحجاز	A.H. 105	Walker, II 103/ANS 16a	unspecified	Shamma (of Jeddah)
94	AV 19.6	4.24	—	Ins. as above	Ins. as above but ست ومنه	A.H. 106	Walker, II 94/225	Purchased from al-Medina	AMRU
95	AV 19.5	4.25	—	Ins. as above	Ins. as above but تسع ومنه	A.H. 109	Walker, II	Purchased from al-Medina	AMRU
96	AV 19.8	4.26	—	Ins. as above	Ins. as above but أحدى عشر ومنه	A.H. 111	Walker, II 95/231	Purchased from al-Medina	AMRU
97	AV 19	4.26	—	Ins. as above	Ins. as above but عشرين ومنه	A.H. 120	Walker, II 97/240	Purchased from al-Medina	AMRU

98	AV 19.8	4.26	—	Ins. as above	Ins. as above but احدى وعشرين ومئه	A.H. 121	Walker, II 97/241	Purchased from al-Medina	AMRU
99	AV 19.6	4.25	—	Ins. as above	Ins. as above but ثنتين وعشرين ومئه	A.H. 122	Walker, II 97/242	Purchased from al-Medina	AMRU
100	AV 20	4.23	—	Ins. as above	Ins. as above but خمسة وعشرين ومئه	A.H. 125	Walker, II 98/245	Purchased from al-Medina	AMRU
101	AV 18.8	4.26	—	Ins. as above	Ins. as above but ثمان وعشرين ومئه	A.H. 128	Walker, II 98/248	Purchased from al-Medina	AMRU
102	AV 19.7	4.26	—	Ins. as above	Ins. as above but تسع وعشرين ومئه	A.H. 129	Walker, II 98/249	Purchased from al-Medina	AMRU
103	AV 19.8	4.26	—	Ins. as above	Ins. as above but احدى وثلاثين ومئه	A.H. 131	Walker, II 99/251	Purchased from al-Medina	AMRU
104	AR 26	2.80	Wāṣit	لا ايه الا الله وحده لا شريك له بسم الله ضرب الدرهم في سنه تسع وثمانين 5 small annulets	الله احد الله الصد لم يلد و لم يولد ولم يكن له كفوا احد m traces of 4 annulets (edge cut top I)	A.H. 89	Walker, II 192/531		AMRU and Nuzhat

105	AR 27	2.82	Wāṣiṭ	Ins. as above but في سنة اثنين وتسعين faint traces of 5 annulets	Ins. as above and faint trace of ٥٥٥٥٥ (edge cut bottom)	A.H. 92	Walker, II 193/535	Purchased from Hijāz	AMRU
106	AR 24	2.67	Wāṣiṭ	Ins. as above but في سنة ست وتسعين (clipped)	Ins. as above	A.H. 96	Walker, II 193/541		AMRU
107	AR 24.8	2.70	Wāṣiṭ	Ins. as above but سنة خمس ومئة and in margin (holed)	Ins. as above (holed)	A.H. 105	Walker, II 195/548		AMRU
108	AR 26	2.80	Wāṣiṭ	Ins. as above but سنة عثر ومئة and ٥٥ (clipped bottom)	Ins. as above	A.H. 110	Walker, II 196/558		AMRU
109	AR 26	2.90	Wāṣiṭ	Ins. as above but سنة اثنتي عشر ومئة and ٥	Ins. as above	A.H. 112	Walker, II 196/560		AMRU
110	AR 26	2.69	Wāṣiṭ	Ins. as above but (سنة) خمس وعشرين ومئة 5 annulets in margin (holed)	Ins. as above	A.H. 125	Walker, II 199/577		AMRU

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SUMMARY

Chapter II

The main results obtained from the survey of the accounts of the mediaeval Arab authors are as follows: firstly, they supply a rich variety of coin names but in fact Sassanian silver dirhams may have been mentioned under different individual names during the jāhiliyya, early Islamic, and Umayyad periods. Similarly, several types of Byzantine gold coins used in pre-Islamic and early Islamic Arabia may have been referred to one descriptive type (i.e, the Qaisariyya dinars). None of the authors attribute specific types to specific periods or emperors.

In spite of these handicaps, the accounts do constitute an essential source material for a study of pre-Islamic and early Islamic Arabia currency history; they also offer useful indications about currencies both imported and local, which circulated in the main commercial centres at various times. They furthermore give valuable information concerning the fates of these currencies, i.e., they indicate the continuous circulation of only the Byzantine gold coins and the Sassanian silver coins during the very early Islamic period. They also provide some idea of the countries from which the gold and silver coins arrived to Mecca from Syria and Persia respectively. The textual sources provide, however, no indications about the routes along which the Byzantine gold coins and the Sassanian silver coins entered Arabia.

All the mediaeval Arab authors without exception agree that the Prophet gave his approval to confirm the weight standard of pre-Islamic coins. He accepted all the special weights of Quraish during the jāhiliyya time. Both al-Balādhurī and al-Maqrīzī state that the mithqāl had never been changed since its first use during the pre-Islamic or Islamic times.

The earliest date for minting activity in Arabia during the early Islamic period is given by al-Maqrīzī and Abū Ya'ālā as the years of 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubair (680-692/61-73).

Chapter III

It should be borne in mind that most of the results which were obtained from the study of Islam and the Currency indicate that the unity of Arabia, for the first time under one main authority, resulted directly or indirectly in providing a clearer impression about the coins circulating there than during the preceding years. The period of the Prophet and his four successors witnesses the disappearance of the Ḥimyarite silver coins and the continuance of both the Byzantine gold coins and the Sassanian silver coins. New institutions such as zakāt, 'ushr, etc., relating to the income of the state can be used to prove that the weight standards of the Byzantine gold coins and the Sassanian silver dirhams furnished the prototypes for the Muslim coinage.

In respect of minting activities, no mint was established during the years of Muḥammad, his four successors, and Mu'āwiya I in Arabia. No numismatic evidence up till now appears to endorse the Syriac and Arabic statements that Mu'āwiya I issued gold coins of pre-reform type. However,

the discovery of the dinars of post-reform type bearing the name Mu'āwīya I will, if they are genuine, change our thinking relating to the Arab coinage.

Both Mu'āwīya I and 'Abd al-Malik had been forced to pay tributes of 1,000 and 2,000 of gold coins to Constans II and Justinian II. This indicated that the gold coins must be of pure Byzantine type.

At the same time, the indirect reasons for the reform of the coinage by 'Abd al-Malik were linked with the internal political and economic situation in the caliphate. This was ripe for it and was economically far healthier than that prevailing in the Byzantine empire. The reform of the gold coinage took place in A.H. 77, of the silver A.H. 79, and of the copper c. A.D. 700. This reform laid the foundations for the issue of "the severe, non-pictorial, epigraphical type, which by and large was to characterize Islamic coinage throughout the centuries."¹

With regard to the reform of the coinage, the statements given by the mediaeval Arab authors are in accord with the numismatic evidence that 'Abd al-Malik issued the first purely epigraphical coins.

Chapter IV

The coins found in Arabia provide the basic outlines of the type of currency in use there, but sometimes they raise more questions than they answer. Although the survey set out in Coin Finds and Their Distribution in ancient Arabia gives useful results (i.e., the type of currencies circulated), further results could perhaps be obtained if the materials of this chapter were to be studied from all possible angles.

The study of the coin finds, particularly the mixed

¹ Miles, "The Earliest Arab Gold Coinage", in ANSMN, 1967, 13, p. 205.

one of al-Khubar which contains drachmas of Kubad II (A.D. 499-532), Arab-Sassanian dirhams, post-reform dirhams, and post-reform Abbasid dirhams, indicates that the silver coins were used by weight (al marco) in ancient al-Baḥrain. The circulation of Sassanian coins in al-Baḥrain was not mentioned in the accounts of the mediaeval Arab historians.

The coins from the find of al-Fur' which contains Umayyad fulūs of both pre-reform and post-reform types shows were current together in al-Fur' region. The unique Meccan issue (from the find of al-Fur') is the earliest coin to bear the name Mecca. This specimen is not an unskilled product of an inexperienced engraver.

The various coin finds up to 1973 do not provide a complete chronological series of the Byzantine empire between about the fifth to eight centuries A.D. or the Umayyad caliphate from 'Abd al-Malik's reign up to the fall of the caliphate.

Attention has been called for the first time to the history of numismatics in Arabia during 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubair's rule. Perhaps he issued coins from his headquarters in Mecca as he ordered Muṣ'ab to issue dirhams in al-'Irāq. After interpretation of the Kufic word مدور on a unique fals and the statement given by al-Maqrīzī and Abū Ya'lā that 'Ab Allāh ibn al-Zubair issued the mudawwar dirham from the mint of Mecca, we reach the conclusion that the word mudawwar must be read as mudawwar but we cannot venture to attribute this fals of post-reform type to the reign of 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubair or to the mint of Mecca because additional and better specimens are needed to establish this point. Also, 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubair was killed before the reform of the coinage took place. However, if more numismatic evidence

should appear which is in favour of the view that the coin bearing the word mudawwar was struck during ibn al-Zubair's reign in Mecca, then this will make a fundamental change in the study of the Umayyad coinage and will open a new chapter in the numismatic history of Islamic Arabia.

Our next subject of study is the distribution of coins in Arabia as follows: six different currencies circulated in Arabia from c. 3rd century A.D. up to the 8th century. These are Roman copper coins from 3rd and 4th centuries A.D. and Byzantine gold and copper coins from 5th, 6th, and 7th centuries A.D.; the Sassanian silver type; Arab-Sassanian silver type from 6th and 7th centuries A.D.; Ḥimyarite silver coins from c. 1st century B.C.; and Umayyad coins of pre-reform type. These latter are of copper and silver only, but the post-reform types are of the three traditional metals.

The distribution of our finds in Arabia is regional in character. The Roman, Byzantine, and Umayyad currencies (excluding the isolated Roman find from Najrān and the Umayyad dirhams from the hoard of al-Khubar) were from the northern part of Arabia including the regions of Mecca and al-Medina. The Sassanian silver drachmas and the Arab-Sassanian type were current mainly in ancient al-Baḥrain and the Mecca region. The Ḥimyarite currency was from South Arabia, excluding the isolated find from al-Wajh, the region of north of 'Umluj.

Chapter V

The main results obtained in this chapter are as follows. Although Islam inherited no minting activities, the Prophet and 'Umar I dealt with the question of minting when Muḥammad asked the populace not to break down the coins current amongst them, and 'Umar I was asked by the delegation of

al-'Iraq to reduce the weight standard of the dirhams. The statements concerned indicate from the theoretical though not from the practical point of view that the Prophet, and following him the caliph, was the source of authority.

The reign of Mu'āwiya marks the initial steps when Ziyād, his right hand in Iraq, issued dirhams with the name of Mu'āwiya I. In minting terms, 'Abd al-Malik's reign was the first stage towards the caliph imposing his own authority over the mints of Syria and ordering al-Ḥajjāj to take steps towards control over the mints in the east. The really effective stage of central control was during the reign of Hishām, when the centralization of minting of silver reached its peak. However, his provincial governor al-Qasrī who acted on behalf of the caliph did not completely succeed in centralizing the minting of dirhams in Wāṣiṭ.

Umayyad Arabia minted an unmistakably post-reform type of coin and there is no difference between the issues of Arabia and both Syria and al-'Iraq (with the exception of course of the name of the mint). This result may also apply to the gold dinars with the name Ma'din Amīr al-Mu'minīn bi al-Ḥijāz, whether the assumption that the designation ma'din was engraved with the sense of "mint" is correct or otherwise.

With regard to the ancient mines, gold mines of two types (open-tip and underground) operated during the first century B.C. and the 1st century A.D. in north and south of ancient Arabia. Both mediaeval Arab sources and geological reports indicate that mining operations took place also in Islamic Arabia. The number of gold mines is about ten times greater than the number of silver mines. The presence of Zoroastrians in the mining area of Shamām in central Arabia,

together with the statements that 'Umar I was killed by Abū Lu'lu'āt al-Majūsī may cast doubt on the traditional statement that 'Umar I drove the non-Muslims from Arabia entirely.

CONCLUSIONS

A few concluding remarks may be in order. The discovery of Byzantine gold and Sassanian silver coins in Saudi Arabia agrees well with the extensive statements by the literary authorities. Neither these Arabic sources nor the classical European books, however, give details about the circulation of Greek, Axumite, and Nabataean coins in ancient Arabia. The mediaeval Arab source which mentions the coins which circulated during pre-Islamic times in Mecca, on the other hand, did not attribute specific types to specific periods or rulers. Furthermore, these literary authorities never refer to the circulation of such coins in ancient al-Baḥrain, al-Yamāma, northern al-Ḥijāz, and al-Yemen. These works also provide no indication concerning the minting activities in pre-Islamic Arabia. The coins had been used as bullion as well as being used according to their coin value in Mecca during the years preceding the Hijra (A.D. 622). The Quraishī merchants when dealing with people of external areas such as Syria might have used Byzantine gold coins; perhaps they used the Ḥimyarite and Sassanian silver coins when they dealt with the people of Yemen particularly when Yemen was ruled by the Sassanians. This might, perhaps, partly explain the finds of Byzantine and Sassanian coins in Mecca.

All the mediaeval Arab authors without exception agree that the Prophet gave his approval to confirm the weight standard of the Byzantine gold coin and the Sassanian dirham.

It is impossible to avoid the conclusion that Muḥammad based the new Islamic institutions on the Byzantine and Sassanian coins only, and not on the native Ḥimyarite dirhams, though all three currencies were alike in bearing effigies. It is probable this was so because the Ḥimyarite coins in circulation were fewer in number. The earliest dates for Islamic mints functioning in Arabia is A.H.90/708-709--several centuries after minting stopped from c. A.D. 300. One of the important conclusions which we have reached is that the Umayyad regime, who opened the new mints in Arabia, did not revive any old Nabataean or Ḥimyarite mints. Of Ḥimyarite influence on the Islamic coins, there is no sign. However, the term wrqm is the only word mentioned in both South Arabian inscriptions and the Qur'ān.

We might add that our study of the coin finds in Arabia should contribute useful information towards a better knowledge of the way in which Roman coins circulated between Syria and India, from the third century A.D. The find spots of the coins discovered in Saudi Arabia (i.e, Roman, Byzantine, Sassanian, Ḥimyarite, and Umayyad coins) are mainly located in areas not far from the main traditional trade route and in inhabited sites and can be assumed to be associated with them.

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Appendix A

On Coins¹

Al-Ḥusa'in ibn al-Aswad states that he learned the following from Yaḥyā ibn 'Ādam, who had been told it by al-Ḥasan ibn Ṣāliḥ:

"The dirhams struck by non-Arabs (al-A'ājim) included both big and small dirhams. From these dirhams they minted the mithqāls, which weighed twenty qīrāṭs. From these they struck a weight of twelve qīrāṭs and one of ten qīrāṭs, which equalled half a mithqāl."

Thus at the time of Islam, the Zakāt was fixed at an average weight which was found by taking the total of 20 + 10 + 12 qīrāṭs (42 qīrāṭs) divided by 3, which is 14 qīrāṭs, as the standard. Thus the Arabic dirham weighed 14 qīrāṭs in accordance with the legal dinar. Ten dirhams weighed seven mithqāls, and a hundred and forty qīrāṭs was equivalent to seven.

Another person has stated that the non-Arabs' dirhams were as follows:

1. Ten dirhams weighed ten mithqāls.
2. Ten dirhams weighed six mithqāls.
3. Ten dirhams weighed five mithqāls.

¹ This is a translation of a section on coins in al-Balādurī's Futūḥ al-Buldān, edited by de Goeje in 1866, and by 'Abd Allāh Anīs al-Ṭabbā' and 'Umar Anīs al-Ṭabbā' (Damascus, 1957).

A third of the total of the three kinds is seven mithqāls. Thus they minted dirhams to the standard of 10 dirhams = 7 mithqāls. However the two accounts give the same results. Muḥammad ibn Sa'ad said that Muḥammad ibn 'Umar al-Aslamī said that 'Uthmān ibn 'Abd-Allāh ibn Mawhib said that his father said 'Abd-Allāh ibn Tha'laba ibn Ṣu'air said:

"The coins which were in circulation in Mecca during the Jāhiliyya were the Heraclius dinars and the Baghḥliyya Persian dirhams, and the people in Mecca used to use these coins by the standard of weight, not of value. In addition, previously a mithqāl was known to them which weighed 22 qīrāṭs minus a fraction, and 10 dirhams were equivalent to 7 mithqāls. And also the raḥl weighed 12 ounces, and each ounce equalled 40 dirhams. It had been confirmed that this was the case at the time of the Prophet and Abū-Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān, 'Alī and Mu'āwiya. Then a few dirhams were issued by Muṣ'ab ibn al-Zubair during the time of 'Abd-Allāh ibn al-Zubair, and destroyed afterwards.

When 'Abd al-Malik came to power, he investigated the state of the dirhams and dinars. He wrote to al-Ḥajjāj asking him to mint dirhams according to a standard of 15 qīrāṭs weighing one dirham, with the qīrāṭs being based on the dinar, while 'Abd al-Malik issued Damascus dinars. 'Uthmān ascribed to his father this saying:

"These coins have been in al-Mēdina where there was a group of the Prophet's Companions, and al-Tāb'īn and none of them made any complaint about them. Muḥammad ibn Sa'd said that the weight of one of our dirhams is equivalent to 14 qīrāṭs on the basis of the Islamic mithqāl, which equals 20 qīrāṭs. On the other hand, our dirhams equal 15 qīrāṭs from 21 and three sevenths. Muḥammad ibn Sa'd said that he

was told by Muḥammad ibn 'Umar that Ishāq ibn Ḥāzim said that al-Muḥṭalib ibn al-Sā'ib said that abī Wadā'a. al-Sahmī said that he was shown the mithqāl's weight and said:

"I found this weight equivalent to 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān's mithqāl,"

He stated that this mithqāl was in the possession of abī Wadā'a. ibn Ḍubaira. al-Sahmī during the Jāhiliyya.

Muḥammad ibn Sa'd told me that al-Wāqidī said that Sa'id ibn Muslim ibn Bābik said that 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Thābit al-Jumaḥī said:

"The special weights of Quraish during the Jāhiliyya were confirmed at the coming of Islam, and Quraish weighed silver by a weight called the dirham, while the gold weight was called the dinar; thus each ten dirham-weight equalled seven dinar-weights. In addition, they used the grain of barley as a weight and sixty of these weighed a dirham, while the ounce measured forty dirhams. The nush weighed twenty dirhams, whereas the nawah (date-stone) equalled five dirhams. As a rule, all Quraishī commercial dealings utilised these measures or weights, and Muḥammad accepted their use as well.

Muḥammad ibn Sa'd on the authority of al-Wāqidī said that Rabī'a. ibn 'Uthmān from Waheb ibn Kaisān said:

"The dinars and dirhams which I saw before 'Abd al-Malik's reign were without an inscription or effigy (*asgnas*) and had the same weight as 'Abd al-Malik's dinars. Muḥammad ibn Sa'd al-Wāqidī said on the authority of 'Uthmān ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Mawhib on the authority of his father said:

"I asked Sa'id ibn al-Musayyab about the first person to issue the inscribed dinars. He replied that it was 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān, and added that the coins which

were imported to Mecca were the Roman¹ dinars, Kisrawiyya dirhams and a few Ḥimyarite dirhams."

In addition Sa'īd stated:

"I sent some ore for minting to Damascus, where they minted it according to the Jāhiliyya mithqāl."

Muḥammad ibn Sa'īd said that on the authority of Sufyān ibn 'Uyayna' who was the first struck on the weight of that seven was al-Ḥārith ibn 'Abd-Allāh ibn abī-Rabī'a. al-Makhzūmī during the time of ibn al-Zubair."

Muḥammad ibn Sa'īd said that Muḥammad ibn 'Umar said that ibn abī al-Zanād on the authority of his father said:

"'Abd al-Malik was the first person to mint gold, in A.H. 74, which is known as the year of the Unity (Jamā'a)." And abū al-Ḥasan al-Madā'inī said:

"al-Ḥajjāj issued dirhams at the end of A.H. 75 and sent his orders to all regions for them to be issued in A.H. 76."

Dawūd al-Nāqid said that he had heard our old men of religion (Mashā'ikh) from the people of Ḥīra saying that:

"The pious people of Ḥīra used an exchange rate of one hundred to a weight of six, that is, they wanted to get a number of dirhams which equalled sixty mithqāls in weight, and a rate of eight to every hundred meant that they wished to exchange a hundred for a weight of eighty mithqāl dirhams, while a hundred was exchangeable for a weight of a hundred mithqāls. Al-Nāqid said:

"During A.H. 73 I saw in al-Kūfa a dirham which bore that mark, but it was agreed that it was forged. I also saw an unusual dirham, the like of which had never been seen,

¹ I.e., the Byzantine solidus.

having on it 'Uбайд-Allāh ibn Ziyād's name, and this dirham had also been rejected."

Muḥammad ibn Sa'd said that al-Wāqidī said on the authority of Yaḥyā ibn al-Nu'mān al-Ghifārī on the authority of his father said that 'Abd-Allāh ibn al-Zubair issued orders to Muṣ'ab to mint dirhams of the Kisrawiyya type in A.H. 70. Then he issued such dirhams which bore the two words of blessing (baraka and Allāh). Then al-Ḥajjāj changed them, although Hishām ibn al-Kalbī stated that Muṣ'ab struck dirhams and dinars. Dāwūd al-Nāqid said on the authority of abū al-Zubair and al-Nāqid that 'Abd al-Malik issued dinars twice. The first ones in a small quantity, in the year A.H. 74 and the second ones during A.H. 75. Thereafter al-Ḥajjāj minted Baghliyya dirhams, which bore the inscription:

"In the name of God al-Ḥajjāj", and the next year engraved, "He is God, the One and Only; God the Eternal, Absolute."

Because of this the 'ulamā' objected to the dirhams and referred to them as "The Hated" (al-Makrūha); on the other hand it was said that al-A'ājim objected to them because they were lighter in weight. These dirhams were called al-Sumairiyya, being named after Sumair, the first person to mint them.

'Abbās ibn Hishām al-Kalbī told me on the authority of his father 'Awāna ibn al-Ḥakam that al-Ḥajjāj asked about the methods which were used by the Persians for issuing dirhams. Then he established a mint and brought craftsmen to it and al-Ḥajjāj issued the coin for the Caliph. The raw materials were ore, forged silver dirhams and counterfeit money. Then he allowed merchants and others to use the mint. He branded seals on the workers' hands. When 'Umar ibn

Hubaira came to power as governor for the Caliph Yazīd ibn 'Abd al-Malik, he used much purer silver than the previous governor. When Khālid ibn 'Abd-Allāh al-Bujalī and al-Qasrī became the governors of Iraq for the Caliph Hishām ibn 'Abd al-Malik, they used even purer silver. When Yūsuf ibn 'Umar became governor, he raised the standard of purity of the silver again, and he ordered the workers and the money-changers to be careful to keep the standard of silver very high. To enforce these rules, he beat many workers and cut off their hands. Thus the Hubairiyya, Khālidīyya, and Yūsufiyya dirhams became the best quality coins of the Umayyad dynasty. For this reason the Caliph al-Manṣūr would accept no other coins than these among the Umayyad coins; accordingly the very first dirhams were referred to as al-Makrūha.

Appendix B

The following two sections have been translated from the work of al-Maqrīzī, Shudhūr al-'Uqūd fī Dhikr al-Nuqūd ((pp. 3-11) edited with a commentary by Ş. Beḥr al-'Ulūm (al-Najaf, 1967/1387).

A. Section on Ancient Coins

The coins which were used throughout the period were of two kinds:

1. "Black perfect"
2. "Old Ṭabariyya".

They were the coins commonly used by the people. The perfect coins which are called "Baghliyya" are the dirhams of Persia (Sassanian). The dirham is equal to a gold mithqāl. The Jawāz dirhams (i.e. dirhams in circulation) are minus three in every ten mithqāls: (i.e. they are equal to 7 mithqāls) every seven Baghli dirhams are equal to ten of the dirhams in circulation. The people used to use a third kind of dirham called "Juwārqiyya".

The coins which the Arab used during the Jāhiliyya were of gold and silver only. The golden dinars were brought to Arabia from the Romans, and they were called "al-Qayşariyya". The silver dirhams were of two kinds: "the black perfect" and "the old Ṭabariyya". The weight of the dirhams in the Jāhiliyya was double the weight of the dirham at the time of Islam. The silver mithqāl was called a dirham; while the gold mithqāl was called a dinar. The people of Mecca did

not use these weights or standards; they used other weights which they fixed themselves, these weights were: al-raṭl, which weighed twelve ounces; the ounce which weighed forty dirhams; al-raṭl was four hundred and eighty dirhams, and a half-ounce--al-nash of waqiyya; its letter Ṣād changed into Shīn--weighed twenty dirhams. The nawā: (date-stone) weighed five dirhams. The Ṭabarīan dirham weighed eight dāniqs, while the Baghḥlī dirham weighed four dāniqs and vice versa. The Juwārqiyya dirham weighed four dāniqs and a half; and a dāniq weighed eight and two fifths of a ḥabba. This is a medium-size barley grain with its husk after the end has been cut.

The dinar coin was called a dinar because it weighed the same as a dinar but it was made of gold ore; and the dirham was called so for the same reason. The dirham weighed six mithqāls and each mithqāl weighed twenty-two qīrāṭs minus one ḥabba which is equivalent to seventy two barley grains of the size described above. It has been said that the mithqāl had never been changed since its first use during the Jāhiliyya or Islam.

It has been mentioned that whoever invented the weight in ancient times began by taking the mithqāl first. He made its weight sixty grains, each grain being equal to a hundred wild mustard seeds of medium size. Then he struck a weight whose weight was equal to a hundred mustard seeds together with the second weight until the total of weights became five. The Ṣinja weight weighed a 1/12 of a mithqāl, then he multiplied the Ṣinja weight until it reached one third of a mithqāl, and then half a mithqāl; finally a mithqāl. From these he made weights of 5-10 and above a mithqāl. Thus, the weight of a mithqāl is six thousand ḥabbas.

So, with the advent of Islam, the Prophet confirmed all these measures and coins and said:

"The true scale is the scale of Mecca."

Others say that he said:

"The true scale is that of Medina."

The rate of Zakāt imposed by the Prophet was as follows:

Five dirhams on each ounce of pure (not mixed) silver; a nawa weighs five dirhams. He also imposed half a dinar on each twenty dinars.

B. Section on Islamic Coins

From the above we know the rate of Zakāt which was imposed in the coinage of the Jāhiliyya. The Prophet confirmed the coins of the Jāhiliyya as the legal currency of Islam.

The Caliph Abū Bakr followed in the footsteps of the Prophet, leaving the coinage unchanged as it was during the time of the Prophet.

When the second Caliph, 'Umar I, conquered Syria, Iraq, and Egypt, he raised no objection to the currency system used at the time. However, in A.H. 18 which was the eighth year of his reign, delegations came to Medina, including one from al-Baṣra. al-Aḥnaf ibn Qais, a member of the delegation, spoke to 'Umar I about the affairs of the people in al-Baṣra. 'Umar I sent Ma'qil ibn Yassār, who dug a canal which came to be known as "the river of Ma'qil". Then 'Umar I simultaneously brought the Jarīb (land measure) into use and issued dirhams of a typical Kisrawi (Sassanian) type, to which he added inscriptions such as "Thank God" on some; "Muḥammad is the messenger of God" on others; "No God but Allāh" on others; and "'Umar" on the rest, during his era. (Each ten

dirhams weighed six mithqāls.)

When the third Caliph, 'Uthmān, came to power, he issued dirhams with the following inscription "God is Great".

After Mu'āwiya's victory he made Ziyād ibn Abīh the governor of Kūfa and al-Baṣra. During a meeting with Mu'āwiya Ziyād said:

"Oh commander of the faithful, the good servant 'Umar I increased the size of the Qafīz and reduced the weight of the dirham, and the salaries of the soldiers and their families were to be paid in this kind of dirham. He was seeking the good of his subjects. If you issue a lower standard than the dirham of 'Umar I, the people will be better off, and you will be remembered with favour."

The caliph then issued dirhams called "reduced black", each one of which weighed six dāniq, equal to fifteen qīrāṭs, minus one or two ḥabbas. The governor Ziyād introduced dirhams of this type, and every ten of these dirhams weighed seven mithqāls. He inscribed them and they were used as dirhams.

Afterwards, Mu'āwiya issued dinars with an image girded with a sword. An imperfect dinar was brought to Mu'āwiya by an old man from the army who said:

"Oh Mu'āwiya we have found your coinage the worst ever struck."

The Caliph then replied:

"I shall deprive you of your salary but I shall, instead provide you with the velvet clothes you need."

The Caliph 'Abd-Allāh ibn al-Zubair struck circular dirhams in Mecca. He was the first one to strike circular dirhams, in contrast with the previous ones which were smooth, thick and short but not round. In addition to the above, he struck on one face of the dirham "Muhammad is God's messenger",

and on the other "God commands people to be loyal and just." Meanwhile in Iraq, Ibn al-Zubair's brother, Muṣ'ab issued dirhams. Their standard was that every ten dirhams was equal to seven mithqāls; he paid part of the soldiers' salaries in this currency. Then, Caliph 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān appointed al-Ḥajjāj governor of Iraq, who announced:

"We do not want anything from the godless or the hypocrites."

He subsequently changed the currency. When 'Abd al-Malik consolidated his power--after the murder of the two sons of al-Zubair, 'Abd Allāh and Muṣ'ab--he reviewed the currency, weights and measures. In A.H. 76, he issued dinars and dirhams. He made the weight of the dinar twenty-two qīrāṭs minus a Syrian ḥabba, and the dirham weighed fifteen qīrāṭs. Each qīrāṭ was equal to four ḥabbas; each dāniq $2\frac{1}{2}$ qīrāṭs. These coins were struck also in the mints of Iraq. He ordered al-Ḥajjāj to strike coins in Iraq, and he accordingly did so.

These coins reached Medina while there were many of the Prophet's Companions living there. They approved everything relating to the coins except the images on them. However, the famous Tābi'ī Sa'īd ibn al-Musayyab used these coins without any objection whatsoever.

'Abd al-Malik minted dinars of the same weight standard as the Syrian (al-Shāmī) mithqāls: two hundred Syrian mithqāls being equal to two dinars.

The reason why the Caliph struck coins is given in the words of Khālid ibn Yazīd:

"Oh Commander of the Faithful the people who received religion before us have mentioned that they found in their books that the man who glorified God through inscriptions on coins will live a long life."

Subsequently, the Caliph issued the first purely Islamic coins.

It is said that the 'Abd al-Malik wrote a letter to the Byzantine Emperor. At the head of the letter he wrote a phrase from the Qurān "say God is one", and he mentioned the Prophet together with the date. The Byzantine Emperor did not like this saying:

"If you do not omit this phrase I will abuse your Prophet."

The Caliph was offended and discussed the matter with the people; Khālid ibn Yazīd advised him to produce dies and abolish the Byzantine dinars. This he did; the man who minted the dirhams was a Jew from Taimā' called Sumair, and the dirhams were named after him (Sumairī dirhams) after which the Caliph sent the dies to al-Ḥajjāj, who distributed them among the various regions of the Islamic state.

The Caliph sent his orders to all the regions, asking the governors to inform him about the amount of money which was collected monthly, and to send it to him to be counted. All the dirhams were to be struck according to the Islamic die and to be brought to him as soon as minted. He levied one dirham on each hundred as the cost of firewood and the wages of the workers involved. On one face of the dirham he inscribed, "God is One", and on the other side, "No God but Allāh."

Moreover, he put margins on the two sides of the dirhams and engraved in one margin the phrase, "This dirham was struck in such-and-such a city", and in the other margin, "Muḥammad is the Messenger of God".

However, it is said that it was al-Ḥajjāj who had his coins inscribed with the words: "God is One". The reason

for issuing these dirhams was that 'Abd al-Malik gave thought to the interests of the community and announced:

"The 'perfect black' dirhams and the 'old Ṭabarīan' dirhams will remain for ever."

It was stated that the Zakāt of 5 dirhams had to be paid on every 200 dirhams and the same on every 5 ounces, and the Caliph therefore feared that if he decided to impose the Zakāt on 200 of the "perfect black" the rate of Zakāt would be decreased, while if the Zakāt was levied on the "Ṭabarīan" dirhams, it would be unjust for the rich. Accordingly he kept the balance between the two kinds of dirhams, and the Zakāt was levied without doing any harm to the people and in accordance with the Prophet's doctrine. Previously people had to pay the Zakāt on two kinds of dirhams, the small ones and the big ones. When 'Abd al-Malik and the people had reached agreement on his decision, he weighed a perfect dirham and a small one and he found that the perfect one weighed 8 dāniq, while the other was 4 dāniq precisely. He therefore also confirmed the mithqāl's weight which was fixed permanently. Thereby 10 perfect dirhams weighed 6 dāniq each, while every small dirham weighed exactly 7 mithqāls.

There were three advantages in the changes made by 'Abd al-Malik: the first is that 7 mithqāls weighed 10 dirhams; the second that he equated the "perfect black" and the small dirhams, whereby the dirham weighed became 6 dāniqs; the third that his action was in accordance with the Sunna, that is, it followed the Prophet's precepts by neither reducing nor increasing the Zakāt. As mentioned above, the weight standard of this legal dirham was based on general agreement, and the weight of 10 dirhams was 7 mithqāls, while one dirham weighed 50 and two fifths of ḥabba of barley. On 'Abd al-Malik's

dirhams were based the raṭl, Qadaḥ, (a dry measure), and Ṣā' and other dry measures.

A short passage from al-Mawa'iz wa al-'ibar bi dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa al-'Āthar:

"I made ten silver dirhams equal in weight to seven mithqāls of gold, for gold is heavier (Six) than silver. A ḥabba of gold is heavier than one of silver by three sevenths. Therefore ten dirhams weigh seven mithqāls. Thus a mithqāl weighs one and three sevenths of a dirham, and on the other hand, a dirham weighs a mithqāl minus three tenths of a mithqāl*. Also further each ten mithqāls equal fourteen and

*al-Maqrīzī maintained that he made the ten dirhams of silver equal in weight to seven mithqāls of gold. He stated that this was due to the fact that a ḥabba of gold outweighed one of silver by three sevenths. Below are two mathematical calculations. The first one follows al-Maqrīzī on the basis of one dirham = 7 tenths of a mithqāl, as follows:

1 dirham = 7 tenths mithqāl = $7/10$.

1 mithqāl = 1 and 3 sevenths dirham = $1 \frac{3}{7}$.

10 mithqāls = $1 \frac{3}{7} \times 10 = \frac{10}{7} \times 10 = \frac{100}{7} = 14 \frac{2}{7}$ dirham.

1 dirham = 60 ḥabbas.

1 mithqāl = 6000 wild mustard seeds.

1 dirham = $\frac{7}{10} \times 6000 = 4200$ wild mustard seeds.

60 ḥabbas = 4200 wild mustard seeds.

finally, the ḥabba = $4200/60 = 70$ wild mustard seeds

The second calculation which we have made is on the basis of the legal dirham (or 'Abd al-Malik's dirham) = $50 \frac{2}{5}$ grains of barley.

In terms of barley ḥabbas, the calculation is as follows:

1 dirham = $7/10$ mithqāl.

two sevenths of a dirham in weight.

Accordingly, the raṭl was determined on the basis that the dirham weighed 60 ḥabbas, while every 10 dirhams were equivalent to 7 mithqāls. The weight of each ḥabba was 70 ḥabbas of mustard. The methods of calculation I have mentioned have been proved by geometric diagrams and it is unnecessary to discuss them here.

The "White dirhams" were among other dirhams which were issued by al-Ḥajjāj. The inscription which they bore consisted of the phrase: "Say that God is One". Then the Qur'ān reciters complained, "Woe to al-Ḥajjāj! What he has done to the people? This dirham is within the reach of junub (persons in a state of major ritual impurity) and menstruating women." Accordingly some of the reciters when in a state of purity, were averse to touching the dirhams. Because of this the "white dirhams" were known as "hateful" (al-Makrūha).

Consequently the Imām Mālik was asked about the change of inscriptions from the Qur'ān on the dinars and the dirhams. Mālik said:

"During 'Abd al-Malik's reign took place the first issue of coins. There were many of the 'ulamā' who did not object at all, and did not see any knowledgeable persons argue or protest."

But Mālik was told that Ibn Sīrīn objected to these coins and would not use them. However, they were in circulation

1 dirham = 50 $\frac{2}{5}$ grains of barley.

1 mithqāl = 6000 wild mustard seeds.

1 dirham = $\frac{7}{10} \times 6000 = 4200$ wild mustard seeds.

50 $\frac{2}{5}$ grains of barley = 4200 wild mustard seeds.

Therefore 1 ḥabba of barley = $\frac{4200 \times 5}{252} = \text{approx. } 83.33$ wild mustard seeds.

from that time and nobody in Medina objected to them or prevented their use.

Again, 'Umar II was asked to remove the Qur'anic inscriptions from the "white dirhams", for they were liable to be used by the non-Muslim, and the woman menstruating and the wicked. But, 'Umar replied:

"Do you want (foreign) nations to argue against us that we have changed (the doctrine of) the unity of our Lord, and the name of our Prophet?"

'Abd al-Malik died, leaving the situation as it was, and it remained unchanged during the reigns of the next three Caliphs, al-Walīd, Sulaimān ibn 'Abd al-Malik, and 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz. But Yazīd ibn 'Abd al-Malik, had the "Hubairia" struck by the governor in Iraq to a weight standard of 6 dāniqs.

When the rapacious Hishām ibn 'Abd al-Malik came to power he ordered his governor, Khālīd ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Qasrī, to alter the weight standard to seven, and to close all the mints except the mint of Wāṣiṭ in A.H. 106. The governor proceeded to issue dirhams from Wāṣiṭ up to the time of his death. He made the dies bigger, and struck the dirhams with the Khālīdiyya dies, and this continued until Khālīd was dismissed in A.H. 120.

He was succeeded by Yūsuf ibn 'Umar al-Thaqafī as governor. He made the die smaller, to the standard of 7. He minted dirhams only in Wāṣiṭ, and continued until the Caliph al-Walīd ibn Yazīd was killed in A.H. 126. When the last Caliph of the Umayyad dynasty came to power, he minted dirhams in al-Jazīra with the dies of Ḥarran, until the time of his death.

Appendix C

In connection with the "standing figure type", Walker has claimed to have studied and illustrated correctly "the figure of the Umayyad Caliph standing with his r. hand on his sword in the attitude prescribed for the Imam or leader of Islamic community."¹ Although he mentions the interpretation in his same work (i.e., second volume) in different ways,² the point is essentially the same in each case. This interpretation, which is shared by other numismatists it should be noted, is at variance with both mediaeval and modern Muslim views of the matter.

Before proceeding further, we give the sources consulted on this point. There are available two kinds of evidence relating to Walker's theory; all material not directly bearing on the problem has been omitted. First, the evidence obtained from our consulting Dār al-Fatwā (Office for Giving Legal Ruling) in Kuwait (a copy of its reply and translation will be included at the end of the appendix). Secondly, the results of an investigation made into all the Arabic literary sources relevant to the point at issue.

In the first group of evidence, all the opinions were unanimous in declaring that in the Sharī'a neither the sword nor the staff is mentioned as a mark of the caliph, during the reigns of the four caliphs (الراشدون) preceding

¹ Walker, II, p. lii.

² p. xxix, p. 22, no. 73.

the Umayyad period or in the time of the Umayyad rulers themselves. There was no caliphal costume during the period of the al-Rāshidūn caliphs and the Umayyad dynasty.

We turn now to the other type of evidence to show a similarity of attitude to the above:

1. The Prophet, Abū Bakr, 'Umar I, 'Uthmān, and 'Ali used the staff (عصا), but only in their delivery of the Friday sermon.
2. The use of a durra (short wooden lath) by 'Umar I is admitted, but this is scarcely conclusive, as 'Umar I was the only one among all the Muslim caliphs to employ it. Did the use of the small staff by 'Umar I provide the sole reason for Walker to connect it with the portrayal on the coins of the standing caliph type with the sword in the right hand? In fact, we can find no basis for such a connection between 'Umar's durra and the right hand of the figure. The reason for 'Umar's carrying a durra stems from the disciplinary measures which he was forced to carry out during the extended drought and ensuing scarcity occurring during his caliphate; moreover, we know that 'Umar I was left-handed

The following further additional statements may be added to support our explanation. The staff symbolizing the sword (on the standing caliph type) by whose strength the caliph exercised dominion, was, on coins at least, the most usual ubiquitous symbol of rule. Though it might be national in character, no such staff or sword, as shown here formed part of the caliphate regalia, nor do any Arabic sources allude to their presence in processions of any of the caliphs from Abū Bakr (632-634/11-13)¹ to Marwān II (744-750/127-132).²

¹ Walker, I, p. xxiii.

² Ibid., p. xxiv.

Whether this be correct or not, the figure holding a sword in the right hand has no real connection with the indication of the caliph in the Islamic community; perhaps this type of coin partly represents a stage in the Umayyad-Byzantine relationship.

From the above, we conclude that the Muslim caliphs, at any rate in our specific period, had no caliphal costume, while the Byzantine emperor wore imperial costume on most of the gold issues to be represented in our catalogue. As a final comment, we would stress that Walker in discussing this problem (of the sword as indication of the caliph), did not use any Arab source bearing directly on the point, such as al-Māwardī,¹ who would have shown that these appurtenances were no indication of the caliph.

¹ Al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭāniyya, p. 148.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ



وَزَارَةَ الْأَوْقَافِ وَالشُّنُونِ الْإِسْلَامِيَّةِ

الكويت - الخليج العربي

لجنة الفتوى

الوزير ٤٣٥٥٦٠

وكيل الوزارة ٤٣٥٤٥٣

البدالة ٤٣٣٨٤٩

هاتف

صندوق البريد ١٣

الرقم

التاريخ ١٥ ربيع الأول ١٣٩٦ هـ الموافق

الاخ المحترم الاستاذ عبدالعزیز د. روبش حکیم وفقه الله
السلام عليكم ورحمة الله وبركاته ،

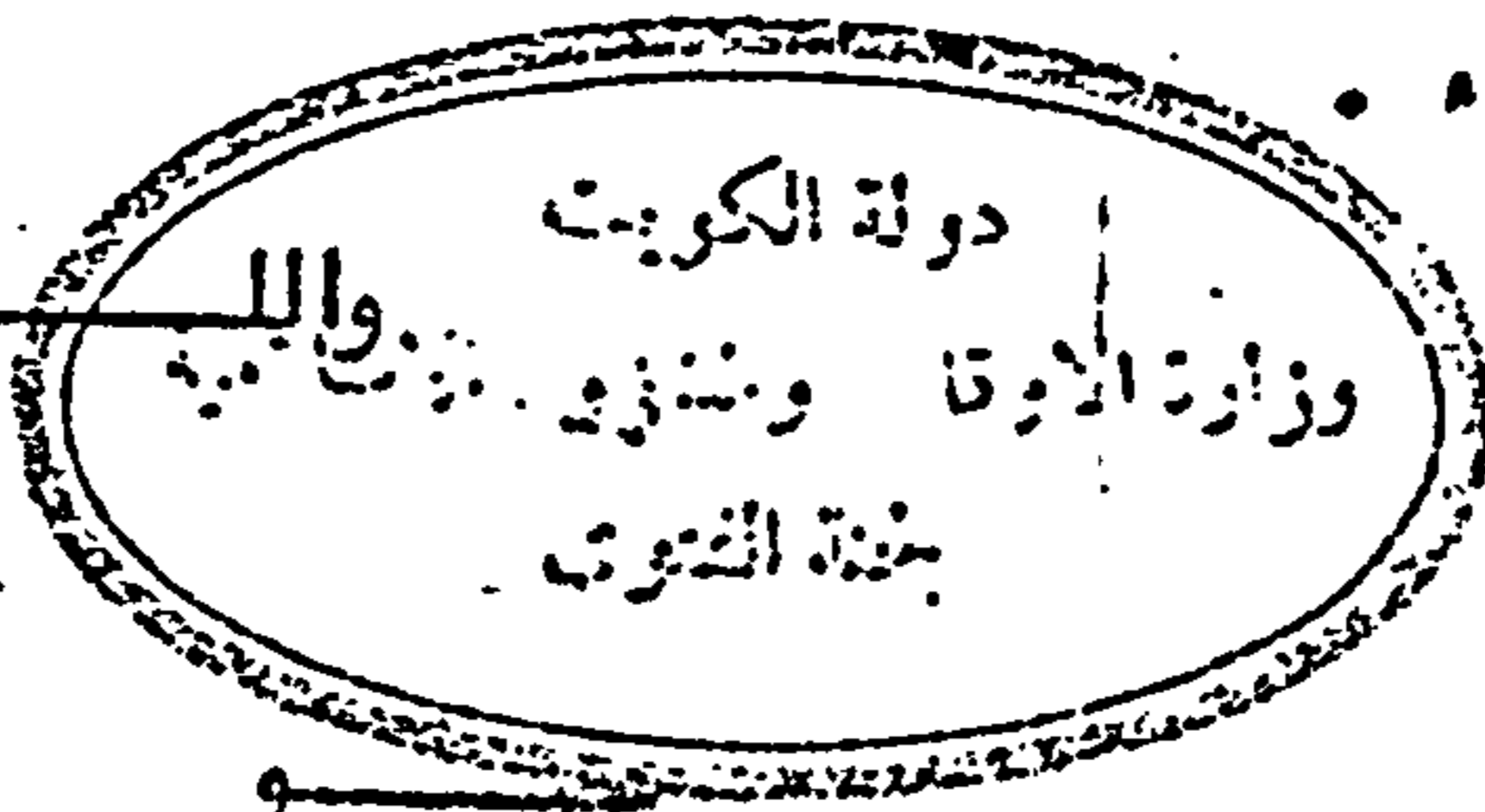
اما بعد فقد اطلعت لجنة الفتوى على كتابك ونود الافادة بالاتي :

١- من الصفات التي يجب توافرها في الخليفة - العدالة والعلم وسلامة
الحواس والاعضاء والرأى المؤدى الى سياسة الرعية وتدبير العبالح
والشجاعة المؤدية الى حماية الدولة وجهاد العدو ومنها الاسلام
والحريية والبلوغ والذكورة .

٢- اما علامات الخلافة وشاراتها فليست ضرورة يطلبها الاسلام وانما هي امور
تخضع للعرف وتتغير بتغير العصر ونظام الحكم ولهذا لم يكتب لها الاستمرار
والقرض اكثرهما في خلافة الدولة العباسية كالبردة ، والخاتم والقضيب
وكان ديوان الخاتم معدودا من الدواوين الكبرى من ايام معاوية واسقط في دولة
بني العباس .

٣- اما الدرة التي كان يستعملها عمر رضي الله عنه فليست امرا لازما للخلافة
وانما اختار ذلك عمر لنفسه بصفة خاصة ليؤدب العصاة ويحارب
المنكر وما استعملها الخليفة الاول ولا ذكر استعمالها عن جاء بعد
عمر من الخلفاء .

ولي التوفيق



رئيس لجنة الفتوى

عضو

حسن مراد مناع

محمد سليمان الأشقر

عبدالله آل نوري

Translation

To: Mr. 'Abd al-'Azīz Darwīsh Hakiem,

The Fatwā Committee has read your letter, and desires to state the following:

1. Among the qualities necessary for the office of the caliph are:

- (a) justice¹
- (b) knowledge
- (c) soundness of the senses and bodily health²
- (d) sound judgement in wielding power over his subjects and administering the public interest
- (e) courage in defending the state and offering resistance to enemies
- (f) being a Muslim
- (g) freedom³
- (h) maturity
- (i) being male.

2. The symbols and emblems of the caliphate are not regarded as essential in Islamic doctrine. They are matters of conventional usage, and have changed at different periods and under different regimes. For this reason, their use did not persist and most of them fell into disuetude during the Abbasid caliphate, e.g., the cloak, the seal, and the rod. The Dīwān al-Khātīm was numbered among the major departments of state in the reign of MU'āwiya but was reduced in importance during the Abbasid caliphate.

3. The durra used by 'Umar (may God be pleased with him) was not essential to the office of caliph, but was selected by 'Umar for himself specifically for disciplining disorderly

¹ This means he should not be guilty of any major sins, nor persist.

² I.e., not handicapped.

³ Not a slave.

persons, and for using force in situations causing offence;
 the durra was not used by the first caliph, nor by those who
 came after 'Umar.

(signed)

'Abd Allāh 'Āl Nūrī (Chairman of the
 Fatwā Committee)

Ḥasan Murād Mannā' (Member)

Muḥammad Sulaimān al-Ashqar (Member)

Appendix D

<u>GOLD</u>	<u>Quadrangle</u>	<u>North latitude</u>	<u>East longitude</u>
Bilwi	204	24°49'	38°20'
Buwaydah	204	26°54'	36°02'
Baqarah	211	22°55'	42°44'
Bi'r Za'in	211	20°53'	44°05'
Bulghah	205	24°58'	41°34'
Cidreeya	212	23°45'	45°08'
Dahlat Shabab	211	21°08'	43°44'
Duka (Outcrops) (Da'kah)?	211	23°12'	42°25'
Endizat	205	24°18'	41°38'
Esh'ib al Hissu	205	24°38'	41°47'
Es Sut	210	20°22'	41°22'
Fawara	212	23°13'	45°11'
Guntha	204	24°17'	38°12'
Haffirah	211	22°35'	42°20'
Haleet	206	24°39'	42°23'
Hamim	204	25°28'	37°17'
Haradah	204	24°48'	38°18'
Harriah	211	23°18'	42°25'
Hashayim	204	24°44'	38°20'
Hasheem	204	26°15'	36°32'
Hashet Sudigah	206	24°30'	43°20'
Mimaimah	205	25°17'	41°42'
Hawawit	204	26°54'	36°06'
Huwayweetat	204	26°19'	36°32'
Ishmas (North)	211	20°57'	43°18'
Ishmas (South)	211	20°50'	43°15'
Jabal Dalfa'	211	21°05'	42°55'
Jabal Ghitera	211	22°43'	42°45'
Jabal Laym	206	24°57'	42°56'
Jabal Mertaba	204	24°22' (?)	37°45' (?)
Jabal Sayid Aswab	210	23°50'	40°56'
Jabal ash Shumrah (District)	211	22°15'	44°20'
Jayraynat	204	24°25' (?)	38°35' (?)
Jibba	204	27°42'	35°41'
Al Jifn	205	25°30'	41°30'
Jazeeb al Jerayer	206	25°57'	43°00'
Jazabat al 'Ufar	205	26°13'	40°46'
Jazeeb Ogzayal	210	23°40' (?)	41°45' (?)
Kabreetiya	204	26°15' (?)	38°15' (?)
Kabreetiya Al Hamra	204	26°20'	38°12' (?)
Khabath (Called Maaden by SAMS)	210	20°15'	41°21'
Khadra (Also Mojayreemah)	204	26°57'	36°04'
Al Kuhul	204	26°16'	36°42'
Khum Al Khumsuk	204	27°28'	36°02'
Kowafir (False Najady)	206	25°51'	43°02'
Khor Al Arja ¹	204	26°11'	36°38'

¹ D.G.M.R. Project Report, no. 304 (1973).

Khour Shamali (Also Khour Gibli)	204	26°13'	36°36'
Lamesa	211	22°36'	42°28'
Mathab	211	20°22'	42°59'
Mahd adh Dhahab	210	23°30'	40°52'
Ma'milah	210	21°01'	41°18'
Mangara Nam	210	23°32'	41°52'
Manwar	210	20°14'	41°20'
Mashaliya	212	23°22'±	45°20'±
Mashara	212	23°26'±	45°09'±
Mashuton	212	23°20'±	45°15'±
Mawan	205	25°07'	41°39'
Mehafir	204	25°44'	37°14'
Mesnah	204	24°22' (?)	27°58' (?)
Mindahah	210	20°15'	41°22'
Mishaiheez	206	26°07' (?)	42°46' (?)
Muck Salehi	205	25°00'±	41°45'±
Murrayjib	204	24°51'	38°19'
Nabaghah	204	26°45'	36°07'
Niece	206	26°08'	42°15'
Numan	211	23°20'	42°35'
Qal'at (Zmurrud)	204	26°11'	38°19'
Quns (Coom or Kum)	206	24°49'	42°01'
Quway'iyah	207	24°00'	45°15'
Quwaymah	211	23°15'	42°20'
Ras Abu Nafeela	204	26°15'	36°34'
Rayyaniyah	211	20°57'	44°06'
Rigum	211	22°18'	42°00'
Siham	211	23°12' -	42°21' -
Salga	210	20°58' (?)	40°57' (?)
Selib	212	23°07'	45°14'
Sha'eeb Al Bint	204	26°22'	36°47'
Shiaila	206	26°10'+	43°06'+
Shawfan	2-6	25°06' (?)	42°24' (?)
Shamta'	206	24°49' (?)	42°08' (?)
Sighena	210	21°08'	41°41'
Silaila	204	26°56'	36°06'
Silli	211	21°20'	43°05'
Sukhaybarat al Gharbiyah	205	25°28'	41°55'
Sukhaybarat ash Sharqiyah	205	25°27'	41°57'
Tabah Minyah	206	25°25' (?)	43°10' (?)
Umm Al Qurayyat	204	26°16'	36°34'
Umm Amal	211	22°42'	44°57'
Umm Ar Rihi	204	25°06'	37°22'
Umm Errhi	210	20°06'	41°32'
Umm Eshshalahib (Abu Shara-haib)	212	23°41'	45°05'
Umm Faqur	204	26°13'	37°59'
Umm Harb	204	26°35'	36°37'
Umm Hufrah	204	24°42'	38°19'
Umm Matirah (District)	211	21°24'	43°30'
Umm Mugsuhr	211	23°30'	44°10'
Umm Zarib	205	25°06'	41°41'
Wadi Sabihah	210	20°17'	41°20'
Waqt	206	23°13' (?)	43°16' (?)
Wet Mine	211	22°42'	42°14'
Wurshah	211	21°56'	43°23'
Zafar	206	24°32' (?)	42°29' (?)
Za'in	211	21°00'	44°11'
Zalin	211	22°41'	42°12'
Zumurodat ¹	204	26°10'	38°17'

¹ D.G.M.R. Project Reports, no. 305 (1974)

Silver: At least ten ancient mines are thought to have been worked primarily for silver (listed below). Some are districts with many individual workings.

<u>SILVER</u>	<u>Quadrangle</u>	<u>North latitude</u>	<u>East longitude</u>
Abu Isnun	211	23°13'	44°29'
Arifa	211	23°00'	44°45'
Jabal al Athl	211	23°20'	44°25'
Jabal Radahah	206	24°21'	44°16'
Jabal Umm Mahatah Gabah	206	24°20'	44°20'
Letchatahahl	211	23°10'	44°20'
Mahayriqah	212	23°59'	45°07'
Samrah	206	24°21'	44°20'
Sidriyah ¹	206	24°31'	44°19'
Hamrurah	206	24°22'	44°23'

¹ Ibid.

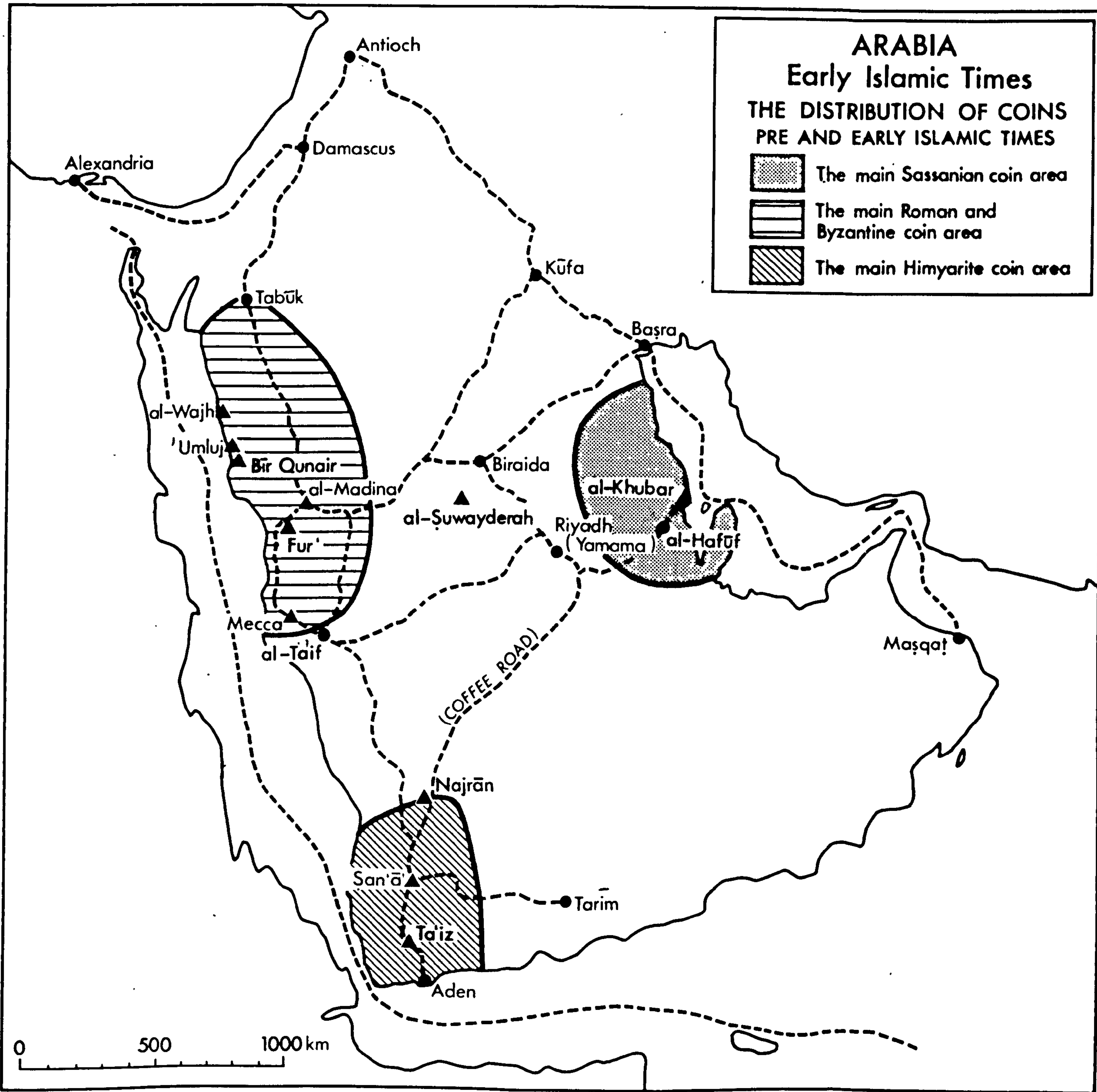
Appendix E

In connection with the name of al-Medina, one may note that Walker in volume I, p. xxi ascribes to al-Medina a fanciful for which no other authority can be found (i.e, Madinat al-Nabi). N. Totton, "Origin of Islamic Coinage: an Introduction" in India-Asiatic Numismatic Society, no. 1, January, 1973, p. 6, follows Walker.

The following table contains some of the pre and early Islamic names of al-Medina:

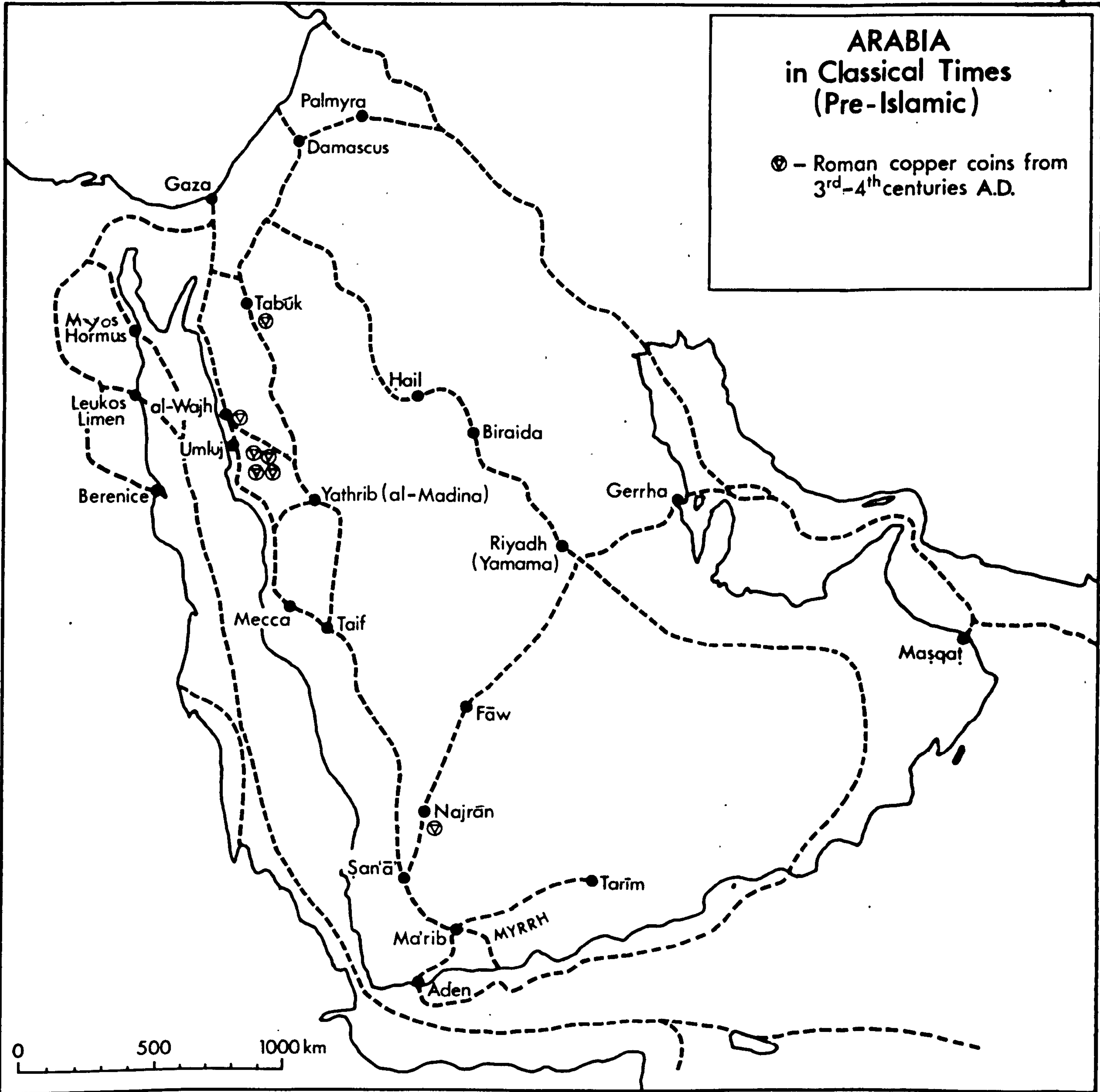
Arabic	Transliteration	References
<u>Pre-Islamic Names</u>		
أثرب	'Athrib	Al-'Abbāsī, <u>'Umdat al-Akḥbār fī Madinat al-Mukhtār</u> (Cairo, 1383), pp. 155-156
العذراء	al-'Adhrā'	<u>ibid.</u> , p. 71
القاصه	al-Qāṣima	<u>ibid.</u> , p. 73
ظبابا	Ẓababan	<u>ibid.</u> , p. 70
غلبة	Ghalbat	<u>ibid.</u> , p. 72
يثرب	Yathrib	Qur'ān, xx, 23
<u>Early Islamic Names</u>		
المحفوظه	al-Maḥfūẓa	Al-'Abbāsī, <u>op. cit.</u> , p. 75
المختاره	al-Mukhtāra	<u>ibid.</u> , p. 74
المجتباه	al-Mujtaba	<u>ibid.</u>
المرزوقه	al-Marzūqa	<u>ibid.</u> , p. 76
المدينه	al-Madīna	Qur'ān, xi, 140

المؤمنه	al-Mu'mina	Al-'Abbāsī, <u>op. cit.</u> , p. 74
الملايكه	al-Mubāraka	<u>ibid.</u> , p. 75
المسكنه	al-Miskīna	<u>ibid.</u> , p. 77
المشكوره	al-Mashkūra	<u>ibid.</u>
المونيه	al-Mūfiya	
او المونيه	or al-Muwaffiya	<u>ibid.</u> , p. 79
المقدسه	al-Muqaddasa	<u>ibid.</u>
الناجيه	al-Nājiya	<u>ibid.</u> , p. 80
النحر	al-Naḥr	<u>ibid.</u>
الهدرا'	al-Hadhrā'	<u>ibid.</u> , p. 81
الدار والايمن	al-Dār wa al-'Īmān	<u>ibid.</u> , p. 65
دار المهاجرين	Dār al-Muhajirīn	<u>ibid.</u> , p. 66
دار الابرار	Dār al-Abrār	<u>ibid.</u>
دار الاخيار	Dār al-Akhyār	<u>ibid.</u> , p. 65
دار الايمان	Dār al-'Īmān	<u>ibid.</u>
دار السنه	Dār al-Sunna	<u>ibid.</u>
دار الفتح	Dār al-Fatḥ	<u>ibid.</u>
دار الهجره	Dār al-Hijra	<u>ibid.</u>
دار أرض الهجره	Dār 'Arḍ al-Hijra	<u>ibid.</u>
جابه	Jābira	<u>ibid.</u> , p. 77
طبيه	Ṭaiba	Al-'Abbāsī, <u>op. cit.</u> , p. 73.
قبة الاسلام	Qubbat al-Islām	
يندد	Yandad	<u>ibid.</u> , p. 81



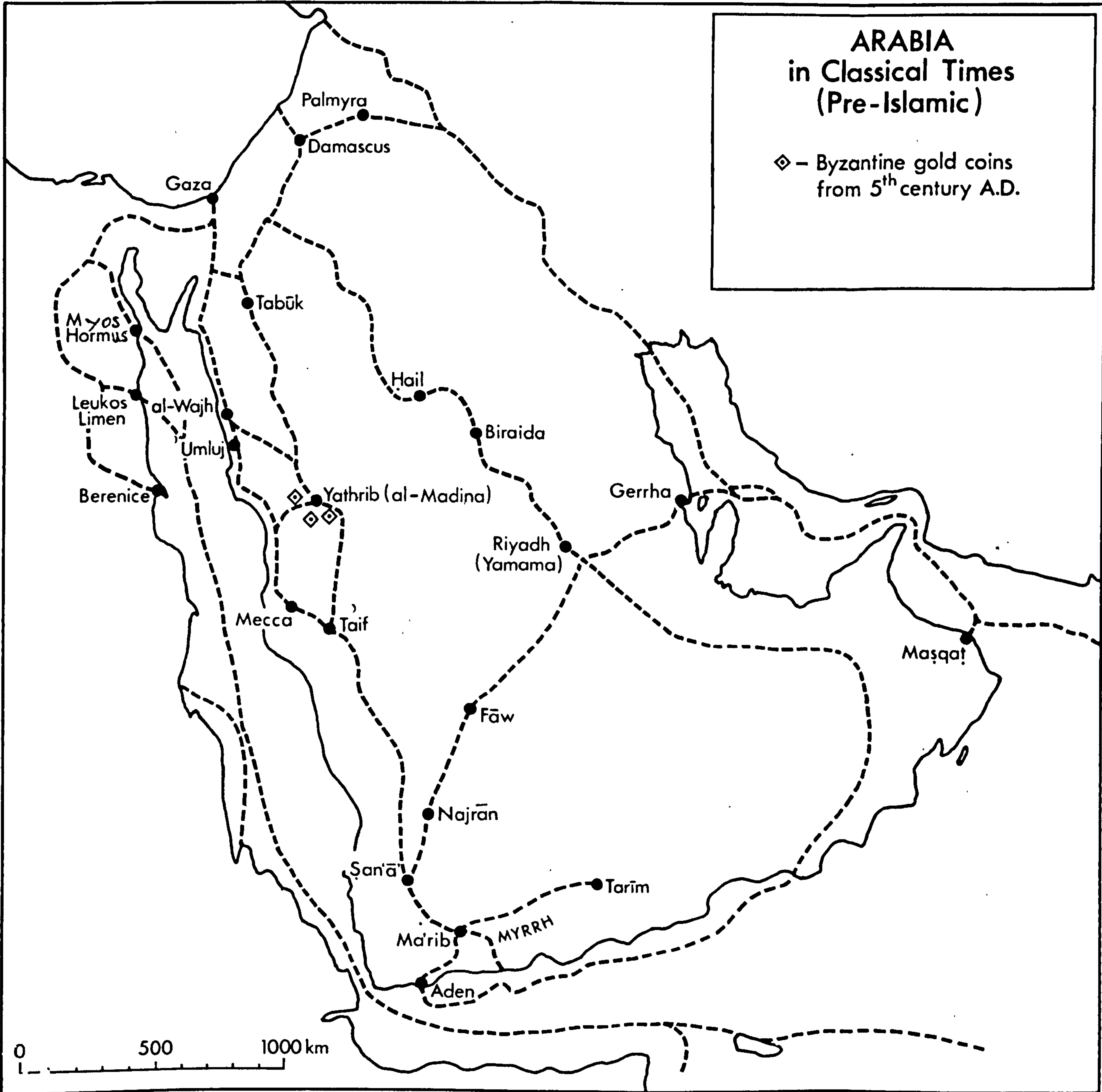
ARABIA in Classical Times (Pre-Islamic)

⊙ - Roman copper coins from
3rd-4th centuries A.D.



ARABIA in Classical Times (Pre-Islamic)

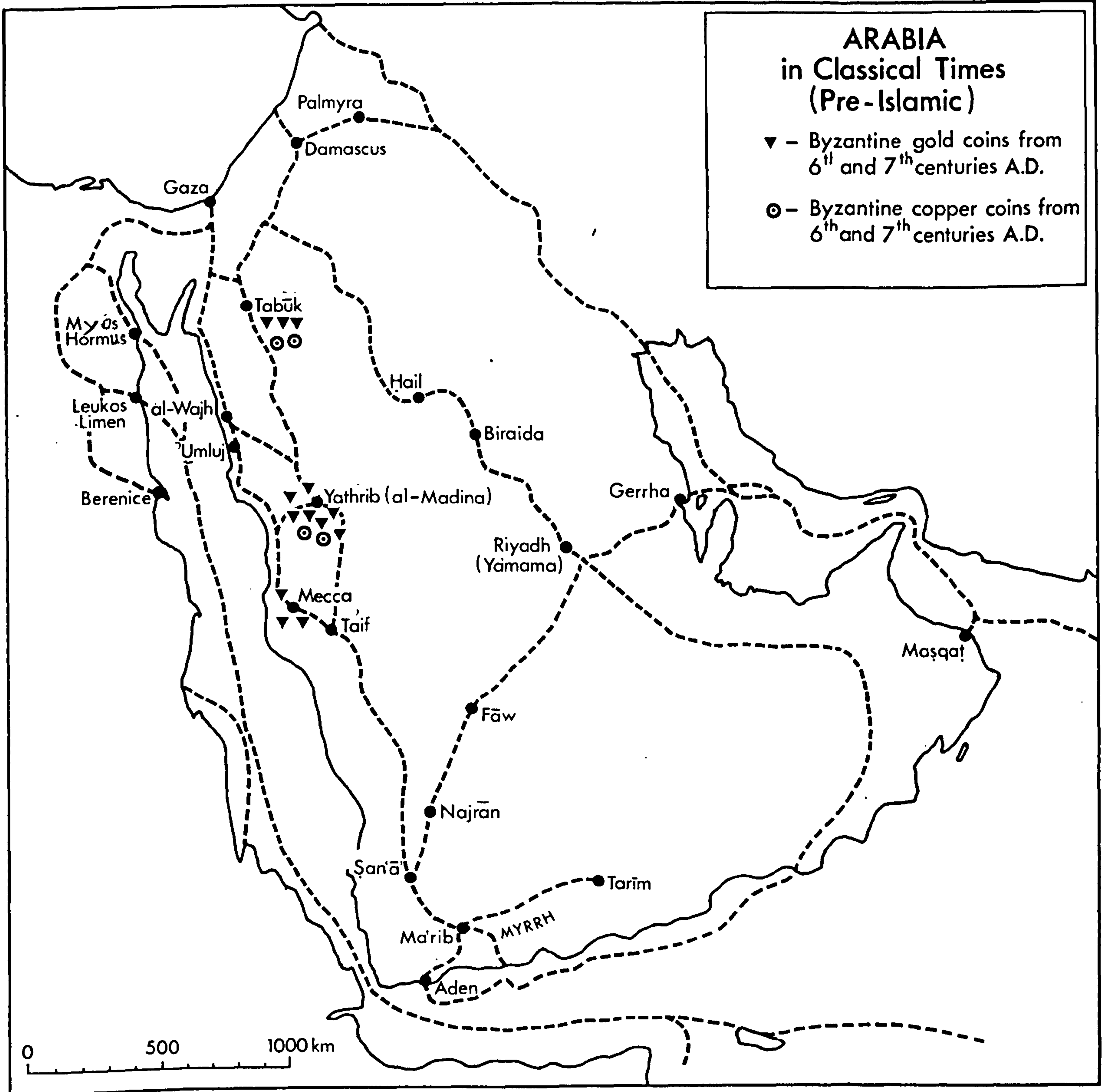
◊ - Byzantine gold coins
from 5th century A.D.



ARABIA in Classical Times (Pre-Islamic)

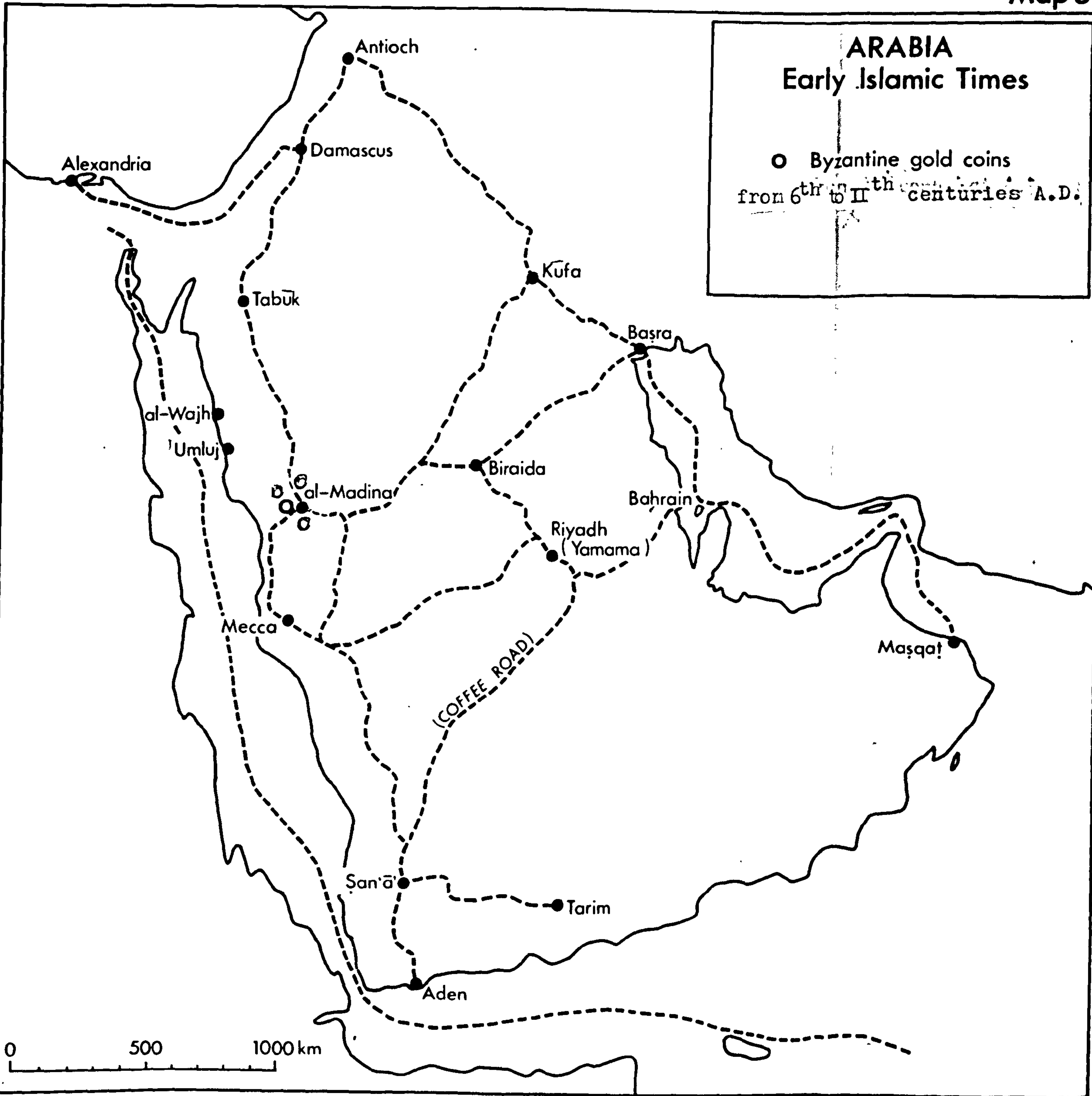
▼ - Byzantine gold coins from
6th and 7th centuries A.D.

⊙ - Byzantine copper coins from
6th and 7th centuries A.D.



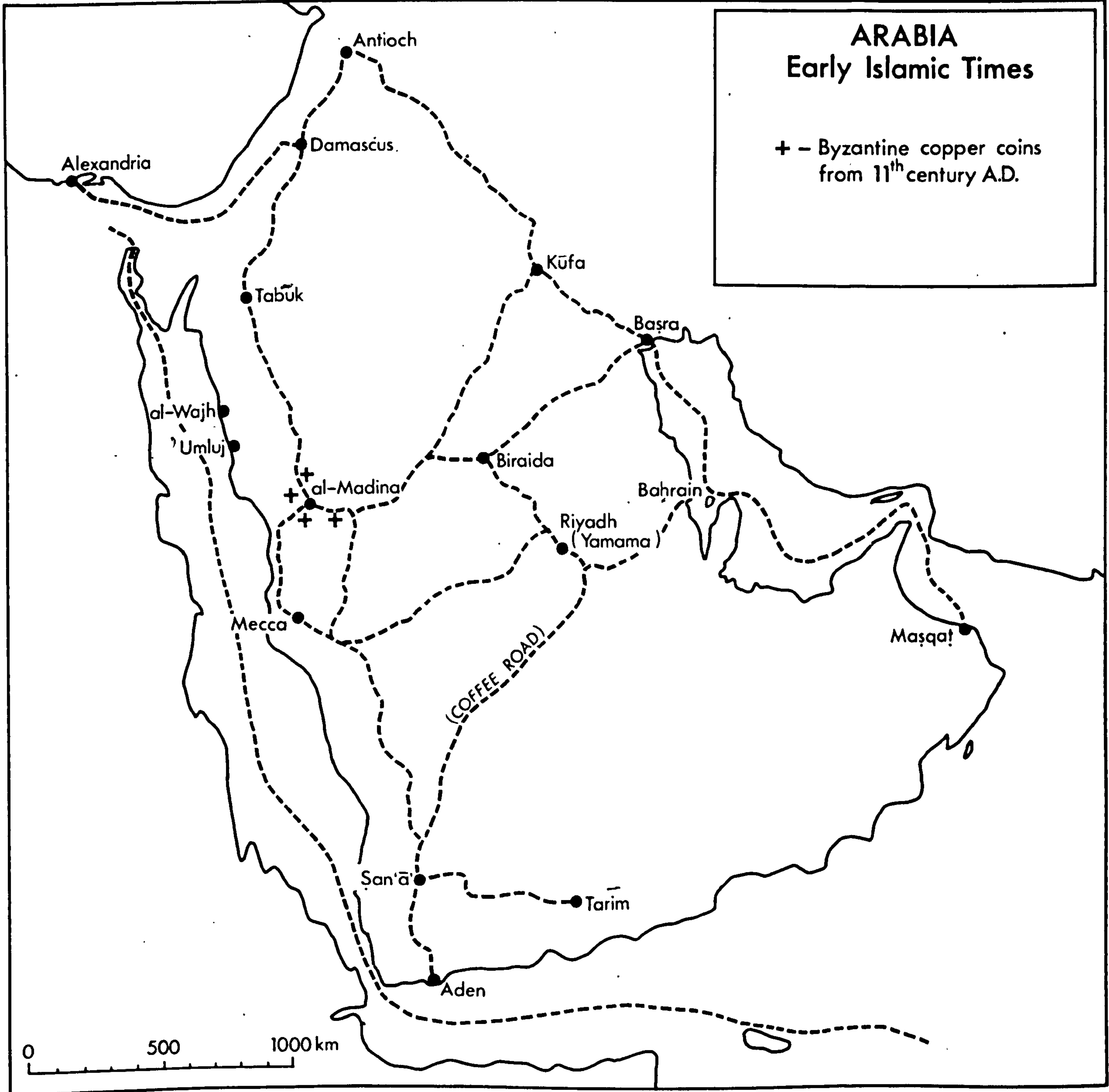
ARABIA Early Islamic Times

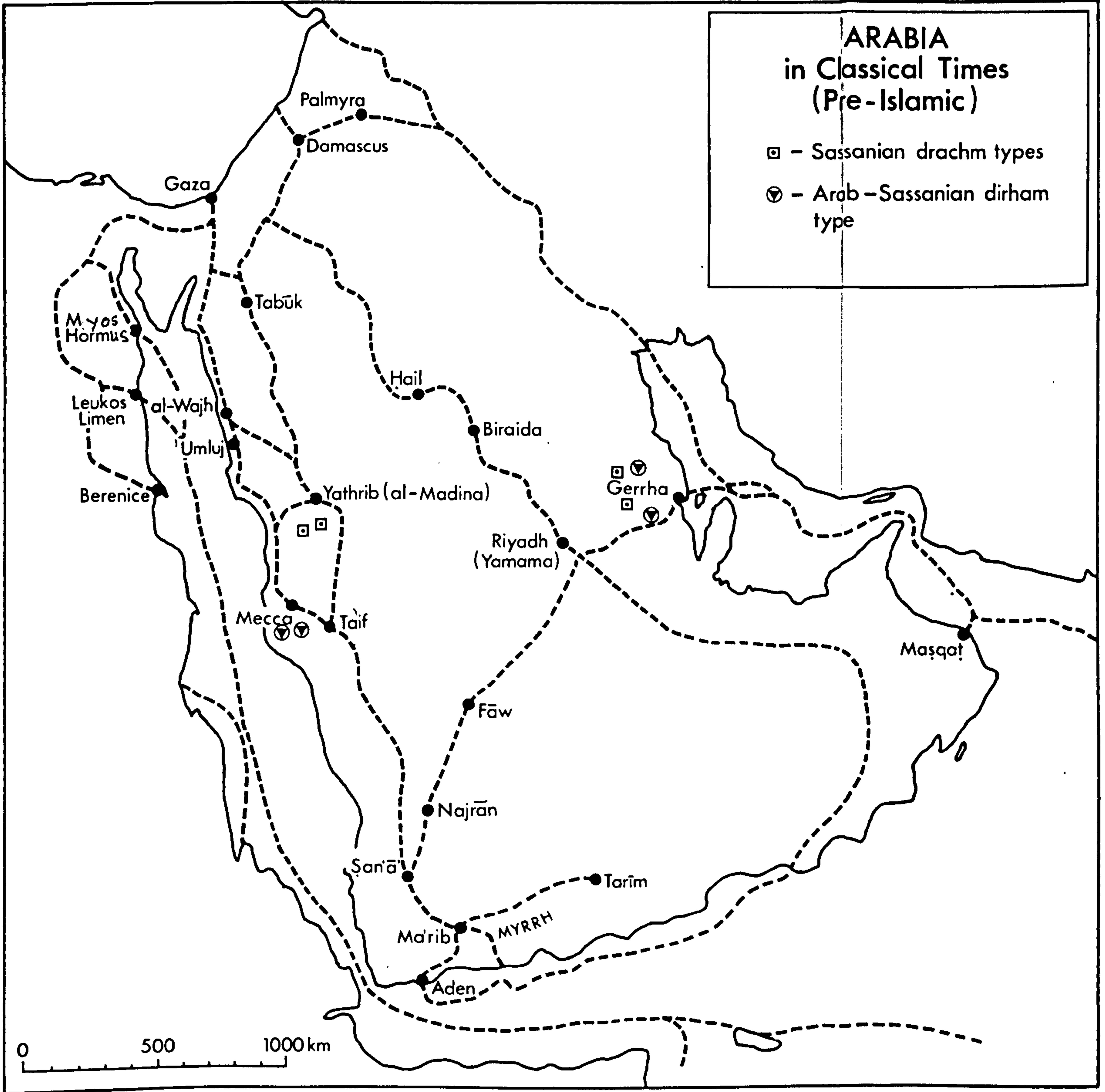
○ Byzantine gold coins
from 6th to 11th centuries A.D.



ARABIA Early Islamic Times

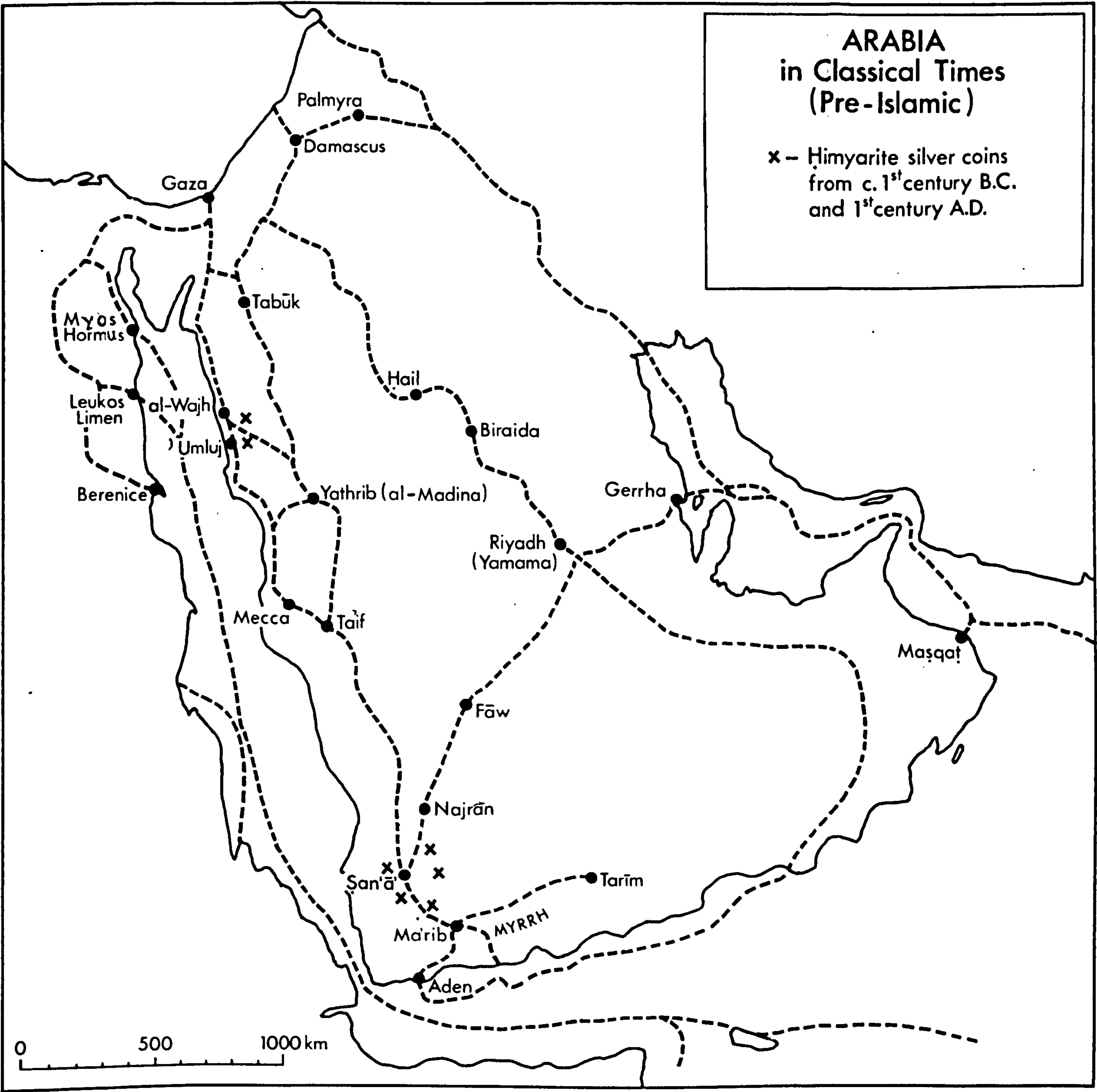
+ - Byzantine copper coins
from 11th century A.D.





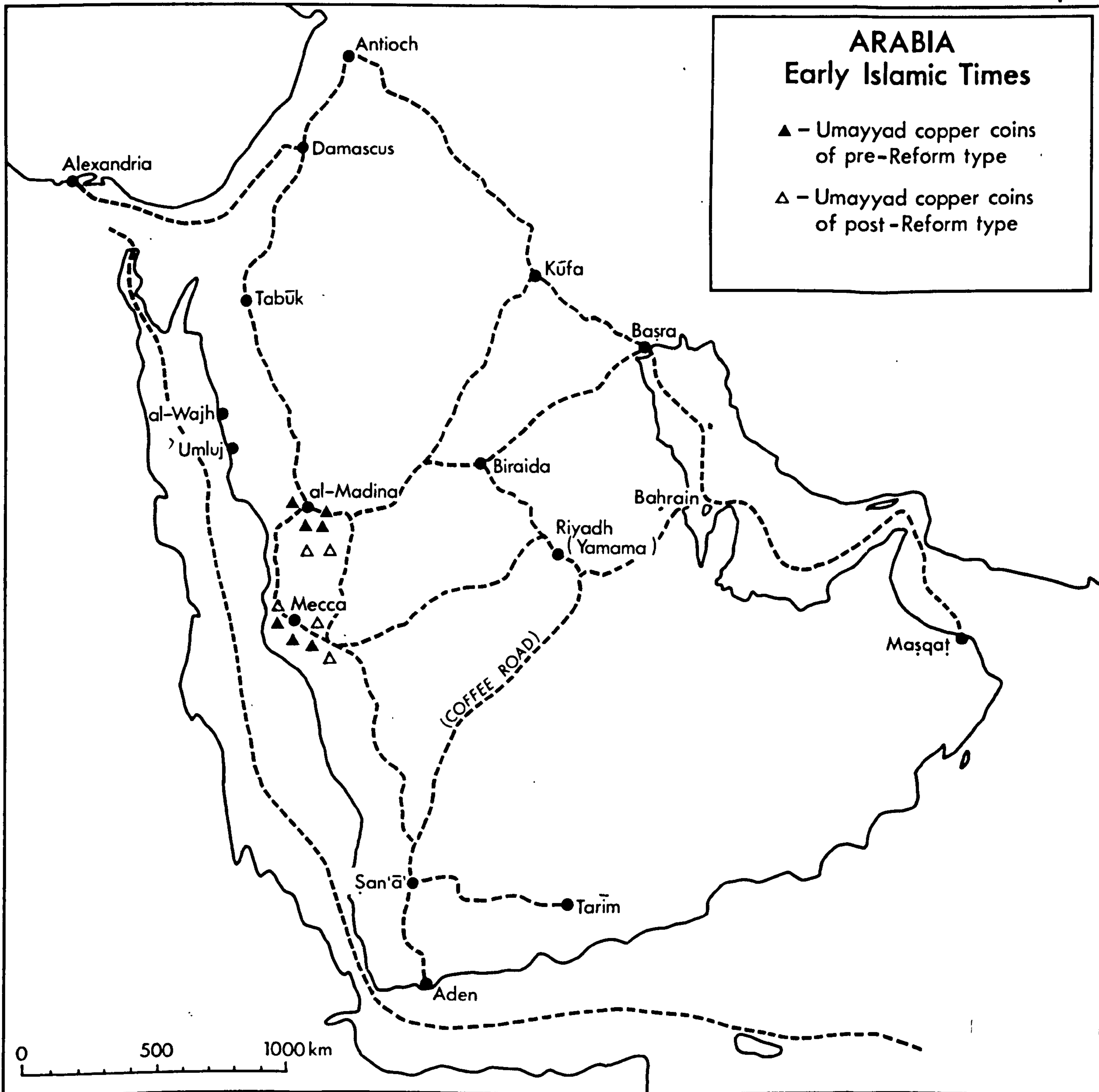
ARABIA in Classical Times (Pre-Islamic)

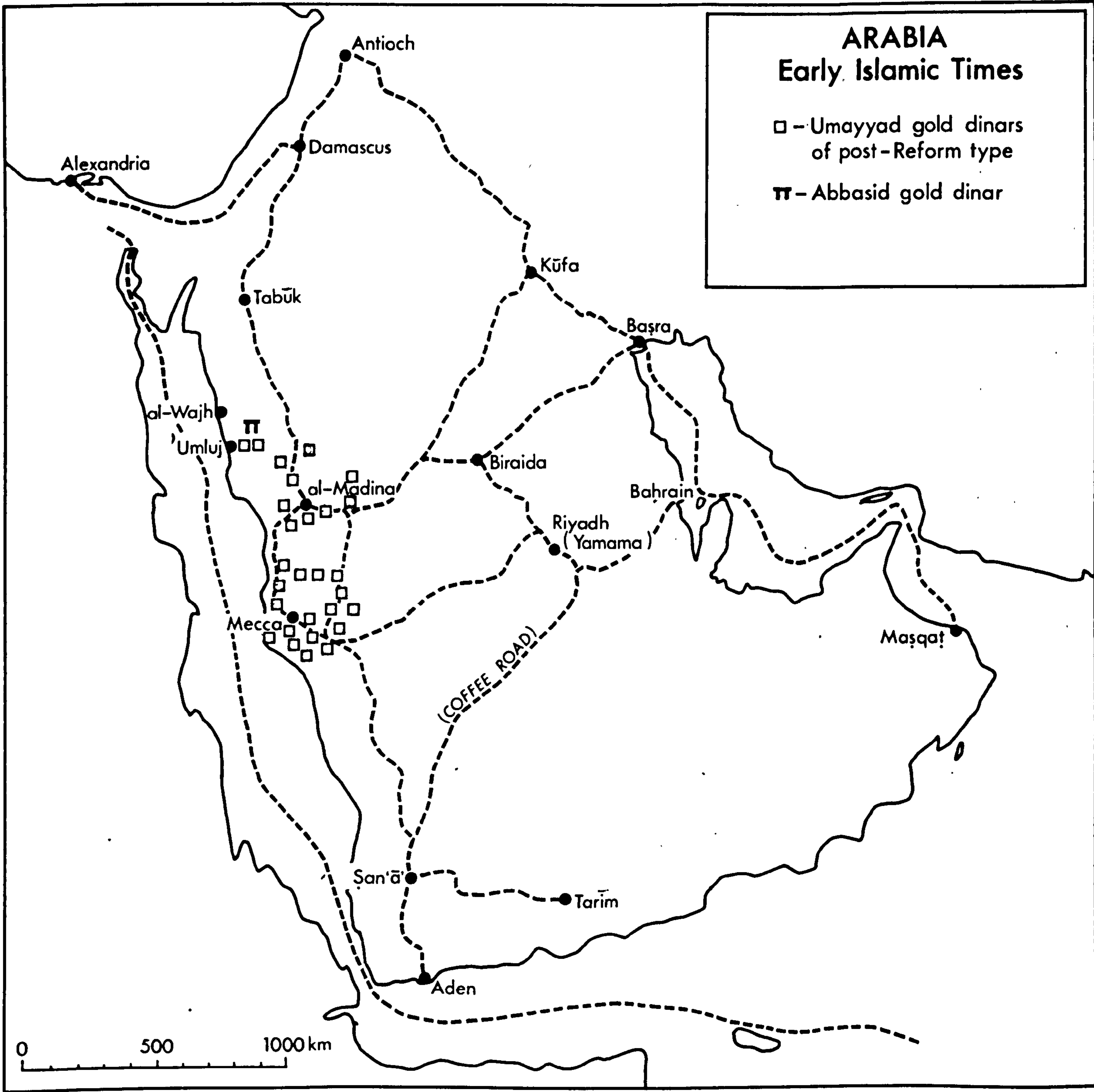
x - Himyarite silver coins
from c. 1st century B.C.
and 1st century A.D.



ARABIA Early Islamic Times

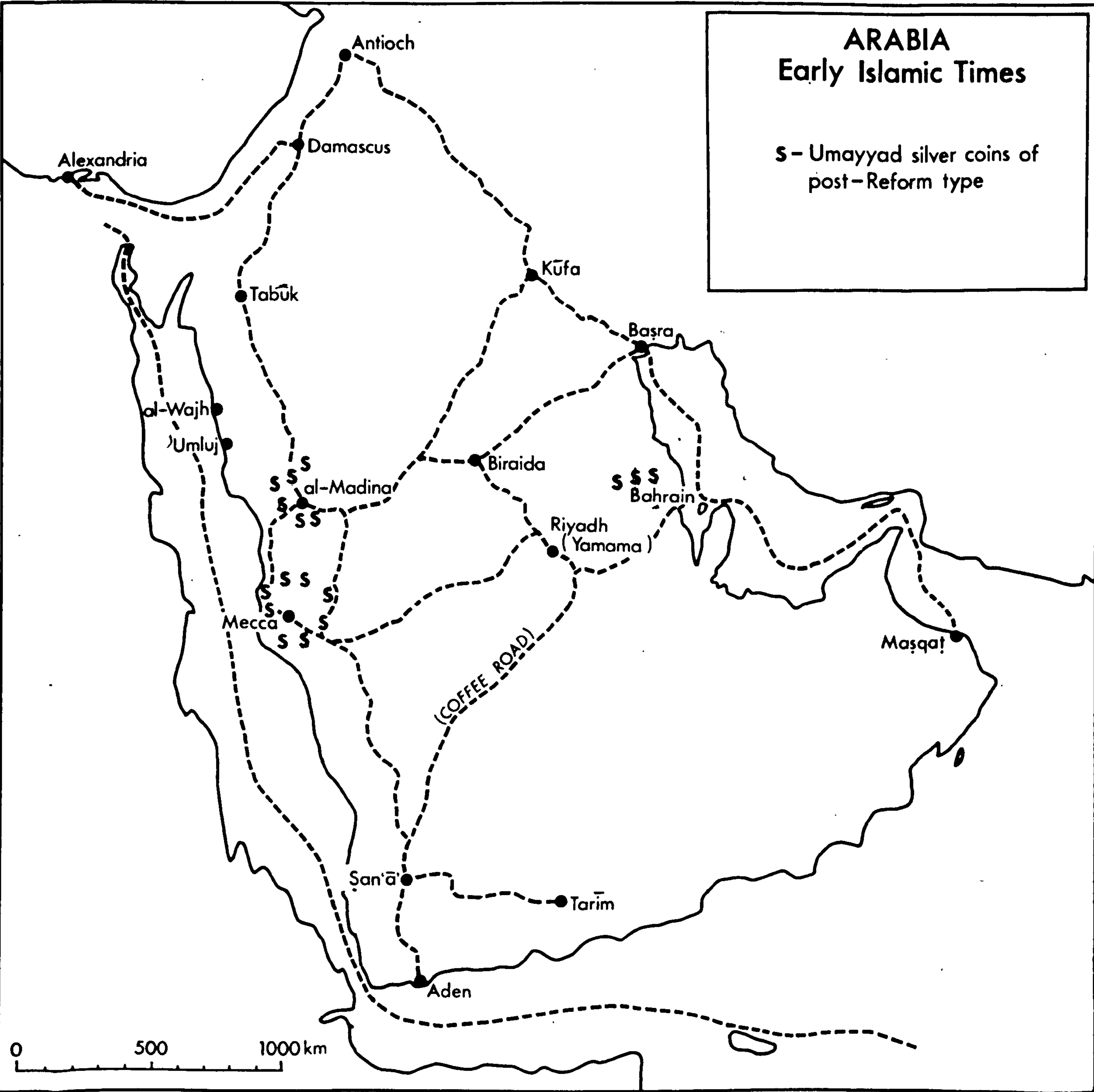
- ▲ - Umayyad copper coins of pre-Reform type
- △ - Umayyad copper coins of post-Reform type





ARABIA Early Islamic Times

S - Umayyad silver coins of post-Reform type





1



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OBV-5



REV-7



OBV-7-



REV-5



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61

obv.
upside-down.



59



67



64



63

ReV-



Oby-



66



65





70



68



69



74



75



76



73



72



79



77



80



71



81



