

Islamic History through Coins

Jere L. Bacharach



AN ANALYSIS
AND CATALOGUE
OF TENTH-CENTURY
IKHSHIDID
COINAGE

AUC
PRESS

REVISED EDITION

Islamic History through Coins

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*An Analysis and Catalogue of Tenth-Century
Ikhshidid Coinage*

Jere L. Bacharach

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Version 1

Dedicated to the Memory of

Dr. Paul Balog

Samir Shamma

and

Dr. Henri Amin Awad

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Preface

George C. Miles, one of the greatest scholars in the field of Islamic numismatics, brought his illustrious career symbolically to a close with his monograph on the coinage of the Arab rulers of Crete.¹ While he continued to be active in the field, Miles' study of this relatively small group of coins allowed him to thank those with whom he had worked over many decades as well as illustrate his abilities both as a scholar of Islamic coinage and an interpreter of that data. In bringing my own numismatic study of another relatively minor Muslim dynasty to a close, I seek to meet the scholarly standards set by Miles as well as thank the many who have enabled me to have such pleasure in being part of a community of scholars, curators, and collectors for many decades.

In 1971, I was introduced to the coinage of the Ikhshidid rulers who governed Egypt, Palestine and, occasionally, other parts of Greater Syria between A.H. 323–358/935–969 C.E., when Dr. Henri Amin Awad of Cairo placed before me a small hoard of coins found in Fustat, Cairo, which we subsequently published.² Later, I had the opportunity to study and publish a larger hoard of Ikhshidid, Hamdanid, Qarmati, and Fatimid coins held by the Israel Department of Archaeology and Museums in the Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem.³ By the end of the 1970s, I was working in Cairo on a project sponsored by the Smithsonian Institution to publish a catalogue of the numismatic items in the Egyptian National Library (Dar al-Kutub Khedieval Collection).⁴ The team leaders were Norman (Doug) Nicol, who had just completed with me his excellent Ph.D. on Abbasid numismatics, and Raafat el-Nabarawy, an advanced graduate student in Islamic numismatics at Cairo University who went on to be Dean, College of Archaeology, Cairo

1. George C. Miles. *The Coinage of the Arab Amirs of Crete* (New York: ANS Numismatic Notes and Monographs No. 160, 1970).

2. Jere L. Bacharach and Henri Amin Awad, 'A Hoard of Ikhshidid Dirhams,' *al-Abhath* XXIV (1974): 51–58.

3. Jere L. Bacharach, 'Hoard of Muslim Dirhams from Tel Ashdod,' *Atiqot* XIV (1981): 83–92.

4. Norman D. Nicol, Raafat el-Nabarawy, and Jere L. Bacharach. *Catalog of the Islamic Coins, Glass Weights, Dies and Medals in the Egyptian National Library* (Malibu, CA. American Research Center in Egypt/Catalogues—Undena Publications, 1982).

University. By then I had prepared a draft of a small catalogue of Ikhshidid coins whose numbering system was used as a reference for the Ikhshidid specimens in the Dar al-Kutub Catalogue. I had also written a twenty-six page interpretative essay on Ikhshidid coinage, which had benefited from constructive comments by Helen Mitchell Brown of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. That catalogue and introduction were never revised nor submitted for publication.

I returned to the Ikhshidid project in the late 1980s and again in the mid-1990s publishing a few specialized articles on various aspects of Ikhshidid coinage. I continued to comb numismatic literature for new data and visited additional collections to record their Ikhshidid coinage. The result was that the size of the original catalogue more than tripled in terms of the number of specimens examined, although the number of new varieties was relatively small. However, this project was not completed as I found other academic duties and activities to more than fill my time.

Thanks to the encouragement, occasional prodding, and support of my friend and colleague Luke Treadwell, I returned to Oxford University for two months in the fall of 2004 as the Samir Shamma Fellow in Islamic Numismatics and Epigraphy. This time I had only one primary task and the results of that period of writing, subsequently revised, are before you. The text, from my point of view, is significantly better and larger than the earlier 1970s version. I have incorporated into this new study earlier published material as well as more recent ones. The corpus is also significantly improved. I benefited from the input of Doug Nicol whose own term as a Shamma Fellow overlapped with mine, and Steve Album, another Shamma Fellow, whose fall 2004 travel plans included Oxford. Again, looking back at almost thirty-five years of contact with dealers, collectors, museum curators, and scholars, I think how incredibly fortunate I have been. The pleasure of my many academic interactions with colleagues including members of the Oriental Institute, Oxford University, and other numismatists in the Heberden Coin Room, Ashmolean Museum, is one consolation for me for taking so long to complete this project.

Edward Said's *Orientalism*, at least indirectly, necessitates the first chapter of this study.⁵ No other work in Middle Eastern Studies has shaken the assumptions of the field as his book did and while it is already over a quarter of a century old, its impact still continues.⁶ One simple, but clear message of Said's work was that scholarship is not a neutral or value-free enterprise. Most scholars have always known this, but the influence of Said's work on me led me into a more public

5. Edward Said. *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1978).

6. Daniel Varisco. *Reading Orientalism: Said and the Unsaid* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2006).

declaration of my approach. For example, in the past I treated catalogues of coins as value-free collections of data, the publication of which was often pejoratively called Antiquarianism. I now recognize that subjective decisions go into the arrangement of the material. Organizing numismatic data for a catalogue by listing in order of priority dynasty, ruler, metal, mint, and date creates a different hierarchy then listing the data by region, mint, date, and then metal with dynasty and ruler last.⁷ The point is not that one ordering is right and the other wrong, but that the decision to pick one reflects a subjective decision on the part of the scholar. Thus, in the first chapter of this study I discuss my approach to organizing and interpreting numismatic data. For newcomers to the numismatic field, I present an explanation of technical terms, such as obverse, reverse, die links, and degree of fineness, which are used later in the analytical chapters. I also use this first chapter to describe the standard type of dinars and dirhams circulating in the central lands of the Abbasid Empire from 323/935, the year Muhammad ibn Tughj took control of Egypt and Palestine.

The second chapter focuses on the coinage of Muhammad ibn Tughj al-Ikhshid, the founder of the Ikhshidid dynasty. I draw extensively in this and the third chapter on articles I have published over the years taking advantage of the constructive input of colleagues who have caught errors or have suggested better interpretations of the data. In particular a *mea culpa* must be noted concerning a key argument, which I put in absolute terms and made in an article published in 1979 in the *JAOS* (*Journal of the American Oriental Society*).⁸ I presented a complex interpretation of how the names of two new Abbasid caliphs in Baghdad in A.H. 333 and A.H. 334 were mentioned in the *khutba* (Friday sermon) in Fustat, Egypt, when news of their becoming caliph reached Egypt. I then added that al-Ikhshid, as the Abbasid governor of Egypt, did not change the coinage (*sikka*) by replacing the name of the previous caliph, which was inscribed on the dinars (gold coins) and dirhams (silver coins) for that year, with the name of the new caliph.

7. R.C. Senior, a collector, scholar, and donor, argued that by rearranging his Indo-Scythian coins according to style rather than identifying pieces as Bactrian, Indo-Greek, Indo-Scythian, and Kushan, he had filled in the blanks in the series, which were created when the coins were arranged according to a dynastic order. See his forthcoming publication: "The Pre-Kushan Period in Gandhara: Recent Researches," *Indian Numismatics, Epigraphy and Archaeology: Recent Advances in Reconstructing the Past*, Shailendra Bhandare, ed. (forthcoming)—Presented orally, Oxford University, 16 September 2004. A number of references will be made to unpublished material, which has been shared with me privately or through public presentation. Those authors deserve full credit for their ideas or discovery of relevant material and will be cited.

8. Jere L. Bacharach, "Al-Ikhshid, the Hamdanids and the Caliphate: The Numismatic Evidence," *JAOS* 94 (1974): 360–70.

I based my absolutist position on an examination of over a thousand Ikhshidid coins and the absence of either of the new caliphs' name on the coinage of Egypt or Palestine for the specific year in which they became caliph. Then, one day long after the article appeared I was at the home of a Middle Eastern collector where I found a worn, but clearly inscribed Ikhshidid dirham with just the data I predicted did not exist; it was a dirham minted in Egypt dated A.H. 334 with the name of the al-Mutif, the second Abbasid caliph for that Muslim year.

Arguing from the absence of evidence is always a dangerous approach and I almost did it again. In an earlier draft I wrote that the Ikhshidids never minted coins in Aleppo because I had never seen one. This time my absolutist position did not go into print before I examined the Ashmolean collection, which included an Ikhshidid dirham minted in Aleppo, probably in A.H. 336, in the name of the second ruler of the Ikhshidid dynasty. If many of my conclusions are qualified whenever numismatic data are lacking, it is because I realize that somewhere there may be another Ikhshidid coin proving my absolutist position wrong.

The third chapter covers the coinage of al-Ikhshid's successors and, again, I draw upon my earlier published articles and recent research. Part of the intellectual joy of working on this section was seeking explanations for the appearance of the name of an Ikhshidid ruler in lands beyond their direct control. In both chapters two and three most of the analysis focuses on coinage, which falls outside the traditional dinars and dirhams. This material includes a few copper pieces and a broad category of numismatic specimens, which numismatists label presentation or commemorative pieces including one medallion. Little is written about copper coins because they were almost non-existent in this period.⁹ Presentation pieces are fascinating because they offer data not found on regular gold and silver coinage. While they eventually circulated in the market as struck metal along with the regular dinars and dirhams, they differed from the regular coinage in terms of size, inscriptions, and, in one case, the inclusion of human images. The last chapter will offer a number of generalizations about fourth-century A.H./tenth-century C.E. Ikhshidid history and understood societal rules based upon these numismatic sources.

The second half of this publication is a catalogue. It begins with a listing of all the regular gold coins organized by ruler, then mint and date followed by the regular silver coins by ruler, mint, and date. In creating this format, my priority was to serve the needs of dealers, collectors, and curators so that it would be relatively easy for them to compare any piece they had with my data. It is also for this reason that

9. Stephen Album, "No small change: The disappearance of copper coinage in the Islamic world during the ninth century." Oral presentation and paper 19 April 1995.

I listed all regular dinars and dirhams separately rather than combining them by ruler as is done in other catalogues. The third part of the catalogue consists of fulus (copper coins), Meccan coinage associated with the Ikhshidids, and presentation pieces.

In creating the catalogue, it became an essential tool for my research. I used it to identify when and where change occurred in the regular coinage, which could involve the addition of new names, new tutelary, additional pious phrases, and isolated letters or different layouts; to trace the relative output of the mints over time; to observe any changes in weight standards by time or region; to isolate coins struck in the name of the Ikhshidids minted outside lands they directly controlled; and to separate presentation pieces from regular issues. Different methods were needed to establish the degree of fineness/percentage of purity for gold and silver issues, which are discussed in the following chapter.

Two mechanical issues involve dating and transliteration. When two dates appear, I use the Hijra date (A.H.) first followed by the Common Era (C.E.) year. When discussing the coinage, I only use the Hijra date, as that is the one inscribed on the coin itself. The transliteration system follows the guidelines used by *IJMES* (*International Journal of Middle East Studies*).

Dr. Paul Balog pioneered numismatic studies for many periods of pre-Ottoman Islamic Egypt and his corpuses for Ayyubid and Mamluk coinage are still the basic references in both fields.¹⁰ He is also the first scholar to compile a corpus of Ikhshidid coins.¹¹ For all who had the pleasure of knowing him, Balog was a wonderful, generous human being who was willing to share his knowledge and his collection. For me, he is the founder of Ikhshidid numismatic studies and an essential supporter of all my earlier work on Mamluk coinage. Therefore, I dedicate this book to his memory.

The second person to whose memory I dedicate this study is Mr. Samir Shamma. As a scholar, he significantly expanded our knowledge of Ikhshidid specimens.¹² Beyond his publications Shamma's generosity and support of the study of Islamic numismatics in America, Europe, and the Middle East put him in a class of his own. Through arrangements with the Heberden Coin Room, the Ashmolean Museum, he made his extensive collection available to scholars and through his support a ten-

10. Paul Balog, *The Coinage of the Ayyubids* (London: Royal Numismatic Society Special Publication Number 12, 1980). Balog, *The Coinage of the Mamluk Sultans of Egypt and Syria* (New York: American Numismatic Society, Numismatic Studies, no. 12, 1964).

11. Paul Balog, "Table de references des monnaies ikhchidites," *Revue belge de Numismatique* 103 (1957): 107–34. Paul Balog, "Dinars ikhchidites trouves a Assiout (Haute-Egypte) en automne 1954," *Revue belge de Numismatique* 101 (1955): 103–11.

12. Samir Shamma, "The Ikhshidid Coins of Filastin," *Al-Abhath* 22 (Nos. 3 and 4) (1969): 27–46. Samir Shamma, *Al-Nuqud al-Islamiya allati duribat fi Filastin* (West Bank, 1980).

volume sylloge of the Islamic coins in the Ashmolean is being published.¹³ In order to enable scholars such as myself, Stephen Album, Michael Bates, Lutz Ilisch, Aleksadr Naymark, Norman D. Nicol, and Gert Rispling to undertake research free from our normal employment responsibilities, Shamma created the Samir Shamma Fellowship in Islamic Numismatics and Epigraphy, which is housed in St. Cross College, Oxford University and is attached to the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. I consider holding the Shamma Fellowship one of the great honors of my academic career.

Many individuals over many years were very generous in sharing with me their time and data and I wish to thank the following: Ibrahim Artuk (Turkey), Henri Amin Awad (Egypt), Gabyulla Babyarov (Uzbekistan), Dennis Basic (U.S.A.), Ariel Berman (Israel), Guilo Bernardi (Italy), Ramzi J. Bikhazi (Canada), Roz Britton-Strong (U.K.), Helen Brown (U.K.), Raoul Curiel (France), Gunther Dembski (Austria), Adnan M. Djaroueh (Syria), Andrew S. Ehrenkreutz (Australia), Haim Gitler (Israel), Adon A. Gordus (U.S.A.), Robert Gurnet (Belgium), Salim Haddad (Lebanon), Raymond Hebert (U.S.A.), Stefan Heidemann (Germany), Muhammad al-Kholi (Syria), Muhammad Y. Limbada (U.K.),

13. So far the following volumes have been published: Stephen Album and Tony Goodwin, *Sylloge of Islamic Coins in the Ashmolean, Vol. 1: The Pre-Reform Coinage of the Early Islamic Period* (Oxford: Ashmolean Museum, 2002); Norman D. Nicol, *Sylloge of Islamic Coins in the Ashmolean, Vol. 2: Early post-reform coinage* (Oxford: Ashmolean Museum, 2009); Nicol, *Sylloge of Islamic coins in the Ashmolean, Vol. 3: Later Abbasid precious metal coinage (to 218 AH)* (Oxford: Ashmolean Museum, 2012); Nicol, *Sylloge of Islamic coins in the Ashmolean, Vol. 4: Later Abbasid precious metal coinage (from 219 AH)* (Oxford: Ashmolean Museum, 2012); Nicol, *Sylloge of Islamic coins in the Ashmolean, Vol. 6: The Egyptian dynasties* (Oxford: Ashmolean Museum, 2007); Album, *Sylloge of Islamic Coins in the Ashmolean, Vol. 9: Iran after the Mongol Invasions* (Oxford: Ashmolean Museum, 2001); Album, *Sylloge of Islamic Coins in the Ashmolean, Vol. 10: Arabia and East Africa* (Oxford: Ashmolean Museum, 1999). It is anticipated that three more volumes will appear. In addition to the Ashmolean series, a sylloge of the Islamic coins in the Tübingen University collection has begun. Lutz Ilisch, *Sylloge Numorum Arabicorum Tübingen: Palastina IVa Bilad as-Sam* (Tübingen: Forschungsstelle für Islamische Numismatik Orientalisches Seminar der Universität Tübingen, 1993). L. Korn, *Sylloge Numorum Arabicorum Tübingen: IVc: Hamah* (Tübingen: Forschungsstelle für Islamische Numismatik Orientalisches Seminar der Universität Tübingen, 1998). Atif Mansur Ramadan & Florian Schwarz, *Sylloge numorum Arabicorum, Tübingen XIVa 1, Naysābūr, Sabzawār und die Münzstätten in Guwayn* (Tübingen: Forschungsstelle für Islamische Numismatik Orientalisches Seminar der Universität Tübingen, 2012). Tobias Meyer, *Sylloge Numorum Arabicorum Tübingen: Nordund Ostzentrasien XVb Mittelasien II* (Berlin: Forschungsstelle für Islamische Numismatik Orientalisches Seminar der Universität Tübingen, 1998). Florian Schwarz, *Sylloge Numorum Arabicorum Tübingen: XIVd Hurasan IV: Gaznal Kabul* (Tübingen: Forschungsstelle für Islamische Numismatik Orientalisches Seminar der Universität Tübingen, 1995). Florian Schwarz, *Sylloge Numorum Arabicorum Tübingen: XIVc Hurasan III: Balh und Landschaften am oberen Oxus* (Tübingen: Forschungsstelle für Islamische Numismatik Orientalisches Seminar der Universität Tübingen, 2001). Michael Fedorov, *Sylloge numorum Arabicorum, Tübingen: Buhārā / Samarqand : XVa Mittelasien. 1, Central Asia* (Tübingen: Orientalisches Seminar der Universität Tübingen, 2009).

George C. Miles (U.S.A.), Ulla S. Linder-Welin (Sweden), Nicholas Lowick (U.K.), Siham al-Mahdi (Egypt), Kurt Munzel (Germany), Raafat al-Nabarawy (Egypt), Arlette Negre (France), Bernard O’Kane (Egypt), W.A. Oddy (U.K.), Venetia Porter (U.K.), Hassanein Rabie (Egypt), Shraga Qedar (Israel), Elizabeth Savage (U.K.), Marcia Sharabany (Israel), Elena Stoloyarik (U.S.A.), Muhammad Abu’-l-Faraj al-Ush (Qatar), CM. (Tony) Webdale (U.K.), Muserref Yetim (U.S.A.), and Sherif Anwar.

I was also able to study the relevant material from the following collections and I thank all who were so generous in giving me that opportunity. The American Numismatic Society (New York), Ashmolean Museum (Oxford), Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris), British Museum (London), Museum of Islamic Art (Cairo), Israel Museum (Jerusalem), Nasir D. Khalili Collection (London), L. A. Mayer Museum (Jerusalem), National Library (Cairo), National Museum (Damascus), Islamic Archaeology Museum (Istanbul), Israel Department of Archaeology and Museums (Jerusalem), Rockefeller Museum (Jerusalem), Samir Shamma Collection (Oxford), Forschungsstelle für Islamische Numismatik Tübingen (Tübingen), and Yapi ve Kredi Bank Museum (Istanbul).

Special thanks are due to a few others: Steve Album has been a fountain of information and advice, sharing his ideas freely and frequently; Michael Bates has been exceedingly generous in making available to me his insightful, original, extensively researched forthcoming study of the second monetary epoch of Abbasid coinage, which includes the first years the Ikhshidids governed Egypt and Palestine; Irene Bierman has been an intellectual stimulus on a wide range of subjects, which have directly affected how I interpret Islamic numismatic data; Lutz Ilisch was always ready and willing to share his vast knowledge of Islamic coinage and responded rapidly to all my electronic requests; Doug Nicol shared the data from his forthcoming sylloge of the Egyptian coins in the Ashmolean and Shamma collections, his forthcoming corpus of Fatimid coins, answered my numerous emails quickly and in a constructive manner, and was a direct help in many ways with the accompanying catalogue; and Luke Treadwell whose openness to a broad range of issues has made my stays at Oxford some of the most intellectually exciting times of my life.

Having named so many individuals in this preface I realize that some will be called upon to review this work and I expect from each of them and others the same openness and honesty, which they have shown me these many years. Errors of fact and interpretation are my responsibility and I shall gain by having them pointed out.

Funding for such a long-term project has come from a number of sources, even when my primary academic activity involved other priorities and I wish to thank the following: American Research Center in Egypt (ARCE); Council for American Overseas Research Centers; Council for International Exchange of Scholars (Fulbright Commission); Howard and Frances Keller Research Fund, Department of History, University of Washington; National Endowment for the Humanities, the Samir Shamma Fellowship in Islamic Numismatics and Epigraphy, Oxford University; and the Smithsonian Institution. Two institutions—The American Research Center in Egypt (ARCE) and the American Numismatic Society (ANS)—both gave me critical support. A generous publication subsidy was granted by the ARCE Antiquities Endowment Fund, which in turn, is supported by a grant from USAID. I wish to add my thanks to Gerry Scott, Director, ARCE and Ute Wartenberg Kagan, Executive Director, ANS.

At the AUC Press I had the pleasure of working with Neil Hewison whose patience while retaining a sense of humor is greater than anyone I know. I was also supported at the AUC Press by Nadia Naqib. I was also fortunate to work again with Rosalind Wade Haddon, an outstanding editor. Susan Benson who typed the Arabic was very patient with all my last minute requests. I also received valuable comments from a group of non-specialists, my colleagues in the University of Washington's History Research Group.

In addition to those many named above, two women—Ruth Bacharach and Barbara Fudge—over these many years have also played a key role for which words of thanks do not capture my deep appreciation.

Preface to Second Edition

This second, updated edition of *Islamic History through Coins* includes over 350 additional specimens, which are listed in the catalogue section under their appropriate number, that is, an increase of over twenty-five percent from the original database. New types and examples include another Misr 353 dinar, whose date is probably an error for 355, which was not fully identified in the first edition; dirhams for Dimashq for 334, 342, and 343; Tabariyah for 336, 346, and 353; and a dirham with the mint name Mecca and the date 334. The last is discussed in fuller detail in chapter two. Whenever possible, better images of the coins were used in this edition. To aid users of this electronic version, the data on the obverse and reverse types of regular Ikhshidid dinars and dirhams have been placed at the end of this book. I hope that through the input of reviewers and volunteer readers all the errors from the first edition have been corrected, but if not, their continued inclusion and any new ones are my responsibility.

Many individuals aided me in this second edition and I wish to thank the following: Sherif Anwar, Michael Bates, William Barrett, Vladimir Belyaev, Giulio Bernardi, Robert Darley-Doran, Liz Darley-Doran, Seth Freeman, Elizabeth Hahn, Stefan Heidemann, Mary Hinton, Lutz Ilisch, John C. Lavender, Stephen Lloyd, Luke Treadwell, Vladimir Suchy, Ahmed Yousef, David Wasserstein, and Shaikha Hussa al-Sabah. I am particularly grateful for this edition for the sharing of data and, when requested, for images by Steve Album Rare Coins of California, the American Numismatic Society, the Ashmolean Museum (Oxford), Baldwin's of London, Dar al-'Athar al-Islamiya (Kuwait), Morton & Eden of London, and the website www.zeno.ru. I also wish to express my appreciation to Neil Hewison and the staff at AUC Press for their support in this project.

Moral support from Barb Fudge was critical in enabling me to complete this work.

Part One

An Analysis of Ikhshidid Numismatic Material

Chapter 1

On Coinage

Islamic History through Coins focuses on one historical artifact—coinage—and asks one overarching question—what can we learn about a specific historical place and period—Islamic Ikhshidid Egypt and Palestine, A.H. 323–358/935–969 C.E.—from the systematic study of this type of evidence.¹ The following two chapters present Ikhshidid numismatic data and interpretations of it. The last chapter is an overview on the value of Islamic coinage for this specific era and historical studies in general. The second half of the book brings together all the Ikhshidid numismatic data in the form of a catalogue.

Numismatics is defined as the systematic study of coins, paper money, and related material.² Derek Kennet summarized the ‘life’ of numismatic specimens in

1. Whenever two dates are given separated by a slash, the first is the Muslim Hijra year and the second is the Common Era, previously labeled as A.D. In chapters two and three most dates are only given in Hijra years as that was the calendar used on Muslim coinage.

2. There are a number of good introductions to the history of numismatics. Among the best is Philip Grierson, *Numismatics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975). A more popular approach including excellent color plates of coins is Jonathan Williams, ed. *Money – A History* (London: The British Museum Press, 1997) in which Michael Bates contributes a chapter on Islamic coins. Another brief summary of Islamic numismatics can be found in Venetia Porter, “Islamic coins – Origins and Development,” *Origin, Evolution and Circulation of Foreign Coins in the Indian Ocean*, Osmund Bopearachchi and D.P.M. Weerakkody, eds., (Manohar: Sri Lanka Society for Numismatic Studies and French Mission of Archeological Co-operation in Sri Lanka, 1998): 63–71. Another overview with a more theoretical bent is Giles P. Hennequin, “Les monnaies et la monnaie,” *Etats, sociétés et cultures du monde musulman medieval*, Jean Claude Garcin, ed. (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 2000) II: 219–44.

the following order: production—issue/supply—circulation—deposition—survival—recovery—recording—publication/public domain.³ This chapter draws upon his organizing principles by focusing primarily on production. Two questions are raised: what is on the coinage and what is in the coinage? In answering the second of these, a brief summary of how pre-machine made coins were struck is included.

One priority responsibility is for numismatists is to identify what is on the coinage. The historian using numismatic evidence asks why these specific elements—words, designs, signs, and symbols—were chosen at that time and place. This leads to using the coinage as an historical source to ask what we can learn about a specific society at a particular time or the policies or priorities of the individual who authorized the coinage at the moment it was issued. A modern example will illustrate my point. Both sides of the Great Seal of the United States are reproduced on the back of the U.S. one dollar bill. The Great Seal includes English and Latin, an unfinished pyramid, and other symbols meaningful to those men who created the Great Seal at the end of the eighteenth century C.E. A numismatic historian can use this Seal to reconstruct some of the intellectual and philosophical ideas current in that era. Although the Great Seal is still used on twenty-first century American currency, it is not a valid source for enhancing our understanding of this century.

Kennet's last category, publication/public domain, involves the value of catalogues, private collections, and museum holdings for historical studies and is also discussed in this chapter. Most of his other categories trace what happens to coins after they have been minted and are not the subject of this book. The circulation of numismatic evidence over time is a subfield of numismatics, which I have labeled Monetary History. Here the emphasis shifts from the data on the individual piece to the collective body of numismatic evidence. For example, economic historians who study monetary history use coinage for analyzing a wide variety of issues such as long term economic trends and the degree of monetization in a society.⁴

For an introduction to methodology in Islamic numismatics, see Michael Bates, "Methodology in Islamic Numismatics," a paper presented in Sicily in 1989 and reproduced in the electronic journal on Islamic numismatics, *al-Sikka* 2.3 (Winter, 2000). <http://www.islamiccoinsgroup.50g.com/>. It is an excellent source for anyone interested in Islamic numismatics to start. Any serious collector, curator, dealer or scholar of Islamic coins should include as a primary resource Stephen Album, *Checklist of Islamic Coins*, Third Edition (Santa Rosa, CA.: Stephen Album Rare Coins, 2011).

3. Derek Kennet, "Early-historic Archaeological Chronology and the Analysis of Coins from Archaeological Deposits." This was presented orally at a conference at Oxford University, on 16 September 2004, under the working title *Indian Numismatics, Epigraphy and Archaeology: Recent Advances in Reconstructing the Past*.

4. An example of monetary history is the work of two MIT economic historians who proved the high degree of monetization in the early Roman Empire by using cumulative numismatic data and

Two aspects of monetary history, however, are important for this study. The first is the domination over time of a particular visual image so that the layout is easily recognized by those who use the coinage. Using the previous example, the appearance of the Great Seal of the United States long after its original meaning was forgotten reflects the conservative nature of most numismatic material. The numismatic study would identify when significant elements are introduced into a coinage and why; the monetary history would focus on which of these elements is retained over time so that the coinage is easily identifiable without having to read the specific inscriptions or interpret the particular signs and symbols.

In the last section of this chapter I trace the general changes in Islamic coinage from the late first/seventh century when the first all-epigraphic Muslim coins were struck to the period of Ikhshidid rule in the fourth/tenth century. Emphasis is placed on the layout of Abbasid coinage from the third/ninth century, which is labeled the second Abbasid monetary epoch. A corollary is the concept of monetary zones. This refers to the idea that there are geographic areas where a particular coinage is recognized and accepted without being 'read.' An early twenty-first century example of a coinage and its accompanying monetary zone would be the Euro, which circulates freely in Europe but is considered 'foreign' and not easily accepted in other parts of the world such as the United States.

Economic exchanges including international trade far more complex than a simple barter system had been going on for thousands of years before the invention of coinage. Pharaonic Egypt offers the most obvious example. Long after coinage was introduced into the Western and Middle Eastern worlds, large parts of the globe continued to calculate exchanges by other means such as weighed quantities of unstamped metal, cloth, and cowry shells, but coinage spread because it had a number of advantages.⁵ It was small enough for easy counting, weighing, and carrying; it was not easily destructible; it had a marking on it implying that some authority was guaranteeing its relative quality; and it was a vehicle by which the authorizing authority was making a statement about itself. When studying coinage I ask two basic questions: what's on it and what's in it? Both questions, in turn, rest on a number of assumptions, which need to be articulated.

textual information on prices. David Kessler and Peter Temin, "Money and Prices in the Early Roman Empire," Paper presented at the Conference on Money and Monetization in the early Roman Empire, Columbia University, 7–8 April, 2005.

5. The numismatic term for the cut and broken pieces of silver ingots and jewelry is Hacksilber, which eventually succumbed to Aegean monetary practices. Peter van Alfen, "Uncoined Money in the Ancient World," *American Numismatic Society Magazine* 2.1 (2003): 16–17.

What is on it?

A strong case has been made that one reason for the issuance of coinage was that it was a vehicle for enhancing the image of a Greek polis or kingdom. It was a form of propaganda and the markings on the coinage had meaning to the issuing authorities and they wished to be associated with that sign or symbol.⁶ With a broad range of research tools available, including occasional textual references, discoveries of coin hoards within specific locales and, most helpful of all, wording on the coinage itself identifying the minting city, scholars have been able to attribute almost all Classical coinage to a specific Greek polis, a particular Roman ruler, etc. What is not obvious is why one overall design, sign, symbol, or even a letter was used on a particular coinage rather than another. One challenge for numismatic scholarship is to answer the 'why' in the preceding sentence.

Someone or ones made the original suggestions for a coin's overall design, layout, pattern, script, image, or wording. My first assumption is that the highest political authority, even if that person didn't have direct control over the mint, was ultimately responsible. I will use some modern examples to illustrate my point. Thus, a specific British Prime Minister can be held responsible for authorizing the portrait of Elizabeth Fry (1780–1845) on the Bank of England five-pound note and a specific American president is the final authority for the order that United States (U.S.) \$100 bills be printed with a picture of Benjamin Franklin (1706–1790). This doesn't mean that these political leaders made the actual decision, only that once a choice was made, that individual as the highest political authority could be held responsible. If there had been a public outcry in Britain over the appearance of this particular female as opposed to a more famous figure such as Florence Nightingale or in the U.S. over the inclusion of someone other than a U.S. President on the circulating currency, it was not an unnamed bureaucrat who was going to take the heat for it.

Applying this approach to the fourth/tenth century central Islamic lands of the Middle East, it is my position that either an Abbasid caliph or a local governor who had effective control over the mint was responsible for the legends inscribed on the dinars (gold coins) and dirhams (silver coins). The same person was also ultimately responsible for the purity or degree of fineness of the gold and silver coins. *Fals* (a copper coin; plural = *fulus*) are not included in this study for two

6. Thomas R. Martin, "Why did the Greek Polis originally need coins?," *Historia Zeitschrift für alte Geschichte* 45, no. 3 (1996): 257–83. Peter Vargyas, "Money in the Ancient Near East Before and After Coinage," *Albright News* 5 (February 2000): 10–11. It is possible that there was no symbolic 'meaning' in the design of the first dies when coinage was invented, but once struck that meaningless mark became associated with the issuing authority and acquired 'meaning.'

reasons: first, they were not subject to the same degree of centralized control creating the opportunity for far greater variety by local authorities than is found on regular gold and silver specimens and second, Muslim law in the form of the *shari'a* was applied only to dinars and dirhams.⁷

The power to determine what was on the coinage in the Islamic world is summarized by the phrase 'right of *sikka*.' There are two ways in which the Arabic term can be understood: the first is the right to strike any coinage in any metal as long as the authorizing power was responsible for what appeared on and in the coinage and the quality of metal in it; the second refers only to the right to determine what was on and in regular dinars and dirhams. In the latter case, *sikka* only refers to *shari'a* recognized coinage. This study will use the term *sikka* in this second sense and will focus on the ways in which the Ikhshidid rulers did and did not impinge on what was considered a caliphal prerogative. Therefore, throughout this study a distinction will be maintained between regular dinars and dirhams and all other numismatic pieces even if they were struck in gold and silver. As Album wrote on the right of *sikka* for this particular Abbasid era, "in order to give their self-proclaimed sovereignty the cloak of legitimacy, these (local) rulers at first applied to the caliph for his formal recognition of their *de facto* authority, and usually sent lavish gifts and exuberant promises of tribute. Under such circumstances, the caliph could scarcely refuse recognition."⁸

Returning to my modern example, it may be possible to research Parliamentary Papers, Congressional Records, archives of the British and American mints, contemporary newspapers or even specialized contemporary numismatic newsletters to discover why a relatively unknown early nineteenth century British female (Elizabeth Fry) or a non-Presidential eighteenth century U.S. figure (Benjamin Franklin) appeared on their respective currencies.⁹ However, for most of the history of coinage such data do not exist. The challenge for the numismatic historian is to offer an explanation of what appears on the coinage recognizing that most interpretations will be based on very limited evidence and subject to further revision and correction.

In modern cases it may be possible to discover the original motivation for the inclusion of specific elements on a coinage. One example is the appearance of the famous American female suffragist Susan B. Anthony on the U.S. dollar coin.

7. G. C. Miles, "Dinar," *EI*, 2nd ed., II: 297; Miles, "Dirham," *EI*, 2nd ed., II: 319. A.L. Udovitch, "Fals," *EI*, 2nd ed., II: 768. Stuart D. Sears, "Money," *Encyclopedia of the Qur'an* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2004) III: 408–409.

8. Stephen Album. Marden's *Numismatica Orientalia Illustrata* (New York: Attic Books, 1977): 13.

9. I was surprised to discover that John Gurney, Oxford's specialist on Persian literature, knew a great deal about Elizabeth Fry's remarkable career. Gurney did conclude the conversation by sharing that he was also related to her.

Many Americans recognize her name and her association with the women's voting rights movement. Research in archives, contemporary news media, and coin trade journals of the time permit historians to reconstruct the specific factors during the Carter Administration which lead to the decision to include her portrait on the coinage. For most of human history such sources are not available and memory of why a particular coin type was chosen and what it represented at the time it was first issued is quickly lost.

Most coinages successful in the market retain their basic layout and design over time so that the issues are easily recognized as having been minted by a specific authority in a particular area. Standard types such as the second Abbasid monetary epoch style, to be discussed in detail below, are developed by authorizing authorities, which then retain the general pattern of these issues over time. This is particularly true if the pattern is widely recognized in the market and is known for its quality. The conservative nature of this coinage can be labeled 'reputation,' where there is a value-added component to the money because 'it looks right.'¹⁰ This doesn't necessarily mean that every detail must be the same, only that the overall appearance conforms to the earliest issues, which created the original reputation.¹¹ A modern example would be the new series of U.S. quarters honoring each of the fifty states. The 'heads' (obverse) looks close enough to the old series of quarters so that most users of the new quarter never notice the difference. Each of the new quarters' 'tails' (reverse) is unique with information associated with a special State. Since the color, size, and weight are the same as the old quarters, all U.S. quarters are exchanged in the market as if they are a single series. As will be detailed below, a 'standard' type of dinar and dirham was created in Abbasid lands in the third/ninth century, which lasted for over a century despite the changes of mint, date, caliph, and the inclusion of names of other political or military leaders on specific coins. This is the second Abbasid monetary epoch.

10. My ideas on 'reputation' are derived from Ellis Goldberg. *Trade, Reputation, and Child Labor in Twentieth-Century Egypt* (New York: Palgrave, 2004), especially Chapter 2.

11. Sometimes minor changes can impact a market. Luke Treadwell brought to my attention the case of when the Austrian authorities made what they considered minor changes to the veil of Maria Theresa's portrait on the Maria Theresa dollar, and Yemeni merchants initially refused to accept the new coin. A more current example involves U.S. currency. A short time after U.S. authorities changed the size of the portraits on U.S. paper money and made other changes to make it harder to counterfeit this currency, merchants in most of the world rejected the old U.S. currency with the smaller figure, although the older variety continued to be accepted within the U.S. In one case reputation was retained by the original Maria Theresa coins and, in the second, it switched entirely to the new U.S. \$100 currency.

The preceding observations about the nature of numismatic evidence are relevant because my primary task in the next two chapters will be to offer an interpretation of the meaning of a significant variant and/or new coinage at the time it is introduced. If the only change on the coin is that of a new date, I do not consider this a significant change and no comment is necessary. The addition of new names, titles or religious expressions on Ikhshidid coinage are the type of data I will interpret. I will also argue that the inclusion of a certain isolated letter on the coinage for one chronological period carried a clear meaning but its use at an earlier period is unrelated and unknown. For those coins inscribed that they were minted in Mecca, I will treat them in two categories: those that looked like the regular dinars and dirhams minted in Palestine and Egypt and those that looked like contemporary coins struck in Western Arabia and Yemen. As noted above this is the concept of monetary zones, that is a geographic area where all the coins “looked” alike although the actual inscriptions differed. Before the detailed study of Ikhshidid coinage, a base line for second epoch Abbasid coinage will be developed in the last section of this chapter.

What is in it?

Production involves striking a flat piece of metal called a flan between two dies resulting in markings, which are meaningful to those who ordered production of the coinage. The earliest Greek coins were struck on flans of electrum, an occurring alloy of gold and silver in varying percentages. Greek mint masters as well as all who followed them in manufacturing coins learned to control the composition of the ore for the coins. With the technology available, gold coins could be struck on flans made from ingots of almost pure gold while the same could be done for silver. Thus, some series of coins could earn a reputation as being composed of 100% of that metal. Throughout history certain numismatic series earned such a ‘reputation,’ such as the silver Athenian owls of the Ancient Greek world and the gold Venetian ducats for the late medieval and early modern worlds.

Ancient and medieval forgers learned that a profit could be made by producing forgeries of such circulating coins in which they decreased the percentage of gold or silver below that of the legal currency.¹² However, a far more serious problem for

12. For textual and limited numismatic evidence for medieval forgeries and the fate suffered by the forgers in 15th century Egypt see Jere L. Bacharach, “Foreign. Coins, Forgers and Forgeries in Fifteenth Century Egypt.” *Proceedings of the 8th International Congress of Numismatists*, Herbert A. Cahn and Georges Le Rider, ed. (Paris-Bales: Association internationale des numismates professionnels—Publication No. 4, 1976): 501–11. There is also a general discussion in Carl F. Petry, *The Criminal Underworld in a Medieval Islamic society: Narratives from Cairo and Damascus under the Mamluks*

ancient and medieval markets was debasement, which was the deliberate action of an issuing authority without informing the users of the coinage. Throughout history, chronicles and other textual sources record public protests over such debasements, but the best source for identifying these debasements are still the coins themselves.

Unfortunately, looking at a coin rarely tells you if it has been debased unless the percentage of gold or silver removed is so great that the color looks wrong, that is, it is too pale. There are other popular but inaccurate methods for ‘testing’ the quality of a coin, such as biting and bouncing. The most precise method to find the purity of a series of coins is to take a set weight of the circulating coinage, melt them in order to separate the pure gold or silver, weigh the ‘pure’ metal, and then calculate the ‘pure’ metal as a percentage of the original weight. The result is a percentage or degree of purity. While medieval rulers and minters including al-Ikhshid are known to have used this method, modern museum curators and collectors look unkindly upon this process, which would permanently destroy their coins. Thus other methods had to be developed.

The traditional method for calculating the purity of gold is called ‘the specific gravity method.’ It is based on the fact that gold has a higher specific gravity than any of the metals with which it is debased. This means that if you debase a gold coin with any of the usual metals—silver, copper, or lead—the debased coin’s specific gravity will still be less than that of a pure gold coin. The method, known to the Greeks and called today Archimedes’ Principle, involves weighing a gold coin on a scale, then again in pure water, calculating the resulting specific gravity of the coin and comparing that number with a standardized table, such as the one published by the chemist Earle R. Caley.¹³ The purer the coin, the more accurate the table since the differences between the specific gravities of silver, copper, and lead are not significant when the amounts of these impurities are small. The accuracy of the method begins to decline as the percentage of gold in the debased coin decreases. For most historical studies, the margin of error is inconsequential since the goal of the specific gravity tests is to demonstrate a pattern, such as one of deliberate debasement by the issuing authority, not the exact amount of gold in

(Chicago: Chicago Studies on the Middle East 9, 2012). Modern forgeries are also a problem but they tend to concentrate around issues with a high market value. Therefore, the most common modern forgery of an Islamic issue is that of the first all-epigraphic dinars issued in A.H. 77.

13. Earle R. Caley, “Validity of the Specific Gravity Method for the Determination of the Fineness of Gold Objects,” *Ohio Journal of Science* 49 (1949): 73–82. A more recent discussion with updated tables is W.A. Oddy and M. J. Hughes, “The Specific Gravity Method for the Analysis of Gold Coins,” *Methods of Chemical and Metallurgical Investigation of Ancient Coinage*, E. T. Hall and D. M. Metcalf, ed. (London: Royal Numismatic Society Special Publication No. 8, 1972): 75–87.

any single coin. W.A. Oddy of the British Museum and I undertook separately specific gravity tests on dinars struck by Ikhshidids and the results of the seventy-one gold specimens will be presented in the next chapter.

This non-destructive technique for calculating the purity of dinars cannot be applied to silver coins. As indicated above, the specific gravity of silver falls between lead and copper and so it would be possible to mix all three metals, and create a seemingly 'pure' silver coin with the correct specific gravity for a pure silver one. Melting silver coins to test for their purity inhibits the use of that procedure by most modern scholars although a few have used it.¹⁴ Fortunately, another chemist, Adon A. Gordus, developed a method which uses a low-level neutron activation analysis to test silver coins for their purity and return them safely to their owners.¹⁵ Results of his tests on nine dirhams minted by the Ikhshidid rulers will also be included in the next chapter.

Striking Coins

Numismatists assume that their colleagues in other fields know how coins are minted, but my presentations and informal discussions with other scholars have led me to the opposite conclusion. Therefore, a few words on how the flan, that flat piece of prepared metal, turns into a coin, along with a few additional technical terms, have been included in this section. Coins are made by causing a flan to be struck by two dies, which are in turn inscribed with the agreed upon/authorized designs, figures, inscriptions, and such by the issuing authority. Once the data needed on the coinage were agreed upon, specialists carved the dies and prepared the metal for the flans.¹⁶ The flan was then set on top of one of the dies, while the minter held the upper die and hit the other end of that die with a hammer. The top die smashed into the flan creating an impression while pushing the bottom part of the flan into the lower die creating a second impression on the other side of the flan. The coin, which often stuck to the top die, was dropped into a basket and another flan was then placed on the bottom die.

14. Paul Balog's tables on the purity of dirhams circulating in Egypt in his various works are derived from his melting "duplicates" of pieces he owned.

15. Adon A. Gordus, "Neutron Activation Analysis on Coins and Coin-streaks," *Methods of Chemical and Metallurgical Investigation of Ancient Coinage*, E. T. Hall and D. M. Metcalf, ed. (London: Royal Numismatic Society Special Publication No. 8, 1972): 127–48 and Gordus, "Non-Destructive Analysis of Parthian, Sasanian and Umayyad Silver Coins," *Near Eastern Numismatics, Iconography, Epigraphy and History: Studies in Honor of George C. Miles*, Dickran Kouymjian, ed. (Beirut: American University of Beirut Press, 1974): 141–62.

16. Treadwell. *Buyid Coins: A Corpus* (Oxford: Ashmolean Museum, 2001), xvii–xviii.

Greeks quickly learned that the lower die, called the anvil die, lasted longer than the upper or trussel die. Since the dies did not run out at the same rate and the trussel die had to be replaced more often than the anvil one, Greeks placed the die needed to create the higher relief on the lower side. Scholars of Classical numismatics then named the side with the higher relief, which came to include gods, deified rulers, and other rulers the obverse or in modern popular culture, 'heads'.¹⁷ The other side of the coin was labeled the reverse ('tails'). Most Islamic dinars and dirhams are characterized by low relief, that is, the script and layout are the dominant elements and the problems in producing deep relief for images of humans or animals are not a concern. In addition, the flans for Islamic coins tend to be relatively thin. The result is that there is no high relief or obvious religious or political figure, which must be inscribed on the lower/anvil/obverse die. In addition, adequate Islamic numismatic evidence is lacking to establish a consistent pattern of which side was the obverse.¹⁸ As a result scholars of Islamic coinage can define which face they wish to be the obverse. This study defines the obverse as the face with the affirmation of God's unity (*shahada*).¹⁹

The distinction between obverse and reverse was extremely important for Classical numismatics and became the basis for studies of die linkages. This means that if one obverse was used with different reverse dies and one of the reverses is used with a new obverse die, this last reverse die bridged two obverse dies. Using this approach it is possible to link usually undated issues to one another and, in some cases, put them in a chronological order. While this methodology is rarely needed in the study of Islamic coinage, where the issues are usually dated, one example of the use of die links for identifying an issue as Ikhshidid will be given in the next chapter using the analysis of a series of Ikhshidid presentation pieces with human figures.²⁰ Another technical numismatic term is muling. A muling is when a flan is struck by obverse and reverse dies which

17. "Obverse" was first used in 1877 for the side of a coin with a portraiture. Oxford English Dictionary (No "www." address is available as the web-based version reached through University of Washington Library portal is for authorized use only.)

18. Jere L. Bacharach and Henri Amin Awad, "The Problem of the Obverse and the Reverse in Islamic Numismatics." *Numismatic Chronicle*. 7th series. XIII (1973): 183-91 and Addendum by N.M. Lowick, 190-91. Books and articles prepared in the Middle East such as those authored by Balog or Fahmi identify the side with *Muhammad rasul Allah* as the obverse. Thus, it is essential that when comparing data from different sources, care is taken to note how a particular author defines obverse and reverse.

19. The best discussion on the complexities related to which side of a Muslim coin is the obverse and which is the reverse can be found in Album, *Checklist*, 15.

20. An excellent example of the use of a die link study for Islamic numismatics is Tony Goodwin's chapter "The Pre-reform Coinage of Ba'albek: a Die Study," in *Arab-Byzantine Coinage* (London: Nour

don't belong together.²¹ While rare, mulings do accord and one example will be given in the following chapter. Double struck refers to a flan which has been struck twice by the same set of dies. Again, there is one example of a double struck coin from the Ikhshidid period which will be noted below. A final technical term, brockage, refers to a coin where a previously struck flan sticks to one of the two dies and the result is that the new flan is composed of one side with a normal inscription and the other side has an incused retrograde image of the same die.²² There are no known brockages of Ikhshidid coins.

Recording Coins

Kenner's second category is 'issue/supply,' a quantitative issue, which is very difficult to calculate. Without textual data, numismatists have turned to identifying the number of dies for a series as a means of calculating the relative output. Rarely has this been done for Islamic numismatics, but that trend is changing. Luke Treadwell's *Buyid Coins: A Corpus* is the first published study of a major Muslim dynasty in which all die variants in addition to coin types are available.²³ Sylloges, illustrated volumes of every identifiable coin in a collection, can lay the groundwork for future die studies. Sylloges presently being produced for the collections in Oxford and Tübingen are arranged according to geographical region and not dynasty, and thus are setting the standards for this new approach to Islamic numismatics.²⁴ Finally, numismatic collections are becoming available on line. As the digital images of their Islamic holdings are beginning to appear, it will likely be the most effective and cost-efficient way to make these data available to a worldwide community of scholars.²⁵

Museums and collectors have one thing in common and that is a desire to collect at least one example of every coin variety. Curators and collectors seek each unique mint, date, and ruler combination and, often, then add specimens with variations in titles, additional inscriptions, and changes in layout. A catalogue, which draws upon these public and private data, can be analyzed for general trends. For example, if coins are found for a particular series minted over a number of years from a specific mint and then none are known from these collections from the

Foundation in association with Azimuth Editions, 2005): Studies in the Khalili Collection Volume IV: 49–83.

21. Album, *Checklist*, 15.

22. *Ibid.*

23. Treadwell, *Buyid Coins*, xvii–xviii.

24. See note 13 and the bibliography for references to the Ashmolean sylloge Tübingen series.

25. See <http://numismatics.org> and especially <http://numismatics.org/OnlineResources/Links>.

same mint for a number of succeeding years, it is possible to suggest trends on the relative activity of that mint. But this argument can't be pushed too far. The absence of coins for the second period in this example does not prove that the mint stopped issuing coins. New coins may be discovered for the missing years, but it is likely that the relative output was very small, at best, compared to those years for which many specimens are known. A few general observations on the relative production of Ikhshidid mints in Egypt and Palestine based upon the data in the accompanying catalogue will be presented in the following chapters.

A better indication of the character of circulating coinage comes from coin hoards, but again they must be used with caution. Hoards, which enter museums and private collections from the market, may not reflect the original composition because dealers may have removed particularly valuable pieces for sale separately or very poor pieces fearing that there was no market for them. The best evidence on circulating coins comes from hoards found *in situ* and one example associated with the end of the Ikhshidid dynasty will be cited in Chapter Three.

The most widely used form of publication, the last of Kennet's categories, is the catalogue. The data for the catalogue in this book were collected from publications, correspondence, visits to museums, and the examination of pieces in private collections. In contrast to the studies of Luke Treadwell and Stuart D. Sears, where every specimen examined was illustrated in their studies of Buyid and Arab-Sasanian coinage respectively, this study lacks the complete photographic record. There is neither a photographic image of every coin by metal-mint-die-ruler nor is it possible to illustrate every die variant as was done in the Treadwell study.²⁶

The accompanying catalogue also lacks another new approach, museum archaeology, which is critical in determining whether a coin is an isolated specimen or has appeared in other publications.²⁷ A coin first housed in a private collection or listed in a sales catalogue can go through a number of hands until it becomes part of a permanent museum collection, and could have been listed in more than one publication, implying that a number of examples of this particular combination of ruler, mint, date, and metal existed when, in fact, the listed items were for the same coin. Museum archaeology is useful for establishing if a coin was part of a

26. Treadwell. *Buyid Coins*. Stuart D. Sears, "A Monetary History of Iraq and Iran, ca. 500–750 c.e.," Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (University of Chicago, 1995).

27. An excellent introduction to this concept is Sarah Clarkson, "Museum Archaeology and Coptic Papyrology: The Bawit Papyri," *Coptic Studies on the Threshold of a New Millennium: Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Coptic Studies*, Mat Immerzeel and Jacques van der Vliet, ed. (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters, 2004): vol. I: 477–90.

hoard. Still, a catalogue drawing primarily on museum holdings, private collections, and sales catalogues can tell us something about relative production trends.

Earlier catalogues of Islamic coins listed specimens by dynasty and then geographic region. In many cases the occupation of a mint town by a political power and the appearance of coins, which can be identified with that dynasty, do not offer a problem. For example, the first Ayyubid gold coins in Egypt may 'look' like Fatimid Shi'ite issues with the inscriptions placed in concentric circles, but the inscriptions make it very clear that a new Sunni power controlled the mint.²⁸ The case is not so simple for some dynasties during what Michael Bates has identified as the second Abbasid monetary epoch, 218–334/833–946.²⁹ Many parts of the central Islamic world acknowledged the spiritual authority of an Abbasid caliph in Iraq, but some very powerful governors asserted control over all the local resources including determining what would be inscribed on the coinage minted in their lands. Eventually, some of these governors signaled one form of political independence by adding their name or title to the coinage of the mints under their control. Examples of such regional Sunni powers whose issues are listed in standard catalogues only when their names appeared on the coinage are shown in the following table:

Since coins, with a clear indication of their Ikhshidid origin did not appear until the 330s, catalogues list dinars and dirhams minted earlier in Egypt and Palestine under the Abbasid caliph named on the coinage, not the Ikhshidids. Returning to my first assumption that Muhammad ibn Tughj controlled Egypt and Palestine from 324/935, I consider the coinage issued from that year by those mints under his control to be Ikhshidid coinage. Therefore appropriate coins from Egypt and Syria in lands he controlled from 324 are listed in the catalogue and are analyzed in the next chapter.³⁰ Coins with the name of an Ikhshidid family member minted after 358, the year the Fatimids conquered Egypt and the traditional end date for the Ikhshidid period of rule, will also be examined below and are included in the catalogue.

28. Jere L. Bacharach and Sherif Anwar, "Coinage and their Visual Messages in the Age of the Sultante: The Case of Egypt and Syria," *Annales Islamologique* 46 (2013): 15–44.

29. See for an overview Michael Bates', "The Abbasid Coinage System, 833–946" available at <http://www.annumsoc.org/collections/abbasid.html>. A detailed study of this period is included in his monumental, but unfortunately still unpublished, study of the political developments and the use of nomenclature on the coins of this period. I am greatly indebted to Michael Bates for sharing this work with me. Bates, Michael, "The Expression of Nobility in the Abbasid Caliphate, 218–334 A.H./833–945 C.E." (Working title: Forthcoming).

30. A limited number of Ikhshidid issues minted in Egypt and Palestine were included in the recent Cairo University M.A. thesis on Tulunid and Ikhshidid coinage by Ali Hasan. Ali Hasan Abd Allah Hasan, "Al-Nuqud al-Misriya fi'l-'asrayn al-Tuluniyi wa'l-Ikhshididi, Unpublished M.A. Thesis (Cairo: College of Archaeology, Cairo University, 2003).

Table 1
Selected dynasties and their catalogued coinage

Dynasty	Mint	Year Occupied	“Named” Coinage
Samanids	Shash	204	280
Tulunids	Misr	254	265
Buyids	Shiraz	322	322
	Ahwaz	325	329
	Baghdad	334	334
Hamdanids	Mosul	317	330
	Aleppo	333	333
Ikhshidids	Misr	323	330

Monetary Zones

Signs, symbols, or letters do not carry the same value for all times and in all cultures. For example, the reasons for the use of a geometric six-pointed star on the coinage produced by the medieval Muslim ruler Saladin and the use of the same design centuries later on the currency of the State of Israel are totally unrelated.³¹ But if one dominant layout is used and the coinage gains a ‘reputation’ for quality and reliability, then a monetary zone in which that style coin can circulate easily is created and, to the degree ‘reputation’ is carried outside that zone, the coinage is still valued. In the immediate post-Ikhshid Egyptian world of 358/969, Fatimid dinars were minted with a series of inscriptions in concentric circles (bullseye pattern), which was derived from Fatimid theology.³² While the original possible religious connotation of the coinage was lost, the ‘bullseye’ coinage gained a ‘reputation for quality, which led some non-Isma‘ili Muslim dynasties to mint dinars in the same style.³³

31. A six-pointed star motif was used on a lintel at the isolated citadel of Saladin in Sadr, the Sinai, which is known as Qal‘at al-Gindi. Tareq Abdel Hamid writes “This motif must have angered some modern restorer, for the six-pointed star, which is now recognized not as a symbol of Salah El-Din but as the symbol of the State of Israel has been chiseled out almost completely, and the name Allah engraved instead.” Tarek M.G. Abdel Hamid, “Notes on Military Architecture of the Ayyubid Period,” Unpublished M.A. Thesis (Cairo: The American University in Cairo, 2005).

32. Irene A. Bierman, *Writing Signs: The Fatimid Public Text* (Berkeley: U.C. Press, 1998): 62–70; and Bierman, “Inscribing the City: Fatimid Cairo,” *Islamische Textilkunst des Mittelalters: Aktuelle Probleme*, Muhammad ‘Abbas Muhammad Salim, ed. (Riggisberg: Abegg-Stiftung, 1997): 105–14.

33. Norman D. Nicol, “Islamic Coinage in Imitation of Fatimid Types,” *INJ* 10 (1988–89): 58–70.

Thus, while the original theological ‘meaning’ was lost, the Fatimid ‘bullseye’ gold coins gained a ‘reputation’ based upon their layout for quality.

Within Islamic numismatic studies, the idea of monetary zones can be very important.³⁴ Two monetary zones characterized the Late Antique Middle Eastern world.³⁵ One was effectively Iraq, Iran, and parts of Central Asia dominated by Sasanian silver coinage with a portrait of the reigning sovereign on the obverse (heads/front) and a fire-altar with two attendants on the reverse (tails/back). The second zone was dominated by gold coinage, which included figures associated with the Byzantine ruler and his family and had clear Christian symbols. From 77/696 a new all epigraphic Arabic Muslim coin quickly came to dominate lands under Muslim control from Spain to Central Asia, creating a new, larger monetary zone. From the end of the reign of the Abbasid caliph al-Ma'mun (d. 218/833) the circulating Abbasid coinage was replaced by a new layout, which was very easy to ‘read’ without the viewer knowing a word of Arabic. Part of the ‘reputation’ of this second epoch Muslim coinage was its association with Sunni Islam and the Abbasid caliphate.

Monetary History and the Second Abbasid Monetary Epoch

A revolution in the history of the Islamic monetary system took place in 77/696 when the Umayyad Caliph Abd al-Malik issued a new style dinar consisting only of inscriptions in Arabic.³⁶ The amazing impact of this all epigraphic coinage can even be found today where some modern Muslim states continue the tradition of issuing only inscriptional coinage. The new Umayyad gold coins included a field of horizontal lines composed of Qur'anic text (Sura 112) or pious phrases and one counterclockwise marginal inscription on each side. On one face this marginal inscription contained the phrase *Muhammad rasul Allah* (Muhammad is the Apostle of God) followed by Qur'an 9: 33. This combination of pious phrases and this particular Qur'anic text were still retained on Muslim coins from Egypt and Syria over 800 years later. The marginal inscription on the other side

34. Jere L. Bacharach, “Thoughts on Pennies and Other Monies,” *MESA Bulletin* 35.1 (Summer 2001): 2–14.

35. S. Heidemann, “The merger of two currency zones in early Islam: The Byzantine and Sasanian impact on the circulation in former Byzantine Syria and Northern Mesopotamia,” *Iran* 36 (1998): 95–112.

36. Jere L. Bacharach, “Signs of Sovereignty: the *shahada*, Qur'anic verses, and the coinage of Abd al-Malik (65–86/685–705),” *Muqarnas* 27 (2010): 1–30.

identified the coin as a dinar and gave the Muslim date in which it was minted. Neither the name of the caliph nor the name of the mint was included on these new dinars.

Two years later a standard for all-epigraphic dirhams was established by the Umayyads. Both dinars and dirhams were written in a Kufic script. The silver coins included extended versions of the Qur'anic material found on dinars but not on the same side as the dinar and dirhams were inscribed with the name of the mint. Therefore, Umayyad dinars and dirhams differed from one another. When the Abbasids came to power in 132/750, they dropped Qur'anic Sura 112 from the center of their coinage and replaced it with the phrase *Muhammad rasul Allah*. The other differences between dinars and dirhams continued under the early Abbasids. In addition, some mints started to produce dirhams with additional data such as the name of a local official, regional governor, or designated successor to the reigning caliph. How much control the central administration had over these local developments has been subject to academic debate.³⁷

A second fundamental turning point in the history of Islamic numismatics took place during the reign of the Abbasid Caliph al-Ma'mun (198–218/813–33), which Tayeb El-Hibri explored in an extremely important article in 1993.³⁸ By the end of his reign, al-Ma'mun had accomplished the following: First of all, a second marginal inscription had been added to the side of the coin with the mint-date formula, which was from Qur'an 30: 4–5, and appropriate for al-Ma'mun's victory over his brother al-Amin; Secondly, the differences between the inscriptions on dinars and dirhams and their arrangements was eliminated so that the inscriptions were organized in the same locations on dinars and dirhams and were uniform in wording; Lastly, a different style Kufic script was used, which made distinguishing the new-style Abbasid dinars and dirhams from the earlier ones even easier. Studies by El-Hibri indicated that al-Ma'mun also set about to increase the fineness of his dinars and maintain a stricter standard for their weights.³⁹

37. Norman D. Nicol, "Early Abbasid Administration in the Central and Eastern Provinces, 132–218 A.H./750–833 A.D." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (Seattle: University of Washington, 1979) covers data from four provinces illustrating the variety of types issued by Abbasid governors during this era.

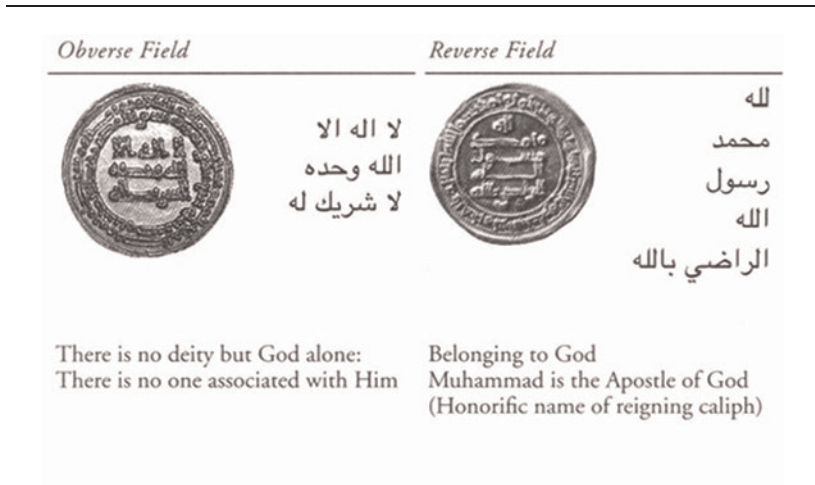
38. Tayeb El-Hibri, "Coinage Reform under the Abbasid Caliph al-Ma'mun," *JESHO* 36 (1993): 58–83.

39. *Ibid.* 71–72 and Appendices III, IV and V.

Bates continues the story of Islamic coinage for the second Abbasid monetary epoch in the heartland of the empire in his *magnum opus* on the Abbasid coinage system, 218–334/833–946.⁴⁰ He carefully analyzes the coinage of each caliph in light of the actual political developments, tracing the careers of those designated on the coinage to succeed as caliphs versus those who actually came to hold the title. As Bates writes, “. . . our story starts on the first day of the Muslim year 219 (16 January 834), because in that year all coins, for the first time, have the name of al-Mu’tasim billah (218–227/833–842) in addition to the standard inscriptions, whereas in the previous six months of his reign, until the end of 218, the coinage continued to be anonymous.⁴¹

At this point, it is necessary to describe the layout of these new-style Abbasid dinars and dirhams since the following discussions will make reference to their obverse and reverse field and marginal inscriptions.⁴²

Figure 1.1
Standard second Abbasid monetary epoch coin.



40. Bates, “Nobility.”

41. *Ibid.*, 1.

42. *Ibid.*, 5–9. A detailed discussion is also found in Bates, “The Evidence of the Coinage” (Working title: 12 June 1999, Forthcoming), 1–27.

<i>Obverse Inner Margin</i>	<i>Reverse Margin</i>
<p>بِسْمِ اللَّهِ ضرب هذا [] سنة []</p>	<p>محمد رسول الله ارسله بالهدى ودين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله ولو كره المشركون</p>
Mint—Date formula	<i>Qur'an 9: 33</i> —Muhammad is the Apostle of God who sent him with guidance and the religion of truth to make it supreme over all other religions even if Polytheists dislike it.
<i>Obverse Outer Margin</i>	
<p>لله الامر من قبل ومن بعد ويومئذ يفرح المؤمنون بنصر الله</p>	
<i>Qur'an 30: 4–5</i> —God commands in the past and the future; And on that day the Believers will rejoice in God's victory.	

Parts of a Muslim Name

Having established that there was a common layout for dinars and dirhams in the post-al-Ma'mun Sunni Abbasid world, the next step was to determine whose names appeared on this second Abbasid monetary epoch coinage. The 'who' was complicated because a medieval Muslim name was composed of many parts and which element would appear was not immediately obvious. The structure of a Muslim name is important and involves a number of elements.⁴³

Each Muslim has an *ism* or proper name such as Muhammad. The individual is entered in biographical dictionaries by their *ism*. The *ism* is followed by a *nasab*, which refers to one's pedigree or ancestors, such as Ibn Tughj (son of Tughj). In the examples that follow, the most common form of an Ikhshidid name is the *ism-nasab* combination such as Muhammad ibn Tughj. Another example comes from the Tulunid era (254–292/808–905) where the first 'Tulunid' coinage appears with the *ism-nasab* Ahmad bin Tulun.⁴⁴

43. Annemarie Schimmel, *Islamic Names* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1995) 2nd ed: 1–13.

44. Oleg Grabar. *The Coinage of the Tulunids* (New York: ANS Museum Notes and Monographs 139, 1957).

Table 2
Parts of a Muslim name.

<i>kunya</i>	A teknonym in the sense “of farher . . . ” which may refer to one’s actual child or an epithet or honorific sense of parentage.
<i>ism</i>	A proper name, usually given at birth and the name under which an individual would be found in medieval dictionaries.
<i>nasab</i>	A patronym in the sense of “son of . . . ” which may refer to one’s actual father or an epithet or honorific name.
<i>laqab</i>	An honorific title, which can be earned or acquired as in the case <i>al-Ikhshid</i> . Abbasid caliphs were known by their <i>laqabs</i> , which were often compound names ending in a reference to God (Allah). Other compound names ended in <i>al-Dawla</i> (State) as in Nasir al-Dawla (Defender of the State).
<i>nisba</i>	This is a broad category of names, which included professions, places of origin, or original ownership, in the case of those of slave origin, such as <i>al-Ikhshidi</i> (Belonging to al-Ikhshid).

In theory an *ism* is preceded by a *kunya*, which may be actual or honorific. Muhammad ibn Tughj’s *kunya* was Abu Bakr. According to Bates, from 297 the appearance of the *kunya* of the designated successor to the reigning caliph is a major characteristic of the second epoch of Abbasid coinage.⁴⁵ Furthermore, from the caliph’s naming of the military commander Bajkam as *amir al-umara*’in 329 onward almost everyone else who is named on the coins of the central Abbasid lands (Iraq) is designated by their *kunya*.⁴⁶ All those whose *kunya* appeared on coins had been granted that privilege by a caliph.⁴⁷ Therefore, one issue to be analyzed below is the appearance on the coinage of Muhammad ibn Tughj’s son, Unujur, of his *kunya* Abu-l-Qasim and not his *ism-nasab* Unujur ibn Muhammad.

Following the *nasab*, a person’s *laqab*, if he had one would be listed. A *laqab* was an honorific title or epithet, which could be acquired on accession to power as was done by every Abbasid caliph during this era or was granted by the caliph. Bates began his study of the second period of all-epigraphic coinage with the reign of al-Mu’tasim because from 219 the Abbasid caliph’s *laqab*, in this case al-Mu’tasim billah, appeared under the reverse field inscription as would the *laqab* of each of the succeeding Abbasid caliphs. A full name could also include a *nisba*, which

45. Bates, “Nobility,” 330–50.

46. *Ibid.*, 349.

47. *Ibid.*, 350.

was a general category including nicknames, places of origin, or relationship to a former owner. According to the chronicles, Kafur (d. 357/968), the African eunuch who was the effective ruler during most of the period after Muhammad ibn Tughj al-Ikhshid's death in 334/946 held the *nisba* al-Ikhshidi.⁴⁸ None of the components of Kafur's name—his *kunya*, *ism*, *nasab*, or *nisba*—would be inscribed on the regular dinars and dirhams of Egypt or Palestine. Finally, another title found on Islamic struck pieces from this era is that of *mawla amir al-mu'minin*, which carried a prestigious meaning during this epoch.⁴⁹

Figure 1.2
Second Abbasid monetary epoch coin demonstrating ranking of names.

<i>Obverse Field</i>	<i>Reverse Field</i>
	
<p>لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له ابو منصور بن امير المؤمنين</p>	<p>الله محمد رسول الله المتقى لله الاخشيدي</p>
<p><i>2nd position</i> Abu Mansur bin Amir al-Mu'minin</p>	<p><i>1st position</i> <i>3rd position</i> al-Muttaqi li-llah al-Ikhshid</p>

Returning to the post-al-Ma'mun coinage, Bates discovered that for the mints of central Iraq up to 334/945 there was a clear hierarchy in the arrangement of names found on Abbasid coins. God appears first in the form of the *shahada* on the obverse of these coins. This inscription is followed on the reverse by the naming of God's Messenger, the Prophet Muhammad, who is succeeded by his successor, the caliph, whose *laqab* appears under that of the Prophet. Bates then went on to note that if a successor was named to the caliph that person's name appeared under the main inscription (*shahada*) on the obverse. If there was no son named, other officials such as a wazir might be named in that location. This meant that the first name under the *shahada* on the obverse ranked second after the caliph. If additional individuals were named, the person ranking third appeared on the reverse under the caliph's *laqab* and if a fourth person was

48. Ibn Taghri Birdi, *Al-Nujum al-zahira fi muluk Misr wa'l-Qahirah* (Cairo: Dar al-Kutub al-Misriya, 1944), IV: 1.

49. *Ibid.*, 344–48.

named, the least frequent to appear, it was inscribed under the name on the obverse. In summary, the hierarchy of names went 1 — reverse, 2 — obverse, 3 — reverse under 1, and 4 — obverse under 2.⁵⁰ Knowledge of this ordering and the use of particular parts of a Muslim name will have a direct bearing on the analysis of the coins issued by Muhammad ibn Tughj and his successors.

Concluding Observations

In addition to the coinage described above, there were special issues whose primary function was outside the normal monetary system; these are pieces struck for purposes of presentation or honoring someone or something. Bates noted that medieval Muslim writers had no special terminology for these coins and they could be inscribed with the names of persons who were not entitled to be on regular circulating coins; or with names of persons who were subordinate on regular coins, without the names of their normal superiors; as well as in the names of the caliph without the names that accompanied him on regular coins.⁵¹ Therefore, presentation or donative pieces are particularly important because they include non-traditional data.⁵²

If a careful study of Ikhshidid regular dinars and dirhams enables us to establish the 'rules' for what could be struck on medieval Muslim coins, then presentation pieces are the exceptions to the rules' and illuminate additional ways in which the Muslim rulers wished to portray themselves. Ikhshidid presentation pieces include a number of titles not found on their regular coinage. There are even a series of coins with human figures which will be analyzed in the next chapter.

Historically the rulers of Egypt have attempted to dominate the Hijaz, particularly the holy cities of Mecca and Medina. The few Meccan coins that can be associated with the Ikhshidids will be examined in the second and third chapters. During the third/tenth century there were very few copper coins minted in Abbasid lands.⁵³ The two published Ikhshidid copper coins which look like regular coins were probably medieval forgeries of silver issues. But there are now two known Ikhshidid copper issues whose inscriptions are unique and appear to have been minted in Anatolia. These, also, will be examined in the third chapter.

50. Bates, "Abbasid Coinage System."

51. Bates, "Evidence," 16–17.

52. Album, Checklist, 13.

53. Stephen Album, "No small change: The disappearance of copper coinage in the Islamic world during the ninth century," Oral presentation and paper at the Oriental Numismatic Society, Tübingen, 19 April 1995.

Chapter 2

Coinage from the Reign of Muhammad ibn Tughj (323–334/935–946)

Background

In 358/969, Sunni Abbasid Egypt was conquered by the Fatimids, an Isma‘ili Shi‘ite dynasty. During the preceding thirty-five years Egypt, Palestine, and occasionally other parts of Greater Syria had been governed by one family or the leading military figure associated with that family. For reasons that will be explained below, these rulers are known as the Ikhshidids (323–358/935–969) and it is the coinage issued by them or in their name that is the subject of the following analysis.¹ One goal of this undertaking is to demonstrate the interdependence of numismatic and narrative evidence. Some coin inscriptions can only be understood through reconstructing events based upon data from narrative sources while, at other times, numismatic evidence raises issues not mentioned in the historical texts or for which narrative data do not offer an explanation. There will also be examples, when questions arise from a close study of the numismatic data, for which there is no answer.

Al-Ikhshid, whose full name was Abu Bakr Muhammad ibn Tughj ibn Juff, was the third generation of his family to serve the Abbasid caliphate.² His grandfather, Juff, was among the military slaves (*mamluks*) imported from non-Islamic Central

1. The best overview of the whole period is Thierry Bianquis, “Autonomous Egypt from Ibn Tulun to Kafur, 868–969,” *The Cambridge History of Egypt*, Carl E. Petry, ed. (Cambridge: CUR 1998) I: 86–119.

2. The most extensive biography of Muhammad ibn Tughj al-Ikhshid is Jere L. Bacharach, “The Career of Muhammad ibn Tughj al-Ikhshid: A Tenth Century Governor of Egypt,” *Speculum* L (1975): 586–612 from which most of the following is taken.

Asia, probably the Farghana region. His father, Tughj, began his career in Iraq where Muhammad ibn Tughj was born on 15 Rajab 268/8 February 882. Tughj went on to serve the Tulunid dynasty of Egypt and Syria (254–292/868–905). He held the governorships of Damascus, Tiberias, and Aleppo and was one of the most important Tulunid generals.³ Muhammad ibn Tughj gained his first administrative and military experience during this period, serving as governor of Tiberias for his father.⁴

In 292/905 the Abbasid general Muhammad ibn Sulayman ended the Tulunid dynasty. Tughj successfully transferred his allegiance to Muhammad ibn Sulayman and was rewarded governorship of Aleppo. This momentary change in fortune came to naught as Tughj's new patron was arrested and charged with withholding booty from the caliphal court. The general, Tughj, and his two sons Muhammad and 'Ubayd Allah were all imprisoned.⁵ Tughj died in prison in 294/906, while his sons were released shortly thereafter.

Political intrigues in Baghdad in 296/908 forced Muhammad ibn Tughj to flee to Syria, where he found a new patron.⁶ Within a year Ibn Tughj was in Egypt continuing in the service of the same man and later his son. His career took another step forward when another governor of Egypt made him governor of Amman and the region east of the Jordan River.

Career opportunities continued to improve for him as he built up marriage alliances and political ties with key figures in Baghdad. He established a stronger administrative and military record with another stint in Egypt and then the governorship of Damascus. This line of progress culminated with his appointment as the governor of Egypt with a letter reaching Fustat on 7 Ramadan 321/31 August 933 to that effect. Muhammad ibn Tughj was in Damascus at the time and sent an agent to Egypt as his representative.⁷ Thirty-two days later, the Abbasid caliph named someone else as governor of Egypt and Muhammad ibn Tughj's first governorship ended without his ever entering the country. As Bates observed in his

3. Details on the career of Tughj ibn Juff can be found in Ibn Sa'id, *Al-Mughrib fi hula al-Magrib* I, K.L. Tallquist, ed. (Helsingfors-Leiden, 1899), 4–11. Ibn Khallikan, *Wafat al-a'yan wa anba' al-zaman* (Bulag, 1299/1881) II: 53–54; English translation, *Ibn Kballikan's Biographical Dictionary*, MacGuckin de Slane, trans. (London 1842–1871): III: 218–219. Ibn Taghri Birdi, *Al-Nujum al-zahira fi muluk Misr wa-l-Qahirah*, III (Cairo, Dar al-Kutub al-Misriya, 1943), 235–44.

4. Sa'id, *Al-Mughrib fi hula al-Magrib*, 5.

5. Ibn al-'Adim, *Zubdat al-halab min ta'rikh Halab*, S. Dahan, ed. (Damascus, Institut Francais de Damas, 1951–1968), 91; Ibn Taghri Birdi, *Al-Nujum al-zahira* III, 135.

6. His new patron was Abu'l-Abbas al-Bisam and among Muhammad ibn Tughj's duties was carrying his master's hawk during the hunt. Ibn Sa'id, *Al-Mughrib fi hula al-Magrib*, 7.

7. Beginning with reign of the Caliph al-Ma'mun, it was not uncommon for appointees to send representatives while they stayed in the capital. A. A. Duri, "Amir," *Encyclopedia of Islam* 2nd ed., I: 439.

detailed study of the numismatic evidence from the second Abbasid monetary epoch, very few officials other than caliphs and their designated successor are named on the coinage, which means the standard dinars and dirhams.⁸ Therefore, it is not surprising that there is no numismatic evidence for Muhammad ibn Tughj's first governorship of Egypt or that of the other governorships he had held earlier. In fact, the absence of supporting numismatic evidence in the form of regular dinars and dirhams coins inscribed with their name was the case for virtually all appointed governors during the second Abbasid epoch.

In Baghdad, the Abbasid Caliph al-Qahir (320–322/932–934) was blinded and removed from office on 6 Jumada I, 322/29 April 934 and al-Radi (322–329/934–940) was proclaimed the new caliph. As so often happens in Islamic history when there are two consecutive caliphs controlling the same mint during one Muslim year, coins for that year from a single mint can be found in the name of each of the caliphs. Therefore, it is not surprising that coins minted in Baghdad for the Muslim year 322 exist in the name of al-Qahir and al-Radi and the same is true for the Egyptian mint Misr. Since al-Qahir's deposition occurred in the fifth Muslim month and it took no more than three months for news to reach Egypt from the Abbasid capital, there were at least four months for Egyptian minters to engrave new dies and mint new coins in the name of the new caliph for 322.⁹

By 323/935 political and economic conditions in Egypt had reached an almost anarchical state. The troops of the appointed governor were rioting over their lack of pay; the homes of the financial minister were being looted; the son of a former governor was attempting to establish his own governorship; the populace of Fustat was suffering economic tribulations; and bedouin raids on agricultural settlements had increased. In the middle of the crisis, news of the appointment (or technically, reappointment) of Muhammad ibn Tughj as governor reached Egypt. The promotion of the governor of Damascus was the result of his connections in Baghdad including important marriage ties.¹⁰ The situation in Egypt deteriorated further before his arrival with a rebellion of pro-Fatimid military forces in Egypt calling upon the Shi'ite Caliph-Imam in North Africa for military aid.¹¹ This time Muhammad ibn Tughj went to Egypt with a contingent of his own troops.

8. Bates, "Abbasid Coinage System."

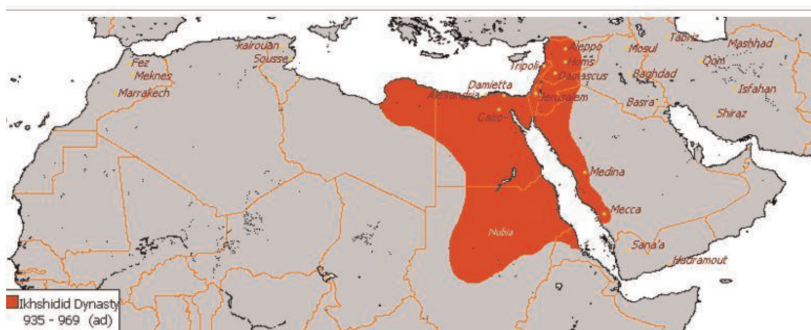
9. This is based upon the time it took news of the appointment of a new caliph to reach Fustat after being announced in Baghdad. Al-Kindi, *The Governors and Judges of Egypt*, Rhuvon Guest, ed. (Leiden: Brill, 1912), 291 and 293; and Ibn Taghri Birdi, *Al-Nujum al-zahira*, IV: 255–56.

10. Details in Bacharach, "Career," 592–94.

11. A summary of these conditions can be found in Bianquis, "Autonomous Egypt from Ibn Tulun to Kafur, 868–969," *The Cambridge History of Egypt*, Carl F. Petry, ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge

Upon his arrival, Ibn Tughj quickly set about establishing his control. By the end of 324/November 936 Ikhshidid forces, primarily under his brother ‘Ubayd Allah, had effectively defeated the pro-Fatimid forces. Due to their own internal problems and the leadership of Muhammad ibn Tughj and his effective successor, the African eunuch, Kafur, the Fatimids would not attack Egypt again until the country found itself facing serious political and economic problems in 358/969.¹² To ensure continuity and stability within Egypt, Ibn Tughj accepted the former governor and treasurer into his administration and moved against raiding tribal groups and looters, making looting a capital crime. He then used the revenues coming into his hands to build up his own military forces. Arguing from silence is always dangerous but the lack of references to internal economic problems in Egypt during Muhammad ibn Tughj’s early years as governor creates the impression that he was successful in establishing relative peace and prosperity.¹³

Map 1. Ikhshidid Territories



(*Ikhshidid Dynasty 935–969 (AD)* by Arab Hafez at English Wikipedia)

University Press, 1998) I: 112–13. The seriousness of the Fatimid threat is downplayed by Lev who believes that the Fatimid expedition of 307/919 marked the last serious military attempt to conquer Egypt before 358/969. I believe that for contemporaries the possibility of the Fatimids invading Egypt or, at least, supporting rebellious factions in Egypt was very real and Muhammad ibn Tughj was able to use that potential threat to his advantage once he consolidated power. Yaacov Lev, “The Fatimids and Egypt 301–358/914–969,” *Arabica* XXXV (1988): 193.

12. For an overview of the Fatimid activities see Lev, *Ibid.*, 186–96.

13. There was a minor pro-Shi’ite revolt in Egypt in 330/942 while al-Ikhshid was in Syria. The revolt came to naught and did very little to upset the general tranquility of the period. Al-Kindi, *Governors and Judges of Egypt*, 294–95.

Presentation Pieces in the Name of Muhammad ibn Tughj

The accompanying catalogue, which constitutes the second half of this book, begins with the year 323 and the coins minted in lands controlled by Muhammad ibn Tughj, which constituted the mint cities of Misr (Fustat), Filastin (Ramla), and Tabariyya (Tiberias) with occasional dirhams struck in Dimashq (Damascus), Hims (Horns) and Halab (Aleppo). As detailed in the preceding chapter, by the middle of the third/eighth century, a series of numismatic innovations initiated by the Caliph al-Ma'mun had become standardized throughout most of the Islamic world. Dinars and dirhams had the same layout with inscriptions in the same location and same script on both coinages. The overall design was easily identifiable. Even if specific inscriptions including the caliph's name and/or the mint-date formula could not be read, the widespread use of this single style would have carried a semiotic message identifying the piece as Abbasid and Sunni, not just Muslim.¹⁴ As noted in the preceding chapter, when the caliph placed his name on this style of coinage it always appeared on what I have defined as the reverse under the reference to the Prophethood of Muhammad while additional names were placed according to a clear hierarchy.

There is no evidence that, once gaining control of Egypt in 323 and already controlling Palestine and parts of Syria, al-Ikhshid changed the circulating coinage. Therefore, the issues for these mints are included in this book as a baseline from which changes in the regular dinars and dirhams can be noted. In fact, there are two series of dinars for the mint Misr and the year 323. One has the standard layout and inscriptions described above and the second series is exactly the same except for the addition of an isolated letter, in this case a *ha* (ح). Unfortunately there is no way to date within the year 323 the appearance of the isolated *ha* series in relationship to those without the *ha* since Islamic coins rarely include the month they were issued, with Fatimid coins being the major exception. Without additional data it is impossible to prove that either of the two series, the one with the *ha* and the one without it, are related to Muhammad ibn Tughj becoming governor. The question of these isolated letters on Ikhshidid coinage will be discussed below in a separate section.

As indicated in the previous chapter, an analysis of the Ikhshidid coins of Egypt and Palestine begins with 324, as this was the first full year that the future al-Ikhshid had control over these lands and their mints. Fortunately, there is numismatic evidence to support this date. One of the surprising results of creating a corpus of all

14. Jere L. Bacharach, "Reading' Egyptian and Syrian Islamic Coinage," *Power of Gold, Golds of Power: Exhibition of Gold Coins in the Yapi Kredi Collection*, Sennur Senturk, Coordinator (Istanbul: Yapi Kredi Yayinlari, 2004), 69–77.

known coins struck during the years the Ikhshidid family ruled Egypt, Palestine, and, occasionally, other parts of Greater Syria is that there are no identifiable regular dinars or dirhams from any of his mints for the Muslim year 324.¹⁵ But there are silver coins for that year struck in Egypt, with the governor's name for that year, which I labeled in the previous chapter as presentation pieces.

The first example is a dirham minted in 324 at the Misr mint, which includes the name Muhammad ibn Tughj (Cat. 212/MS324). It appears to conform to all the rules for a second epoch Abbasid piece: it has two marginal inscriptions on the obverse including a mint-date formula stating it was struck in Misr in 324; it has the standard single marginal inscription on the reverse; the field inscriptions were the standard ones with the Caliph al-Radi's name in the first position under the reverse field, and, since the caliph did not designate a successor on his coinage, the name of the governor Muhammad ibn Tughj appears in one line under the standard obverse.

Figure 2.1

Standard second Abbasid monetary epoch dirham reverse (R1) and the reverse of the presentation piece of 324 (212/MS324a).



R1



212/MS324a

What makes this coin obviously different from the standard second Abbasid dirhams is its size. The flan is significantly smaller than that of a normal dirham, that is, it is 17mm versus an average of 24mm for a regular dirham. Therefore, there is a visual message that this silver coin is not part of the regular production and warrants a closer examination. The presentation piece includes, on its obverse, in the name Muhammad ibn Tughj in Arabic. In theory, the appearance of the governor's name would mean that he has usurped the Caliph al-Radi's right of *sikka* and, without any evidence of caliphal approval or authorization, has inscribed his name on the

15. This issue was brought to my attention in the review article by David J. Wasserstein, particularly his comments on the lack of specific data on the one dirham attributed to Damascus in 324. I thank him for his input and I have dropped the item from the catalogue.

coinage. However, this is not a regular dirham, but one that is deliberately smaller and therefore not subject to the same societal rules.

There are two additional published coin types (Cat. 213/SM32Xa and 214/SM32Xb), which reinforce the view that these small silver pieces may have had a role different from that of regular coinage. These additional dirhams are without dates, but do include the name of the governor Muhammad ibn Tughj, and all three types are about the same size. The engraver, possibly to ensure that everything he wished to inscribe on the smaller flans could fit, dropped the outer marginal legend from the obverse of the last two types resulting in only one marginal legend on each face. In addition, for these two examples (Cat. 213 and 214) the obverse mint-date formula was reduced to only the mint name Misr and does not include the year struck. However, since the latter two types parallel the dated 324 issue in so many ways, it is probable that they were also minted in 324 but without additional evidence such as a reverse die-link this cannot be proved.

Again, I believe that the reduction in size signaled that the purpose of this coin was different from that of the regular dirham output. If the primary purpose had been to make a public statement about Muhammad ibn Tughj's relative political independence from the caliph, and, consequently, his willingness to infringe on the caliph's right of *sikka*, it would have been easy to add Muhammad Ibn Tughj's name to the obverse of regular size dirhams. If my assumption is correct, then the more critical question is how these numismatic specimens were used within Egyptian society and here the concept of the presentation piece is essential.

Modern states often produce special coins to honor certain individuals, important anniversaries, or major achievements and market these pieces as 'commemorative' coins to be acquired by dealers and collectors. The primary purpose of these modern commemorative pieces is to generate revenue and what is recognized or who is honored on the struck piece seems to me to be secondary to the State's goal to make a profit. In the medieval Muslim world, the presentation pieces were not minted for coin collectors or to generate income. Although they were struck on flans of gold or silver they were not regular dinars and dirhams in the sense that these issues did not follow the understood *sikka* norms for inscriptions detailed at the end of the previous chapter. However, once presented, memory of why they were struck or who was being honored was most likely lost and the 'coin' became part of a body of circulating regular dinars and dirhams in a society where any important transaction was calculated on the basis of the weighed quantities of struck metal, not the number of specimens. I assume that 'memory' of them was lost based upon the almost total absence of references to any presentation pieces in the medieval Islamic narrative sources in relation to

the number of known examples and my discovery by informal surveys of the almost total lack of knowledge in both Egypt and the United States of users of their coinage of why specific images were included on their own coins. My assertion that once the unique circumstances of their minting was forgotten, they circulated as another piece of 'struck' metal is based upon a study of an Ikhshidid hoard, which even included blank flans and which is discussed at the end of the next chapter.

Thus, the primary purpose of the presentation piece was to carry inscribed and/or visual messages related to a specific political or social context. Unfortunately we don't know what the context was for these issues. There are no references that I am aware of in the Arabic chroniclers to the 324 issue with Muhammad ibn Tughj's name inscribed on the coinage, but it is possible to speculate why these coins were minted. The coin dated 324 (Cat.212/SM324a), if not the whole series, could have been sent to Baghdad as a message indicating both Muhammad ibn Tughj's loyalty to the Abbasid caliph, with a subtle subtext that he was just as capable of making his 'loyalty' nominal by the inclusion of the *ism-nasab* (Muhammad ibn Tughj) on the standard dinars and dirhams. By striking this coin, which was visually smaller than a regular silver coin, the governor of Egypt was not quite usurping a caliphal prerogative, that is, he was not claiming the right of *sikka*, but he was making it very clear that he could do so if he wished. At the same time, as noted above, there are no known regular dinars and dirhams for the Muslim year 324 with an Egyptian or Palestinian mint inscribed, which may also be related to the appearance of these small presentation pieces.

However, relations between Muhammad Ibn Tughj and the Caliph al-Radi must have deteriorated since the former threatened to withdraw his loyalty from the latter and to recognize the Fatimid caliph al-Qa'im (322–334/934–946), who ruled Ifriqiyah (Tunisia) and other parts of North Africa. The Abbasid governor of Egypt even went so far as to suggest to the Fatimid imam-caliph al-Qa'im that the latter's son marry his daughter. Had such a marriage taken place, it is reasonable to predict that the Fatimid imam-caliph's name would have been recited in the Friday *khutba* and inscribed on the coinage.¹⁶ It is possible that Ibn Tughj undertook these negotiations with the Shi'ite Fatimid ruler to scare the Abbasid caliph into acknowledging, again, his claim to the governorship of Egypt and Palestine. In particular, Muhammad ibn Tughj may have feared that the Caliph al-Radi would acknowledge the powerful Baghdad military leader Abu Bakr Muhammad Ibn Ra'iq who had acquired the new title of *amir al-umara'* at the end of 324 as the ruler of Egypt and Palestine.¹⁷ Bates

16. Ibn Sa'id, *Al-Mughrib fi hula al-Magrib*, 26–27.

17. The title carried the implication that the holder was the highest military and political power, but not religious in Abbasid lands. Bacharach, "Career," 597–600.

makes the observation that Ibn Ra'iq did not receive a *laqab*, but the lesser honor of being addressed by his *kunya*, Abu Bakr, the importance of which will be discussed in the following chapter when analyzing the use of the *kunya* Abu-l-Qasim by al-Ikhshid's son and successor Unujur.¹⁸

Muhammad ibn Tughj's threats to ally himself with the Fatimids demonstrate the extremes to which he would go to preserve his hold for himself and his family over Egypt and Palestine. What can't be proven is that these silver coins, which included the governor's *ism-nasab*, were struck for these specific reasons. But these pieces must have carried 'messages' meaningful to Ibn Tughj's contemporaries: firstly, their size (or the size of the area covered by the inscription in cases where a larger flan was used) was unusual and signaled to those who noticed that these weren't regular dirhams. Second, for those who could read the inscriptions or were informed about what was inscribed on them, they learned that Muhammad ibn Tughj's *ism-nasab* was included, which was data not normally found on second Abbasid period coins. Again, I suspect, once minted, memory of why they had been issued was quickly and the presentation pieces circulated in the market as struck silver equivalent to the standard contemporary coinage.

Figure 2.2
Presentation piece in the name of al-Radi and Muhammad ibn Tughj (214/MS32Xb).



Another set of presentation pieces was studied by Ariel Berman, the first two pieces of which are presented here.¹⁹ These have simple inscriptions. On the first

18. Bates, "Nobility," 277.

19. Berman, Ariel, "Additional Information on the Coinage of Egypt during the Governorship of Muhammad ibn Tughj al-Ikhshid," *Israel Numismatic Journal*. V (1981): 69–72.

coin (Cat. 214/MS32Xb), only the name of the Caliph al-Radi appears in the field on what I labeled the reverse under *Li-llah* with only the first words of Qur'an 9: 33 in the margin. The obverse has the name of the governor Muhammad ibn Tughj in the field with a marginal inscription stating that it was struck in Misr. This type of coin would have been appropriate as a gift to courtiers or guests at a wedding or other festive occasions, but as is so often the case, we don't really know why it was mixed.

Figure 2.3

Presentation piece in the name of al-Radi and Muhammad ibn Tughj with a *tamga* (215/MS32Xc).



The second piece carries, on the reverse, the caliph's *laqab* al-Radi billah in the center but now the margin includes the shorter version of the *shahada*. The obverse margin identifies Misr as the mint while the center includes only one name, Muhammad. This has to be Muhammad ibn Tughj as he was the only governor of Egypt during the caliphate of al-Radi with the *ism* Muhammad. The space above his name is filled by a symbolic device, which Berman suggested may be a type of Central Asian *tamga*.²⁰ A *tamga* is a design often associated with a Central Asian tribe or political entity and was probably first used for marking ownership of horses and other animals. It then moved on to mark a clan or tribal belonging and eventually an ethno-political symbol and *sui generis* heraldic emblem among

20. Ibid. Most scholars of Central Asia spell the word as *tamga*, which I will use, rather than *tamgha*.

Iranian and Turkic peoples.²¹ Discovering what this particular *tamga* represented illustrates the power of serendipity.

Working from standard library sources and focusing exclusively on Eastern Mediterranean lands, I found a different style design, labeled a *tamga*, which was known from the copper coinage of Ahmad ibn Tulun, but how contemporaries understood the meaning of that symbol is not known nor is its origins.²² The closest material remains from the Mediterranean world related to the *tamga* illustrated above was the large M found on Byzantine copper *folles*, but they ceased production by 831 C.E.²³ Both the dating of the *folles* and the obvious differences in design made it unlikely that the Byzantine coin was a model or inspiration for Muhammad ibn Tughj's issue. The safest interpretation is that a particular design was used, it was meaningful to someone, and the memory of what it represented was lost before anyone recorded.

Shortly before submitting the 2006 version of this manuscript to the AUC Press I was in Tashkent, Uzbekistan giving a series of presentations. After one lecture, I was shown a series of pre-Islamic copper coins from Samarqand and looked in amazement as I saw the model for Muhammad ibn Tughj's *tamga* on pre-Islamic coins from Tashkent (Chach/Shash). I then remembered that the title held by pre-Islamic rulers from the home of Ibn Tughj's ancestors was *Ikhshid*. This is the same title he sought from the caliph as his *laqab*.²⁴

According to a Russian scholar, the proper Chach type are the coins with a characteristic 'pitchfork-like' symbol on the reverse and an image or a bust of the ruler, or a lion with risen paw on the obverse.²⁵ The same *tamga* was also used on a number of pre-Islamic coins minted in Samarqand while other designs, which served as *tamgas*, appeared on coins from Tashkent, Samarqand, and other Central Asian pre-Islamic mints. Somehow a visual memory of that specific Central Asian *tamga* with its association with rulers who held the title *Ikhshid* was known by Muhammad ibn Tughj or someone in his entourage. When he finally had the opportunity, Muhammad ibn Tughj inscribed this *tamga* on some of his earliest

21. Djangar Ilyasov, "About *tamga* of the Samarkand governors," *San'at Magazine* (Uzbekistan) 2004:3–4 (http://www.sanat.orexca.com/eng/3-4-04/history_art3.shtml)

22. Grabar, *Coinage of the Tulunids*, 32.

23. Philip Grierson. *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks and Whittemore Collection*. Vol. III: Leo III to Nicephorus III 717–1081 (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1973): 68.

24. Martin Hinds in his translation of the Tabari volume on the Umayyad conquests of Central Asia transliterates the title from the Arabic as Ikhshad rather than the more usual Ikhshid. Al-Tabari, *The History of al-Tabari: The Zenith of the Marwanid House*. Martin Hinds, trans. (Albany: SUNY Press, 1990): XXIII, p. 190, n. 628.

25. G. Brykina, "Chach," *Central Asia in the Early Middle Ages: Coins of the Region* (1999) (http://www.kroraina.com/ca/c_cach.htm).

coinage. Although the *tamga* on the coin minted by Muhammad ibn Tughj has the ‘handle’ up, it is not clear if there was a proper direction for the original *tamga*, since the ‘pitchfork-like’ *tamga* on Central Asian coinage could be found facing all four of the cardinal directions.²⁶ Muhammad ibn Tughj’s use of this device on a presentation piece signals the strength of the memory of his Central Asian origins and the steps he would take to legitimize those associations.

Figure 2.4

Muhammad ibn Tughj’s *tamga* (ob. 215/MS32Xc) and a Central Asian pre-Islamic Soghdian coin with the same *tamga*.



Tamga



Soghdian tamga

Two other observations can be made about these presentation pieces. First, they do not include Muhammad ibn Tughj’s honorific *laqab* al-Ikshid, which means that they date from before he received the title. Second, Muhammad ibn Tughj did not inscribe Abu Bakr, his *kunya* on these presentation pieces, but the less prestigious parts of his name, specifically the *ism-nasab* combination of Muhammad ibn Tughj. There is no evidence that the Caliph al-Radi called him or wrote to him by his *kunya* as the caliph had done with the *amir al-’umara* Ibn Ra’iq whom he addressed by his *kunya* when both were together. The numismatic evidence as well as the narrative sources indicates that which parts of a person’s name appeared on the regular coinage and on presentation pieces was important in fourth/tenth century Middle Eastern society and the differences between inscribing an *ism-nasab*, *kunya*, or *laqab*, or addressing an individual by one of these parts of one’s full name, mattered.

26. E. V. Zeimal, “The Circulation of Coins in Central Asia during the Early Medieval Periods (Fifth–Eighth Centuries A.D.),” *Bulletin of the Asia Institute New Series*/Vol. 8 (1994), 260. E. Rtveldadze, ed. *Coins from the National Bank of Uzbekistan: Anniversary Edition* (Tashkent: National Bank of Uzbekistan, 2000): Vol II: numbers 47–50; Vol. III: number 46.

Presentation Pieces with Human Representation

The next set of presentation pieces (Cat: 216–219) is more fascinating because it included human representation. As is so often the case, lack of accompanying narrative data leaves only speculation as to when and why they were issued. The series are die linked and for reasons to be argued below were probably minted in 325. Based on reading the reverse margin of one of them (Cat. 216/MS3XXa), they were minted in Egypt and, as in the previous example, they were struck on flans significantly smaller than regular circulating dinars and dirhams.

Figure 2.5
Six presentation pieces.



The coins in question were first brought to scholarly attention in an article in 1971 by Muhammad al-Ush.²⁷ (Coin # 3 = Cat. 216/MS3XXa) He described the one silver specimen he knew as having an enthroned seated figure on one side and,

27. Muhammad Abu l-Faraj al-Ush "Traces du classicisme dans la numismatique arabe-islamique," *Annales Archaeologiques Arabes Syriennes* 21 (1971), tome 1–2, (IXe congrès international d'archéologie classiques): 311, figure 47A.

on the other, in the field, an inscription in Arabic, which read *Muhammad ibn Tughj*. He wrote that the illustrated figure followed a Byzantine/Sasanian model for an enthroned ruler, which wasn't very helpful since the Byzantine and Sasanian traditions differed so significantly. Far more important was that one side of the coin had an inscription, which became the anchor for the whole series. The other coins to be analyzed below had only human figures on both sides and no inscriptions making identification of who was suppose to be represented virtually impossible. Al-Ush was able to establish a die-link between the one coin with Muhammad ibn Tughj (Figure 2.5: image 3 obverse) and the name of al-Radi (image 3 reverse) with the coin with the unidentified seated ruler (Figure 2.5; image 3 obverse) and the same version of Muhammad ibn Tughj's name on the reverse (image 5 reverse). As further proof of the association of this particular piece with the founder of the Ikhshidid dynasty, al-Ush read the marginal legend on the side with the governor's name as "Struck in Misr (Fustat, Egypt) in the year eight," which he interpreted as the year 328, that is, right in the middle of Muhammad ibn Tughj's governorship and with an Egyptian mint name.

In 1981 Ariel Berman republished this piece and additional examples of related silver presentation pieces.²⁸ His article corrected the reading of the margin to: "There is no deity except God, struck in Misr (Fustat)." The Berman reading, with which I concur, confirmed that the coin was minted in Egypt. But there was no date, only the first part of the Muslim *shahada*.

However, by comparing the coin al-Ush first published (Coin #5 = Cat. 216/MS3XXa) with other epigraphic silver presentation pieces (Coin #3 = 214/MS32Xb and Coin #4 = 215/MS32Xc), Berman demonstrated that it had to have been minted during the reign of the Abbasid Caliph al-Radi li-llah (322–329/934–940) since his caliphal name was inscribed on the related all epigraphic coins along with that of Muhammad ibn Tughj. Knowing that the pieces were minted during the caliphate of al-Radi but that they lacked the *laqab* 'al-Ikhshid,' which he acquired in 327 narrowed the probable date based on numismatic evidence to the period 324–327.

A more important conclusion of Berman's study was that the coin with an inscription and one seated figure was linked to the specimens, which had only human images on both sides and no inscriptions (Coin #6 = 218/MS3XXb, Coin #7 = 219/MS3XXc, and Coin #8 = 218/MS3XXc). These coins have a seated figure on the obverse and two unbearded faces separated by a tree on the reverse. Without the specimen al-Ush published, which had the name Muhammad ibn Tughj inscribed on one side and the seated figure on the other, it would have been impossible to

28. Berman, "Additional Information," 71.

associate the coins with human images on both faces to any specific dynasty or ruler as they lack any inscriptional data. In fact, the one gold example with human representation on both sides and no inscriptional data was registered as 'Indian,' as there was nothing inscribed on the coin or artistic tradition to link it to Ikhshidid Egypt.

A second point is that since the two silver coins illustrated as #6 and #8 (Cat. 218/MS3XXc) differ slightly, they must have been struck by two different sets of coin dies. Then there is the coin with the two unbearded males on both sides (Coin #7 = 219/MS3XXd), a muling which is clearly a minting error and could only have been created by two different sets of dies. In fact, at least three sets of dies were used to produce this series of coins with human images, indicating that a fair number of coins were struck since, for a token output one set of dies would have sufficed.

Figure 2.6

Small gold presentation piece with human representation (217/MS3XXb).



Finally, Simon Bendall published a small gold coin, reproduced at double size, having the same seated figure on the obverse and the same two figures on the reverse, proving that these coins were minted in both gold and silver.²⁹ Bendall noted that he had discovered the gold coin in the Liverpool University Collection, which had obtained it in the early 1950s from the Royal Institution of Liverpool without attribution or provenance. The piece had been labeled an "Indian coin" on the reasonable grounds that there was an Indian tradition of human representation on coins and nothing that could tie the gold piece to fourth/tenth century Egypt.³⁰

Examining the gold and silver coins with human representation very closely, the obverse has a bearded figure seated in a chair modeled on the Byzantine lyre-backed throne. The figure is encircled with pellets, possibly representing pearls,

29. Simon Bendall, "A Gold Coin of Muhammad ibn Tughj al-Ikhshid," *INJ* 8 (1984–85): 76.

30. *Ibid.* Liverpool University Museum authorities, who were very helpful, were not able to locate it. A second specimen came up for sale in late 2014 and was labeled "Byzantine imitation."

and in this context in imitation of a Christian nimbus or halo. He is wearing a loose fitting outfit, which may be derived from a Greek woolen or linen cloak (*himation*). The figure rests his right hand on an object on the corner of the chair, perhaps a cushion or a book. In his left hand is a scepter, a sign of political power in the Christian world. There is an unclear marking to the left of the chair. Had this been a Byzantine coin the figure would have been Christ on a lyre-backed throne, wearing a tunic and *himation* with the Bible resting on his left knee and his right hand raised in blessing. But it is not. The Muslim coins with the seated Muhammad ibn Tughj have removed all obvious Christological symbols. Perhaps the Ikhshidid artist who prepared the drawing for the die engraver also deliberately reversed the placement of the seated figure's hands as another 'break' from the Christian original or the die engraver reversed the drawings. The difference in the placement of the hands between the Byzantine original and the Muslim imitation can be noted but why this took place cannot be answered.

Berman described the reverse of the silver specimens he examined as follows: "Tree with frontal busts on both sides. The busts are beardless, wearing chlamys and pointed helmets with knoblike finials and two down-sloping earpieces (?) also ending in knob-like finials. In the field left and right are unidentified signs, surrounded by a broad circle within a thin marginal circle."³¹ On the gold coin discovered by Bendall, it is possible to note that the two unbearded figures do not wear the same type of dress: the one on the right wears the chlamys while the other wears a loros.

According to Byzantine numismatist Philip Grierson, the chlamys is "a full length purple cloak that formed the most important single element in the coronation. A characteristic feature of it was the tablion, an embroidered rectangular panel about a foot square, contrasting in color with the main garment, which was fastened to its edge from just below the level of the armpit to the level of the waist."³² He then added that "the traditional form of the loros" was "a long embroidered scarf wound round the body in a somewhat complicated fashion so that the end of it hung over the emperor's extended left forearm."³³

Obviously the model for this series of Muslim coins with human representation is neither a Sasanian nor Islamic 'royal' cycle but a Byzantine one.³⁴ It is even possible to identify the specific model for this Muslim piece. In Grierson's catalogue of

31. Berman, "Additional Information, 71.

32. Grierson, *Catalogue*, 117.

33. *Ibid*, 120.

34. A summary of the characteristics of the Islamic royal cycle can be found in Eva Baer, *The Human Figure in Islamic Art: Inheritances and Islamic Transformations* (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers, 2004). A different emphasis on Sasanian/ Islamic representation of 'royal' figures along with an

Byzantine coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection, he describes a number of gold issues with on the obverse a seated figure of Christ.³⁵ In both the Byzantine and Muslim cases, the bearded figure sits on a lyre backed chair with his head surrounded in a pearl halo. Since many Byzantine issues had a seated Christ on their obverse, it is the data from the reverse that permits a specific identification of the Byzantine original.

Figure 2.7
Byzantine gold coin from the reign of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus
 (913–959 CE).



Grierson identifies from the early part of the reign of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (913–959) an extremely rare gold coin the reverse of which has the busts of the very young, beardless Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus and his mother Zoe both wearing crowns with a cross on top.³⁶ All later Byzantine issues from the reign of Constantine VII with two figures on the reverse show at least one of them bearded. Since the two figures on the Muslim copy are unbearded the possibility that this particular Byzantine coin was the model for the Ikhshidid issue is very likely. But, a second and better reason to identify the Muslim imitations with the coin showing Constantine and his mother Zoe is that this coin type is the only one in the Byzantine series with one figure wearing the chlamys while the second wears the

interpretation of their symbolic meaning can be found in Michael Barry, *Figurative Art in Medieval Islam and the Riddle of Bihzad of Herat (1465–1535)* (Paris: Falmmarion, 2004): 58–66.

35. Grierson, *Catlagoue* includes many examples.

36. *Ibid.* Class II: 914–19. Obv. Seated figure of Christ, as on coins of Basil II. Rev. Busts of Constantine and Zoe “The coin is extremely rare, and one cannot exclude the possibility of its having been struck in 914, the issue of gold being then suspended until the 920s.” p. 533 and 542. Plate 1: Numbers 2.1 and 2.2. For more details of Zoe’s appearance see Kriszta Kotsis, “Your body, o empress, is a treasure of marvelous qualities—Representations of Byzantine Empresses (780–1081)” Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (University of Washington, 2004): 118–19.

traditional loros, as is the case of the costumes on the two young figures in the Muslim coin. Finally, the Christological symbols of Byzantine cross-topped crowns with jewels hanging on the side on the reverse of the Byzantine original were replaced, but this time by a “pointed helmet and earpieces,” on the Muslim one.

Since standard Muslim dinars and dirhams do not have a tradition of human representation, it is unlikely that the original drawings for the Muslim dies were prepared by the regular mint staff, as the drawing skills needed for reproducing human figures are different from that for producing Arabic calligraphy. The quality of human representation and the accuracy of the costuming on these Muslim pieces indicate an artist with the skills both to copy a Byzantine model and to change some of its elements to make them acceptable to a Muslim patron. Based on the drawings on Fatimid pottery and wall paintings, there were clearly artists in Egypt, after 358/969, who could draw attractive human and animal figures.³⁷ This coin can be considered evidence that at least one such artist had the ability to execute good quality representations and was available to help the mint meet the Egyptian governor’s call for such coins.

There is even a straightforward explanation for the manner in which the Byzantine coin that was the model for Muslim one reached Fustat and the governor’s court. In 326/938 the Emperor Romanus Lecapenus (919–944) entered into negotiations with Muhammad ibn Tughj for multiple purposes, including keeping the frontier, or al-Thughur, region quiet and enhancing trade between the two.³⁸ The nature of medieval negotiations included the exchange of presents, and Romanus’ gifts would have included Byzantine gold coinage.³⁹ Thus, it is

37. An analysis of Fatimid pieces with human representation and their relationship to an Islamic ‘royal’ cycle can be found in E. Grube, “Realism or formalism: notes on some Fatimid luster-painted ceramic vessels,” *Studi in onore I Francesco Gabrieli ne suo ottantesimo compleanno*, Renato Traini, ed. (Roma, 1984), I: 423–31 and Ernest J. Grube, “A Coloured Drawing of the Fatimid Period in the Keir Collection,” *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* LIX (1985): 147–74.

38. M. Canard, “Une lettre de Muhammad ibn Tughj al-ihisid emir d’Egypte a l’empereur romain Lecapene,” *Annales de l’Institut d’études orientales* II (1936): 189–209. Anonymous, *Kitab al-Uyun wa-l-hada’iq fi akhbar al-haqa’iq*, Omar Saidi, ed. (Damas: Institut francais de Damas, 1973). IV: 223. Ibn Sa’id, *Al-Mughrib fi hula al-Magrib*, 12 ff. Additional comments on the letter can be found in Ahmad M.H. Shboul, “Arab Attitudes towards Byzantium: Official, Learned, Popular,” *Kathegetria: Essays presented to Joan Hussey for her 80th Birthday*, Henry Chadwick, ed. (Cambridge: Porphyrogenitus, 1988): 118–119.

39. Oleg Grabar, “The Shared Culture of Objects,” *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204*, Henry Maguire, ed. (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Harvard University Press, 1997): 121. Anthony Cutler, “Gifts and exchanges as aspects of Byzantine, Arab and related economies,” *Byzantium in the Medieval World: Monetary Transactions and Exchange*, Alice-Mary Talbot, ed. (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium 1999—Dumbarton Oaks Papers 55, 2001): 266.

possible to postulate that these coins were struck in A.H. 326 or slightly later and were modeled upon a specific Byzantine coin.

The portrait on the obverse of the Muslim pieces has been known since al-Ush's publication; it is a representation of Muhammad ibn Tughj himself. Had the two figures on the reverse been bearded, a case could have been made that they represented his two brothers, but they are clearly meant to be younger men, probably representations of his young sons Abu-l-Qasim Unujur and Ali. They both succeeded him as governors of Egypt and Palestine and would have been beardless at that time.

The more difficult question is to ask for whom the Ikhshidid pieces were struck, and why? The audience for whom the symbolism would have been meaningful was limited, but there are three possible suggestions. First, Muhammad ibn Tughj could have had the coins struck as part of the package of gifts to send back to the Byzantine emperor with an official letter in which he identified himself as the *mawla amir al-mu'minin* (distinguished supporter of the Commander of the Believers). If sending these presentation pieces to Constantinople was his goal, it would have been a very subtle message: that as Byzantine coinage carried human representations, so he as governor of Egypt could do the same, implying some sense of equality. On the other hand, it is doubtful that a Byzantine Emperor would have reacted positively when a Muslim governor, who was not his equal, imitated Byzantine coinage by removing Christ and other Christological symbols and substituting unidentified figures.

A second possibility is that they were distributed in Fustat to Muhammad ibn Tughj's supporters as a gift, on some occasion associated with missions to or from Byzantium. The inclusion of his two sons on the reverse may have been a subtle way in which the governor was indicating to those in his court that succession would follow the family line through his two sons. However, the medieval Arabic sources do not mention any occasion at the Ikhshidid court when such an event took place. In fact, the narrative texts make absolutely no mention of the existence of Ikhshidid coins with human representation.

A third possibility is that the intended audience was in Baghdad, at the Abbasid court and the coins were meant to signal that Muhammad ibn Tughj expected succession to the governorship in Egypt to be hereditary through his sons. A possible parallel, though later, is an event that took place in Baghdad in A.H. 329 when presentation pieces with the effigy of the *amir al-umara'* Bajkam on both faces were struck to emphasize Bajkam's control of the Abbasid government.⁴⁰ In contrast to the Ikhshidid case, these pieces with Bajkam's image are only known through literary texts and not surviving examples.

40. Bates, "Nobility," 284.

There are a few generalizations that can be drawn from these presentation pieces. First, the absence of narrative references in Muslim sources to coins with human representation can't be the basis for an argument about their non-existence. The presentation pieces in gold and silver struck in Fustat with representations of Muhammad ibn Tughj and his two sons prove otherwise. Second, presentation pieces are not subject to the same rules governing what was inscribed on the standard gold dinars and silver dirhams issued by the Abbasid caliphs and their governors during this era. Third, unique circumstances can lead to the creation of non-traditional designs. The Ikhshidid images of the governor fall outside the well-known Muslim princely cycle with their seated, crossed legged ruler with cup in his right hand held against his chest. There is also no evidence that these coins impacted courtly ideas of the 'princely cycle' and there are no examples of human representation in any medium, which appear to be based upon this Ikhshidid numismatic model. Fourth, something triggered Muhammad ibn Tughj, who was not yet entitled to be called al-Ikhshid, to order coins with human representation be minted in both gold and silver. There are no written texts, which may have enabled us to have a fuller understanding of why this action took place. Finally, as with most Muslim presentation pieces, memory of why they were minted was not retained long enough for someone to record their existence or the circumstances under which they were struck in any existing narrative source. It is most likely that these special coins eventually came to circulate in the medieval markets along with other pieces of struck gold and silver with human representation, whatever their origin, to be traded by weight and estimated degree of purity.

The Honorific Title al-Ikhshid

In 324/936 Muhammad ibn Tughj wrote the Caliph al-Radi informing him how he had managed to thwart the Fatimids. It can be assumed that the correspondence was accompanied by appropriate gifts for the caliph. A possible numismatic part of that package of presents will be mentioned shortly. In response al-Radi confirmed his position as governor by sending him robes of honor and by urging him to continue to resist the Fatimids.⁴¹

Muhammad ibn Tughj continued to develop his connections with the caliphal court in Baghdad and in 326/938 asked the caliph for an honorary title, specifically for the *laqab* al-Ikhshid. The granting of a *laqab* was not unusual, but it was normally associated with a particular military or political event. For example, slightly earlier the eunuch and military leader Mu'nis received a *laqab* for his victory over the Fatimids.

41. Ibn Sa'id, *Al-Mughrib fi hula al-Magrib*, 16.

Hamdanids received their *laqabs* for military actions on behalf of the Abbasid caliph and Buyids forced the caliph into awarding them their *laqabs*. Muhammad ibn Tughj did not receive his *laqab* al-Ikhshid for a specific military action nor was he in a position to force the caliph to award it; he acquired it through bribery, gifts, court connections, and possible threats to support the Shi'ite Fatimids. Not only was the method by which Muhammad ibn Tughj acquired his *laqab* unusual, but so was the title.

The most common *laqab* for powerful figures in the Abbasid world were formed by an appropriate descriptive noun, e.g. *sayf* or sword, combined with *al-Dawla*. Buyids, Hamdanids, and even an earlier Abbasid wazir had *laqabs* in which the second part was *al-Dawla*, but Muhammad ibn Tughj didn't. It is possible that the acquisition of a *laqab*, which included *al-Dawla* implied a relationship in which the individual was, theoretically, a defender of the caliph and the Abbasid caliphate. While Muhammad ibn Tughj fit the latter definition in his role as defender of Sunni lands against the Isma'ili Shi'ite Fatimids, he was not in Baghdad protecting the reigning caliph. Muhammad ibn Tughj specifically requested the *laqab* al-Ikhshid. As indicated above, numismatic and narrative evidence indicate that it was a title held by pre-Islamic Central Asian rulers.

Russian scholars have been able to establish the names of ten Ikhshids who ruled Samarqand from the mid-seventh to the mid-eighth century.⁴² The title was also held by rulers of Chach/Shash (Tashkent) and the Ferghana Valley, the specific area from which Juff, Muhammad ibn Tughj's grandfather, originated.⁴³ In earlier periods in Central Asia, the title was rendered on the coins by the Aramean heterogram MLK and on later issues in Soghdian.⁴⁴ How many could read these inscriptions more than a century after the Muslim conquests is questionable, but memory of the title must have been retained and transmitted from generation to generation, otherwise how could a Turkic ruler in Egypt ever come up with it?

When Ibn Tughj's request for this title reached al-Radi, the caliph asked his chamberlain what the term meant. He was informed that it referred to the 'King of the Farghanians,' just as other titles were applied to kings of other peoples.⁴⁵ The caliph then replied that as Muhammad ibn Tughj was descended from a Farghanian, that is from his grandfather Juff, "we will not be stingy with him on this

42. An overview can be found in E.V. Zeimal, "Circulation of Coins," 245–67.

43. G. Brykina and N. Gorbunova, "Ferghana," *Central Asia in the Early Middle Ages: Introduction to the history of the regions* (1999) (http://www.kroraina.com/ca/h_ferghana.html).

44. G. Brykina, *Central Asia in the Early Middle Ages: Coins of the Region* (1999) (http://www.kroraina.com/ca/c_cach.htm).

45. Ibn Sa'id, *Al-Mughrib fi hula al-Magrib*, 23. Ibn Taghri Birdi, *Al-Nujum al-zahira*, 237.

account.”⁴⁶ The wording in the chronicles suggests that it may have been a put-down by the caliph and his court.⁴⁷ Muhammad ibn Tughj was thus invested with this unique honorific title along with appropriate gifts from the caliph, and henceforth, could legally be called or use the title al-Ikhshid.⁴⁸

The official designation of the title al-Ikhshid reached Fustat in Ramadan 327/July 939 although unofficial word had arrived in the Egyptian capital at least nine months earlier.⁴⁹ Upon receiving official word, Muhammad ibn Tughj ibn Juff had his new title al-Ikhshid’ proclaimed from all the pulpits in his lands and written on all his correspondence. Everyone was instructed to address the governor by his *laqab*. In return, Muhammad ibn Tughj, now calling himself al-Ikhshid, sent additional money, clothes, animals, and other presents to al-Radi.⁵⁰ Based upon numismatic evidence during the reign of the Caliph al-Radi, he did not use his new *laqab* on his regular dinars and dirhams. It is possible that al-Ikhshid felt that the caliph’s right of *sikka* included the right to determine whose names would appear on regular dinars and dirhams and since al-Radi had not specifically awarded him that right, Muhammad ibn Tughj did not usurp it.

Presentation Pieces in the Name of al-Ikhshid

There is another silver presentation piece, whose marginal inscription indicates it was minted in 329 with no reference to location (Cat. 220/XS329a), although it was probably Egypt. While the general size of the coin and the area inscribed on the flan are consistent with the presentation pieces described above, its specific inscriptions are different and raise additional questions concerning nomenclature. One side has “Li-llah Muhammad ibn Tughj,” which is the *ism-nasab* combination found on earlier presentation pieces and the phrase *li-llah*, which is found on regular dinars and dirhams.⁵¹ The other side has three words: *billah*, *al-amir*, and *al-Ikhshid*.

This is the earliest dated piece of numismatic evidence in which Muhammad ibn Tughj inscribed his *laqab* al-Ikhshid, although as indicated above, he had it added to his correspondence and had it declared from the pulpit during the

46. Ibn Sa’id, *Al-Mughrib fi hula al-Magrib*, 23.

47. Bates, “Nobility,” 284.

48. There is a modern Egyptian analogy from the 19th century when the Ottoman governor of Egypt Ismail (1863–1879 C.E.) bought his unique title Khedive from the Ottoman sultan.

49. Bates, “Nobility,” 284. Repeated in al-Maqrizi, *Kitab al-muqaffa al-kabir*, Muhammad al-Yalawi, ed. (Cairo: Dar al-Gharb al-Islami, 1991), 131.

50. al-Maqrizi. *Ibid.*

51. Bates, “Nobility,” 284 discusses the phrase *li-llah* and concludes that we don’t know why it was added to the coinage.

Friday *khutba* the preceding year. To push this argument further, I believe Muslims of this time not only understood that there was a difference between the right of having one's name mentioned in the *khutba* and having it inscribed on coins, that is, the right of *sikka*, but that *sikka* was associated with a particular layout, which was described at the end of chapter one. The design and inscriptions of this specific presentation piece did not violate the Abbasid model for regular dinars and dirhams established with the post al-Ma'mun second Abbasid epoch coinage.

Figure 2.8
Presentation with the title *al-amir* (220/MS329a).



The second unusual element is the inclusion of the title *al-amir*. Did this title, which is not found on standard second Abbasid epoch coinage, carry an importance we have not noted before? As mentioned above, at the end of 324 Ibn Ra'iq was awarded a new title and office, *amir al-umara'*, but it is possible that the simpler title *al-amir* was also enhanced. In his discussion of Bajkam becoming *amir al-umara'* in Baghdad in the eleventh month of 326, Bates makes two important observations: first, Bajkam was addressed by his *kunya* by the caliph, a point I shall return to when discussing the coins of al-Ikhshid's son and successor Abu-l-Qasim Unujur, and second, at the time of his installation as *amir al-umara'* the Caliph al-Radi gave Bajkam seven robes of honor and a flag, and said "I name you amir!"⁵² Earlier, during the reign of Ahmad ibn Tulun, Grabar noted that Ibn Tulun's administrative title of *al-amir* appeared on textiles and foundation

52. Ibid., 279 based upon Al-Suli, *Akhbar al-Radi wa'l-Muttaki*, J. Heyworth Dunne, ed. (London: Luzac, 1935), 106–107.

inscriptions but not on his coinage.⁵³ What is not clear is why at this time al-Ikshid felt it was important to include the title *al-amir* on a presentation piece.

Finally, even the first line with *billah* is interesting because it not found on other second Abbasid epoch coins. The sense of the phrase is straightforward, “in God’s name,” but why does it suddenly appear on this presentation piece? Again, our sources are silent.

Figure 2.9
Presentation piece of 329 with pious phrases (221/MS329b).

<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Reverse</i>
<p><i>Field</i></p> <div style="display: flex; align-items: center; justify-content: center;">  <div style="text-align: center;"> <p>بِالله محمد ينصر</p> </div> </div>	<div style="display: flex; align-items: center; justify-content: center;">  <div style="text-align: center;"> <p>لا الاخشيد يشكر</p> </div> </div>
<p><i>Margin</i></p> <div style="text-align: center;"> <p>بسم الله ضرب سنة تسع وعشرين</p> </div>	<div style="text-align: center;"> <p>لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله</p> </div>

The next presentation piece is dated 329 (Cat. 221/MS329a) and is also unlike any other contemporary coin in terms of the inscriptions in both fields. The obverse margin includes the date 329, but not the name of a mint, which, again, was probably Egypt. The obverse can be translated as “Muhammad gains victory through God.” The Muhammad in this case is probably Muhammad ibn Tughj, but the ambiguity that it could also refer to the Prophet Muhammad enhances the power of the sentence. The reverse margin is inscribed with the short *shahada* “There is no deity except God; Muhammad is the Apostle of God.” The center reverse margin can be translated as “Al-Ikshid gives thanks to God.”

Neither phrase in the center of the obverse or reverse is found in the Qur’an but both are clearly associated with some sort of victory. The struck piece commemorates something, probably a military victory but which one is unknown. It

53. Grabar, *Coinage of the Tulunids*, 39 and especially note on page 40 on the use of the title *al-amir*.

would have been an appropriate gift to distribute to troops or members of the court as a sign of Ibn Tughj's beneficence. It also includes the use of his *laqab* al-Ikhshid, for the second year in a row on a struck piece of metal but, as noted above, this numismatic material was not part of the regular dinar and dirham emissions and thus the inclusion of his title didn't violate societal norms.

Figure 2.10

Presentation piece with the title *mawla amir al-mu'minin* (222/MS330b).



Another numismatic item, which offers tantalizing data on titlature, is dated 330 and has the appearance of a presentation piece (Cat. 222/MS330b). The reverse includes the *ism-nasab* Muhammad ibn Tughj but not his *laqab* al-Ikhshid, which appeared on the preceding presentation pieces of 328 and 329. Why did the governor of Egypt revert to the less prestigious part of his name for this coin? The problem may be that a scholar of the twenty-first century is looking for greater consistency in usage than tenth-century Muslims practiced.

The obverse carries the inscription *mawla amir al-mu'minin*, which could be understood as meaning client of the Caliph.' The title *mawla* was a very important one in early Islamic history but its meaning had shifted by the fourth century A.H.⁵⁴ There is the earlier letter from Muhammad ibn Tughj to the Byzantine emperor in which he identified himself as "Muhammad ibn Tughj *mawla amir al-mu'minin* indicating that he considered the title along with *al-amir* noted above,

54. Roy Mottahedeh, *Loyalty and Leadership in an early Islamic Society* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), 92–93.

part of his legitimate nomenclature and was willing to place it on his official correspondence and presentation pieces.⁵⁵

Again, an example of Bajkam's rule as *amir al-umara'* may be relevant. Bajkam received the rather modest title *mawlahu* (His Client) from the Caliph al-Radi, but with the accession of the new caliph al-Muttaqi, he changed his title to *mawla amir al-mu'minin* indicating a shift from one of a personal relationship to an association with the institution of the caliphate irrespective of who was caliph.⁵⁶ This title, *mawla amir al-mu'minin*, then appeared on Iraqi Abbasid coinage associated with Bajkam along with the name of the caliph al-Muttaqi.⁵⁷ Thus, it is possible that with this Ikhshidid presentation piece Muhammad ibn Tughj was imitating the actions and coinage of the *amir al-umara'* Bajkam in Baghdad and, by implication, stating that he was his equal. A second possible interpretation, but less likely one, is that al-Ikhshid was associating himself with his famous predecessor as ruler of Egypt, Ahmad ibn Tulun. The latter had issued glass weights using the same phrase, *mawla amir al-mu'minin*, but not on any known Tulunid coins.⁵⁸ Again, numismatic evidence offers tantalizing clues as to some of the values associated with titles for fourth/tenth century medieval Muslim society and in what context they could be used, but supporting data needed to fill out the picture is lacking.

The Appearance of the Laqab al-Ikhshid on Regular Coinage: A Politico–Military Explanation

The numismatic evidence for the years 329–334 has been used by myself and Bikhazi to illustrate the changing relationships between the Ikhshidids, Hamdanids, various holders of the office of *amir al-umara'*, and the Abbasid caliphs for the area of Egypt, Greater Syria, and northern Iraq.⁵⁹ What is important to note is that there are coins from Iraq, Syria, and Egypt for the year 329 in the name of al-Radi and others for the same Muslim year in the name of the next caliph al-Muttaqi, who succeeded al-Radi in 329, indicating that news of the accession of the

55. Ibn Sa'id, *Al-Mughrib fi hula al-Magrib*, 12 ff. and reproduced in Al-Qalqashandi, *Subh al-a'sha* (Cairo: Dar al-Kutub, 1913) VII: 10 ff.

56. Bates, "Nobility," 344–48.

57. Mohammad Abu'l-Faraj al-Ush, *Arab Islamic Coins preserved in the National Museum of Qatar* (Doha: The Ministry of Information in Qatar, 1984): 562; coin 2275 for Madinat al-Salam, 329, 558; coin 2277 for Surra Man Ra (Samarra), 329.

58. Grabar, *Coinage of the Tulunids*.

59. The most detailed account of these political and military struggles is Ramzi J. Bikhazi, "The Struggle for Syria and Mesopotamia (330–58/941–69) as Reflected on Hamdanid and Ikhshidid Coins," *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes* 28 (1983): 137–86.

new caliph al-Muttaqi spread through Abbasid lands and that there was more than enough time and the willingness of the local governors to have the new caliph's name mentioned in the *khutba* and appear in the *sikka*.

Returning to the political history of Baghdad, the arrival of *amir al-umara* Ibn Ra'iq in late 329 only brought the Abbasid Caliph al-Muttaqi a new master.⁶⁰ Therefore, the caliph planned to get rid of Ibn Ra'iq and on 1 Sha'ban 330 Ibn Ra'iq was killed by the Hamdanid al-Hasan, who received the *laqab* Nasir al-Dawla for his service to the caliph. Four months later, in Dhu-l Hijja 329, Nasir al-Dawla's brother Ali received his *laqab* Sayf al-Dawla for fighting in the name of the caliph, the Baridi family, who controlled Basra. After Nasir al-Dawla's brother received his *laqab*, both honorific titles, Nasir al-Dawla and Sayf al-Dawla, became common to the Hamdanid issues of 330 coupled with the name of the Caliph al-Muttaqi.⁶¹

Based upon data in Arab chronicles for the time it took for announcements of a new caliph to reach Fustat from Baghdad, news of Nasir al-Dawla's killing of Ibn Ra'iq and his acquisition of the position of *amir al-umara'* as well as the role of Sayf al-Dawla probably reached Fustat in 330. It is also likely that coins with both Hamdanid *laqabs* on them also reached Egypt at the same time. Al-Ikhshid had been as politically powerful as Nasir al-Dawla, had ruled longer, and was in a more secure military and political position. Therefore, if the new *amir al-umara'* who was a rival of al-Ikhshid added his *laqab* and the *laqab* of his brother to the coinage, there was no reason why the Egyptian governor could not follow the same policy. In 330, the first 'al-Ikhshid' coins appeared (Cat. 114/FS332a) and the following Muslim year, 331, the *laqab* was inscribed on additional gold and silver issues. (Cat. 23/MG331c; 38/FG331a; 127/TS331a; 131/DS331a; 140/HS33ab; and 120/FS332a). Therefore, the simplest explanation for the appearance of the *laqab* al-Ikhshid on Muhammad ibn Tughj's coinage is the imitation of the Hamdanid coinage.

This interpretation runs parallel to the argument that earlier inscriptions on Muhammad ibn Tughj's presentation pieces were deliberate copies of the actions of the *amir al-umara'* Bajkam. The sense that the Ikhshidid rulers followed Hamdanid practices when it came to their coinage will be the main argument for

60. Ibn Ra'iq had been active in Jordan before returning to Baghdad and, I believe, the dinar with the mint name al-Urdunn and the date 329 was struck by his orders and was not an Ikhshidid piece as suggested by Kazan. William Kazan, *The Coinage of the Islamic Collection of William Kazan* (Beirut: Bank of Beirut, 1983): 242, cat. # 199.

61. A detailed account of developments in Baghdad along with the accompanying numismatic material can be found in R. J. Bikhazi, "Hamdanid Coins of Madinat al-Salam H. 330-331," *Near Eastern Numismatics, Iconography, Epigraphy and History. Studies in Honor of George C. Miles*, Dickran Koumyjian, ed. (Beirut: American University in Beirut Press, 1974): 255-78.

explaining a number of innovations that took place on Ikhshidid coinage, including the use of additional phrases in Arabic and changes in the fineness of the dinars.

Muhammad ibn Tughj's new policy of including his *laqab* on the coinage was not only enforced at Fustat but also at Ramla, the hitherto relatively inactive mint of Palestine. The Arabic chronicles do not give any indication why he began to mint coins regularly at Ramla nor do they explain why he included his *laqab* on them. There is the theoretical possibility that increased economic activity created a sudden demand for more coins and that the Palestine issues were primarily minted for their economic rather than political reasons. While the coins did play an important part in economic transactions, there is no evidence to indicate a sudden economic expansion large enough to necessitate the re-activation of this mint. Of greater importance was the propaganda value of issuing Palestine coins. By including his *laqab* on these regional issues, al-Ikhshid was reinforcing his claim to caliphal legitimization as well as his right to control Palestine. Palestine was also the base from which military campaigns were launched against the Hamdanids or anyone else who threatened his control over Egypt and Palestine.

The Appearance of the Laqab al-Ikhshid: A Monetary Explanation

The preceding chapter discussed the methods for estimating the degree of purity for both gold and silver issues. The accompanying table on the degree of fineness of Ikhshidid dirhams indicates a fairly consistent range of between 90% and 95% pure silver. Although the data are limited, there does not appear to be any obvious trend in terms of debasement. The calculated percentage of fineness for these Ikhshidid dirhams is close to that for contemporary Hamdanid pieces.⁶² With this sample, it is impossible to determine if the earliest Ikhshidid dirhams were debased. We know that Muslim mint masters were able to produce almost pure silver coins at Wasit under the Marwanid branch of the Umayyads and I assume that they retained that skill centuries later.⁶³ More importantly, we do not know if users of these fourth Muslim century dirhams treated the circulating dirhams as if they were 100% silver coins.⁶⁴ For the purposes of calculating gold/silver exchange rates, I shall assume two cases: dirhams were made of pure silver and that they were 90% pure.

62. Tests were run by Adon A. Gordus of the Department of Chemistry, the University of Michigan for Ramzi Bikhazi. I am most grateful to the ANS for sharing the data. All the coins are from the American Numismatic Society. For data on the purity of Hamdanid dirhams see Ramzi Bikhazi, "Hamdanid Coins," 255.

63. Gordus, "Non-Destructive Analysis," 141–62.

64. Ibid.

Table 3
Degree of fineness of Ikhshidid dirhams

Date	Mint	Caliph	Ruler	Wt.	% Silver
333	Damascus	al-Muttaqi	al-Ikhshid	3.54	94
336	Damascus	al-Muti'	Unujur	4.59	93
336	Tabariya	al-Muti'	Unujur	3.12	89
336	Filastin	al-Muti'	Unujur	3.39	96
340	Filastin	al-Muti'	Unujur	2.35	90
341	Filastin	al-Muti'	Unujur	2.45	95
351	Filastin	al-Muti'	'Ali	3.28	91
353	Filastin	al-Muti'	'Ali	3.95	93
353	Tabariya	al-Muti'	'Ali	2.62	95

Andrew S. Ehrenkreutz pioneered the study of fineness of Islamic dinars using the specific gravity method and what follows is an elaboration and expansion of his work on Ikhshidid gold, but with a sample size more than twice as large.⁶⁵ He noted a drop in the degree of fineness in the early 300s with the percentage of purity dropping to about 90% gold. He concluded, "The worst phase in the debasement in question occurred during the reign of al-Radi. This was an obvious consequence of grave internal disorders which afflicted Egypt in the years immediately preceding the rise of Muhammad ibn Tughj al-Ikhshid."⁶⁶ As can be seen in the accompanying tables, dinars in the name of al-Radi minted in Egypt were systematically debased over time and the downward trend in their degree of purity continued into the reign of al-Muttaqi. The pattern clearly indicates a deliberate policy of debasement on the part of the authorities in charge of the mint and not a case of variations due to the inability of minters to control the exact purity of their base metal.

Ehrenkreutz was the first to note that the quality of Muhammad ibn Tughj's dinars, that is, those with the *laqab* al-Ikhshid inscribed on them, and those of his successors was significantly higher with almost every issue over 90% pure. Based upon his sample, he concluded that coins from Egypt were always over 95% pure while those of Palestine were in the 90–95% range. Drawing upon the work of the

65. Andrew Ehrenkreutz, "Monetary History of the Near East in the Middle Ages: The Standard of Fineness of Some Types of Dinars," *JESHO* II (1959): 128–61.

66. *Ibid.*, 152.

Table 4
Degree of fineness of Ikhshidid dinars**

Year	Mint	Caliph	Governor	Wt.	Sp.Gr.	% of Gold	Collection
322	Misr	al-Radi	—	3.88	17.8	91	ANS
323	Misr	al-Radi	—	4.24	17.7	89	ANS
	Misr	al-Radi	—	4.10	17.8	91	ANS
325	Misr	al-Radi	—	4.14	16.2	80	BM
	Misr	al-Radi	—	3.03	17.6	90	BM
	Misr	al-Radi	—	3.76	16.8	83.5	ANS
	Misr	al-Radi	—	4.10	16.8	83.5	ANS
	Misr	al-Radi	—	4.04	17.3	87.5	ANS
326	Misr	al-Radi	—	3.60	16.4	82.5	BM
	Fil.	al-Radi	—	4.43	16.6	83	BM
	Misr	al-Radi	—	4.20	16.7	82.5	ANS
	Misr	al-Radi	—	4.21	16.2	79	ANS
	327	Misr	al-Radi	—	4.02	15.6	74
Misr		al-Radi	—	3.75	15.9	77	ANS
328	Misr	al-Radi	—	3.95	16.2	79	ANS
329	Misr	al-Radi	—	4.10	15.9	77	ANS
	Misr	al-Radi	—	3.71	15.3	73	ANS
330	Misr	al-Muttaqi	—	3.67	14.3	64	BM
331	Fil.	al-Muttaqi	al-Ikhshid	4.12	18.6	96	ANS
	Fil.	al-Muttaqi	al-Ikhshid	4.08	18.4	95	ANS
333	Misr	al-Muttaqi	al-Ikhshid	4.01	18.9	98	ANS
	Misr	al-Muttaqi	al-Ikhshid	4.23	19.1	99	ANS
	Misr	al-Muttaqi	al-Ikhshid	4.16	18.9	98	ANS
	Fil.	al-Muttaqi	al-Ikhshid	4.44	18.6	96	BM
	Fil.	al-Muttaqi	al-Ikhshid	3.21	18.5	95	BM
335	Misr	al-Muti ^f	Unujur	3.88	18.4	94.5	ANS
	Fil.	al-Muti ^f	Unujur	4.45	18.3	94	ANS
	Fit.	al-Muti ^f	Unujur	4.87	18.1	92.5	ANS
	Fil.	al-Muti ^f	Unujur	3.93	18.4	94.5	BM
336	Misr	al-Muti ^f	Unujur	3.46	18.8	97	ANS
337	Misr	al-Muti ^f	Unujur	3.45	19.1	99	ANS
	Fil.	al-Muti ^f	Unujur	3.72	18.2	93.5	ANS
	Fil.	al-Muti ^f	Unujur	3.72	18.4	94.5	ANS
339	Misr	al-Muti ^f	Unujur	3.43	19.1	99	ANS
340	Misr	al-Muti ^f	Unujur	3.95	19.1	99	ANS
	Misr	al-Muti ^f	Unujur	4.14	18.6	96	ANS
341	Misr	al-Muti ^f	Unujur	4.16	19.2	99	ANS

Table 4 (Cont'd)

Year	Mint	Caliph	Governor	Wt.	Sp.Gr.	% of Gold	Collection
	Fil.	al-Muti'	Unujur	4.34	18.5	95	ANS
	Fil.	al-Muti'	Unujur	3.92	18.3	94	ANS
342	Misr	al-Muti'	Unujur	3.75	18.7	96.5	ANS
	Misr	al-Muti'	Unujur	4.02	18.9	98	ANS
	Misr	al-Muti'	Unujur	3.77	19.2	99	BM
343	Misr	al-Muti'	Unujur	4.46	18.6	96	ANS
344	Misr	al-Muti'	Unujur	3.92	18.4	94.5	ANS
	Misr	al-Muti'	Unujur	4.17	19.0	98	ANS
	Misr	al-Muti'	Unujur	4.12	18.9	98	ANS
345	Fil.	al-Muti'	Unujur	2.48*	18.6	96	ANS
	Fil.	al-Muti'	Unujur	3.80	18.4	94.5	BM
346	Fil.	al-Muti'	Unujur	3.11	19.2	99	ANS
	Fil.	al-Muti'	Unujur	3.28	18.1	92.5	ANS
350	Misr	al-Muti'	'Ali	4.12	19.2	99	ANS
	Fil.	al-Muti'	'Ali	4.17	18.7	97	ANS
	Fil.	al-Muti'	'Ali	4.31	17.7	89	ANS
	Fil.	al-Muti'	'Ali	4.84	17.8	91	ANS
351	Misr	al-Muti'	'Ali	4.36	19.0	98	ANS
	Fil.	al-Muti'	'Ali	3.87	18.5	95	ANS
352	Misr	al-Muti'	'Ali	4.22	18.5	95	ANS
353	Misr	al-Muti'	'Ali	4.62	15.6	85	BM
	Misr	al-Muti'	'Ali	5.06	19.2	99	ANS
	Fil.	al-Muti'	'Ali	3.55	18.3	94	ANS
	Fil.	al-Muti'	'Ali	4.32	18.4	94.5	ANS
	Fil.	al-Muti'	'Ali	2.60	18.6	96	BM
355	Misr	al-Muti'	Kafur	3.88	18.9	98	ANS
	Fil.	al-Muti'	Kafur	3.41	18.5	95	ANS
	Fil.	al-Muti'	Kafur	2.69	18.9	98	ANS
	Fil.	al-Muti'	Kafur	3.57	18.4	94.5	ANS
	Fil.	al-Muti'	Kafur	4.93	18.4	94.5	BM
356	Fil.	al-Muti'	Kafur	4.21	19.1	99	ANS
358	Fil.	al-Muti'	Ahmad	3.83	18.3	94	ANS
	Fil.	al-Muti'	Ahmad	3.52	18.5	95	ANS
	Fil.	al-Muti'	Ahmad	2.78	18.4	94.5	BM

(* = pierced)

** W. A. Oddy, whose help was invaluable, ran tests at the British Museum. The author ran tests at the American Numismatic Society (ANS).

French historian Gaston Wiet, Ehrenkreutz argued that “The consolidation of the power of Muhammad ibn Tughj in Egypt, his emancipation from any effective control of Baghdad, a temporary relaxation of the pressure of the Fatimids, the reestablishment of internal peace and security for members of different religious communities, and an active interest of the ruler in the matters of gold coinage, all contributed to a revival of economic prosperity in the country of the Nile. That prosperity is reflected in the standard of Egyptian dinars of the period.”⁶⁷

It is the position of this study that Muhammad ibn Tughj effectively controlled Egypt and Palestine from 324 and that all coinage issued in these lands was ‘Ikhshidid.’ Therefore, the final decision on the wording of inscriptions and the composition of the alloy was his responsibility and, if mint officials acted contrary to his policies they would have met with severe consequences.⁶⁸ The fact that there was a systematic decline in the purity of pre-331 dinars had to be his policy in that it took place during his governorship and that he was in control of Egypt and Palestine. When the quality of the dinars suddenly went from approximately 75% gold to close to 100% it was also a policy decision, which rested with him. To put it simply, Muhammad ibn Tughj was responsible for both the debasement and the reform of the Egyptian and Palestinian dinars.⁶⁹

Rather than postulate an economic revival, for which adequate historical texts are lacking, I will offer a different interpretation. The place to begin is in Baghdad where, under the heading of the year 331, the anonymous author of the *Kitab al-‘uyun wa’l-hada’iq fi akhbar al-haqa’iq* wrote that:⁷⁰

In the year 331 letters reached Egypt concerning the reform of the coinage. The Baridi amirs in Iraq had corrupted it. Al-Muttaqi dinars were struck in Egypt and obliterated ones in Palestine. Inscriptions could not be made on the Palestine dinars because they were so debased. Al-Ikhshid ordered the striking of Ikhshidi dinars and their fineness was to be like that of the Hamdanid issues. He seized all who worked in the mint who had profited (mifraq) and the coinage improved.

The data when presented in the following chart illustrates the systematic debasement over time and its sudden improvement.

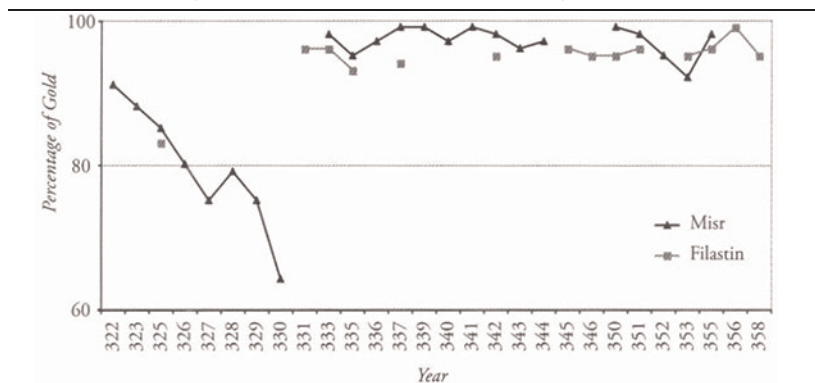
67. Ehrenkreutz, “Monetary History,” 153.

68. The fact that Muhammad ibn Tughj had been governor of Egypt since 323 but that the earliest available dinars issued in his name date from 331 was noted by Ehrenkreutz, *Ibid*, 153.

69. It is possible that the debasement began before Muhammad ibn Tughj became governor but if that is the case and I doubt it, he neither reversed the trend nor stabilized the coinage at about 90 percent gold. His dinars were continually debased over time until he issued the new-style, significantly purer, issues with his *laqab* al-Ikhshid on them.

70. Anonymous, *Kitab al-‘uyun*, IV, 393.

Table 5
Degree of fineness of Ikhshidid dinars in graph form



Arabic sources write of a reform of the coinage in Baghdad in late 330. Bikhazi, who studied the issue including testing the purity of Baghdad silver issues, concluded that there was no reform of the dirham as stated in some Arab texts.⁷¹ In addition other chronicles, such as the anonymous account above, al-Suli and Ibn al-Athir recorded that the reform only involved the improvement of the Hamdanid dinar.⁷² Unfortunately appropriate dinars have not been available to test this claim, and since Bikhazi's tests demonstrate that the dirham was not debased, it is safest to assume that the chroniclers were referring only to the gold issues.⁷³

According to medieval Arabic sources, a debased dinar, which would have been issued in the name of al-Muttaqi, was worth 10 dirhams while the reformed Hamdanid dinar was worth 13.⁷⁴ If the Baghdad dirham is assumed to be pure silver, the Hamdanid dinar is assumed to be 100% gold, and the gold/silver ratio was the common 1:13 1/3 ratio, then the purity of debased al-Muttaqi dinars of Baghdad would have been about 77%. Maintaining the same gold to silver ratio but dropping the Hamdanid dinar to a purity of 98% and the silver to 90%, the calculated percentage in a Baghdad al-Muttaqi dinar would be less than 75% gold. Appropriate dinars from Baghdad still have to be tested to prove if the calculated percentage of gold in surviving specimens reflects the data in the chronicle.

71. Bikhazi, "Hamdanid Coins," 255–78.

72. *Ibid.*, 259.

73. Bates came to a similar conclusion. Bates, "Nobility," 296.

74. Ibn Muyassar, *Akhbar Misr* (Cairo, 1919): II. 43, 45. Al-Maqrizi, *Khitat*, II: 5–6.

Such a test was done for dinars minted by the Ikhshidids. When the method for calculating the degree of purity of ‘corrupted’ Baghdadi dinars is applied to the gold coins of Egypt before al-Ikhshid inscribed his *laqab* on the coinage, that is, pre-331 al-Radi and al-Muttaqi dinars, the resulting projected percentage of purity is in the 70 percentile and that was what the tests revealed. In fact, the one dinar examined with the name of al-Muttaqi and not al-Ikhshid shows an even lower percentage of gold. Specific gravity tests on available dinars minted by Muhammad ibn Tughj validate the comments of the anonymous chronicler on the poor quality of gold coins from Egypt.

Figure 2.11

Hamdanid ‘ibriz’ dinar and the reverse of an Ikhshidid dinar without the term



Last line: Ibriz (إبريز)

Returning to the gold issues from Iraq, there is indirect evidence that the Hamdanids did improve the fineness of their Baghdad dinars. The first is that they inscribed the term *ibriz* on them, which implies a purified metal and was a public statement about their new policy.⁷⁵ Announcing an improvement and including a word to that effect on the coinage is not proof. Since specific gravity tests on these coins and their Iraqi predecessors have not been done, evidence from the surviving dinars is not available.

However, there is additional indirect evidence supporting the argument that Hamdanid *ibriz* dinars were believed to be significantly better than other circulating dinars. A hoard of 367 dinars was found in Ramla whose dates ranged from A.H. 143 to A.H. 368 with over half dating from 330 to 345.⁷⁶ Ninety-seven of the dinars in the hoard were Hamdanid Baghdad pieces dated 330 or 331 with the word *ibriz* inscribed on them. This means that slightly more than 25% of all the dinars, which included new Fatimid pieces with their high percentage of gold, were over thirty-

75. Bates discusses the term in greater detail. Bates, “Nobility,” 296–97.

76. Levy and Mitchell, “A Hoard of Gold Dinars from Ramla.” *INJ* III (1965–66), 37–66.

five years old and from outside Fatimid lands, specifically Hamdanid Iraq. Whoever assembled the hoard was deliberately looking for *ibriz* pieces. The only reason one would do so was because the person(s) believed that the Hamdanid '*ibriz*' dinars were the purest and wanted as many of them as possible.

Within the hoard there were only twelve post-331 Ikhshidid specimens. Since specific gravity tests prove that these dinars were of very high quality, I would have predicted that more would have been 'saved,' since the goal of any medieval acquirer of money was to have as many dinars as possible with the highest percentage of gold. This one datum implies that the 'reputation' of al-Ikhshidid dinars a decade after the end of the dynasty was not as great as I have assumed.

There is another datum, which indicates that contemporaries knew that the early pre-al-Ikhshidid dinars were of poor quality. Under the year 363, after the Fatimids had consolidated their hold on Egypt, a medieval chronicler recorded that Ya'qub ibn Killis and 'Asluj were placed in charge of the taxes (*kharaj*) and that they refused to accept any dinars except those of al-Mu'izz, the Fatimid Imam-Caliph (341–365/953–975). The chronicles then mention the rejection of al-Radi dinars by name, which they also call 'white,' referring to the paleness of their color, reflecting their relatively low percentage of gold.⁷⁷

Figure 2.12

Comparison of an Ikhshidid and a Fatimid dinar



The al-Mu'izz dinar was composed of almost pure gold and its layout was composed of a series of concentric circles. The radical differences between the design of the second Abbasid dinars and the Fatimid dinars made it very easy to distinguish the two. According to our narrative sources, after the original decree was promulgated rejecting the use of al-Radi dinars in the new Fatimid state, we

77. Ibn Muyassar, *Akhbar Misr, Annales d'Egypte (les khalifes Fatimides) text Arabe par m. Henri Masse* (Cairo: l'Institut Francais d'archeologie, 1919): 43, 45; al-Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 5–6.

are informed that the al-Radi dinars dropped in value to two-thirds of a dinar, which must have been the new style al-Mu'izz dinar. These new Fatimid dinars were to be worth 15 1/2 dirhams. The chronicles record that the populace lost a quarter of a dinar in the exchange.⁷⁸ Assuming the al-Mu'izz dinar to be 100% gold and the dirham pure silver, then the al-Radi dinar should have been composed of 89% gold. If the percentage of purity of the dirham is lowered to 90%, then the calculated percentage of gold in the al-Radi dinar drops to 76%. In either case, it is very apparent that tax collectors, the Fatimid government, and, one can assume, those who received and were paid in gold coinage, knew that al-Radi dinars had a significantly lower percentage of gold in them than those of the new Fatimid dinars and therefore the al-Radi dinars were discounted in financial exchanges. It is also very interesting that none of the sources refer to al-Ikhshid dinars whose purity, as seen in the preceding table, was as fine as that of the Fatimid new-style dinars.

Anyone with a minimum knowledge of the gold coinage could easily distinguish Fatimid concentric circle style dinars from second Abbasid epoch style gold coins, but could these same individuals easily distinguish Egyptian and Palestinian al-Radi dinars from later, higher quality Ikhshidid dinars, that is, those dinars with names of members of the family on them? Again, if an individual dealing with dinars had minimal information, the answer is yes. Al-Radi dinars had three lines of text on one face and five lines of text on the other with only the last line, al-Radi billah, composed of more than one word. Skipping the issues of al-Muttaqi without al-Ikhshid's *laqab* on them, which must have been a relatively limited output as it lasted for only one year, all succeeding Egyptian and Palestinian dinars have more lines of text on both sides of the dinar. The one partial exemption is the case of Kafur dinars for 355 and 356 where one side (obverse) would have had only 3 lines with a *kaf* beneath them but the other side (reverse) would have been crammed with five lines of text most of which were composed of three words. With only a few examples of al-Radi, post al-Radi, and Fatimid dinars in one's hand, it would take less than a minute to learn to distinguish the three types without having to know a single word of Arabic or attempting to read the actual inscriptions. It is also possible that the Fatimids knew that the Ikhshidid dinars from 331 were of high quality but discounted them anyway since the layout of these gold coins carried an association with the Sunni Abbasids.

The chronicles relate another story concerning this debased coinage. When al-Ikhshid heard that the gold coinage was so poor, he ordered that fifty dinars be

78. Ibid.

brought to him and then had ten of them melted. Their degree of fineness was tested and the Arabic source states that the standard he wished was established, which indicates he knew what was the purity of the circulating dinars from his mints.⁷⁹ As for the remaining forty dinars, it appears that he kept them.

It is very possible that one major reason Muhammad ibn Tughj added his *laqab* to the coinage was to enable those who used Egyptian and Palestinian dinars to distinguish his very high quality new gold coins from the corrupted, debased issues, which carried only the name of al-Radi. By 330, the quality of the dinars issued from mints controlled by him was so debased that even a novice could see the paler color of the coinage. At the same time, the Hamdanids were beginning to issue a new, high quality dinar, which included their *laqabs*. Thus, the new Ikhshidid coinage with Muhammad ibn Tughj's *laqab* was as good as that of the rival Hamdanids and could, as with their coinage, be easily distinguished from earlier dinars lacking such titles. While I believe both the issue of fineness and the competition for titles with the Hamdanids were the critical reasons for the addition of the *laqab* al-Ikhshid on the dinars, in one way al-Ikhshid did not succeed. The Ramla hoard, mentioned above, included only 12 post al-Radi Ikhshidid issues implying that the reputation over time for the quality of Ikhshidid dinars fell far short of that of the contemporary *ibrizi* Hamdanid specimens.⁸⁰

Finally, there is a question of where the Egyptian minters suddenly acquired the gold to produce such high quality coins: the seizing of the property of others, or the emptying of the treasury? There is no record of any sudden discoveries of new gold sources or the importation of large amounts of bullion. There is the theoretical possibility that the mint could have produced 25% fewer coins by striking a smaller number from almost pure gold, but again only a study of dies used over this decade and non-existent mint records could prove it. Another possibility is that al-Ikhshid had the bullion all along. There are no major monuments in his name, which would have cost large sums, as there are for his famous predecessor Ahmad ibn Tulun whose mosque in modern Cairo is still a major landmark. There are no stories of his being an extravagant patron of poets. In fact, he is known for his avarice.⁸¹ The debasement of the al-Radi dinars from Egypt and Palestine must be laid at Ibn Tughj's feet, with the possibility that he was hoarding the gold not used in the dinars. However, the quality of the dinars declined so much that he was finally caught. In issuing the new, improved dinar using his own

79. Ibn Sa'id, *Al-Mughrib fi hula al-Magrib*, 40.

80. Levy and Mitchell, "Ramlah," 37–66.

81. Bacharach, "Career of Muhammad ibn Tughj al-Ikhshid," 612.

bullion resources, he wished to take credit for the reform and added his *laqab* ensuring his name would be tied to the improved gold coinage. But this act was also part of a more complex series of relations with the Hamdanids, particularly the Aleppo branch under Sayf al-Dawla.

Caliphal Politics, Hamdanids, and the Last Two Years of al-Ikhshid's Rule

Whatever theoretical claims the Hamdanids might have had in Greater Syria, Nasir al-Dawla's position as *amir al-umara'* weakened before a new military force centered around the mamluk Tuzun. By Ramadan 331 Tuzun's power had become so great that Nasir al-Dawla was forced to flee the Abbasid capital and Tuzun became the new *amir al-umara'*. Tuzun does not appear to have added any of his names to the coinage he controlled until 333 when he deposed al-Muttaqi and replaced him with al-Mustakfi (333–334/944–946), a point I will elaborate on below. On 1 Shawwal 332, with al-Muttaqi still as caliph, Nasir al-Dawla and Tuzun came to an agreement by which the Hamdanid ruler gave up his claim to the central lands of Iraq but was granted northern Iraq and Syria. This agreement was to run for three years and Nasir al-Dawla was to pay Tuzun an annual tribute of 3,600,000 dirhams.⁸²

Even before the truce of Shawwal 332 had been arranged between Nasir al-Dawla and Tuzun, the caliph al-Muttaqi had become concerned about his personal safety and had fled to the Hamdanid court. The truce undermined al-Muttaqi's position with the Hamdanids, but war soon broke out between Tuzun and Nasir al-Dawla, and the latter was forced to retreat from Mosul. Finally, the caliph, accompanied by Sayf al-Dawla, reached Raqqa and the Abbasid caliph wrote to his Egyptian governor, al-Ikhshid, asking him to join him. Leaving Fustat on 6 Ramadan 332, al-Ikhshid marched through Syria retaking the cities, which he had lost to representatives of the Hamdanids. Therefore the Ikhshidid issue struck in the name of Hims in 332 probably commemorates the Ikhshidid occupation of the city (Cat. 141/HS332a).

Al-Ikhshid would not enter Raqqa until Sayf al-Dawla departed, as the Egyptian governor remembered what had happened to Ibn Ra'iq when he met with the Hamdanids. Finally, in Muharram 333, the caliph and al-Ikhshid met in Raqqa. Al-Ikhshid, for his part, was unwilling to march to Iraq against Tuzun but

82. Marius Canard. *Histoire de la dynastie des Hamdanides de Jazira et de Syrie* (Paris, Presses universitaires de France, 1953), 451.

he did accomplish some of his goals, which parallel exactly those accomplished by the Tulunids with an earlier caliph.⁸³ Al-Ikhshid was promised that he would continue to receive recognition as the legal governor of Egypt and Syria, that the governorship would be inherited by his son Unujur, who had accompanied his father, and that the family would be guaranteed this position for 30 years. These were exactly the same terms offered to the Tulunids. The caliph retained the theoretical right to appoint the governor and received promises of revenue from the Ikhshidids. As a sign of the increased status for Muhammad ibn Tughj and his son, the caliph referred to them by their *kunyas*, rather than their *isms*.

Since the negotiations with al-Ikhshid came to naught in terms of either the caliph moving west or the Ikhshidid troops moving east and finding himself without allies, al-Muttaqi accepted the promises of Tuzun that the latter would be a loyal servant. The caliph met the *amir al-umara'* by the banks of the Euphrates on the road to Baghdad on 20 Safar 333. After kissing the ground before the caliph, Tuzun had him seized and, with drums beating to hide the noise, had him blinded. The caliphate of al-Muttaqi came to an end and al-Mustakfi was proclaimed the new caliph.

After leaving the Caliph al-Muttaqi in Raqqa, al-Ikhshid returned to Egypt without fortifying his Syrian holdings. Sayf al-Dawla saw this as an excellent opportunity to advance his own career and seized Syria while it was militarily weak. The Hamdanid entered Aleppo on 8 Rabi' I, 333 and then set about capturing all of northern and central Syria. Sayf al-Dawla's victory and his campaign against Ikhshidid lands, became a sufficiently serious threat for al-Ikhshid to advance from Egypt to stop the Hamdanid forces. Eventually, a battle took place between the two near Aleppo in Shawwal 333 which al-Ikhshid won. Aleppo was conquered by him, but he was still willing to make peace with Sayf al-Dawla.

According to the Arab historian Ibn Sa'id, al-Ikhshid wrote to the new caliph al-Mustakfi, informing him how quickly he had the caliph's name proclaimed from the minbars and how he had taken an oath of recognition (*bay'a*) to the new caliph. Al-Ikhshid also complained about Sayf al-Dawla's military activities in Syria in the same letter.⁸⁴ What is surprising is that virtually every known specimen minted by the Ikhshidids dated 333 does not include the name of the new caliph al-Mustakfi, but retained the name of the deposed caliph. The same is true for the coinage minted by the Hamdanids. Unless we are to discount the Arab chronicler's account, we must accept the fact that the *khutba* was said in the name of one caliph while

83. The Caliph al-Mu'tamid in 273 promised the Tulunid ruler Khumarawayh rule of Egypt and Syria for 30 years. Zaky M. Hassan, *Les Tulunides* (Paris, Busson, 1933), 133.

84. Ibn Sa'id, *Al-Mughrib fi hula al-Magrib*, 23.

the *sikka* was inscribed with the name of another even though there was enough time in both Ikhshidid and Hamdanid lands to mint significant quantities of dinars and dirhams so that modern collections would have a representative sample.

Figure 2.13
Regular Ikhshidid coin in the name of the Caliph al-Mustakfi.



There is another anomaly connected with the regular Ikhshidid coinage minted in the name of the Abbasid caliph al-Mustakfi, which was struck in 334. The dinars and dirhams lack a reference to his designated successor, which should have been inscribed in the second position on the obverse field under the *shahada* although Muhammad ibn Tughj's *laqab* al-Ikhshid appears in the third position beneath the caliph's name. In theory, Ibn Tughj could have moved his *laqab* to the obverse rather than leaving the space blank. The same was true for Hamdanid coinage for 334 in the name of al-Mustakfi. The simplest explanation is that the mint masters in Ikhshidid and Hamdanid lands assumed that the caliph would designate a successor as was the common practice and that persons *kunya* with or without his *ism* would be inscribed in its proper place when news of the appointment arrived.⁸⁵

The coinage for 334 also illustrates the dichotomy between the *khutba* and the *sikka*. In Muharram 334, Tuzun died and the caliph issued coins in his own name. He then gave himself a new *laqab*, 'al-Imam al-Haqq,' which he had inscribed on his coinage.⁸⁶ In fact the coinage for Baghdad for 334 is a mirror of

85. A Kufan dirham for 334 in the name of al-Mustakfi includes both the *kunya* and *ism* for his designated successor Abu'l-Hasan Muhammad. 'Abd al-Rahman Fahmi, *Mawsu'at al-nuqud al-'arabiya wa-l-ilm al-nummiyat: I. Fajr al-sikkah al-'arabiya*. (Cairo: Dar al-Kutub, 1965). # 2691.

86. This is one of the relatively rare occasions in which a medieval source records the addition of an inscription to the coinage. The Mamluk historian Ibn Taghri Birdi then goes on to mention the

the political history of the city and the Abbasid caliphate. There are coins in the name of both Tuzun and al-Mustakfi, al-Mustakfi by himself, and al-Mustakfi with his new *laqab*, 'Imam al-Haqq'. A new political force soon appeared in Baghdad and on 17 Jumada I, 334, the Buyids entered the Abbasid capital. Not surprisingly there are also coins for that year with the name of al-Mustakfi and the Buyid ruler of Baghdad, Mu'izz al-Dawla. Unfortunately for al-Mustakfi, the Buyid amir al-umara' had the caliph seized, blinded, deposed, and put al-Muti' in his place as caliph. There are also coins reflecting this change.⁸⁷

The Hamdanid coins of 334 for Mosul, Harran, Aleppo, and Hims all have the name of al-Mustakfi on them rather than the name of al-Muti'. Had the Hamdanids wished, the mint masters had enough time to mint coins in the name of the caliph al-Muti', but the evidence from Syria and Iraq indicates that the Hamdanids deliberately held back recognition of the Buyid's newly appointed caliph. Only after a peace agreement between the Hamdanids and the Buyids in early 335 did all Hamdanid coins have the name of al-Muti', although it is possible that a few 334 Hamdanid coins may be found with the name of al-Muti' on them.⁸⁸ As a percentage of known coins, they will be minimal.

If the Hamdanids were unwilling to recognize the deposition of al-Mustakfi on their coins, it is even less surprising that the known Ikhshidid coins for 334 do not include the name of al-Muti'. While the coins indicate that al-Ikhshid continued to recognize al-Mustakfi, the narrative evidence gives a different impression. The historian Ibn Taghri Birdi recorded that in Shawwal 334 the *bay'a* was taken in the name of al-Muti', and, therefore, it is reasonable to assume that his name was also mentioned in the *khutba*.⁸⁹ In theory Ikhshidid coins dated 334 with the name of the Caliph al-Muti' could have been minted and perhaps some will be found, but their number compared to all the issues in the name of the deposed, but living former caliph al-Mustakfi, will always be minimal.

The dinars minted in 334 in the name of al-Mustakfi followed the basic layout of earlier Ikhshidid coins as did a few of the dirhams struck in Damascus, but the majority of Damascus dirhams and the Ramla dirhams for this year all have an additional phrase after the standard *Muhammad rasul Allah*. The new inscription

Buyid *laqabs* and that these were also struck on the coinage ('*ala al-sikkah*'). Ibn Taghri Birdi, *Al-Nujum al-zahira*, III: 284–85.

87. For examples of all the coin types see Bikhazi, "Hamdanid Coinage."

88. For examples of all the coin types see Bikhazi, "Struggle for Syria."

89. Ibn Taghri Birdi, *Al-Nujum al-zahira*, III, 256. It is known that in 334 al-Ikhshid briefly occupied Aleppo and that he had mentioned the deposition of the Caliph al-Mustakfi and the installation of the caliph al-Muti'. Ibn al-'Adim, *Ta'rikh Halab*: 293.

is *Salla Allah 'alayhi* (God's blessings upon him (The Prophet Muhammad) (Fig. 2.13)). Once again, Bikhazi's scholarship leads us to an explanation.⁹⁰

In Dhu'l-Hijja (the last month) of 330 the Hamdanid Nasir al-Dawla undertook the monetary reforms described above. The Arab chronicler al-Suli noted that Nasir al-Dawla added at that time the words *Salla Allah 'alayhi*,⁹¹ If the purpose of the new phrase was to visually signal that the Hamdanids had 'reformed' or improved the purity of the silver issues, supporting evidence is still lacking. Therefore, it is possible that the addition of the inscription on Hamdanid dirhams may have been misleading. What is not clear is why al-Ikhshid waited until 334 to add the phrase to his dirhams but not his dinars for that year. However, the inclusion of the new pious phrase did have a long-term impact as all second Abbasid epoch style gold and silver coins for the rest of the Ikhshidid dynasty carried the phrase *Salla Allah 'alayhi* to which, in some cases to be noted in the next chapter, additional words were added.

Figure 2.14

Meccan dirham with the name of the Caliph al-Mustakfi (210a/MAS334a).

Obverse



لا اله الا
الله وحده
لا شريك له

Reverse



الله
محمد
رسول الله
صلى الله عليه
المستكفي بالله
الاخشيد

Inner margin: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينير بمكة سنة اربع ثلثين وثلثمائة

Mecca Dirham of 334

Among the more interesting discoveries since the first edition of this book was the publication of a dirham struck in Mecca in 334 (210a/MAG334a in the name of the Caliph al-Mustakfi (333–34/944–46). The inscriptions on the coin follow the layout described above including the new phrase *Salla Allah 'alayhi*. This

90. Bikhazi, "Hamdanid Coins," 259.

91. Ibid. with Bikhazi citing al-Suli, *Akhbar al-Radi wa'l-Muttaki*, 229, 331.

dirham could easily be mistaken for a dirham minted at any of the mints under Ikhshidid control. In fact, because the visual form of the coin fits the type of coinage struck in Egypt and Greater Syria and not the Hijaz, as will be detailed in chapter three, the dies were probably cut in Egypt or Palestine. The die cutter engraved the mint name Mecca correctly with an obvious *kaf*. Even the final *ta'm-arbutah* appears to have a perpendicular line at the beginning of the letter as it should in its proper form.⁹² On the other hand, if the die was cut in Mecca, I would assume that local merchants would have been suspicious of the resulting coinage because it didn't look right, that is, it didn't follow the pattern of other Hijazi dirhams from that era.

If it is true that the coin was minted outside the Hijaz, then why was it issued? My guess is that it was part of gifts sent to the Caliph al-Mustakfi in Baghdad to signal to him al-Ikhshid's support and al-Ikhshid's claim to act as governor over Mecca. For those competing for power in the Abbasid capital, such as the Buyids and Hamdanids, the coin's message was that al-Ikhshid not only recognized the legitimacy of al-Mustakfi as caliph but was re-enforcing his claim, through the coinage, to control of the holy city of Mecca, if not the whole Hijaz. This one coin encapsulates the excitement and frustration of Islamic numismatic research. Questions can be raised based upon the inscribed data, but narrative evidence to answer them cannot always be found.

Muhammad ibn Tughj al-Ikhshid died on 21 Dhu-l-Hijja 334 in Damascus and the coins of his son and successor, Unujur (334–349) beginning with 335 have the name of al-Muti' on them. As with the Hamdanids, the new Ikhshidid governor accepted the political reality of a Buyid installed caliph. What a study of the coinage of both the Ikhshidids and Hamdanids to 335 indicates is that there must have been the sense that the *khutba* and the *sikka* were different in terms of the religious value attached to them although that difference is not made clear in the Arabic sources. By placing his own name in the form of his *laqab* on the coinage, Muhammad ibn Tughj was arguing for his own right of *sikka* equal to that of any *amir al-umara'* who had undertaken the same policy. By excluding the name of al-Mustakfi and then al-Muti', al-Ikhshid indicated that there was some question as to the legality of blinding and deposing al-Muttaqi and the following year al-Mustakfi. For the 'ulama', the caliph in office was the one in whose name the *khutba* was to be said.

92. One of the pleasures of working in Islamic numismatics is the degree of camaraderie among collectors, curators, dealers, and scholars. For example, another Ikhshidid piece was initially attributed to Mecca and, now, through a series of friendly exchanges the consensus is that the coin was probably struck in Egypt.

Chapter 3

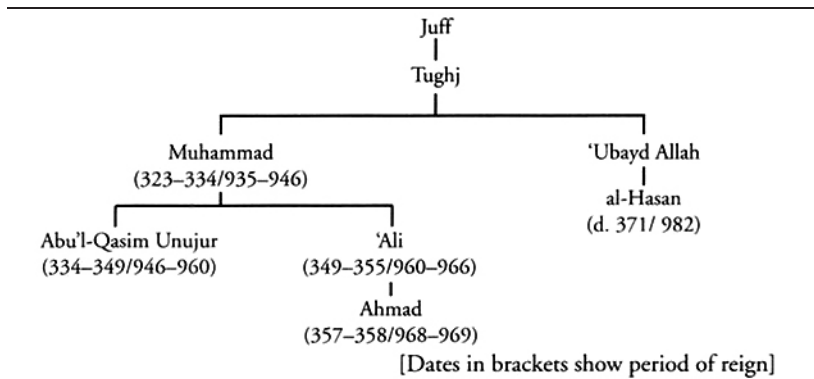
Post Muhammad ibn Tughj Coinage (335–358/ 946–969)

Although the quantity of the extant post-334 coinage is more than twice that for Muhammad ibn Tughj al-Ikhshid's reign, a rapid survey of the inscriptions appears to offer only limited data. There is only one caliph, al-Muti' li-llah (334–63), and his name is inscribed on all the regular dinars and dirhams but without designating a successor on the obverse. The standard layout of two marginal inscriptions on the obverse and one on the reverse remains the same on dinars and dirhams. The obverse field has the same version of the *shahada* as did the other second Abbasid style coinage while in the reverse field, relatively minor changes were added to the basic formula proclaiming Muhammad's Prophethood. It also appears that the established dates for the reigns of the Ikhshidid family are also recorded on the coinage as given in the standard texts. A closer examination, however, reveals a number of interesting issues that involve al-Ikhshid's son Unujur, his brother and successor 'Ali, the famous eunuch Kafur, and leadership of the family at the end of the dynasty.

Table 6
Reigns of Ikhshidid governors

Abu'l-Qasim Unujur ibn Muhammad	334–349	946–960
Abu'l-Hasan 'Ali ibn Muhammad	349–355	960–966
Abu'l-Musk Kafur al-Ikhshidi	355–357	966–968
Abu'l-Fawaris Ahmad ibn 'Ali (d. 377/987)	357–358	968–969
Abu Muhammad al-Hasan ibn 'Ubayd Allah, Regent for Ahmad	(d. 371/982)	

Table 7
Genealogical table of Ikhshidid family



Unujur's Coinage¹

The fact that the Caliph al-Muti' did not name a successor made space available on the obverse below the *shahada*, which served as the second hierarchical position after that of the caliph on both dinars and dirhams. It was here that the new Ikhshidid governor placed his name, but what was unusual were the parts of Unujur's name inscribed on the coinage. Most important it was his *kunya* Abu-l-Qasim and not his *ism* Unujur. In addition, when listing his *nasab*, he didn't have Ibn Muhammad inscribed but used his father's *laqab* resulting in Abu-l-Qasim ibn al-Ikhshid. This is not a trivial point, for as Bates has demonstrated in his study of

1. Some medieval and modern sources vocalize his name as Anujur. I have used the form Unujur, which is also used by other medieval and modern authors.

the second Abbasid monetary period, there was a clear hierarchical order to the parts of a name and which part was inscribed, if any, was important.²

The most prestigious part of a name to be inscribed was the *laqab*, the least prestigious the *ism* while the *kunya* fell between them. Unujur's father al-Ikhshid as well as the Hamdanids Nasir al-Dawla and Sayf al-Dawla and the contemporary Buyids who now controlled the caliph in Baghdad received *laqabs* and they inscribed them on their coinage. Al-Ikhshid had bought his *laqab*, the Hamdanids acquired theirs through their military victories, and the Buyids forced the Caliph al-Muti' to grant them. The important point was that they were granted by a caliph. Up to 335, it appears that only a caliph could legitimize the acquisition of an official *laqab*. Unujur had not received one from the caliph, thus could not have a *laqab* inscribed on his coinage as long as he was willing to accept the understood rules related to the right of *sikka* in the central lands of the fourth/tenth century Islamic world.

Following societal expectations Unujur would inscribe his coinage with his *ism* followed by his *nasab*, that is, his 'name' followed a reference to his father. The *ism-nasab* combination appeared earlier on the coinage of the Tulunid governors of Egypt, e.g. *Ahmad ibn Tulun* as well as his father's coinage in the form of Muhammad ibn Tughj. The identifying *ism-nasab* phrase on Unujur's dinars and dirhams was 'Abu-l-Qasim ibn al-Ikhshid,' which constitutes a *kunya* followed by a *laqab*. It is not hard to imagine that Unujur preferred his father's more prestigious *laqab* al-Ikhshid rather than identifying himself as *ibn Muhammad*. The appearance of the *kunya* is most unusual and the most likely explanation of why Unujur could use his *kunya* relates to an incident that took place during his father's reign in the middle of Muharram 333.

Al-Ikhshid, as noted above, accompanied by Unujur traveled to Raqqa where he met the Caliph al-Muttaqi. Al-Ikhshid carried numerous gifts for the caliph and the leading members of his entourage including 150,000 dinars in the hopes that he could convince the Abbasid caliph to return with him to Fustat and establish his capital there. Muhammad ibn Tughj failed in this mission but was honored by the caliph who called him and his son Unujur by their respective *kunyas*.³ Unujur, having been honored by one Abbasid caliph who referred to him by his *kunya*, may have felt he could use the same, relatively more prestigious part of his name on his own coinage. None of his successors could make a similar claim and therefore only included their *ism* on regular dinars and dirhams.

2. See Chapter One above for details on this coinage.

3. Al-Maqrizi, *Kitab al-muqaffa al-kabir*, 134–35.

Figure 3.1

Reverse of Abu-l-Qasim Unujur dinar with the additional phrases.



From the second year of Unujur's governorship, that is from 336, the reverse of every regular dinar and dirham struck in Egypt and Palestine (*Misr, Filastin, and Tabariyya*) were inscribed with the words *wa 'ala alihi* (And upon his (The Prophet's) family) after *salla Allah 'alayhi* (God's blessing upon him), as illustrated in Figure 3.1. The new phrase was interpreted by Linder-Welin and Bikhazi as a pro-Shi'i statement.⁴ To explain the inclusion of the new phrase, Bikhazi suggested possible pro-Fatimid leanings by Kafur, who is identified as the power behind the governor from the death of Muhammad ibn Tughj al-Ikhshid, and by other members of the Ikhshidid court.⁵ Following Kafur's death in 357 when the Ikhshidids were fighting Fatimids, the phrase was still retained on the coinage implying, at least, that whatever original meaning it may have carried, twenty years earlier, by then it was assumed to be part of a 'regular' inscription without specific meaning. While Bikhazi makes an effective case that the Ikhshidids until the death of Kafur worked out an understanding with the Fatimids, there may be another explanation for the introduction of the new phrase *wa 'ala alihi*.

The earliest appearance in that era of these words is on Hamdanid coinage minted in Aleppo from 334 where Sayf al-Dawla ruled the city. Bikhazi argued

4. U. Linder-Welin, "Sayf al-Dawlah's Reign in Syria in Syria Diyarbekr in the Light of the Numismatic Evidence," *Commentationes de Nummis Saeculorum IX-XI in Suecia Repertic* (Stockholm, 1961): 52; Bikhazi, "Hamdanid Dynasty," 68–76; and Bikhazi, "Struggle for Syria," 163.

5. Linder-Welin, *ibid.* Bikhazi, "Struggle for Syria," *Ibid.*, 163–69.

that Sayf al-Dawla included the phrase to distinguish his issues from those of his brother in Mosul although both were nominal Twelver Shi'ites.⁶ Since both branches of the family did not concurrently use the same phrase when they had control of Aleppo and Mosul respectively, it is not obvious why one branch would use a pro-Shi'ite statement and the other would not. In addition, neither the Buyids nor the Fatimids, Twelver and Sevener Shi'i dynasties respectively, added the phrase to their coinage when they came to power as an indication of their Shi'ite identity.⁷ Therefore, I am not convinced that in the mid-330s the phrase carried a specific Fatimid association, although today we associate it with Shi'ism. As noted in the previous chapter, many important Ikhshidid numismatic innovations, such as the improvement in the fineness of their dinars, the inclusion of the *laqab* al-Ikhshid, and the addition of the phrase *salla Allah 'alayhi* on Ibn Tughj's coinage were a direct result of his copying Hamdanid issues, particularly those minted by Sayf al-Dawla. Therefore, the simplest explanation is to list the appearance of the phrase *salla Allah 'alayhi* as another example of the impact of Hamdanid coinage on that of the Ikhshidids where the latter copied the former.

There are other problems related to this phrase for which I don't have answers. Why is the phrase first introduced in 336 and not 335, the first year of Unujur's coinage? In the year 336, every mint under Ikhshidid control including the two in Syria, Homs, and Damascus included the phrase but after that year, why doesn't it appear on a single issue for Damascus for which specimens are known? Numismatic evidence can signal that something is taking place, but without adequate data from other sources such as chronicles, public inscriptions, etc., it may not be possible to answer the questions raised.

Hamdanid activities had another impact on Unujur's coinage, but this time it was related to mint activity. Following the death of Muhammad ibn Tughj al-Ikhshid at the end of 334, Unujur accompanied by Kafur left Damascus to return to Egypt.⁸ Sayf al-Dawla, seizing the opportunity, took control of Damascus. Perhaps fearing a Hamdanid attack on Palestine, control of which was considered a priority for them, the Ikhshidid army under Unujur and Kafur left Egypt to engage Sayf

6. Ibid., 169.

7. A systematic investigation of when and where the phrase appeared on Buyid and Fatimid coinage is needed. Such a study will be possible with Luke Treadwell, *Buyid Coins*, and Norman D. Nicol, *A corpus of Fatimid Coins* (Trieste: G. Benardi, 2005).

8. Thierry Bianquis, "Sayf al-Dawla," *Encyclopedia of Islam* 2nd ed., IX: 103–110. Ramzi Jibrān Bikhāzi, "The Hamdanid Dynasty of Mesopotamia and North Syria 254–404/868–1014," Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (The University of Michigan, 1981): 616–21

al-Dawla.⁹ According to Bikhazi, Sayf al-Dawla, recognizing the superiority of the Ikhshidid forces, tried to anticipate their actions by meeting the army from Egypt in Palestine and not waiting for them to march on Damascus. A battle took place on 24 Jumada I 335, which resulted in a Hamdanid defeat. Engagements continued with Kafur and his troops eventually occupying Aleppo by the end of 335. Kafur withdrew fairly soon leaving an appointed governor of Aleppo whom Sayf al-Dawla was able to remove fairly easily by Rabi' II 336. A Hamdanid-Ikhshidid agreement was reached similar to the earlier agreement between al-Ikhshid and Sayf al-Dawla with a key difference that in the new agreement the Ikhshidids would not pay a 'tribute' to keep the peace.¹⁰

As indicated above, there are Ikhshidid dirhams for the years 336 and 337 from the mints in Damascus and Homs, two cities for which Ikhshidid specimens are relatively rare and production appears to be limited to a few years.¹¹ Were these Damascus and Homs dirhams struck to pay troops for these campaigns, to cover the cost of new expenditures in the region, or to announce through coinage the legitimacy of Ikhshidid rights over these parts of Syria? Perhaps all three reasons are valid, but our sources, numismatic and textual, do not offer data to draw a clear conclusion. There is now known one Ikhshidid coin for Aleppo, which was one form of a public announcement indicating their control of the city.¹² But, Ikhshidid interest in holding Aleppo was minimal and issuing a large number of coins in that mint name would imply a greater commitment, at least in symbolic terms, than the actions of either al-Ikhshid or Kafur demonstrated.¹³

Since a die count has never been undertaken of Ikhshidid coins and the data available for such a study does not currently exist, no statement on output can be made. Even interpretations on the relative production of one mint in comparison with another can only be tentative, but they are still possible. Thus, it appears that there is no significant difference in the output of dinars from Egypt and Palestine for the first years of Unujur's governorship. For the years 339 through 344, the existing data collected in the accompanying catalogue suggest a very different

9. The case for the importance of Palestine for al-Ikhshid is made in Bacharach, "Career of Muhammad ibn Tughj."

10. *Ibid.*, 169.

11. The best survey for these events and the related numismatic material is Bikhazi, "Struggle for Syria."

12. Cat. 187/HAS336a.

13. The early 330s Damascus issues from the reign of al-Ikhshid also appear to be related to the various military campaigns undertaken by al-Ikhshid and later by Kafur and are also a product of Ikhshidid/Hamdanid warfare. Details can be found in Bacharach, "Al-Ikhshid, the Hamdanids and the Caliphate: The Numismatic Evidence," *JAOS* 94 (1974): 360–70; and Bikhazi, "Struggle for Syria."

Table 8
Assiut (Assiout) hoard of Egyptian dinars

Year (A.H.)	Specimens	Year (A.H.)	Specimens
331	6–8	338	50–60
332	2	339	15–20
333	8–10	340	50–60
334	6–8	341	80–100
335	6–8	342	200–300
336	10–15	343	4–6
337	8–10	344	250–350

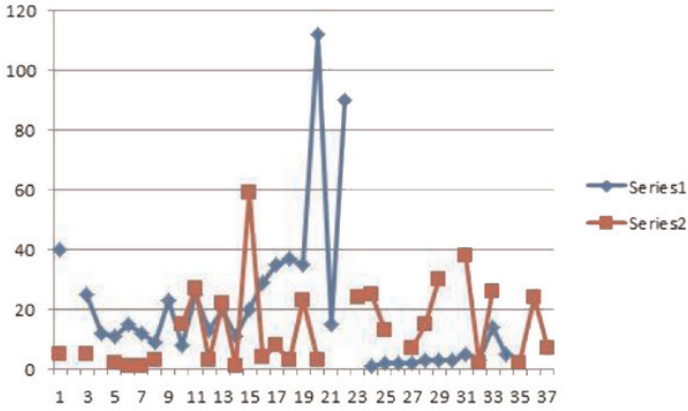
pattern, that is, the number of dinars struck in Misr overwhelmed those minted in Filastin for these years. Even taking into consideration the possible skewing of our sample because of the vast number of Egyptian dinars found in the Asyut hoard, presented in the preceding table, many of which have entered the coin market, the existing gold specimens minted in Egypt far outnumber those struck in Palestine.¹⁴

Unfortunately, the textual sources do not give a clear indication of why production of dinars from the Egyptian mint was so high for these years. What makes this pattern even more intriguing is that for the years 345 and 346 no dinars with a Misr mint name have been recorded and then the center for dinar production shifts to Palestine until the end of the dynasty as illustrated in the following graph based on data in the catalogue in the second half of this book.

The Arabic texts refer to some economic problems in Egypt and an earthquake in the mid-340s in Egypt but how that would have affected mint production is not clear. Since, the Ramla mint always had to import its gold bullion, the answer is not related to Palestine's natural assets. Perhaps, enough Egyptian dinars flooded the Fustat market through 344 and there was no need for additional Egyptian gold coins. I believe this is unlikely. On the contrary, both the appearance of the isolated *kaf* of Kafur and the emergence of the Ramla mint as the center of dinar production appear to be related to the consolidation of Kafur's power in Ikshidid Egypt and the relative loss of power of Unujur, the official governor of these lands. Unfortunately, I am unaware of any appropriate narrative data to prove my interpretation.

14. Paul Balog, "Dinars ikhchidites trouves a Assiout (Haute-Egypte) en automne 1954," *Revue belge de Numismatique* 111 (1955): 103–111.

Table 9
Recorded Ikhshidid dinars by mint over time



The vertical axis is the number of recorded specimens.
 The horizontal axis is date with 1 = 323; 23 = 345; and 38 = 359.
 The Egyptian mint is shown as a diamond; and the Palestine one as a square.

Medallion in the Name of Abu-I-Qasim Unujur

Figure 3.2
Medallion in the name of Abu-I-Qasim Unujur (224/Medallion).



One of the most unusual numismatic items from the Ikhshidid era is a silver medallion minted during the governorship of Abu-l-Qasim (Cat. 224/Medallion) Two specimens are known.¹⁵

The obverse translates as “Blessings and joy to the Victorious, the Amir Abu-l-Qasim Unujur” while the reverse is “And whoever relies on God, He is sufficient for him” (Qur’an 65: 3). By translating *al-mansur* as “The Victorious” and associating the Qur’anic verse with a military victory, there is a possible period for the issuing of the medallions. This is from the last month of 335 through the first two months of 336 when the Ikhshidids occupied Aleppo.¹⁶ The Ikhshidid dirhams of the Hims mint (Cat. 167–169/TS341a–TS3XXa) must have been struck during the same military operations as was the Aleppo Ikhshidid dirham (Cat. 187/HA336a). Thus, this would have been an appropriate time for such a commemorative medallion.¹⁷

More recently, an inscribed textile fragment known as a *tiraz* was published with an Arabic inscription, which began the same way as the obverse of this medallion, but it asks for “Blessing, good fortune and joy from God,” to one Abu’l-Hasan, which is the *kunya* for Ali, Abu-l-Qasim Unujur’s younger brother and successor.¹⁸ What is important for our study is that Ali never used his *kunya* on his coinage. Drawing upon the data compiled by Sokoly in his study of 1823 *tiraz* textiles from Egypt, it is clear that in contrast to the implied rules for which parts of a name could be used on the regular coinage, the *kunya* was the part of their name that the Ikhshidid family members had inscribed on their *tiraz*.¹⁹ Furthermore, the same pious phrase found on the medallion is used on another *tiraz* followed by the *kunya* Abu al-Fawaris, the *kunya* for the last Ikhshidid official governor. This *kunya* never appeared on his coinage.²⁰

15. Michael Bates, “Numismatics,” *Fustat Expedition Find Report*. Vol. 2: Fustat—C. American Research Center in Egypt Report Vol. 11. Władysław Kubiak and George T. Scanlon, eds. (Winona Lake, Minn., 1989): 62–63. British Museum. Coin Room # 87.1.2.1 (22, 3.62).

16. Bikhazi, “Struggle for Syria,” 153.

17. Ibid. A second, but less likely interpretation is that the medallion commemorated the quelling of the rebellion of Ghalbun, subgovernor of the Rif area of Egypt and his subsequent death in Dhu-l-Hijja, 336. Although the latter event took place in Egypt, it was Unujur’s uncle Abu’l-Muthaffar al-Hasan ibn Tughj who defeated Ghabun as Unujur was on his way back from Palestine at the time. Al-Kindi, *Governors and Judges of Egypt*, 312. Ibn Taghri Birdi, *Al-Nujum al-zahira*, III: 292.

18. Karel Otavsky and Muhammad ‘Abbas Muhammad Salim, *Mittelalterliche Textilien I: Agypten, Persien und Mesopotamien, Spanien und Nordafrika* (Riggisberg: Abegg-Stiftung, 1995): Cat. 11 (40–41).

19. Jochen A. Sokoly. “Tiraz Textiles from Egypt: Production, Administration and Uses of Tiraz Textiles from Egypt under the Umayyad, Abbasid and Fatimid Dynasties,” Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (Oxford University, 2001).

20. Ibid., Cat. 913 from the Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo, #14781.

When Sokoly wrote that not a single textile bears the name of an Ikhshidid ruler, I believe he meant that the *ism* part of the name by which we list the rulers in histories did not appear.²¹ But, if as argued above, the *kunya* was a more prestigious part of a medieval Muslim ruler's name, than using the phrase "Father of . . ." brought greater glory to the patron of the *tiraz*. At the same time, the absence of the *kunya* on the coinage of Unujur's successors indicates that the use of the *kunya* was neither arbitrary nor unrestricted. A close examination of the coinage and the inscribed textiles indicates that different media were subject to different societal rules and regulations.

Since it is assumed that the medallion was a presentation piece, it was disconcerting at first to learn that one of the two known specimens was found in excavations in Fustat "embedded in the lip of a latrine in the 'proletarian' housing."²² But if, as argued in the first chapter, memory of why particular data were inscribed on struck metal was quickly forgotten or unknown to most who would eventually handle this struck piece of precious metal, then this medallion took on a second and longer life as another inscribed silver specimen whose value was related to its weight not why it was produced. Perhaps, the unusual character of its layout made it a 'good luck' piece in addition to its monetary role, but its loss in a medieval bathroom appears to be accidental.

Figure 3.3
Presentation piece in the name of Abu-I-Qasim Unujur (223/FS348).



21. Ibid., 185.

22. Bates, "Numismatics," 63.

There is one other numismatic datum, which may reflect the shift in political power from Unujur to Kafur. The layout with only one inscribed margin on each side and fewer lines of text in the center of each side is a clear visual message that this “coin” is not a regular dirham but is a presentation piece (Cat. 223/FS348). The obverse has the name of the governor as *Abu-l-Qasim bin al-Ikhshid* similar to the regular dinars, but the margin only has the mint/date formula with reference to the coin being struck in *Filastin* in (3)48. The reverse has the traditional *Li-llah* at the top of the field with the name of the Caliph al-Muti’ *Li-llah* below it. The marginal inscription includes only the short form of the *shahada*.

The importance of this presentation piece is that it does not include, on the obverse below the inscribed data in the center, the isolated letter *kaf*, the first letter in Kafur’s name, which will be treated in the next section. It is possible, and this is only a guess, that this presentation piece was a last attempt by Unujur to assert his political independence and that the “coin” was part of a special bonus given to troops and administrators to win their support. Based upon numismatic evidence where Kafur’s *kaf* will appear on all regular dinars and dirhams, we can assume Unujur’s attempt at full independence failed.

Kafur and the Isolated Kaf

Figure 3.4
Coins of Abu-l-Qasim Unujur without and with a *kaf*.



In Appendix 1 there is a short discussion with an accompanying table of isolated letters on Ikhshidid coinage. No clear pattern on the use of particular letters was discerned nor was a conclusive explanation for the inclusion of these letters on the coins during the governorship of Muhammad ibn Tughj al-Ikhshid and the first years of his son Unujur's reign offered. Then, after a number of years of no isolated letters on Ikhshidid coins, there was one last example of multiple letters with the appearance of a *mim* (م) and *wa* (و) on the dinars of Palestine for 345. Again, no obvious explanation of why these letters appeared can be offered. However, this was followed by a totally new pattern involving an isolated letter.

The appearance of a single *kaf* (ك) on the reverse field beginning with dinars and dirhams for Filastin 346 can be explained. Unlike the earlier cases where there is no clear pattern for the use of single letters over time and space, a *kaf* now appears on every Ikhshidid dinar and dirham irrespective of the mint through 356. This *kaf* is the first letter of the name Kafur. Thus, numismatic data can be used to establish that Kafur began making an indirect public statement about his absolute control over what was to go on the coinage from 346 with the inclusion of the first letter of his name. This does not contradict the possibility that Kafur's effective political and military power dates from early 335 and the death of al-Ikhshid, but only that he was not willing to reveal such a role on the coinage until 346.²³ It is also possible, which is what I believe, that it does reflect a fundamental shift in his control over the Ikhshidid government and its resources. If we assume that the shift in the minting of dinars from Egypt to Palestine and the appearance of the *kaf* are related, then perhaps 345/346 is the date when Kafur took charge of Egypt and Palestine, leaving, for the time-being, the Ikhshidid family member as the nominal but legal ruler. In contrast to my numismatic-based argument, as far as the chroniclers are concerned, Kafur's official position began in 355 as reflected in the biographical notice for that year by Ibn Taghri Birdi:²⁴

Al-Ustadh Abu'l-Musk Kafur ibn Abd Allah al-Ikhshidi, the eunuch, the Black, the Abyssinian, is ruler of Egypt, Syria, and the Thughur. His master Abu Bakr Muhammad al-Ikhshid bought him from the sellers of oil for eighteen dinars.

23. One school of thought argues that Kafur held real power from 335. Ibn al-'Asakir, *Ta'rikh Madi-nah Dimashq* (Beirut: Dar al-Fikr, 1998), Vol. 5: 4–5. Ibn Taghri Birdi, *Al-Nujum al-zahira*, IV, 1. Al-Massisah, *Ta'rikh*, fol. I60v. Kashif, *Misr*, 125. Another possibility is 337 by which time an agreement was reached between Kafur and Sayf al-Dawla Bikhazi, "Hamdanid Dynasty," 621. Ibn al-Dawadari suggests that in 340 following an earthquake Kafur consolidated his power. Ibn al-Dawadari, V: 296.

24. Ibn Taghri Birdi, *Al-Nujum al-zahira*, IV, 1. This was considered a very low price.

My interpretation of the sustained appearance of a single *kaf* as implying Kafur rests on the assumption that whoever was the effective ruler of these lands determined what was inscribed on the coinage including the use of a single, isolated letter. As argued in the previous chapter, Muhammad ibn Tughj was the effective ruler of Egypt from 324, if not 323, and the initial absence of any part of his name from the regular dinars and dirhams was a result of his decision. Later it was the same Muhammad ibn Tughj, now al-Ikhshid, who was responsible for the appearance of his *laqab* al-Ikhshid on his coinage. My position is then that it was Kafur who determined the inclusion of the isolated *kaf* on post-345 coins as a sign he controlled the right of *sikka*. In summary and making a bad pun, I am arguing both sides of the coin, that is, the single *kaf* inscribed on issues from 346 represents Kafur's name but the irregular and limited use of the *kaf* and other letters from the time of al-Ikhshid and the few examples from Unujur's reign carries a meaning lost to us.

Using only numismatic evidence, I am asserting that by the end of 345 Kafur consolidated his power, eliminated significant centers of opposition, and, most of all, overcame whatever resistance there was to his being identified with the ruling family on the coinage. As indicated above, this success was not unqualified because Kafur never placed his full name, his *ism* or any other part of his name, on the regular dinars and dirhams minted in Ikhshidid territory. This may also mean that as a pious Muslim, and he had that reputation, Kafur did not cross an understood line between the *khutba* and the *sikka*.²⁵

Figure 3.5
Obverse of a dinar in the name of Ali ibn al-Ikhshid.

Obverse Field



لا اله الا
الله وحده
لا شريك له
على بن الاخشيد
ك

'Ali ibn al-Ikhshid
ك (kaf)

25. Bianquis, "Autonomous Egypt," 116.

In 349 Unujur died and he was succeeded by his brother Ali (349–355). Numismatic data confirms this. Dinars from Misr and Filastin and dirhams from Filastin and Tabariya are all inscribed with the name of the caliph al-Muti' in first position on the reverse and Ali ibn al-Ikhshid on the obverse in the second position. Ali, unlike his older brother, did not inscribe his *kunya* Abu'l-Hasan on the coinage and only used the lower status part of his name, his *ism*. He did use his father's *laqab* al-Ikhshid because that was high status. These choices of what the official governor had inscribed on his coinage strike me as further evidence that the right of *sikka*, the right to decide what was inscribed on coinage was understood to be a caliphal right and leaders of the Ikhshidid dynasty were not willing to violate that understanding, although there was absolutely nothing the caliph in Baghdad or the Buyid family, which controlled much of Iraq and Iran could have done about it. In addition the isolated *kaf* continued to appear on 'Ali's coinage under the caliph's *laqab* from 346, which I interpret as continuing evidence of Kafur's unofficial role as de facto but not de jure ruler. Finally, although there are published gold coins minted in Egypt for these years, their number is small compared to those with a Palestinian mint name. Therefore, I conclude, Palestine continued to be the primary mint for dinar production.

Figure 3.6
Obverse of a dinar from the governorship of Kafur.

Obverse Field



لا اله الا
 الله وحده
 لا شريك له
 ك

ك (kaf)

The absence of Kafur's *ism* on the coinage is further clarified by investigating the last years of the *kaf* coin series. In 355, when the Ikhshidid ruler Ali died, Kafur did not replace Ali as governor with his very young son Ahmad ibn Ali or

any other member of the family. Kafur ruled in his own name. According to the chronicles, Kafur's name was mentioned in the *khutba* in Egypt, Syria, the Thughur or Byzantine frontier, and the Hijaz, and he received robes of honor from the caliph.²⁶ However, according to the medieval historian Ibn Taghri Birdi, Kafur was not granted the right of *sikka*, that is, the right include his own name on the coinage.²⁷ Thus, the coinage minted in Egypt and Palestine is inscribed with the standard Ikhshidid formulae, the name of the reigning caliph, but no governor. Only an isolated *kaf* ك appears and that is on the obverse indicating the highest position after that of the caliph.²⁸ Since there was no member of the Ikhshidid family serving as governor, the absence of a name is logical, but the shift of the *kaf* from the reverse below the caliph's name to the obverse also reflects an understanding that placement on the coin mattered. The inclusion of only a *kaf* indicates that Kafur took the concept of the right of *sikka* seriously and he did not usurp a prerogative not assigned to him even though he had the political and military power to do so.²⁹

Pushing my position even further, the limited numismatic data suggest that even the use of only the *kaf* without the name of a member of the Ikhshidid family may have been considered too great an innovation. Among the 44 dinars and 10 dirhams that I have found dated to the years Kafur ruled Egypt and Palestine alone, all but five of these are dated 355, his first year. I have not found any coins dated 357 with only an isolated *kaf* although Kafur did not die until the fifth month of that year. My tentative conclusion is that there may have been a societal problem with having only the *kaf* on the coinage and not that of a member of Ibn Tughj's family, but more evidence is needed to prove this point.

26. Ibn Taghri Birdi, *Al-Nujum al-zahira*, IV: 2. Kashif, *Misir*, 125 Andrew S. Ehrenkreutz observed that in addition to not asserting the right of *sikka*, which he had the power to do, Kafur did not have his name included on the *tiraz*. Ehrenkreutz, "Kafur," *EI* 2nd ed., IV: 418.



27. Ibn Taghri Birdi, *Al-Nujum al-zahira*, IV 2.

28. I know of no catalogue arranged by dynasty, which lists these coins, which are standard second Abbasid epoch coins with only the caliph's name and no governor, under the Abbasid Caliph al-Muti'. Modern collectors, curators, and scholars all understand that this *kaf* is for Kafur and therefore list this coinage under the Ikhshidids. In contrast, these same scholars place coins from the reign of al-Radi with isolated letters and no inscribed governor's name which were minted in Ikhshidid Egypt under the caliph al-Radi.

29. Ibn Taghri Birdi, *Al-Nujum al-zahira*, IV: 9.

Figure 3.7

Second Abbasid monetary epoch style coin compared to a Meccan style coin.

	<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Reverse</i>
<i>Field</i>	 <p>لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له ابو القسم بن الاخشيد</p>	 <p>له محمد رسول الله المطيع لله ك</p>
<i>Margin</i>	<p>بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينر بمكة سنة اربع وخمسين وثلثمائه</p>	<p>قل جاء الحق وزهق الباطل ان الباطل كان زهوقا وننزل من القران</p>

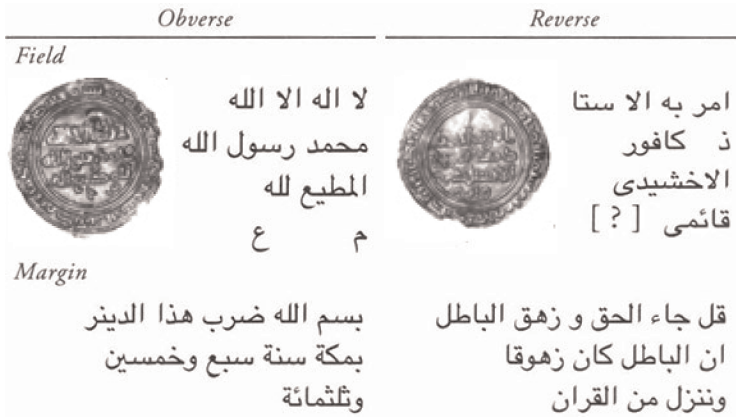
Meccan Coinage Associated with Kafur

Throughout this study, dinars and dirhams have been treated as if they belonged to a single monetary zone in which the basic layout of the coins was initiated by the Abbasid caliph al-Ma'mun. Examining a number of specimens from the Yemen for Sana and Zabid for the late fourth century and fifth century A.H. as well as Mecca for the fourth century, their general layout conforms to the al-Ma'mun reform style coinage. However, from 331 on there are a series of Arabian mints — 'Athar, Baysh, Zabid, and eventually Mecca — whose coinage is visually different as can be seen above in Figure 3.7. All of them include a single counterclockwise inscription on the obverse in contrast to the standard two inscriptions on the Abbasid coinage. In this new coinage the single marginal inscription on the obverse is the mint/date formula while the reverse includes Qur'an 17: 81–82, verses not normally found on Islamic coinage.³⁰ On both the obverse and reverse, there is a double circle with enough space between the two lines to create an easily recognizable empty zone. What I am describing is a mini-monetary zone in the Tihama, Asir, and Hijaz, where the coinage was visually distinct from the Abbasid-era type. The layout and inscriptions, assuming they could be read, would have seemed unusual to an

30. The first example in the sylloge is from Baysh, dated 331. Ibid., plate I and accompanying text. The verse reads in translation, "The Truth has now come and falsehood has withdrawn away; for behold, all falsehood is bound to wither away." The verse is also common on early Maghribi silver coinage including early Kharajite and Idrisid issues. Stephen Album. Private Correspondence. June 1989.

Eastern Mediterranean populace accustomed to Abbasid style issues, but would have 'looked normal' to literate and illiterate merchants of the Hijaz, Asir, and Yemen.

Figure 3.8
Meccan coin of 357 in the name of Kafur (211/MAG357a).



An examination of the history of the region suggests the existence of a political background for the new style coinage. The Ziyadids of Yemen (203–409/818–1018) ruled most of the Tihama and large portions of north and south Yemen during the fourth Muslim century.³¹ According to one chronicle, among the governors who revolted against the Ziyadids was Sulayman ibn Tarf, ruler of 'Athar who permitted the *khutba* to be recited and coinage to be struck in the name of the nominal Zaydi ruler Ishaq ibn Ibrahim (299–371).³² On many of these new style issues, there is inscribed on the obverse the shorter form of the *shahada* without the "He alone," while on the reverse the name of the local governor is introduced by his issuing authority (*amara bihi al-amir ...*).³³ These coins, called 'Athariyah in the chronicle and said to have been quite numerous, would have circulated in Mecca, which borders on the Tihama region.³⁴

31. Album, *SICA* 10: viii. C.E. Bosworth, *The New Islamic Dynasties* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996): 99.

32. Henry C. Kay, trans. *Omarah's History of Yaman* (London, 1892): 6–8.

33. Album. *SICA* 10: ix and Plates 17–19 for numerous examples.

34. Kay, *Omarah's History of Yaman*, 8.

The Meccan dinars for 357 (Cat. 211/MAG357a) have the al-‘Athariyah type design. The obverse has the *shahada*, the mint/date formula, and the name of the caliph al-Muti’. The reverse field reads “*amara bihi al-Ustadh/Kafur al-Ikhshidi*” with the last line unclear.³⁵ Both the title *al-Ustadh*, or Master, and the *nisba* al-Ikhshidi are attested for Kafur in the Arab chronicles. The use of these parts of Kafur’s name is unique and reflects how coins minted in the Hijaz and Tahima region were not subject to the same societal rules about the right of *sikka*, which governed the regular gold and silver coinage in the central Abbasid lands.

The absence of the name of an Ikhshidid governor is not surprising because, from 355 into 357, Kafur was the ruler and he prevented any member of the Ikhshidid family from being named the legal governor. It is even possible that Kafur himself ordered them minted in light of the Arabic *amara bihi* . . . or they were done by local officials wishing to indicate Kafur’s theoretical power to order their minting. The last line was read by Album as *Qa’imi* implying the steadfast, upstanding one.³⁶ I agree with Album’s reading but wonder if the term was related to the idea of the coin being of good value or worth in the sense of the Arabic word *qimah*, which has the same root as *qa’imi* and would be the equivalent of the term *ibriz* on Hamdanid gold coinage from Baghdad discussed in the previous chapter.

What is not known from either medieval sources or hoard evidence is if these coins circulated beyond the Hijaz. I would have predicted that some issues in the name of Kafur would have been sent to Egypt as presentation pieces so that the ruler of Egypt could be informed of the symbolic, if not real, recognition of his power by local officials in Mecca. However since the bulk of the output would have circulated locally where this particular layout was known, these issues would have been accepted in the regional market on a par with all other similar coinage. It is not surprising that this particular regional style continued to be used in Mecca during 359 when new issues were minted with reference to the radical Shi’ite Qarmatians indicating their political dominance of the holy city.³⁷

Copper Coinage in the Names of Ali and Kafur

Among the coins housed in the extensive collections of the Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo and the Hermitage in St. Petersburg there is one copper coin in each inscribed with the names of Ali ibn Muhammad al-Ikhshid (349–355) and Kafur

35. Album. *SICA* 10: Plate 24, number 495.

36. *Ibid.*

37. *Ibid.*, Plate 23, number 496.

(355–357). (Cat. 209/TACXXX and 209a/TACXXX)³⁸ Both were struck on a relatively thick flan with a diameter of 30 mm. and a weight of 6.82 grams and 29 mm. 9.31 grams, respectively from two different dies. Both the diameter and weight are unusually high for coins of any metal from this era. Both the Cairo and St. Petersburg copper coins, with a minor variation, include the following inscription:

Figure 3.9
Copper coin in the name of Ali and Kafur (209/TACXXX).



The inscriptions are unusual for the data inscribed. Kafur was known as al-Ustadh, according to the medieval chronicles, but this *nisba* only appeared on the Meccan pieces discussed above and never on the regular coinage of Egypt and Palestine. Medieval historians such as Ibn Taghri Birdi give Kafur's *kunya* as Abu'l-Musk, which is not the one inscribed on two copper pieces.³⁹ This raises the possibility that the authorizer of these copper pieces was outside Ikhshidid lands and did not know Kafur's real *kunya* or that Kafur was a eunuch, or wanted to use a more positive *kunya* than "Father of Whiteness (*musk*).". The use of the *kunya* Abu Muhammad was a statistically safe choice. As for the titles associated with Ali ibn al-Ikhshid, everything is unusual about them. He is listed on this copper coin as "al-Amir," a title he held but one that never appeared on his regular dinars and dirhams. His *kunya* Abu'l-Hasan is also accurate but this part of his full name was never inscribed on the second Abbasid epoch style dinars and dirhams of Egypt and Palestine, although it appeared on a textile, as noted above under the discussion of the Ikhshidid medalion. Since all dinars and dirhams from Egypt and Palestine minted in the name of Ali ibn al-Ikhshid included his *ism-nasab* Ali ibn al-Ikhshid, the caliph's *laqab*, that is

38. Fahmi, *Fajr al-sikkah al-'arabiya*, #3045; and A. Markoff, *Inventarnii Katalog Musulmanskikh Monet*. (St. Petersburg: Imperatorskavo Ermitazha, 1896–1898), 347 #7.

39. Ibn Taghri Birdi, *Al-Nujum al-zahira*, IV, 1.

al-Muti' li-llah, and never Kafur's full *ism* or any title such as al-Ustadh, which could be associated with him, it is unlikely that these copper pieces were struck in the central Ikhshidid lands. The most important textual clue to explain these copper coins comes from Ibn Taghri Birdi who wrote that after Ali's death in 354 Kafur's name was given in the *khutbas* from the minbars of Egypt (Misr), Syria-Palestine (al-Sham), Mecca and Medina (al-Hijaz), and the Frontier (al-Thughur) including the cities of Tarsus, al-Massisah, and others.⁴⁰ I will return to this list shortly.

The few copper coins minted before and after the Ikhshidid era in Egypt and Syria are very different from these two specimens in terms of their style, weight, and the thickness of the flan. For example, during the reign of the Tulunids (254–292/868–905), a copper coin was minted with a thin flan, a relatively small diameter, standard religious formulae, a unique design associated with Central Asia, and an inscription in the margin of the reverse which stated that the *fals* (copper coin) was minted in Misr in the year 258.⁴¹ A copper coin struck in the name of the Fatimid Imam/Caliph al-Mu'izz li-Din Allah (341–365/953–975) included inscriptions in concentric circles, typical of contemporary Fatimid dinars. Its weight and diameter were also typical of other Fatimid coins and not the copper pieces in the name of Ali and Kafur.⁴²

Based upon the preceding numismatic evidence, the following preliminary conclusions can be drawn. The two copper coins have an inscription, which is significantly different from any found on Ikhshidid dinars, dirhams, and the other known Ikhshidid *fals* to be discussed below. They also differed significantly from the examples of Tulunid and Fatimid *fulus*. Thus, it is very likely that these copper specimens were struck outside Ikhshidid lands.

Stephen Album suggested that the coins came from Tarsus.⁴³ He reached his conclusion on the basis of the weight, flan, and script on the coin. Having handled thousands of Islamic coins as a professional numismatist, Album felt that the coin fit into the type of pieces one would find in Tarsus or al-Massisah, that is, the area of the Thughur. Unfortunately there are no copper coins similar to the Cairo one found in the excavation reports from this region.⁴⁴

40. Ibid.

41. Grabar, *Coinage of the Tulunids*, 31. For other dates see Mentzel, "Coins: Tulunid," in *Fustat Finds*, Jere L. Bacharach, ed. (Cairo: AUC Press, 2002): 57–58.

42. Mayssa Mahmoud Daoud, *Archaeological and Artistic Study of the Fatimid Numismatic Set at the Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo*. (Cairo, 1991). No. 133, 237; Weight: 3.25 gm.; Diameter: 17 cm.

43. Album, personal correspondence, 9 June 1989.

44. George C. Miles, "Islamic coins from the Tarsus Excavations of 1935–37," in *The Aegean and the Near East, Studies Presented to Hetty Goldman*, S. S. Weinberg, ed. (Locust Valley, N.Y.: J. J. Augustin, 1956): 297–312.

S. M. Stern, in a study of copper issues from the early 300s for Tarsus, established that coins were minted in the name of Thamal, a local governor, who often worked in alliance with Sayf al-Dawla, the leader of the Hamdanids who was based in Aleppo.⁴⁵ In order to demonstrate a possible tie between Tarsus and the Ikhshidids during the period 350 to 354, that is during the years Ali was official governor and Kafur held power behind the scenes, a much more detailed look at the political history of Tarsus for those years is necessary.

In the year 350, the local governor of Tarsus, one Ibn al-Zayyat, facing an impending Byzantine invasion and not receiving the necessary military support from his nominal sovereign, Sayf al-Dawla, stopped having the *khutba* read in his name. Ibn al-Zayyat then dispatched an army under his brother to face the Byzantine forces of Nicephorus Phocas, which had already taken al-Massisah. The Tarsus troops were slaughtered and, if we are to believe our chronicles, Ibn al-Zayyat was so despondent over the death of his brother that he dressed himself in his armor and turban and drowned himself by jumping from the balcony of his house into the river below.⁴⁶ Although victorious, the Byzantines did not stay long and Muslim control was reasserted even though tribute was due the emperor in Constantinople. Rashiq al-Nasimi became governor of Tarsus.⁴⁷ We don't know for certain what took place during the next few years, but Bikhazi makes an effective case that Tarsus and the Ikhshidids developed a common policy in terms of the Byzantines while Sayf al-Dawla was involved in other areas and with other problems.⁴⁸

In 354 the Byzantine army returned again to the Thughur. Recognizing the need for external aid, two delegations were sent from Tarsus. One headed by the *khatib* Abu-l-Hasan b. l-Gayyad was sent to Kafur's Egypt and the second sent to Baghdad.⁴⁹ This time the military machine of the future emperor Nicephorus Phocas (reign: 963–69) was even greater and Rashiq al-Nasimi surrendered Tarsus to the Emperor.⁵⁰ Canard, using Greek sources, dated the surrender to 15

45. Stern, "The Coins of Thamal and of Other Governors of Tarsus," *JAOS* 80 (1960): 223–24.

46. Ibn Miskawayh, *Tajarib al-umam*, F. H. Amedroz and D. S. Margoliouth, eds. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1920–21): II, 192; and Anonymous, *Kitab al-'uyun*: IV: 506–508.

47. The anonymous author of *Kitab al-'uyun* gives his name as Abu al-Hasan ibn Rashiq al-Nasimi. It is possible that the *ibn* was recorded in error as all the other sources list him as Rashiq. *Ibid.*, 508.

48. Bikhazi, "Hamdanid Dynasty," 58–63 and 917–42.

49. C. Edmund Bosworth, "Abu Amr 'Uthman's al-Tarsusi's *Siyar al-Thughur* and the Last Years of Arab Rule in Tarsus (Fourth/Tenth Century)," *Graeco-Arabica* 5 (1993): 194.

50. Ibn Miskawayh, *Tajarib al-umam*, II, 214; and Ibn al-'Adim, *Ta'rikh Halab*, Suhayl Zukar, ed. (Damascus, 1988): I: 148. Michael Bonner relates a moving story of how when the last Friday *khutba* was to be given in Tarsus, the dignitary who has been asked to give the sermon declined, not wishing to be the last preacher. Then, a man named Abu Dharr, a native of Tarsus who had been absent for some time, gave the *khutba* in the name of the caliph al-Mu'tadid, who by this time had been dead for

Sha'ban 354 (15 August 965).⁵¹ The Byzantine commander forced the Muslims of Tarsus to migrate, repopulating the city with Christians while turning the mosque into a stable after burning the *minbar* and taking the lamps as war booty.⁵² Three days later an Egyptian navy force, which had been sent by order of Kafur and under the command of al-Thamali arrived, but it was too late.⁵³

A problem arises as to the identity of this Fath al-Thamali. The sources tell us nothing about him until his appearance at this time. From his *nisba* it is apparent that he was a mamluk of Thamal and, it would be fair to assume that he knew something of the affairs of Tarsus since Thamal from whom he received his *nisba* had governed the city earlier. Miskawayh states that the Egyptian fleet came from Misr, which seems a very long distance to respond to a more regional crisis, but is possible.⁵⁴ According to the same Arabic text, Fath al-Thamali returned with a number of Muslim refugees to Antioch, not Egypt.⁵⁵

In Antioch there had been a Hamdanid governor in 354 whose name was either Tanj al-Thamali or Fath al-Thamali.⁵⁶ Without dots and with a minor writing mistake both names could be written the same way in Arabic. Stern believes that this is a different Fath al-Thamali from the one who led the Ikhshidid fleet, but clear evidence for this position is lacking.⁵⁷ It is ironic that although initially welcomed with joy, the oppressive government of Fath al-Thamali in Antioch led Rashiq al-Nasimi, the same one who had lost Tarsus, to find enough support to seize Antioch for himself.⁵⁸ The further activities of Rashiq who subsequently captured Aleppo need not concern us and, as for Fath al-Thamali, he disappeared from the sources.

Therefore, there are two possible explanations for the issuing of these 'Ikhshidid copper coins.' Again, the layout of the field, the lack of mint-date information, or even religious formulae in the margins makes what follows a case of

six decades implying that no caliph had been worthy of the name since his death in 289/902. Michael Bonner, *Aristocratic Violence and Holy War: Studies in the Jihad and the Arab-Byzantine Frontier* (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1996): 155.

51. Canard, *Les H'amdaniides*, 823

52. Ibn Miskawayh, *Tajarib al-umam*, II, 210.

53. Canard. *Les H'amdaniides*, 823.

54. Ibn Miskawayh, *Tajarib al-umam*, II, 210.

55. *Ibid.*

56. In the account of the arrival of the Egyptian fleet by Miskawaihi [Miskawayh?], his name is given as "tbh," but that could be an easy mistake for "fth." Ibn al-'Adim gives his *nisba* as *al-aymaki* or *al-thamali*, again easy spelling errors for a manuscript copyist to make. Therefore, it is best to accept Fath al-Thamali as his name. Ibn Miskawayh, *Tajarib al-umam*, II, 211, note 1; and Ibn al-'Adim, *Ta'rikh Halab*, I, 148.

57. Stern, "Coins of Thamal," 223.

58. Ibn Miskawayh, *Tajarib al-umam*, II, 211, note 1; and Ibn al-'Adim, *Ta'rikh Halab*, I, 148.

speculation. First, and most likely, the copper coins were minted by order of Rashīq al-Nasīmī while he was governor of Tarsus. The coins served as a formal way for Rashīq al-Nasīmī to acknowledge the nominal overlordship of the Ikhshidids, both Ali, the legitimate governor, and Kafur, the power behind the throne. In return for this recognition, which could have involved the naming of both men living in Egypt in the *sikka* and *khutba*, Rashīq al-Nasīmī expected military support against the Byzantines. It arrived, but too late.

This explanation clarifies the statement found in Ibn Taghri Birdi and other sources that state that the *khutba* was said in the name of Kafur in al-Thughur, which included Tarsus while there is no record of Ikhshidid troops occupying these lands.⁵⁹ In fact, these lands were under Byzantine control by the time Kafur came to rule in his own name. If this copper coinage and information on the naming of the Ikhshidids Ali and Kafur in the *khutba* reached Egypt in late 354 after the death of Ali, it would be reasonable for Arab historians to list the information under the governorship of Kafur.

A second, but less likely, explanation for the appearance of these copper coins is that they could have been minted by order of Fath al-Thamali of Antioch as part of his program to seek Ikhshidid aid against the Byzantines as well as part of his own program to break from the Hamdanids. In return for this acknowledgment of sovereignty, the *sikka*, Kafur could have either outfitted or financed a fleet under this Fath al-Thamali to aid Tarsus against the Byzantines or even to take Tarsus from Rashīq al-Nasīmī in the name of the Ikhshidids. Unfortunately a more conclusive answer for the origins of the coin is dependent on finding additional numismatic and/or narrative evidence.

Copper Coinage in the Name of 'Ali

The coin cabinets of the Forschungsstelle für Islamische Numismatik, Tübingen, include a unique copper coin minted in the name of Ali ibn Ahmad (Cat. 207/XC353a). The basic inscription is similar to that found on 'Ali's dirhams. The coin was struck on a thin flan but was then cut into a square. As a result of this action, certain key inscribed information is lacking. The date, 353, can be read but the mint name is missing, although Filastin is the most likely one based upon a comparison with existing dirhams.⁶⁰ Since the flan is cut above the point at which the

59. Ibn Taghri Birdi, *Al-Nujum al-zahira*, IV, 9; and Anonymous, *Ta'rikh Dawla*, fol. 165b.

60. Since the specimen includes the name of the reigning Ikhshidid Ali ibn al-Ikhshid and no coins have been found in his name dated 355, it is most likely that this piece was struck in 353. See Ilisch, *SNAT IVa*, Cat. 138.

kaf for Kafur would have been inscribed, it is impossible to say if even the *kaf* found on Ali's dirhams was included, even though it is most likely that it was.

Very few conclusions can be drawn concerning this piece. It appears as if it was minted using a dirham die but on a flan made of copper. This means that a separate die was not cut to produce this specimen. It is possible to postulate that the Ikhshidids did not intend to issue a regular copper coinage. In fact, it would have been very unusual if they had. Therefore, this piece was struck for other reasons. One possibility is that someone in the mint hoped to make a profit by passing a copper coin as a silver one keeping the difference in the intrinsic value as a profit. The most obvious problem with this theory is that the flan is square, which would prevent it from being mistaken for a regular dirham. Another possibility is that its square shape has something to do with its use, perhaps serving as a fractional coin. In fact, nothing beyond a description can be stated about this square copper coin with certainty.

The second copper coin (208/XC355a) offers even less information. The layout and inscriptions fit the definition of a second Abbasid official coin except that the metal is copper. The inscription states that it was to be a dinar. My guess is that it was a medieval forgery, which would have had a gold wash and would have been passed as a higher-grade coin.⁶¹

Post-Kafur Ikhshidid Coins



The political and military events which took place during the years immediately following the death of Kafur in 357 are among the most confusing. Numerous articles have been written reconstructing the changes in the governorships of Fustat, Ramla, Tiberias, and Damascus. These studies detail the shifting military fortunes of Fatimids, Ikhshidids, Shi'ite Qarmatians, local Palestinian Bedouin, Hamdanids, and Byzantine forces to make the mix even more confusing.⁶² At the beginning of this period, Egypt suffered a period of unusually low Nile floods leading to very serious economic problems on top of the power struggle following Kafur's death and the accession of the eleven year old Ahmad ibn Ali as the official Ikhshidid governor. The Fatimids, well informed on conditions in Egypt, took advantage of the political confusion and economic chaos by sending an army under Jawhar to conquer this Sunni Abbasid province. Ikhshidid Egypt easily fell to the Fatimid forces and from 17 Sha'ban 358/6 July

61. *Ibid.*, Cat. 139.

62. Thierry Bianquis, "Les Derniers gouverneurs Ikhshidides a Damas," *Bulletin des Etudes Orientales de l'Institut Francais de Damas* 23 (1970): 174–75. For additional references see the accompanying Bibliography and Bianquis, "Autonomous Egypt," 118, n. 11.

969 prayers were said in Egypt in the name of the Fatimid Imam-Caliph, not the Abbasid caliph or his legal representatives. Thus, the year A.H. 358 is listed in all sources — medieval and modern — as the end of the Ikhshidid dynasty.

Figure 3.10
Coinage of the last Ikhshidids with the name Tughj.

<i>Obverse Field</i>	<i>Reverse Field</i>
	
<p>لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له الحسن بن عبيد الله</p>	<p>الله محمد رسول الله صلى الله عليه وعلى آله المطيع لله احمد بن علي طغج</p>
<p><i>2nd position</i></p>	<p>al-Hasan bin 'Ubayd Allah</p>
<p><i>1st position</i> <i>3rd position</i></p>	<p>al-Muti' li-Illah Ahmad ibn 'Ali Tughj</p>

The last coins of the Ikhshidid dynasty beginning with 357 continued the classical pattern of second Abbasid epoch coinage and, in terms of the market, looked right. But, a closer examination of the numismatic evidence reveals interesting developments. When Kafur died, his official successor was Ahmad, the eleven-year old son of Ali. Thus the *ism-nasab* combination Ahmad ibn Ali is inscribed on the coinage as would have been predicted. On many of these late Ikhshidid specimens, the *ism* Tughj is inscribed below Ahmad ibn 'Ali's name. This is the name of Ahmad's great grandfather. But, if Ahmad really wanted to inscribe a prestigious name on his coinage, he would have listed his grandfather Muhammad ibn Tughj al-Ikhshid in which case the coin would have read Ahmad ibn Ali ibn al-Ikhshid. But what if Ahmad did not control what was inscribed and, instead, it was another member of the family who was descended from Tughj but not from Muhammad ibn Tughj al-Ikhshid?

According to the narrative accounts, Ahmad's name was mentioned in the Friday *khutba* from the pulpits of Egypt (Misr), Palestine, parts of Syria (al-Sham), and the Holy Cities of Mecca and Medina (al-Haramayn,) indicating that he was the legally caliphally recognized leader.⁶³ Unfortunately for him Egypt was facing

63. Ibn Taghri Birdi, *Al-Nujum al-zahira*, IV, 9.

extremely serious economic and social problems. In addition, there were deep divisions among the leading Ikhshidid officials over their political future with a number of them not only sympathetic to Fatimid aspirations but in contact with them. The situation was further complicated by the role of al-Hasan ibn 'Ubayd Allah, Ahmad's first cousin once-removed (see genealogical table at the beginning of this chapter), governor of Palestine, and leading military figure among family members.⁶⁴

The first clue that something was amiss is that the *ism-nasab* combination for Ahmad, the official governor, was not in the second position on the coinage, that is, on the obverse. Rather it was placed under the name of the Caliph al-Muti' implying he ranked third and below the name on the obverse. The name in the second position was Ahmad's cousin al-Hasan ibn 'Ubayd Allah. This reflected the political reality that leadership of the family and control of what was inscribed on the coinage rested with al-Hasan.⁶⁵ Coins with the addition of the single word Tughj also confirmed al-Hasan's position because Tughj was the common ancestor of both al-Hasan and Ahmad while al-Ikhshid, the illustrious founder of the dynasty, was only Ahmad's grandfather. Finally, the dinars and dirhams I have found for Ahmad's reign were minted only in Palestine.⁶⁶ In addition, Ilisch lists the Ikhshidid issues for 357 and those of 358, all of which included the *ism* Tughj on the bottom of the reverse, as being minted during the first period of al-Hasan's rule.⁶⁷

In order to ensure his control over political, military and financial affairs, al-Hasan left his base in Palestine and occupied Egypt.⁶⁸ While in Fustat, in Safar 358/January 969, he married Fatima, his first cousin and daughter of his uncle Muhammad ibn Tughj, in order to enhance the legitimacy of his political claims. Al-Hasan also imprisoned the leading local Ikhshidids and confiscated their

64. A number of medieval sources and some modern scholars including myself listed his *ism* as al-Husayn, but a careful reading of the numismatic material and checking a larger body of medieval texts makes it clear that it was al-Hasan. An example of the confusion surrounding his name is the edition of Ibn al-Dawadari's chronicle. The editor wrote his name as al-Husayn ibn 'Ubayd Allah on one line and two lines later changed it to al-Hasan ibn 'Ubayd Allah! Ibn al-Dawadari, *Die Chronik des Ibn al-Dawadari*, V: 413.

65. Ilisch, reflecting the priority of rankings places al-Hasan's name before that of Ahmad in his catalogue. Ilisch, *SNAT IVa*, 18.

66. In the accompanying catalogue there is a reference to one dinar, dated 358, minted in Misr (Cat. 105/MG358a) based upon a letter from Dr. Paul Balog. I have neither examined the piece nor have I seen a photograph of it. It is possible that dinars and even dirhams were minted in Misr at this time but relative to the production at the Filastin mint and even the number of dirhams from Tabariya, their output must have been very small, if there were any. In contrast, the quantity of Fatimid gold and silver coins of Misr dated 358 was quite large, based upon the existing specimens listed in Nicoi's *Corpus of Fatimid Coins*.



67. Ilisch, *SNAT IVa*, cat. 143–7.

68. For a summary of his life see al-Maqrizi, *Kitab al-muqaffa al-kabir*, 345–46.

wealth. However, the deteriorating political and military situation in Palestine and the growing opposition in Egypt to his policies forced him to return to Ramla after only three months in Fustat. On his departure, Egypt fell to the Fatimids, but an Ikhshidid force with a family member at its head still existed outside Egypt.

In Palestine, the Qarmatians took Ramla and sacked it for two days after which a peace agreement was arranged between the Ikhshidids and the Qarmatians. According to its terms the Qarmatians were to receive 125,000 Egyptian dinars.⁶⁹ Ironically, after less than two months of occupying Palestine, the victorious Qarmatian forces withdrew to Eastern Arabia, probably due to internal political struggles among their own leadership, the Council of Six. Al-Hasan, again, ruled Palestine and parts of Syria. The second set of Ikhshidid coins dated 358, which do not include the *ism* Tughj, are dated by Ilisch to this second period of Ikhshidid rule in Palestine.⁷⁰

Figure 3.11
Qarmatian coin with an al-Hasan as a governor.

<i>Obverse Field</i>	<i>Reverse Field</i>		
	<p>لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له السادة الروئسا</p>		
	<p>الله محمد رسول الله صلى الله عليه و على آله المطيع لله الحسن بن عبيد الله</p>		
<i>2nd position</i>	Council of Seven	<i>1st position</i> <i>3rd position</i>	al-Muti' li-llah Al-Hasan ibn 'Ubayd Allah

Then, al-Hasan had to battle a new Qarmatian army, which invaded Palestine in the last month of 358/October 969. The Ikhshidids were once again defeated and this time they promised to pay the Qarmatians an annual tribute of 300,000

69. The most important Arabic source for Palestine during this period is Yahya Ibn Sa'id d'Antioche, *Kitab al-dhail*, ed. and trans. I. Kratchkovsky and A. Vasiliev (Paris: Patrologia Orientalis XVIII, 1924): 817–18.

70. Ilisch, *SNAT IVa*, 150–51.

dinars. This peace was really an ‘alliance’ in the sense that a small contingent of Qarmatian troops remained in Palestine to fight with the Ikhshidids against the Fatimids. The numismatic evidence for this period is interesting. There are Ikhshidid coins dated 359, the year following the dynasty’s ‘official’ demise at the hands of the Fatimids. This anomaly is easily explained by the fact that the Fatimids had been victorious only in Egypt and not beyond. Al-Hasan was still controlling cities in Palestine and Syria. In theory, he continued to control the mints and to issue coins inscribed with his name and that of his cousin Ahmad ibn Ali who was already a prisoner of the Fatimids.

Thus, in a technical sense, the Ikhshidid dynasty didn’t end with Jawhar’s conquering of the Nile Valley. The numismatic evidence and the texts indicate that the dynasty held on outside Egypt. But the 359 issues inscribed with Ahmad ibn Ali and al-Hasan ibn ‘Ubayd Allah were the last coins that can be considered Ikhshidid, but they weren’t the last with al-Hasan’s name. There are Qarmatian coins dated 359 minted in Tabariya with his name inscribed on them but not in the same location.⁷¹ The caliph al-Muti‘ lillah is in first position, the reference to the Qarmatian Council of Six is on the obverse in the second position, and al-Hasan ibn ‘Ubayd Allah is now in third position symbolizing his subordinate position to the Qarmatians and his role as their governor. These coins mark the final end of Ikhshidid monetary history.

Unfortunately for al-Hasan and the remaining Ikhshidids, even the Qarmatian augmented military force was not effective enough to stop the Fatimid advance. Not only were they defeated, but al-Hasan was imprisoned by the Fatimids eventually dying in Cairo. With their victory in Rabi’ II, 359/March 970 the Fatimids began minting their own coins in Palestine. In style and inscription, including references to the Fatimid caliph-imam, they were very similar to previously minted Fatimid pieces from North Africa and Egypt; and a new numismatic era for these lands began.

71. *Ibid.*, 393–97.

Chapter 4

Conclusion

General Observations

Historical studies are undergoing important changes as more and more scholars turn to the material cultural remains of the societies they study. Historians were traditionally trained to rely almost exclusively on documents written on paper, which I have referred to as narrative sources. For those who have studied the pre-Ottoman Islamic Middle East, chronicles were considered the most important of these texts. Over time additional written texts were added to the range of published books and manuscripts used by scholars. These included endowment deeds (*waqf*) or, as in the case of S.D. Goitein and his disciples, small pieces of discarded scraps of paper, which constituted the Geniza documents.¹ Material culture in the form of buildings with their attendant inscriptions, textiles, and ceramics were mostly considered the purview of art and architectural historians.

A plea for the value of numismatic material was made by Treadwell. He wrote that “coins can yield their full benefit to the historian, if they are interpreted, not as disembodied and decontextualized objects, but in light of the narrative provided by contemporary historians.”² Unfortunately numismatic evidence has rarely, with few exceptions, been used in this manner. The most important of

1. S.D. Goitein. *A Mediterranean Society: the Jewish communities of the Arab world as portrayed in the documents of the Cairo Geniza* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967–1993). 6 vols.

2. Luke Treadwell, “Shahanshah and al-Malik al-Mu’ayyad: The Legitimization of Power in Samanid and Buyid Iran,” *Culture and Memory in Medieval Islam: Essays in Honour of Wilfred Madelung*, Farhad Daftary and Joseph W. Meri, eds. (London: I.B. Taurus, 2003): 319.

these cases involved an analysis of the Dome of the Rock.³ This study has sought to fulfill Treadwell's call and push the limits of this type of material evidence by examining the whole numismatic record of the Ikhshidids, a minor Muslim dynasty, which ruled Egypt, Palestine, and parts of Syria for approximately thirty-five years.

An underlying assumption in using Islamic numismatic data is that when coins — that is, regular dinars and dirhams — are inscribed with the name of a particular local ruler for a specific mint/date combination, that ruler really controlled the mint city during part, if not all, of that Muslim year and was ultimately responsible for what was inscribed on the coins. For the years the Ikhshidids were active, numismatic data are often explained in light of known historic events such as the taking and retaking of Damascus, Horns, and Aleppo in the 330s by Hamdanids and Ikhshidids. The coinage is treated as reflecting facts already known from narrative texts.⁴

There are other time periods and regions for which numismatics can play a very important role in reconstructing political and military events but the Ikhshidid era is not one of them. A few new 'facts' were uncovered by a close examination of the numismatic evidence such as the role of al-Hasan ibn 'Ubayd Allah, the last effective Ikhshidid military leader. The coinage demonstrates that, although the chronicles list the nominal Ikhshidid governor Ahmad b. Ali as the ruler, the placement of al-Hasan ibn Ubayd Allah's name on the coinage in the second most important position, after that of the caliph, proves he was the real ruler. The coinage could also be used to argue that the Ikhshidid dynasty should be listed as ending in 359 rather than 358 when Egypt fell to the Fatimids because

3. The classic study using early numismatic material is Oleg Grabar, *The Formation of Islamic Art* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973; 2nd ed. 1987). A more recent work incorporating numismatic evidence for the same period is Jeremy Johns, "Archaeology and the History of Early Islam," *JESHO* 46 (2003): 411–36. A very important study for the Ikhshidid-Hamdanid period where both texts and coins are used is Bikhazi, "Struggle for Syria." Students of Mamluk numismatics have often combined numismatic and textual evidence and references to works by Meloy, Shoshan, and particularly Schultz can be found at www.lib.uchicago.edu/LibInfo/SourcesBySubject/MiddleEast/MamBib.html, where they are listed under the numismatic section. On the other hand, Blair did not include numismatic evidence in her important study of Islamic inscriptions but called for a separate study of inscriptions on coins, paper, and other media, see Sheila S. Blair, *Islamic Inscriptions* (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press, 1998): 15. James A. Allan has incorporated numismatic evidence with art historical data from metalwork in order to demonstrate the continuity of styles and designs beyond the life of a particular dynasty, in this case the Fatimids. James A. Allan, "'My Father is a Sun and I am the Star.' Fatimid Symbols in Ayyubid and Mamluk Metalwork," *Journal of the David Collection* I (2003): 25–48.

4. Bikhazi, *Ibid*, 180: coins 139–42.

a dated dinar from Filastin in the name of the family was minted, but this is not a significant finding. Qarmatian dirhams minted in Tabariyya for 359 identify the same al-Hasan as governor, but, here numismatic evidence revealed how his position had become subordinate to these Shi'ite rulers in the third position beneath that of the Abbasid caliph.

In preparing a study based upon coinage, the first issue is to determine what numismatic material to include. One approach is to organize specimens by region and then mint irrespective of dynastic developments. The Islamic coins in the cabinets of the American Numismatic Society and the *sylloge* published by the Tübingen follow this system.⁵ In these two examples, geography is the most important variant. This type of organization makes it very easy to study the change in numismatic data over time in a specific region or at a single mint. This approach stresses the vertical component, that is, time.

The second and older approach focuses on dynastic developments and emphasizes the horizontal (space). Using space as the critical factor, when more and more mints come under the control of a dynasty, their production is added; when the dynasty loses control of these mint towns, coinage in the name of another political power in that same mint city is not included. Most catalogues of Islamic coins organize their material by dynasty such as Umayyad, Fatimid, Ayyubid, and Mamluk where there is a one-to-one correlation between the inclusion of the dynastic leader's name on the coinage and their having control over a specific region such as Egypt.

The situation was more complex during the Abbasid caliphate, particularly for the second Abbasid epoch, 218–334/833–946. Some families whom we label dynasties, such as Buyids, Hamdanids, Ikhshidids, and Tulunids, held varying degrees of independence from the Abbasid caliphs, while in reality, they controlled the mint cities in the regions they governed. If coinage from lands controlled by any of these dynasties included inscriptions associated with that family such as the name Ahmad ibn Tulun, modern scholars listed that coinage under the dynasty's name, which in this case would be Tulunid. Coins struck at the same mint, which was controlled by the same ruler but did not include his *ism* or any

5. Most of the *Sylloge of the Islamic Coins in the Ashmolean Museum* will follow a geographical approach but not entirely. While coins minted in Egypt and Palestine with the names of Tulunid and Ikhshidid rulers will be included in Volume 6, dinars and dirhams without the names of governors for these years but from these mints will be listed under the name of the appropriate Abbasid caliph in volume 4, see Norman D. Nicol, *Sylloge of Islamic Coins in the Ashmolean Vol. 4: Later Abbasid precious metal coinage (from 219 AH)*, (Oxford: Ashmolean Museum, 2012). Nicol, *Sylloge of Islamic Coins in the Ashmolean Vol. 6: The Egyptian Dynasties* (Oxford: Ashmolean Museum, 2007).

other part of his name, were listed in catalogues as Abbasid coinage. Therefore the determining factor for where the coin was listed in coin a catalogue was whose name was inscribed on the gold and silver, not the actual ruler who controlled the city in which the coins were struck.

Therefore, earlier numismatic studies of Ikhshidid coinage and general catalogues of Islamic coins begin their 'Ikhshidid' sections with the earliest year in which Muhammad ibn Tughj al-Ikhshid began to mint coins with al-Ikhshid' inscribed on the specimens. But what about coins struck by these same mints earlier, which did not include inscriptions tying the coinage to Muhammad ibn Tughj, although the same governor controlled them? My approach has been to assume that the Ikhshidids controlled Egypt and Palestine from 324, if not part of 323, until 359. Therefore for this study, I have included the following: all numismatic evidence for these years from the mints of Misr, Filastin, and Tabariyya unless the coins had a specific association with other military powers and dirhams minted in Damascus, Horns, and Aleppo if they included specific references to Ikhshidid rulers. However, coins from these last three mints with a clear reference to other political powers or to no one other than the Abbasid caliph were excluded. What the data in the catalogue cannot be used for is reconstructing the political and military history of Greater Syria from 323 to 359 because not all the relevant numismatic data for all the regional mints are included.⁶

My approach also means that the Ikhshidids are responsible for the inscriptions on the coins. One of the major findings of this study is that not all numismatic data are alike. The numismatic material for this era must be subdivided into regular coinage, which I have labeled "coins" and other coinage. By the former I mean the dinars and dirhams, which followed the model established in the third/ninth century by the Abbasid caliph al-Ma'mun and his immediate successors as detailed at the end of the first chapter. For the latter, I included the copper coins (*fulus*), Meccan issues, which conformed to a different basic layout, and, most important of all, presentation pieces.

Gold and silver coins from the second Abbasid monetary epoch have many elements in common.⁷ All dinars and dirhams have the same marginal and primary field inscriptions in the same place irrespective of metal, mint, or date. The *laqab* or caliphal reign name is always inscribed below the basic reverse inscription. Whoever is considered the next important person to be identified on the

6. For an example where numismatic data from a single mint over time are used to reconstruct military and political history, see R. J. Bikhazi, "Hamdanid Coins."

7. This generalization excludes the obvious changes necessitated in identifying the piece as a dinar or dirham, the name of the mint, and the Muslim year.

coinage such as a successor to the caliph or a governor is named beneath the basic field inscription on the obverse in second position. The name of the person in the third hierarchical position appears below that of the caliph's, while the fourth person, if one is inscribed, is placed below the second position name on the obverse.

While the unwritten rules governing the placement of names on second epoch Abbasid coinage broke down after the 340s in Buyid controlled Abbasid lands, this is not true for Ikhshidid mint production.⁸ Ikhshidid dinars and dirhams followed the established rules to the end of their dynasty. It is only with the Fatimid conquests of Egypt and then Palestine that a century old Abbasid monetary program involving a hierarchy based on the location of one's name on the coinage from these lands ends.

Another basic premise is that the ruling Ikhshidid, which includes Kafur, is the final authority for what wording was inscribed on the coinage. This premise also applies to what percentage of gold or silver used in the dinars, dirhams, and presentation pieces. Tests on the purity of the Ikhshidid dirhams established that they were composed of a high degree of silver. The limited data do not indicate any significant debasements. Tests on the purity of dinars, on the other hand, produced very different results. The data verify that Muhammad ibn Tughj systematically debased his gold coinage through the caliphates of al-Radi and al-Muttaqi. Textual references, which now can be understood in light of the numismatic data, prove that his contemporaries knew this as well. With the introduction of high quality dinars by the Hamdanids in Baghdad, al-Ikhshid reversed his earlier policy and began minting dinars with a high degree of purity.

The Hamdanids placed their new *laqabs* on the dinars and dirhams from mints they controlled and, in the case of dinars, added the word *ibriz* affirming the gold coin's high degree of purity. In response to Hamdanid actions, both in terms of the inclusion of their *laqabs* and their reform of the dinar, Muhammad ibn Tughj put his *laqab* 'al-Ikhshid' on Egyptian and Palestinian dinars and dirhams and improved the quality of Ikhshidid dinars. Ibn Tughj's successors also placed their 'names' on the coinage and maintained high quality dinars. By including all dinars from the time Muhammad ibn Tughj took control of Egypt and Palestine in 323, it is possible, first, to document his policy of debasing the gold issues and then to determine the date when a fundamental shift took place in his monetary policy, which was also signaled by the inclusion of his *laqab* on the coinage.

8. Treadwell, *Buyid Coins*, xii-xvii.

Collectors and curators seek breadth rather than depth for their coin holdings. Both wish to have at least one specimen for each type, which usually means one example of each unique combination of metal-mint-date-ruler-inscription. While it is easier and significantly cheaper to acquire large numbers of coins with the same metal-mint-date-ruler-inscription combination because of their relative abundance in the coin market, the reality is that the goal of collectors and museums is to fill in missing combinations rather than acquire duplicates.⁹ The advantage for the scholar of this collector/curator bias is that an accumulation of data from all these numismatic sources will give a better picture of the range of possible coin types. Pieces with uncommon inscriptions, rare mints or dates, or other unusual characteristics will appear in these collections while such numismatic pieces may have circulated only in small quantities in medieval times.

Hoards are the best source for understanding circulation, but only if found *in situ*. Dealers knowing the nature of the coin market tend to cream the better pieces for preferred clients once the hoard reaches their hands while worn items may be discarded as having little market value. This, also, leads to the loss of valuable information. For example, although the Asyut hoard described by Balog is extremely important as it included so many Egyptian Ikhshidid dinars, we don't know its actual composition and must use his findings with caution.¹⁰ On the other hand, the hoards from Ramla and Tel Ashdod were found under controlled circumstances and their description includes all specimens.¹¹

The last two hoards indicate that there was a fairly wide range of dynasty/mint/date combinations of either dinars or dirhams circulating together at the same time. In the case of the Ramla hoard of gold coins, it is clear that Hamdanid dinars inscribed with the word *ibriz*, which were over three decades old when the hoard was 'lost,' were more highly valued than other dinars because of a belief in their high degree of purity. This is an example of the importance of Reputation for a coinage. The Tel Ashdod find reflects the pressures of paying for troops where even blank flans became part of the accumulated hoard. The original creator of the Tel Ashdod material needed money and appears to have been willing to

9. One example is the acquisition of Umayyad dirhams. It is possible to create a collection of numerous dirhams minted only in the city of Wasit for certain Muslim years because they are relatively inexpensive, and numerous specimens are found among dealers. But collectors and curators constantly seek other pieces, which were struck in other mints or for years in which fewer specimens are available. The search for the latter is also more expensive because of their relative rarity and the accompanying demand.

10. Balog, "Dinars ikhchidites," 103–11.

11. Jere L. Bacharach, "A Hoard of Muslim Dirhams from Tel Ashdod." *Atiqot* XIV (1980): 83–92; and Levy and Mitchell, "Ramlah."

accept blank flans since their importance was not in their dynastic identity or religious message, but in the value of their silver. In contrast, modern scholars and collectors carefully distinguish Shi'ite Qarmatian, Shi'ite Fatimid, Sunni Abbasid, Sunni Ikhshidid, and Christian Byzantine pieces from one another, all of which can be found in the Tel Ashdod hoard.

Data derived from distribution charts created from the weights of extant Ikhshidid coins by time and place must also be used with great caution. Listing all the weights as a function of metal and mint over time may suggest that for some mints for some years, the weights of individual dinars and dirhams varied more than for other years and that the 'average' weight went up or down. But, was that important to those who used the coinage? The only safe conclusion is that any significant transaction involving second epoch Abbasid dinars or dirhams had to be done by weight. There was no time during the Ikhshidid era that dinars or dirhams were struck so close to a set standard that transactions by number could have been made with the confidence that the number of coins and the theoretical weight of canonical issues were the same.

Using the number of existing coins based on metal and mint over time to draw conclusions about absolute mint production is distorted by the same biases. This means that private and public collections do not reflect the reality of the medieval market place because each museum or private holding has sought only one specimen of each type. But with a large enough sample, as reflected in the accompanying catalogue, it is possible to speculate on production trends. For example, I found that Ikhshidid dinars were minted in Palestine from the mid-340s while none have appeared with the Egyptian mint name for the same chronological period. A single coin for any metal-mint-date combination such as gold-Misr-350s may be found but its rarity in relative terms still permits drawing conclusions about general trends. I am confident that the production of dinars in Ramla (Filastin) for these years was significantly greater than that of Fustat (Misr). It appears that the switch from Egypt to Palestine in terms of dinar production coincides with the appearance of Kafur's *kaf* on the coinage, but it doesn't answer why it took place.

Studying Ikhshidid dinars and dirhams as part of a larger world in which similar style gold and silver circulated allows mapping monetary zones based upon the visual layout of the coinage.¹² The coinage of Egypt and Syria were not just Muslim, but were visually tied to the Abbasid caliphate and Sunni Islam.

12. For a contemporary parallel Treadwell has concluded that Buyid coins could be grouped in four monetary zones. Treadwell, *Buyid Coins*, xii–xiv.

Whatever the reasons the Fatimid Caliph-Imam al-Mu'izz had his coins minted with the inscriptions in a series of concentric circles, they carried a clear visual message that they were different from second Abbasid Sunni style issue.¹³ More subtle was the emergence of a different layout for the dinars and dirhams of Western Arabia where coinage in the 330s to 350s was neither second Abbasid epoch nor concentric circle Fatimid in style. Having identified this third monetary zone, it is also possible to speculate that the rules governing what could and could not be inscribed on second Abbasid epoch pieces or Fatimid concentric specimens did not apply. The coins minted in Mecca with Kafur's name, which never appeared on the dinars and dirhams of Egypt and Palestine, reflect political developments in the Hijaz during the 350s and the fact that the rules for what could be inscribed were different. Understanding what was inscribed and the reasons why must focus on developments in the Hijaz, not Egypt and Palestine.

Copper currency was almost non-existent in Ikhshidid lands and the appearance of a few examples reflected other issues. Perhaps the one cut in the shape of a square served as small change or a weight for a scale. Visually, it was impossible to confuse this piece with regular coins. The other copper piece was a medieval forgery whose creator using a dinar as a die, hoped to make a profit by coating the copper piece with a gold wash. The one important copper type, which was minted in the names of Kafur and the Ikhshidid governor Ali was unlike any Syrian or Egyptian issue and must have been struck outside Ikhshidid lands, probably in Tarsus. The inscriptions in terms of the names used for both Kafur and Ali broke every rule for second Abbasid coinage except that as a copper piece minted outside this monetary zone, the same rules did not apply. The best explanation is that the coin reflected the attempt of local rulers in the frontier zone between Byzantium and the Islamic world to seek military aid from the Ikhshidid rulers when their closest Muslim power, the Hamdanids, were unable or unwilling to supply it. This is a case, as illustrated in the preceding chapter, where a careful examination of Arabic texts was needed to offer an interpretation of why and when the coin was struck.

'Presentation piece' is a catchall for all other numismatic evidence.¹⁴ For this study, the term included gold and silver pieces, which did not conform to the rules governing second Abbasid epoch coinage. These pieces included those with

13. Bierman, *Writing Signs*, 62–70; and "Inscribing the City," 105–14.

14. The fullest treatment of presentation pieces is Lutz Ilisch, "Mungzeschenke und Geschenkmünzen in der mittelalterlichen islamischen Welt," *MNZXIV*, 2 (Juni 1984): 7–12; *XIV*, 3 (September 1984): 15–24; *XIV*, 3 (Dezember 1984): 27–34; *XV*, 1 (April, 1985): 5–12. The three additional pieces from the Ikhshidid era can be found in his unpublished M.A. Thesis, 63–65.

unusual inscriptions and were usually smaller than standard coins. In this sense the Ikhshidid medallion was just another example of a presentation piece. I assume that presentation pieces were used as gifts to members of the Ikhshidid or Abbasid court. It is also my assumption that once a presentation piece was struck and presented, the specific connotation of its inscription or design was quickly forgotten and the money markets and merchants treated the presentation piece as a form of circulating stamped money whose value was dependent on its weight and assumed fineness. Thus the striking of the medallion may have been associated with a specific military victory by Abu-l-Qasim Unujur, but the last owner of one specimen, probably, retained it as a circulating coin when he lost it in a medieval bathroom without any idea why it was issued.

A careful examination of all dinars and dirhams as well as the presentation pieces associated with Ikhshidid rule make it clear that what part of a name used on a coin was highly significant. The English word 'name' hides the complexity of the medieval Muslim system.¹⁵ The data from studying the regular Ikhshidid coinage indicate that there was a social ranking to parts of one's name and the part of a medieval Muslim name used on the coinage was neither an arbitrary act nor done on a whim.

The most important part of a name was that of the *laqab*. 'Abbasid caliphs were known by their *laqab* symbolizing the prestige associated with it. Military leaders who became *amir al-umara'* when they received a *laqab* inscribed their new title on the coinage.¹⁶ In contrast Muhammad ibn Tughj acquired his *laqab* years before inscribing it on his coinage. It is my guess that Ibn Tughj put his *laqab* on his coinage when he did to indicate that he, al-Ikhshid, had restored the quality of his dinars and the reputation of the gold coinage, which previously, without the appearance of his *laqab*, he had been debasing. Another reason for the eventual inclusion of his *laqab* on 'al-Ikhshid' his coinage was related to the appearance of the *laqabs* of the Hamdanid brothers on Baghdad dinars and dirhams. Copying inscriptions found on the coinage of Hamdanid coins, particularly those of al-Ikhshid's military rival Sayf al-Dawla, also explains the appearance of the so-called Shi'ite phrase *wa 'ala alihi* on Ikhshidid coinage. Their inclusion on the coinage was not because al-Ikhshid was a closet Shi'ite or agent of the Fatimids, a threat he used for his own in negotiating with the caliphs in Baghdad. Al-Ikhshid and then his son Abu-l-Qasim Unujur copied innovations undertaken in Hamdanid Aleppo to prove they were their equal.

15. Schimmel, *Islamic Names*, 1–13.

16. Bates, "The Abbasid Coin System," <http://www.amnumsoc.org/collections/abbasid.html>.

The next prestigious part of a medieval Muslim name was the *kunya*. Since Muhammad ibn Tughj's son and successor Unujur had been called by his *kunya* by the caliph when they met at Raqqa before Unujur became governor of Egypt and Palestine, he emphasized this status by using his *kunya* Abu-l-Qasim on his coinage and not his *ism* Unujur when he became governor. In addition, he used the more prestigious *nasab* Ibn al-Ikhshid rather than Ibn Muhammad. Thus Unujur capitalized on both the prestige of his father's *laqab* and his right to inscribe his own *kunya*.

Unujur's successors only used their *ism* because none of them received a *laqab* from a caliph nor were called by a caliph by their *kunya*. Societal rules, which do not seem to be articulated in other historical sources, were at work. What is more surprising is that Kafur, who directly or indirectly controlled Egypt for many years, never put any part of his full name on the regular coinage and only signaled his political role on the dinars and dirhams in Ikhshidid lands from the mid-340s by the inclusion of the first letter of his *ism*, that is the letter *kaf*. In the case of Kafur the medieval chroniclers make it very clear that his name was pronounced in the Friday sermon, which signals that *sikka* and *khutba* were subject to different rules in terms of who was named and how.

Even in the last years of Ikhshidid rule when al-Hasan bin 'Ubayd Allah was *de facto* ruler and Ahmad bin Ali was *de jure* ruler, the rules related to the placement of names on coinage continued to be applied. The chronicles list Ahmad as governor, but the numismatic evidence indicates that al-Hasan was the more important figure. This is further demonstrated by the appearance on some of the last issues of the common ancestor for all family members, Tughj, rather than the more illustrious founder of the dynasty al-Ikhshid who was 'Ali's grandfather but was only indirectly related to al-Hasan. Ironically, the period ends with al-Hasan's name being relegated to the third position when he became governor of Ramla for the Qarmatians.

There is further evidence that what went on the coinage and what appeared in other forms of material culture or was announced in the *khutba* were different. There is a published *tiraz* fragment with the *kunya* of the Ikhshidid ruler Ali while that same *kunya* does not appear on any of his known coinage. Additional studies of all the inscriptions and textual references from the second Abbasid monetary epoch are necessary in order to draw a stronger conclusion, but the preliminary results of this examination indicates that what was permitted in having one's name announced in the Friday sermon, carved on monuments, sewn on textiles, used on official correspondence, and inscribed on coinage were not the same, with the last being the most restrictive. What makes all of this so remarkable is that there

were no political forces preventing the Ikhshidids from putting whatever they wished on their coinage. The fact that they did not must be understood as a result of what Abbasid Muslim society meant by the right of *sikka*. Certain parts of one's name could appear on the coinage, but only if the political leader had acquired them in an appropriate manner. The Ikhshidid rulers, as part of that world, accepted the norms and do not appear to have violated them.

An examination of Ikhshidid numismatic evidence leads to the conclusion that the term *sikka* must be qualified. Gold and silver issues minted in a specific geographic area/monetary zone appear to conform to understood rules about design, script, text and what parts of a name could be used where. Therefore, while dinars and dirhams struck in Ikhshidid Egypt and Syria followed monetary models, which can be traced back to the reign of the Caliph al-Ma'mun, the gold and silver issues of the fourth/tenth century Hijaz followed a different model.

Far more valuable for this study has been the importance of presentation pieces, that is, numismatic material created for specific occasions whose inscriptions, layout, and even images differ from conventional coinage. For example, there is Ikhshidid numismatic material with the inscribed title *mawla amir al-mu'minin*, which was also used by Muhammad ibn Tughj in his official correspondence with the Byzantine Emperor. There is also data from presentation pieces on the use of the shorter title *al-amir*. These two titles do not appear on the regular dinars and dirhams indicating that their use on the standard gold and silver issues was not considered appropriate. These titles do appear in official correspondence and even in woven *tiraz*. Again, a careful study of the coinage, in this case presentation pieces versus regular dinars and dirhams, enables us to see societal rules at work which are not recorded in any of the narrative sources.

The appearance of a specific *tamga* in the form of a pitch fork on a Muhammad ibn Tughj presentation piece illustrates that his ties to his Central Asia family origins were stronger than previously known. The coinage also demonstrates that Muhammad ibn Tughj's request for the specific *laqab al-Ikhshid* was not an isolated act, but part of the way in which he wished to be perceived as a descendant of Central Asian nobility. Finally, human images in both gold and silver illustrate how far presentation pieces could vary from standard coins.

A careful study of the coinage in conjunction with other textual data indicates that there was also a difference between the right of being named in the *khutba* and the *sikka*. The chronicles make it very clear that Muhammad ibn Tughj proclaimed his *laqab*, al-Ikhshid, from the pulpits of his lands and used it in his correspondence from the time he received official confirmation but he did not immediately inscribe it on his coinage. Kafur ruled Egypt and Syria as governor

and had his name proclaimed in the mosques during the *khutba*, but did not have any part of his name inscribed on his dinars and dirhams.

From 322 until the end of the dynasty, there were four different Abbasid caliphs. The chronicles record that when news of the name of the new Abbasid caliph reached Egypt, it was proclaimed from the *minbars* of Egypt. Four times—322, 329, 333, and 334—two different caliphs were mentioned in the Friday *khutba* in the same Muslim year. In the first two cases, there are enough numismatic specimens available for 322 and 329 to prove that coinage was inscribed in the name of each of the caliphs during the same Muslim year. But for 333 and 334, there are virtually no coins in the name of the new caliph. This was not only true for Ikhshidid issues but for those of the Hamdanids as well. Both did not initially accept the deposition of al-Muttaqi or that of al-Mustakfi on their coinage. Only in 335, after the death of al-Ikhshid and a peace treaty between the Hamdanid Nasir al-Dawla and the Buyid Mu'izz al-Dawla, do the dinars and dirhams of Ikhshidids, Hamdanids, and Buyids all have the name of the same caliph. Even if more coins are found in the name of a second caliph from Ikhshidid and Hamdanid mints for 333 and 334, the weight of numismatic evidence indicates that certain politico-military leaders—al-Ikhshid and his Hamdanid counterparts—were withholding one form of public recognition of a new caliph, the *sikka*, while the *ulama* from the pulpits in their lands were saying prayers in the name of the new Abbasid caliph, the *khutba*.

While this study relied heavily on catalogues many of whose specimens were not illustrated, future scholars throughout the world will have greater access to numismatic data than their earlier counterparts. The web has revolutionized opportunities for Islamic numismatic studies. Sales catalogues such as those for Steve Album Sales, Baldwins, Morton and Brown, and many others illustrate all their specimens. The American Numismatic Society has a number of its Islamic holdings available in a digital form on its website and hopefully they and other museums will put more and more specimens on the web. The largest number of illustrated specimens of Islamic coinage can be found at www.zeno.ru, an absolutely essential resource for future researchers. For comparative studies a database of all Islamic inscriptions found on monuments in a part of Cairo will be available in a searchable electronic form.¹⁷ It is hoped that this will be a model for others

17. Bernard O'Kane, *Documentation of the Inscriptions in the Historic Zone of Cairo* (Cairo: AUC Press, Forthcoming). Jere L. Bacharach, Raafat al-Nabarawy, Sherif Anwar, and Ahmed Yousef. *A Complete Catalog (Sylloge) of the Glass Weights, Vessel Stamps, and Ring Weights in the Gayer-Anderson Museum, Cairo (Mathaf Bayt al-Kritiliyya)* (American Numismatic Webpage: <http://www.amnum-soc.org>).

who work on monumental inscriptions. Inscriptions from tombstones, textiles and ceramics also lend themselves to being stored as searchable databases and it is hoped that such tools will be created.¹⁸

Coda

For those who feel more fiction than fact, more caution than conclusion, has been presented in this study, I will speculate on the problems a scholar centuries from now may face when examining coinage from the early twenty-first century. The researcher will find that there were two major monetary zones, the U.S. and the E.U., both of which had a common type of currency circulating in their geographic regions. In the U.S. the obverse of the quarter or 25 cents piece was constant but the reverse eventually included fifty varieties with the name of each U.S. State inscribed on the reverse. In Europe all Euro coins have the same obverse for each denomination but each reverse has a unique layout based upon the design associated with the named E.U. member. Interpreting the symbols on the reverse of either the U.S. or Euro series will be a challenge for a researcher who will have, at least, the name of the State or European Country as a place to start.

Figure 4.1

U.S. one dollar coin—the Sacagawea.



Far more challenging will be making sense of a relatively rare U.S. coin labeled “One Dollar” and issued from 2000. All the rest of the inscribed information on

18. Interesting ideas on tiraz can be found in Sheila S. Blair, “Inscriptions on Medieval Islamic Textiles,” *Islamische Textilkunst der Mittelalters: Aktuelle Probleme* (Riggisberg: Abegg Stiftung, 1997): 95–104.

the dollar coin parallels other U.S. coinage, with such phrases as “In God We Trust,” “Liberty,” “United States of America”. But unlike the circulating U.S. silver coinage with ridged edges this gold colored issue has a smooth edge. These changes were made in order to differentiate the new coin visually and physically from other circulating issues. The obverse features an unnamed Indian woman with a child in a papoose while the reverse has a soaring eagle, a form not found on any other U.S. currency. In addition, unlike other U.S. issues such as the U.S. dollar where on the Great Seal of the United States there are 13 steps on the unfinished pyramid, 13 stars, 13 stripes, 13 feathers, and 13 arrows, symbolizing the original 13 U.S. colonies or the earlier Susan B. Anthony silver dollar with 13 stars on the reverse, this gold colored dollar piece has on the reverse 17 stars.

Will there be enough information for that future scholar to document that by 2000 the U.S. Government wanted another living female for their dollar coin to replace the earlier Susan B. Anthony silver dollar coin? Will the future researcher be able to find the written material that identifies the figures as Sacagawea (1790–1812 or 1884) with her son Jean-Paul Baptiste, as well as the critical information that she accompanied the Lewis and Clark Expedition as their guide and interpreter from the upper Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean and back again?¹⁹ Will the record enable the future historian to know to associate the 17 stars with the 17 States in the U.S. at the time of the Lewis and Clark Expedition or discover that a committee at the U.S. Mint picked the soaring eagle design over more traditional representations of the eagle? Only in conjunction with other textual sources can material culture such as numismatic evidence be used for a more nuanced understanding of the values of the societies that minted them.

19. The official statement on the new issue can be found at the U.S. Mint website at <http://www.uwmint.gov/dollarcoin/winner.cfm>. Additional discussions can be found at the following: “Mint offers opportunity for comment on dollar,” *Numismatic News*, December 22, 1998: 39; James C. Benfield, “Arts panel picks two,” *Numismatic News*, January 5, 1999; and David L. Ganz, “Get rid of the baby?,” *Numismatic News*, January 12, 1999.

Appendix 1

Isolated Letters on Ikhshidid Coins

As the following table summarizes, isolated letters appeared on a number of coins minted by Ikhshidid rulers. From 346 a single *kaf* appears on all Ikhshidid coinage through 356. As has been argued in this book, this is the first letter of the name of Kafur, the effective ruler of the Ikhshidid state, and its appearance on the coinage is tied directly to a public assertion of his rule over Ikhshidid lands. The identification of the isolated letters for the previous decades has no obvious answer. For example, as illustrated in the table below, under the year 323, there is one set of surviving specimens with the isolated letter *ha* and another set of coins struck by a different set of dies without an isolated letter. This also occurs for coins minted in 324, 325, 326, 327, 331, 337, and 345. Perhaps a careful study of the coins will demonstrate that those with a single letter were produced by one die engraver while the others were not, but why would only one die engraver at a mint include an isolated letter while a second not?²⁰ Perhaps the isolated letter refers to a ‘tax farmer’ who had control of the mint or part of the income from a mint. Specimens with more than one isolated letter, such as those for 331 and 337, are even more confusing in terms of proposing an interpretation for their presence. As Bates wrote in analyzing the isolated letters on coinage from Iraq for these years, “in fact, these letters await an explanation.”²¹

20. In the case of Buyid coins, some isolated letters were associated with a particular die cutter. Treadwell, *Buyid Coins*, iv.

21. Bates, ‘Nobility,’ 279.

Those years at the end of the table marked by “+” indicate that the *kaf* for Kafur continued through 356 and the last coins associated with his rule.

Isolated letters appear below the field inscription unless noted otherwise.

The sign “—” indicates that there are no letters on that face of the coin.

Table 10
Isolated letters on dinars and dirhams

Year	Cat.	Metal	Mint	Obverse	Reverse
323	2	AV	Misr	ح	—
	111	AR	Misr	ح	—
325	5	AV	Misr	—	ح
	6	AV	Misr	—	ك
	33	AV	Filastin	—	د
326	9	AV	Misr	—	ح
327	12	AV	Misr	—	د
	35	AV	Filastin	د	—
328	14	AV	Misr	—	د
	112	AR	Misr	—	د
	38	AV	Filastin	—	د
329	125	AR	Tabariya	—	ح
330	19	AV	Misr	—	م
	126	AR	Tabariya	—	ط
331	21	AV	Misr	—	ط
	24	AV	Misr	—	ط
	25	AV	Misr	و	ك
	26	AV	Misr	و	ص
	38	AV	Filastin	ص	—
	127	AR	Tabariya	—	ح
	139	AR	Hims	—	ح
332	40	AV	Filastin	—	ص
336	51	AV	Misr	—	ح
	160	AR	Tabariya	—	ط
	175	AR	Dimashq	ص	—
	176	AR	Dimashq	—	ص
	177	AR	Dimashq	ص	—
337	53	AV	Misr	و above / ص below	—
	54	AV	Misr	و above / ص below	م

Table 10 (Cont'd)

Year	Cat.	Metal	Mint	Obverse	Reverse
	72	AV	Filastin	و above / ص below	—
	73	AV	Filastin	ص	م
	74	AV	Filastin	و above / ص below	م
339	80	AV	Filastin	ص	—
345	86	AV	Filastin	و above / م below	—
346+	64	AV	Misr	ك below	—
	87	AV	Filastin	ك below	—
	156	AR	Filastin	ك below	—
347+	182	AR	Dimashq	ك below	—
349+	170	AR	Tabariya	ك below	—

Appendix 2

The Weights of Ikhshidid Coins

Most of the Egyptian dinars minted during the governorship of Muhammad ibn Tughj weigh in the 4.00 to 4.25 gram range. As for the reign of his son and successor, Abu-l-Qasim Unujur, most dinars struck in Egypt before 340 weigh less than 3.70 with a peak of 3.50 grams. After 340 virtually all the Egyptian dinars for Abu-l-Qasim's reign and those of his successors weigh between 3.90 and 4.45 with a peak at 4.20 grams. The dinars minted in Palestine show a wider range of weights and even less adherence to a norm. The range of weights for the silver coinage, irrespective of mint, is greater than that of the dinars.

A canonical Islamic dinar theoretically weighed 4.25 grams, but as seen from the preceding generalizations and specific data in the catalogue individual Ikhshidid pieces minted over the 35 years of their rule varied from less than 3.00 to over 4.60. The great variations in the weights of individual dinars must have necessitated exchanges of gold currency by weight rather than by number. The same conclusion can be reached for exchanges involving dirhams in light of the weight range for individual pieces. The relationship between any trends of the relative weights of Ikhshidid dinars over time, Ikhshidid economic or even monetary developments cannot be established since adequate textual evidence to track price movements, possible periods of inflation or deflation, or other trends is lacking.²²

22. A fascinating discussion of how one can examine data related to both mint production and weight variations can be found in David J. Wasserstein, "Islamic Coins and their Catalogues III: The Ikhshidids," *Israel Numismatic Research* IV (2009): 121–33.

Glossary

- amir al-umara'* A title held by the most powerful politico-military leader at the Abbasid court during the fourth/tenth century.
- brockage Refers to a coin where a previously struck flan sticks to one of the two dies and the result is that the new flan is composed of one side with a normal inscription while the other side has an incused retrograde image of the same die.
- die* The piece of hard metal which is used to strike the flan; the inscriptions are carved in reverse so they are readable on the struck coin.
- die link When one die was used for one face of one coin with another die, and then again with a different second die.
- dinar A gold coin.
- dirham A silver coin.
- fals* A copper coin.
- flan The flat piece of metal, usually round, which is struck by the dies.
- ibriz* A word appearing on Hamdanid gold coins indicating their high degree of purity.
- ism* A proper name, usually given at birth, and the name under which an individual would be found in medieval dictionaries.
- kunya* A teknonym in the sense of 'father of . . .,' which may refer to one's actual child or an epithet or honorific sense of parentage.

- laqab* An honorific title, which can be earned or acquired such as in the case of *al-Ikshid*. Abbasid caliphs were known by their *laqabs*, which were usually compound names ending in a reference to God (Allah). Other compound names ended in *al-Dawla* (State) as in Nasir al-Dawla (Defender of the State).
- muling When a flan is struck by obverse and reverse dies which don't belong together.
- nasab* A patronym in the sense of 'son of . . .,' which may refer to one's actual child or an epithet or honorific name.
- nisba* This is a broad category of names, which included professions, places of origin, or original ownership in the case of those of slave origin such as *al-Ikshidi* (Belonging to al-Ikshid).
- obverse The side of a flan struck by the anvil die; 'heads.'
- reverse The side of a flan struck by the hammer die; 'tails.'
- shahada* Affirmation of God's unity.
- shari'a* Muslim law.
- sikka* The right to strike coins; the striking of coins.
- tamga* A design often associated with a Central Asian tribe or political entity and that was probably first used for marking ownership of horses and other animals. It then moved on to mark a clan or tribal belonging and eventually an ethno-political symbol and *sui generis* heraldic emblem among Iranian and Turkic peoples.
- tiraz* An inscribed band woven into clothing.

Part Two

A Catalogue of Ikhshidid Numismatic Material

Chapter 5

Introduction

Producing a catalogue is not a neutral act but is the creation of its author. There are numerous ways in which the data can be arranged. The organizational structure I have chosen reflects how I hope the following material can be used by collectors, curators, and other scholars. Therefore, the last section lists all the obverse and reverse types of regular dinars and dirhams with images, the Arabic, and the relevant catalogue numbers. This is preceded by the actual catalogue of the regular second Abbasid epoch style dinars and dirhams minted by the Ikhshidid rulers. This is followed by all second Abbasid epoch dirhams. The last section includes the few copper coins, those minted in Mecca, and all presentation pieces including the medallion.

Within the catalogue I have arranged the material by ruler since it is relatively easy to determine in whose name the coin was struck as this information is normally on the reverse field. Therefore, all the dinars of Muhammad ibn Tughj al-Ikhshid are listed before beginning with the gold issues of his elder son Abu-l-Qasim Unujur and then his successors. The known examples are then arranged by mint: Misr, Filastin, Tabariya, Dimashq, Hims, and Halab. The next subdivision is date with specimens whose mint and/or date cannot be read placed at the end of that governor's section. Finally, a number is given to each unique type.

Numismatists have never fully agreed what constitutes a coin type. As Album wrote, "There is no simple and unequivocal definition of what constitutes a 'type'

in Islamic numismatics. Anyone familiar with a broad range of Islamic numismatics will immediately understand that the nature of the evidence precludes a ‘one-size-fits’ all definition.”¹ For Islamic coinage, the broad categories are fairly easy: each unique combination of a mint name and Muslim date constitute a type. If within the same mint-date combination there are two or more examples with different inscriptions in their field or margin, each of these constitutes a separate type. Finally, I have taken the position that if everything inscribed on two coins is the same except that one example has an isolated letter(s) and the second doesn’t, then I have two types and each is given a unique catalogue number. On the other hand, the appearance of pellets on some specimens within a unique type but not on others, while noted in the catalogue as “with pellets” followed by the references, did not result in my labeling them as two different types.

The last part of the catalogue includes all other numismatic material arranged in the following order: copper issues, Meccan coinage, presentation pieces, and the one medallion, which is really another form of a presentation piece.

Another goal has been to create a numbering system, which would enable a reader to identify some of the basic information on that coin without the necessity of constantly referring to an arbitrary consecutive numbering system. I have done that in the first half of this book where every illustration has a catalogue number followed by a series of letters and numbers which tell the reader the mint, metal and year for that coin. The following illustrates my long form: Catalogue item **115/MS332a** means that the coin type is item **115**; it was minted at **Misr** (Fustat); it was a Silver coin (dirham); it was dated A.H. **332**; and it was the first type found. When a second variation was found for that mint/metal/date combination, it was given a new catalogue number. In this theoretical example the long catalogue number would be **116/MS332b** where the **(b)** represents the second coin type. If any of these elements were unknown an **(X)** would be placed in the appropriate place.

The basic layout for the catalogue is as follows with “add” referring to additional information such as the appearance of isolated letters:

Number	Year	Mint	Metal	<i>Caliph/Governor (if named)</i>	Ob.	Rev.
Letter						

The Ob(verse) and Rev(erse) are listed by number against a master list where the field inscription in Arabic and an appropriate photograph are given for the

1. Album, SICA 9: viii.

second Abbasid epoch style coins. Again, the presentation pieces are illustrated within the catalogue along with the inscriptions in Arabic. “Letter” refers to the appearance of isolated letters. The data are listed alphabetically by source including the diameter in millimeters and the weight in grams of the coin when it is known. A full list of the catalogue abbreviations is given in a separate section.

Abbreviations: Mints in the order listed

M	Misr	Fustat
F	Filasrin	Ramla
T	Tabariya	Tiberias
D	Dimashq	Damascus
H	Hims	Homs
HA	Halab	Aleppo
MA	Makkah	Mecca
TA	Tarsus	Tarsus

Abbreviations: Metals in the order listed

G	Gold
S	Silver
C	Copper

Abbreviations: Isolated letters

d	د
h	ح
k	ك
m	م
s	ص
t	ط
w	و

Additional Catalogue Items from First and Second Editions

37a	al-Radi	XXX	Filastin	gold	32X
108a	al-Muti'	Ahmad	Filastin	gold	358 new type
133a	al-Muttaqi	al-Ikhshid	Dimashq	silver	332 new type
160a	al-Muti'	Abu-l-Qasim	Tabariya	silver	336 new type
178a	al-Muti'	Abu-l-Qasim	Dimashq	silver	338 new type
181a	al-Muti'	Abu-l-Qasim	Dimashq	silver	342 new date

181b	al-Muti'	Abu-l-Qasim	Dimashq	silver	343 new date
181c	al-Muti'	Abu-l-Qasim	Dimashq	silver	345 new date
181d	al-Muti'	Abu-l-Qasim	Dimashq	silver	346 new date
189a	al-Muti'	Abu-l-Qasim	X	silver	XXX
198a	al-Muti'	Ali	X	silver	XXX
200a	al-Muti'	Tabariya	Kafur	silver	35X
209a	XXX	Abu-l-Qasim	Tarsus	copper	XXX new type
210a	al-Mustafki	al-Ikhshid	Mecca	silver	334 new date

Items Dropped from First Edition

- 94a These Misr 353 dinars really belong under Kafur and are listed under 102/MG355b.
- 130 Without any supporting information and influenced by Wasserstein's observations, I have dropped this coin since it is listed as the only regular dinar or dirham for 324.

Chapter 6

Catalogue—Gold Coins

Muhammad ibn Tughj al-Ikhshid (323–334)

Misr Mint

No./Code	<i>Caliph/Governor</i> (if inscribed)	Ob.	Rev.
1	MG323a <i>al-Radi</i>	O1	R1
	ANS 1917.215.485 (22/4.10); 1002.1.356 (24/4.24). Askmolean (23/3.42 holed). Bank Leu 32 #23 (-/4.00); 34 # 42 (-/4.00). Fadi (-/4.08). Kazan 195 (24/4.07). Khalili 167(25/4.06). Khed 1464/K693 (25/3.87 holed); 1464/K694 (25/4.36); 1465/K695. (22/3.83), 1466/K696 (23/4.33); 1467/K697 (24/4.33). Lavoix I 1231 (23/3.80 holed). Nutzel 1798 (23/4.11). Qatar 1350 (23/3.25). Rock 2.51 = IAA 325093 (23/3.94). Baldwin Auction 22 (2012) 3262 (-/4.16); 23 (2012) 277 (-/4.23); 26 (2014) 253 (-/4.40).		
2	MG323b <i>al-Radi</i>	O1	R1 ζ below
	BMC I 457 (23/4.14); 457a (25/3.00). Fahmi 2593 (23/3.55); 2594 (22/2.67). IAA 53104. (with hook from jewelry piece). Lavoix I 1231, bis (23/4.14); 1232 (25/3–63). Munzel (24/3.67). Nutzel 1794 (22/4.59). SICA (22/4.00). Paris 1966.44 (24/4.87); 1966.45 (24/3.70).		

- 3 **MG323x** *al-Radi* O1 R1
Balog 1974 2 specimens. **Kbed** X13, X14. **Rogers** #179 (p.233). **Sotheby Catalogue** 18 Oct. 1983. #175. **Kuwait** 923 (24.0/3.62); 925 (24.0/4.28); 922 (22.0/4.45); 924 (22.5/4.24).
- 4 **MG325a** *al-Radi* O1 R1
BMC I 458 (22/3.60). **Fahmi** 2596 (20/4.48). **Khalili** 169 (23/4.22). **Khed** 1468/K700 (22/3.80); 169/K701 (22/4.22). **Lavoix** I 1234 (21/4.03). **Munzel** (22/3.88). **Nutzel** 1799 (21/3.56).
- 5 **MG325b** *al-Radi* O1 R1 ζ below
Album List #25(Feb. 1982) 11 (ill.). **ANS** 1002.1.357 (21/3.77); 1941.19.2 (UM770:21/4.11); 1002.1.358 (21/4.05). **Ashmolean.** (23/3.99); (21/3.18 holed). **Bank Leu** 32 #24 (-/4.13); 36 #452 (-/3.60). **Fadi** (-/3.65). **Fahmi** 2595 (21/3.37). **IM** 5614 (-/3.72); 5616 (-/3.72) ; 5616 (-/3.21 cut); 5617 (-/4.14). **Lavoix** I 1233 (21/3.56). **London Private** (21/4.05). **Paris** (22/4.09). **Qatar** 1351 (22/4.20).
- 6 **MG325C** *al-Radi* O1 R1 ζ below
With pellet below ob. **al-Afghani.**
- 7 **MG325X** *al-Radi*
Balog 1974 4 specimens. **Rogers** #181 (p. 233). **Sotheby Catalogue** 18 Oct. 1983. #176.
- 8 **MG326a** *al-Radi* O1 R1
Khed 1470/K702 (22/4.28). **Munzel** (23/3.83). **Baldwin Auction** 24 (2013) 4569 (3.78).
- 9 **MG326b** *al-Radi* O1 R1 ζ below
ANS 1924.999.33 (23/4.21) ; 1002.1.359 (23/4.22). **Balog** 1974. **BMC** I 459 (23/3.80). **IM** 5618 (-/4.0). **Ycpi Krcdi** 14019 (23/4.10).
- 10 **MG326X** *al-Radi*
Beyram 1909, No. 143. **Rogers** #182 (p.233). **Sotheby Catalogue** 18 Oct. 1983. #176.
- 11 **MG327a** *al-Radi* O1 R1
Pellet below ob. **ANS** 1971.49.250 (-/4.02). **Fahmi** 2597 (22/3.55). **Had-dad.** **Khalili** 170 (22/3.49).
- 12 **MG327b** *al-Radi* O1 R1 ζ below
Pellet below ob. **ANS** 1971.49.251 (24/3.75). **BMC** I 460 (22/4.35). **Khed** 1473/K703 (22/3.32). **Munzel** (22/3.74). **Ostrop** 629 (-/3.58). **Paris** 1967.155 (22/3.91). **Qatar** 1352 (22/3.94).
- 13 **MG327X** *al-Radi*
Beyram 1909, No. 145. **Sotheby Catalogue** 18 Oct. 1983 #177.

- 14 **MG328a** *al-Radi* O1 R1 \supset below
Pellet below ob. **ANS** 1002.360 (22/3.95). **Balog** 1974. **BMC I** 461 (22/4.49). **Fadi** (-/4.01). **Fahmi** 2598 (22/3.05); 2599 (22/3.85). **Haddad**. **IM** 5619 (-/3.86). **Khalili** 171 (24/4.08). **Khed** 1472/K704 (24/3.79) holed; 1473/K705 (23/3.32). **London Private** (-/3.81). **Moiier** p. 88. **Munzel** (24/3.88). **Qatar** 1353 (24/3.85). **Rogers** #183 (p.233). **Sotheby Catalogue** 12 Oct. 1982. #76. **Sotheby Catalogue** 28 May 1987. 722 (-/3.81). **Tiesenhausen**: *Melanges*, No. 144.
- 15 **MG329a** *al-Radi* O1 R1
Pellet below ob. **ANS** 1002.1.361 (22/3.72); 1002.1.362 (23/4.11). **BMC I** 462 (23/3.89). **IM** 5620 (-/3.44); 5621 (-/3.59). **Khed** 1472/K706 (21/3.82). Without pellet. **Munzel** (23/3.93). **Rogers** 185 (p.233). **Baldwin Auction** 12 (2007) 3217 (-/3.73); 24 (2013) 430 (-/3.97).
- 16 **MG329b** *al-Muttaqi* O1 R2
Balog 1974. **IM** 15622 (-/3.66). With pellet below ob. **Khed** 1495/K725 (21/3.62).
- 17 **MG330a** *al-Muttaqi* O1 R2
Fahmi 2641 (21/3.56). **IM** 15623 (-/3.97) ; 15625 (-/3.58). With pellet below ob. **IM** 15624 (-/3.99); 15627 (-/3.91).
- 18 **MG330b** *al-Muttai* O2 R2
IM 15626 (-/4.30). **London Private**.
- 19 **MG330C** *al-Muttaqi* O2 R2 ρ below
BMC I 473 (22/3.67) Misread as 333. **Lavoix I** 1255 (22/4.15).
- 20 **MG330d** *al-Muttaqi/al-Ikhshid* O2 R3
Paris A 130 (22/4.12)
- 21 **MG331b** *al-Muttaqi* O2 R2 $\frac{1}{2}$ below
IM 15630 (-/3.92) ; 15784 (-/4.05).
- 22 **MG331a** *al-Muttaqi* O1 R3
Pellet below ob. **IM** 15628 (-/3.67). (not examined and not certain of obverse)
- 23 **MG331C** *al-Muttaqi/al-Ikhshid* O2 R3
Pellet below ob. **Fahmi** 3017 (23/4.17). **Horowitz** (22/4.10); (22/4.09); (22/3.80). **Munzel** (23/4.08). Without pellet. **Balog Assiout** 6–8 specimens. **IM** 5789 (-/4.09). **Baldwin Auction** 18 (2011) 510 (3.97); **Kuwait** 35 (22.5/3.95); 955 (23.0/4.01).
- 24 **MG331d** *al-Muttaqi/al-Ikhshid* O2 R3 $\frac{1}{2}$ below
IM 15785 (-/4.36); 15786 (-/4.32), 15787 (-/4.09). **Munzel** (21/3.22).

- 25 **MG33le** *al-Muttaqi/al-Ikhshid* O2 9 below R3 ك below
Haddad 508(23/4.16). **Khed** 1806/K936 (22/4.22).
- 26 **MG33lf** *al-Muttaqi/al-Ikhshid* O2 9 below R3 ص below
Balog Assiout. SICA 6:141 (22/4.01). **Qatar II** 2343 (23/4.16—listed as Filascin). **SICA** 6:142 (22/4.06). **Kuwait** 957 (22.5/4.05); 958 (22.5/4.17).
- 27 **MG33IX** *al-Muttaqi/al-Ikhshid*
Balog Ikh.
- 28 **MG332a** *al-Muttaqi/al-Ikhshid* O2 R3
Pellets on either side of Li-llah on rev. **Balog Assiout. Horowitz** (23/4.13); (23/4.05). **IM** 15790 (-/4.12); 15791 (-/4.20); 15792 (-/4.23). **Munzel** (23/4.22). Without Pellets on rev. **ANS** 1002.1.836 (22/5.03). **Shamma** (22/3.08).
- 29 **MG333a** *al-Muttaqi/al-Ikhshid* O2 R3
Pellets on either side of Li-llah on rev. **ANS** 1002.1.83 (22/4.16); 1929.999.53 (22/4.23); 1972.288.157 (23/4.01). **Balog Assiout** 8–10 specimens. **Gurnet. Horowitz** (23/4.02) ; (22/4.16). **IM** 15793 (-/4.18); 15794 (-/4.20); 15795 (-/3.99); 15796 (-/3.95); 15797 (-/4.12). **London** 1959.10.10.1 (23/4.06). **London Private** (22/4.04). **SICA** 6:144 (22/4.23). **Soret** 23e lettre, p. 59. Vienna (1/4.00). **Baldwin Auction** 10 (2004) 155 (3.98); 20 (2012) 364 (4.10); 22 (2012) 3364 (4.10). **David Collection C** 381 (22.5/4.00). **Kuwait** 959 (23.0/4.19); 960 (22.5/4.22); 961 (22.5/4.13); 962 (23.0/4.15); 963 (22.5/4.17); 964 (22.5/4.19); 965 (23.0/4.18).
- 30 **MG334a** *al-Mustakfi/al-Ikhshid* O1 R7
Pellets on either side of Li-llah on rev. **Album List** 67 (June, 1990) (-/4.02); 71 (Jan., 1991) #12. **Balog Assiout** 8–10 specimens. **Cairo** 25910 (-/4.00). **Howoritz** (22/4.14). **IM** 15798 (-/4.05); 15799 (-/4.05) ; 15800 (-/4.08); 15801 (-/4.10). **Munzel** (24/4.14). **Paris A** 131 (24/4.11). **SICA** 6:145 (24/4.25); 6:146 (22/4.14). **Baldwin Auction** 20 (2012) 365 = 24 (2013) 4572 (-/4.20). **Kuwait** 1338 (23.0/4.14).

Filastin Mint

- 31 **FG323a** *al-Radi* O1 R1
Balog. Berman Letter (22/3.55). **Fadi** (-/2.83). **Nutzel** 1794 (22/4.59). **Shamma** (22/3.38). **Baldwin Auction** 24 (2013) 4389 (-/4.08).

- 32 **FG325a** *al-Radi* O1 R1
Berman Letter—Ramla excavation. **Nutzel** 1795 (24/4.88); 1797 (25/3.85). **Baldwin Auction** 21 (2012) 285 (-/3.48); 24 (2013) 4390 (-/4.63).
- 33 **FG325b** *al-Radi* O1 R1 ∪ below
BM 1908.1.10 (25/4.43).
- 34 **FG327a** *al-Radi* O1 R1
Berman Letter (23/3.05). **Shamma** (23/3.80).
- 35 **FG328a** *al-Radi* O1 ∪ below R1
Pellet below ob. **Shamma** (23/3.88).
- 36 **FG328x** *al-Radi*
Berman Letter—Ramla excavation.
- 37 **FG329a** *al-Radi* O1 R1
BMC I 456 (22/3.26—clipped).
- 37a **FG32X** *al-Radi*
Baldwin 14(2008) 155 (3.37); 15 (2009) 259 = 17 (2010) 291 (4.97); 14(2008) 154 (3.53); 17 (2010) 291 (4.97).
- 38 **FG331a** *al-Muttaqi/al-Ikhshid* O2 **ص** R3
below
- ANS** 1957.82.1 (-/4.08); 1972.215.799 (-/4.12): **Berman Letter**-Tabariya excavation. **Damascus** 14760 (23/3.87 = Shamma Study 1). **Shamma Study 3**
- 39 **FG332a** *al-Muttaqi/al-Ikhshid* O2 R3
Album 1976 (-/4.14). **Berman Letter** (23/3.15). **Damascus** 14722 (22/3.54); 14734 (23/3.98). **Haddad** (-/4.53). **Qatar II** 2341 (22/2.90 list as 328). **Khed** 1805/K937 (23/3.77). **Lavoix** III 48 (22/2.55). **Shamma Study** 8; 9a. **SICA** 6:132 (23/3.94). **SNAT** 125 (-/4.14). **Album Auction** 10 (2011) Lot 465: Item 99435 (-/3.59); **Baldwin Auction** 20 (2012) 363 (-/4.02); **Morton & Eden** (Nov. 2013) 584 (-/3.16).
- 40 **FG332b** *al-Munaqilal-Ikbshid* O2 R3 **ص** below
Gurnet. **SICA** 6: 131 (23/3.99 = Shamma Study 7).
- 41 **FG332c** *al-Muttaqi/al-Ikhshid* O2 R5
BMC IX 320t (25/4.43). With two Pellets at bottom of rev.
- 42 **FG333a** *al-Muttaqi/al-Ikhshid* O2 R3
Album 1976 (-/4.08) ; (-/3.47); (-/4.19). **BMC II** 231 (22/4.43); 232 (22/3.20). **Lavoix** III 49 (21/3.09). **SICA** 6:134 (21/3.08); 6:135 (21/2.27); 6:136 (-/3.69). **SNAT** 125 (-/3.47). **Vienna** 7845 (-/4.20). With Pellets on rev. **Linder-Welin** 5 (21/4.45). **Baldwin Auction** 17 (2010) 346 (-/3.21); 21 (2012) 368 (-/3.22); 21 (2012) 369 (-/3.30); 22 (2012)

- 3365 (-/3.66); 23 (2012) 326 (-/3.59); 24 (2013) 4571 (-/3.44); 25 (2013) 431 (-/3.97); 26 (2014) 304 (-/3.21). **Morton & Eden** (7 March 2006) 34 (-/3.45); (Apr. 2011) 84 (-/3.40); (Nov. 2013) 585 (-/3.61); (Nov. 2013) 586 (-/3.78).
- 43 **FG333X** *al-Muttaqi/al-Ikhshid*
Hannon(-/4.50). **Sarraj** 453 (24/4.20). **Shamma Study** 20 (22/5.01) ; 21.
- 44 **FG33Xa** *al-Muttaqi/al-Ikhshid* O2 R3
Shamma (22/3.69 = Shamma Study 10). **SICA** 6:138 (21/3.34) holed.
- 45 **FG334a** *al-Mustakfi/al-Ikhshid* O1 R7
Damascus 10295 (23/2.90 = Shamma Study 22). **SICA** 6:137 (22/4.14).
Baldwin Auction 23 (2012) 327 (-/4.67).
- 46 **FG335a** *al-Mustakfi/al-Ikhshid*
Shamma Study 27 (= Damascus 1352).

Abu-l-Qasim Unujur (335–349)

Misr Mint

- 47 **MG335a** *al-Muti'/Abu-l-Qasim* O4 R9
Pellets on either side of Li-llah on rev. **ANS** 1002.1.838 (24/4.29). **Horowitz** (22/4.23). **IM** 15802 (-/4.04); 15803 (-/3.38); 15804 (-/4.13); 15805 (-/4.12); 15806 (-/3.99). **London Private** (24/4.17). **SICA** 6:180 (24/4.27). Pellet below rev. **ANS** 1973.45.1 (23/3.88).
- 48 **MG335b** *al-Muti'/Abu-l-Qasim* O4 curve R9
above
Balog Assiout. Munzel (24/4.20). **Kuwait** 1337 (23.0/4.28); t 1339 (24.0/4.17); 1340 (23.5/3.33); 1341 (24/3.36); t 1342 (23.5/4.17); 1343 (23.5/3.32). **Umm al-Qurra**: 123/24 (23.5/3.65); 123/25 (23.1/3.50).
- 49 **MG335X** *al-Muti'/Abu-l-Qasim*
Sotheby Catalogue 18 Feb. 1983 136 (-/4.51).
- 50 **MG336a** *d-Muti'/Abu-l-Qasim* O4 R11
Pellets on either side of Li-llah on rev. **ANS** 1959.210.1 (23/3.46). **Balog Assiout. Cairo** 14091 (-/3.60). **Fahmi** 3020 (23/3–30). **Horowitz** (24/3.46). **SICA** 6; 181 (24/3.48). **Sotheby Catalogue** 4 Oct. 1979. **Kuwait** 1344 (24.5/3.46); 1345 (24/3.46). **Kuwait** 1344 (24.5/3.46); 1345(24/3.46).

- 51 **MG336b** *al-Muti'/Abu-l-Qasim* O4 R11 ح below
Pellets on either side of Li-llah on rev, **IM** 15807 (-/3.58); 15808 (-/3.52); 15809 (-/3.45).
- 52 **MG337a** *al-Muti'/Abu-l-Qasim* O4 R11
Pellets on either side of Li-llah on rev. **ANS** 1002.1.839 (24/3.45). **Balog Assiout. Horowitz** (24/3.18); (25/3.50). **IM** 5810 (-/3.31); 5811 (-/3.41); 5813 (-/3.33); 5814 (-/3.35). **Munzel** (23/3.51). **SICA** 6:182 (21/3.32); 6:183 (23/3.32). **Album Auction** 17 (2013) Lot 218: Item 157400 (-/3.38). **Baldwin Auction** 45 (3 May 2006) 1946 (-/3.29); 26 (2014) 305 (-/4.32). **Kuwait** 1346 (23.5/3.50); 1347 (23.5/3.10); 1348 (23.5/3.33); 8232 (21.0/3.85).
- 53 **MG337b** *al-Muti'/Abu-l-Qasim* O4 و above R11
ص below
Vienna 7815 (-/3.65).
- 54 **MG337C** *al-Muti'/Abu-l-Qasim* O4 و below R11 م below
ص below
ط and backwards ط either side of Li-llah on rev. **IM** 15812 (-/4.14).
- 55 **MG338a** *al-Muti'/Abu-l-Qasim* O4 R11
Gurnet. IM 15817 (-/3.15); 15818 (-/3.50); 15819 (-/3.45). **Munzel** (23/2.87). **SICA** 6:185 (22/3.06). Pellets on either side of Li-llah on rev. **ANS** 1953.90.1 (22/3.40). **Cairo** 18628 (-/4.26); 25926 (-/3.32); 25934 (-/3.33); 25935 (-/3.20); 25937 (-/3.18); 25937 (-/3.19). **Horowitr** (22/3.60); (23/3.59). **IM** 5815 (-/3.65). **Kazan** (22/3.18). **London Private** (22/3.65). Pellet below rev. **Arroyo. Balog Assiout. Cairo** 25933 (-/3.22). **IM** 15816 (-/3.68). **Munzel** (23/3.56). **Horowitz** (22/3.00). **SICA** 6:185 (22/2.67). **Baldwin Auction** 21 (2012) 374 (-/3.48). **Kuwait** 1349 (22.0/3.15); 1350 (22.0/3.72); 1351 (22.5/3.63); 1352 (21.5/3.14); 1353 (22.5/3.53); 1354 (22.0/3.00); 1355 (22.0/3.59).
- 56 **MG338X** *al-Muti'/Abu-l-Qasim*
Sotheby Catalogue 18 Feb. 1983. 137 (-/3.57).
- 57 **MG339a** *al-Muti'/Abu-l-Qasim* O4 R11
ANS 1955.57.1 (22/3.43). **Balog** 114. **Balog Assiout. BMC** II 234 (22/3.30). **Cairo** 20932 (-/3.59); 25913 (-/4.15). **Horowitz** (22/4.05); (22/3.54). **IM** 15820 (-/3.45); 15822 (-/4.59); 15823 (-/4.07); 15824 (-/4.63); 15825 (-/3.45). **Kazan** 413 (22/3.26). **London** (22/3.35). **London Private** (22/4.28). **Munzel** (23/4.38). **Piris A** 124 (22/.52). **Shamma** (22/3.50); (22/3.57). **SICA** 6 : 186 (24/3–18) ; 6 : 187 (22/3.45); 6:188 (22/3.66). **Album Auction** 15 (2013) Lot 239: Item 138889

- (-/3.88). **Baldwin Auction** 17 (2010) 347 (4.21); 22 (2012) 3369 (-/3.91); 25 (2013) 435 (-/4.03). **Kuwait** 1356 (22.5/3.73); 1357 (22.0/4.46); 1358 (21.5/3.63); 1359 (22.5/3.54); 1360 (22.5/3.91); 1361 (22.0/4.10); 1362 (22.0/3.32); 1363 (22.0/3.58); 1364 (22.0/4.09); 1365 (22.0/3.28); 1366 (22.0/4.07). **Morton & Eden** (Nov. 2013) 588 (-/3.43).
- 58 **MG340a** *al-Muti'/Abu-l-Qasim* O4 R11
Album List 49 (Feb. '87) 37. **ANS** 1941.19.3 (25/3.95; 1959.210.2 (24/3.42). **Bajoichi** (-/4.15). **Balog Assiout. Cairo** 18366.1 (-/4.40); 18366.2 (-/4.03); 18911 (-/3.90); 22033 (-/4.21); 25939 (-/4.11). **Fahmi** 3021 (24/5.32); 3022 (23/4.00); 3023 (24/3.70); 3024 (24/4.22); 3025 (24/3.94); 3026 (24/4.05); 3027 (24/4.05). **Gurnet. Horowitz** (23/3.92). **IM** 5826 (-/4.00); 5828 (-/3.94). **Kazan** (24/3.88). **London Private** (24/4.25). **Munzel** (23/4.18). **Sotheby Catalogue** 4 Oct. 1979. **SICA** 6:189 (25/4.16); 6:190 (24/4.10). **Baldwin Auction** 11 (2006) 112 (-/3.10); 21 (2012) 375 (-/3.63); 22 (2012) 3370. **Kuwait** 1371 (24.0/4.04); 1367 (24.0/4.14); 1368 (23.5/3.84); 1369 (23.5/3.53); 1370 (23.5/4.23); 1372 (24.0/4.29); 1373 (23.5/3.92); 1374 (23.0/3.91); 1375 (23.5/3.84); 1376 (23.5/4.23).
- 59 **MG34la** *al-Muti'/Abu-l-Qasim* O4 R11
ANS 1002.1.840 (22/4.16). **Balog Assiout** 80–100 specimens. **Balog. BMC IX** 324f (23/4.32). **Cairo** 25940 (-/3.60); 25941 (-/3.97); 25942 (-/4.02); 25942 (-/3.45); 25944 (-/4.65). **Fahmi** 3028 (23/3.97). **Gurnet Horowitz** (24/4.30). **IM** 15827 (-/4.00); 15829 (-/4.30); 15830 (-/4.14); 15831 (-/4.03); 15832 (-/4.21); 15833 (-/3.94). **Qatar II** 2356 (23/3.85 listed as Filastin). **Khalili** 484 (23/3.67). **Khed** 1813 (23/4.10). **London Private** (23/3.52). **Munzel** (24/4.18). **Sarraj** 454 (25/4.00). **SICA** 6:191 (22/4.26); 6:192 (23/4.12). **Sotheby Catalogue** 18 Feb. 1983. 138 ill. (-/4.18). **Baldwin Auction** 17 (2010) 350 (-/4.07); 17 (2010) 351 (-/4.23); 059 18 (2011) 512 (-/3.30); 18 (2011) 513 (-/4.22); 26 (2014) 307 (-/4.14). **Kuwait** 1377 (23.5/4.42); 1379 (23.0/3.93); 1380 (23.5/4.33); 1381 (23.5/3.66); 1382 (23.5/3.52); 1383 (23.5/3.84).
- 60 **MG342a** *al-Muti'/Abu-l-Qasim* O4 R11
Album List 48 (Dec. 86) 47; 50 (May, 87) 45; 54A (Spring, 88)41. **ANS** 1972.288.158 (23/3.75); 1002.1.841 (22/4.02). **ANS** letter file–4 specimens. **Balog Assiout** 200–300 specimens. **BM** 1958.10.10.2 (23/3.76). **Cairo** 18913.3 (-/4.42); 18913.4 (-/4.19); 18913.5 (-/3.69); 18932 (-/4.15); 25912 (-/6.85); 25960 (-/4.13); 25961 (-/4.49); 25962 (-/4.47); 25963 (-/4.47); 25964 (-/4.48); 25965 (-/4.19); 25967 (-/3.89); 25968

(-/4.38); 25969 (-/3.67); 25971 (-/4.16); 25972 (-/4.08); 25973 (-/4.32); 25974 (-/4.93); 25975 (-/4.39); 25976 (-/3.53); 25977 (-/4.04); 25978 (-/3.72); 25979 (-/4.16); 25980 (-/4.17); 25981 (-/3.79); 25982 (-/3.99); 25983 (-.4.03); 25984 (-/4.21); 25985 (-/4.21); 25986 (-/3.42); 25987 (-/3.71); 25988 (-/3.94). **Fahmi** 3029 (23/4.15); 303 (22/4.27); 3031 (22/3.95); 3032 (22/4.40); 3033 (22/4.27); 3034 (23/4.22); 3035 (22/3.72); 3036 (23/4.14). Gurnet—2 specimens. **Horowitz** (22/4.00). **IM** 15834 (-/4.20); 15835 (-/3.86); 15836 (-/4.33); 15837 (-/4.14); 15838 (-/4.23); 15839 (-/4.43). **Kazan** (28/4.10). **Khali** 485 (23/4.23). **London Private** (22/4.17). **Munzel** (22/4.32). **Paris** 125 A (22/4.17). **Qatar II** 2357 (23/4.82). **SICA** 6 : 193 (22/4.29); 6:194 (22/4.24); 6:195 (-/4.24). **Sotheby Catalogue** 18 Feb. 1983-289 (-/3.41); (-/4.42); 290 (-/4.03). **Sotheby Catalogue** 18 Oct. 1983. 230 ill.(-/4.17). **Tübingen CA3 AL**. **Vienna** 7868 (22/4.17). **Album Auction** 12 (2012) Lot 240: Item 116763 (-/4.29); 16 (2013) Lot 206: Item 148375 (-/4.19); 10 (2004) 158 (-/3.84); 17 (2010) 352 (-/3.55); 17 (2010) 353 (-/4.27). **Baldwin Auction** 22 (2012) 3371 (-/4.41); 24 (2013) 4575 (-/4.27); 45 (2006) 1948 (-/4.11); 26 (2014) 208 (-/3.51). **Kuwait** 1384 (22.5/4.08); 1385 (22.5/4.26); 1386 (22.5/4.18); 1387 (22.5/4.28); 1388 (22.0/3.99); 1389 (22.0/4.14); 1390 (22.0/4.40); 1391 (22.5/4.02); 1392 (23.0/4.31); 1393 (23.0/4.11); 1394 (23.0/4.04); 1395 (22.5/3.76); 1429 (21.5/3.94); 1430 (22.0/4.28); 1431 (22.5/4.16); 1432 (22.5/4.07); 1433 (22.5/4.35); 1434 (22.5/3.99); 1435 (22.5/4.08); 1436 (22.5/3.99); 1437 (22.5/4.39); 1438 (22.5/5.19); 1438 (22.5/5.19); 1440 (22.0/4.33); 1441 (22.0/4.08); 1442 (22.5/4.26); 1443 (22.5/4.12); 1445 (22.5/4.32); 1446 (22.0/4.11); 1447 (22.5/4.24); 1448 (23.0/4.32); 1449 (22.0/4.03); 1450 (22.5/4.32); 1444 (22.5/4.05). **Morton & Eden** (June 2011) 568 (4.19).

- 61 **MG343a** *al-Muti'/Abu-l-Qasim* O4 R11
 Without pellets on rev. **ANS** 1959.210.3 (23/4.46). **Balog Assiout** 4–6 specimens. **Fahmi** (22/4.37). **Horowitz** (22/3.93). **IM** 15840 (-/4.10); 15841 (-/3.58); 15842 (-/4.50). **Munzel** (22/3.92). **SICA** 6:196 (22/3.99); 6:197 (22/4.35). **Sotheby Catalogue** 4 Oct. 1979. **Album Auction** 17 (2013) Lot 220: Item 157402. (-/3.33). **Baldwin Auction** 18 (2011) 514 (-/3.32); 22 (2012) 3372 (-/4.52); 23 (2012) 330 (-/4.52). **Kuwait** 1396 (22.5/4.29); 1428 (22.5/3.92).

- 62 **MG344a** *al-Muti'Abu-l-Qasim* O4 R11
Album List 49 (Feb. 87) 38. **ANS** 1954.119.41 (22/3.92) ; 1972.288.159 (22/4.17); 1955.57.2 (22/4.12). **Balog Assiout** 250–350 specimens. **Cairo** 1863.1 (-/4.05) 1863.2 (-/3.83); 18910 (-/4.36); 18914.1 (-/4.12); 18914.2 (-/4.05); 25945 (-/4.18); 25946 (-/4.03); 25947 (-/4.23); 25948 (-/4.16); 25949 (-/4.26); 25950 (-/4.00); 25951 (-/4.08); 25952 (-/4.20); 25953 (-/3.11); 25954 (-/4.29); 25955 (-/4.24) ; 25956 (-/3.63) ; 25957 (-/3.93) ; 25958 (-/4.32) ; 25959 (-/4.20) ; 25966 (-/4.17). **Fahmi** 3038 (22/4.05); 3039 (23/3.81); 3040 (23/4.14); 3041 (23/4.13); 3042 (22/4.05); 3043 (22/4.22). **Gurnet. Haddad** 509 (23/4.14). **Horowitz** (22/3.62); (22/4.25). **IM** 15843 (-/4.28); 15844 (-/4.28) ; 15845 (-/4.03); 15846 (-/4.05); 15847 (-/4.07). **Kazan** 414 (23/3.84—published as 348). **Khalili** 486 (23/4.33). **Levy** 79 (23/4.36). **London** 1959.19.10.3 (22/4.30). **Mitchiner** (-/4.30). **Munzel** (23/3.88). **Paris** (22/3.98). **Qatar II** 2358 (23/4.14). **SICA** 6:198 (-/4.05); 6:199 (22/4.53). **Sotheby Catalogue** 18 Feb. 1983 290 (-/3.92). **Album Auction** 13 (2012) Lot 516: Item 126572. (-/4.02); 14 (2007) Lot 249: Item 61962 (-/4.55), (this is a five cut over a four); 10 (2004) 159; 45 (2006) 1949 (-/4.28); 15 (2009) 343 (-/4.07); 15 (2009) 344 (-/2.57); 17 (2010) 354 (-/3.97); 18 (2011) 515 (3.97); 18 (2011) 516 (4.09); 21 (2012) 372 (3.93); 25 (2013) 439 (3.93); 25 (2013) 440 (-/2.56). **Kuwait** 1397 (22.0/4.40); 1398 (22.0/4.09); 1399 (22.0/4.17); 1400 (22.5/3.04); 1401 (22.5/6.33); 1402 (22.0/3.77); 1403 (22.0/3.52); 1404 (22.0/4.07); 1405 (22.5/4.26); 1406 (22.5/4.30); 1407 (21.5/3.61); 1408 (23.0/4.12); 1409 (22.5/4.22); 1410 (22.0/4.11); 1411 (22.5/4.43); 1412 (22.5/4.21); 1413 (22.5/4.04); 1414 (23.0/4.14); 1415 (22.5/4.25); 1416 (22.0/4.05); 1417 (22.0/4.12); 1418 (22.0/4.58); 1419 (22.5/4.18); 1420 (22.0/4.31); 1421 (22.5/4.25); 1422 (23.0/4.39); 1423 (22.5/4.16); 1424 (22.5/4.21); 1425 (22.5/4.23); 1426 (22.5/4.24); 1427 (22.5/4.21). **SB** 00796 (-/4.16).
- 63 **MG34Xa** *al-Muti'Abu-l-Qasim* O4 R11
Kazan 414 (23/3.84)
- 64 **MG346a** *al-Muti'Abu-l-Qasim* O4 ∩ below R11
IM 15848 (-/4.04).
- 65 **MG347a** *al-Muti'Abu-l-Qasim* O4 ∩ below R11
Balog letter 12 June 1974. **Levy** 82 (21/3.91). **Shamma** (21/3.99).
- 66 **MG348a** *al-Muti'Abu-l-Qasim* O4 ∩ below R11
Haddad 510 (23/4.28). **Baldwin Auction** 22 (2012) 3373 (-/4.29).

- 67 **MG349a** *al-Muti'Abu-l-Qasim* O4 ء below R11
Shamma (22/4.30). **Baldwin Auction** 26 (2014) 311 (-/4.02).

Filastin Mint

- 68 **FG335a** *al-Muti'/Abu-l-Qasim* O4 R9
Pellets on either side of Li-llah on rev. Pellet below rev. **ANS** 1957.82.2 (22/4.45); 1972.288.114 (23/4.57). **BMC IX** 323k (22/3.93). **Cotteville-Giroudet** RN 1935 371 (22/4.59). **Levy** 76 (23/4.05). **Munzel** (22/4.40). **Paris A** 128 (23/4.59). **Qatar II** 2344 (23/3.85). **SICA** 6:154 (21/4.50) ; 6:155 (22/4.17 = Study 34); 6:156 (24/4.18). **Vienna** 7758 (-/4.10 holed); 7759 (-/3.85). Without Pellets on rev. **Shamma Study** 30 (23/3.48), 31; 32. **Baldwin Auction** 22 (2012) 3367 (-/4.21); 23 (2012) 329 (-/4.14); 24 (2013) 4573 & 25 (2013): 432 (-/4.60); 25 (2013) 433 (-/2.91). **Morton & Eden** (Nov. 2013) 587 (-/4.16). **Zeno** 74650 (22.5/3.15).
- 69 **FG335X** *al-Muti'/Abu-l-Qasim*
Balog. Paris (27/4.45). **Shamma Study** 36.
- 70 **FG336a** *al-Muti'/Abu-l-Qasim* O4 R9
Pellets on either side of Li-llah on rev. **Khed** 1807/K938 (22/3.59).
- 71 **MG323a** *al-Muti'/Abu-l-Qasim* O4 R9
Munzel (21/3.63).
- 72 **FG337b** *al-Muti'/Abu-l-Qasim* O4 و above R9 ٺ below
ص below
ط and backward ط, on either side of Li-llah. **Album** Letter 1976 (-/3.02); (-/4.15); (-/3.44). Caesaria 2 = IAA 28642 (22/2.86). Damascus 7119 (22/4.20) ; 14735 (21/4.03); 14737 (21/3.51); 14737 (21/3.56) ; (4738 (22/3.54); 14739 (23/3.49); 15234 (21/3.37). **Kazan** (22/3.83). **Levy** 77 (21/4.29); 78 (22/2.75). **London** 1908.1.10.2065 (22/3.93). **SICA** 6:157 (21/3.57); 6:158 (22/2.35); 6:159 (22/3.55); 6:160 (21/3-83); 6:161 (22/3.61) ; 6:162 (21/3.49); 6:163 (21/3.38); 6:164 (21/3.35); 6:165 (21/3.41) ; 6:166 (22/4.15). **Baldwin Auction** 11 (2006) 3254 (-/3.99); 21 (2012) 370 (-/3.25); 24 (2013) 4574 (-/4.19); 25 (2013) 434 (-/3.74). **Morton & Eden** (May, 2010) 738 (-/3.49). **Zeno** 31371: (22/2.83); 52053: (22/2.96).

- 73 **FG337c** *al-Muti'/Abu-l-Qasim* O4 ص below R9 م. below
below
ط and backward ط on either side of Li-llah. **BMC III** 23 (22/3.37). **Haddad** 501 (20/2.43). **IM** 15821 (-/3.51). **Shamma** (22/3.65); (22/4.20) ; (21/3.45); (21/3.65). **Webdale** (21/3.57).
- 74 **FG337e** *al-Muti'/Abu'-l_Qasim* O4 و above R9 م below
ص below
Qatar II 2349 (22/3.20); 2350 (22/3.50). **Khed** 1808/K940 (22/3.35); 1809 (21/3.11) ; 1810/K939 (21/3.61) ; 1811/K942 (21/3.67). **Lavoix III** 51 (22/3.29). **London** 1908.1.10.2065 (22/3.93).
- 75 **FG337f** *al-Muti'/Abu''-l-Qasim* O4 R9 ∪ below
Al-Afghani. **ANS** 1957.82.3 (223.72) ; 1957-161.17 (21/372) ; 1972.288.120 (21/3.09). **Qatar II** 2348 (22/3.35). **Lavoix III** 52 (21/3.70). **Webdale** (21/3.57). **Baldwin Auction** 43 (12 October 2005) 3107 (-/4.81).
- 76 **FG337g** *al-Muti'/Abu-l-Qasim* O4 R9 ∪ below
Fahmi 3018 (22/3.51).
- 77 **FG337X** *al-Muti'/Abu-l-Qasim*
Berman Letter (21/3.65). **Haddad**. Schulman: Beyram No. 147. **Shamma Study** 49 (23/4.30); 50-55; 61-63; 65; 67.
- 78 **FG338a** *al-Muti'/Abu-l-Qasim* O4 R11
Pellet below rev. **Arroyo** 2 specimens. **Berman Letter** (24/3.69); (24/-).
- 79 **FG339a** *al-Muti'/Abu-l-Qasims* O4 R11
Shamma Study 80 (22/3.85). **Baldwin Auction** 18 (2011) 511 (3.29).
- 80 **FG339b** *al-Muti'/Abu-l-Qasim* O4 ص below R11
Caesaria 3 = IAA 28643 (22/1.40). **Fadi** (-/4.06); (-/3.68). **Shamma** (22/3.57). **SNAT** 128 (-/4.14). **Baldwin Auction** 11 (2006) 111 (-/4.59); 26 (2014) 306 (-/4.23).
- 81 **FG339x** *al-Muti'/Abu-l-Qasim*
Balog Ikh. **Berman Letter**. **Haddad**.
- 82 **FG340a** *al-Muti'/Abu-l-Qasim* O4 R11
Shamma Study 79; 79a; 82.
- 83 **FG341a** *al-Muti'/Abu-l-Qasim* O4 R11
Album 1976 (-/3.62) ; (-/3.82) ; (-/3.65); (-/3.30). **ANS** 1957.82.4 (22/4.34); 1972.288.121 (22/3.92). **Arroyo**. **Haddad** 502 (23/3.50). **Khalili** 483 (23/3.19). **Khed** 1812/K94I (22/3.33). **London** 1912.11.1.16 (23/3.81). **Munzel** (23/3.16). **Qatar II** 2351 (23/3.50); 2352 (23/3.85);

- 2353 (23/3.64). **Shamma** (21/2.23 = Study 85); (23/4.85 = Study 86) ; **SICA** 6 : 168 (22/3.63). **SNAT** 130 (-/3.65). **Album Auction** 17 (2013) Lot 219: Item 157401 (-/3.24). 17 (2010) 348 (-/3.34); 17 (2010) 349 (-/3.60); 21 (2012) 371 & 25 (2013) 436 (-/3.84); 25 (2013) 437 (-/3.17); 25 (2013) 438 (-/3.11). **Zeno** 52054: (22/3.84).
- 84 **FG342a** *al-Muti'/Abu-l-Qasim* O4 R11
Shamma Study 95; 96. **Tiesenhausen:** Melanges No. 145.
- 85 **FG345b** *al-Muti'/Abu-l-Qasim* O4 R11
Album (-3.86); (-/4.23), (-/3.57). **Album list** 48 (Dec 86) 45. **ANS** 1002.1.780 (22/2.48). **Blaii et Stidid** 51. **Caesaria** 1 = IAA 28641 (22/1.91). **Damascus** 11302 (22/3.94). **Haddad** 503 (23/3.58). **Horowitz** (23/3.61). **LavDix** III 53 (22/3.65); 54 (22/3.37). **Levy** 80 (23/4.36). **London** (23/4.05). **Mayer** 112 (24/3.65). **Shamma** (23/3.75). **SICA** 6:169 (21/3.68); 6:170 (22/4.68). **Shamma Study** 102 (24/4.52); 103; 104. **SNAT** 132 (-/3.86). **Album Auction** 13 (2012) Lot 517: Item 123288 (-/2.85). **Baldwin Auction** 20 (2012) 366 (-/3.52); 23 (2012) 331 (-/2.27). **Kuwait** 1451 (22.0/3.61).
- 86 **FG345b** *al-Muti'/Abu-l-Qasim* O4 ρ above R11
 μ below
BMC II 235 (22/3.80). **Sotheby Catalogue** 4 Oct. 1979.
- 87 **FG346a** *al-Muti'/Abu-l-Qasim* O4 ζ below R11
Album (-/3.84) ; (-/4.36) ; (-/3.63) ; (-/4.47). **ANS** 1957.82.5 (23/3.11) ; 1972.288.122 (22/3.28). **Damascus** 15235 (22/3.75). **Fahmi** 3019 (23/3.03). **IM** 5849 (-/3.75). **Levy** 81 (23/4.76). **Naqshabandi** 3770 (23/3.54). **Qatar II** 2353 (23/3.64) ; 2354 (24/3.62). **SICA** (22/4.28) ; 6:171 (22/4.05); 6:172 (22/3.89); 6:173 (22/3.33); 6:174 (-/4.38); 6:175 (23/3.14); 6:176 (-/4.60). **Tiesenhausen:** Melanges No. 146. **SNAT** 133 (-/3.83). **Album Auction** 13 (2012) Lot 518: Item 126075 (-/4.28). **Baldwin Auction** 10 (2004) 157 (-/3.29). **Morton & Eden** (Nov. 2013) 589 (-/4.33). **Zeno** 28335: (23/3.32).
- 88 **FG347a** *al-Muti'/Abu-l-Qasim* O4 ζ below R11
Album 1976 (-/3.89),(-/4.05). **Berman Letter** — Tabariya excavation. **IM** 5850 (-/3.81). **Lavoix III** 55 (22/3.44). **Negre** (-/5.08). **Shamma Study** 124 (22/3.08) ; 125; 126; 128 ; 129. **SICA** 6:177 (21/3.23); 6:178 (23/3.99). **Tiesenhausen:** Melanges No. 147. **SNAT** 134 (-/3.89). **Album Auction** 17 (2013) Lot 221: Item 157402 (-/4.30). **Baldwin Auction** 25 (2013) 442 (-/3.97); 26 (2014) 209 (-/2.98).

- 89 **FG349a** *al-Muti'/Abu-l-Qasim* O4 ʃ below R11
One pellet below rev. **Balog** 1974. **Haddad** 505 (23/3.90). **Munzel** (23/3.37). **Qatar II** 2355 (23/3.90). **SICA** 6:179 (22/4.01). **Baldwin Auction** 21 (2012) 373 = 23 (2012) 332 (-/4.45); 25 (2013) 443 (-/3.29); 26 (2014) 310 (-/3.21).
- 90 **FG34x** *al-Muti'/Abu-l-Qasim* O4 ʃ below R11
London 1908.1.10.2066 (23/4.06).

Ali ibn al-Ikhshid (350–354)

Misr Mint

- 91 **MG350a** *al-Muti'/'Ali* O6 ʃ below R11
ANS 1002.1.842 (23/4.14). **Balog Ikh. Haddad** 511 (22/3.73). **Baldwin Auction** 18 (2011) 517 (-/4.02).
- 92 **MG351a** *al-Muti'/'Ali* O6 ʃ below R11
ANS 1917.215.1313 (21/4.36). **Khed** 1818/K944 (21/4.14). **Munzel** (22/3.78).
- 93 **MG352a** *al-Muti'/'Ali* O6 ʃ below R11
ANS 1002.1.843 (22/4.22). **London Private** (22/4.12). **Baldwin Auction** 21 (2012) 376 = 23 (2012) 336 (-/2.48).
- 94 **MG353b** *al-Muti'/'Ali* O6 ʃ below R11
ANS 1957.99.3 (22/5.06). **Lavoix III** 62 (22/4.22). **SICA** 6:205 (22/4.31); 6:206 (22/3.06). **Baldwin Auction** 20 (2012) = 22 (2012) 3374 (-/3.89).
- 94a **MG353b** 'Ali
See 102/MG355b for correct identification under Kafur.
- 95 **MG354a** *al-Muti'/'Ali* O6 ʃ below R11
ANS 1002.1.844 (22/4.37). **Gurnet. Khed** 1819 (22/4.22). **SICA** 6:207 (22/4.18).

Filastin Mint

- 96 **FG350a** *al-Muti'/'Ali* O6 ʃ below R11
ANS 1967.158.1 (22/4.31); 1971.63.1 (21/4.84) ; 1972.288.123. **Cairo** 17007. **Damascus** 14460 (22/3–85 = **Shamma Study** 134). **Fahmi** 3044 (22/3.75). **IM** 5851 (-/3.50); 5852 (-/4.76). **Khed** 1814/K943 (22/4.13). **Lavoix III** 57 (21/3.13). **Qatar II** 2359 (22/3.23). **SICA** 6:200 (22/4.27); 6:201 (22/4.54). **Shamma Study** 135–137; 139A. **Baldwin Auction** 23 (2012) 333 (-/3.62). **Spink** March, 2014 104 (-/3.47).

- 97 **FG351a** *al-Muti'/'Ali* O6 ʿ below R11
Album (-/5.505); (-/3.82); (-/3.87). **ANS** 1923.999.86 (22/3.88).
Artuk 621 (23/3.10). **Berman Letter** (23/3.85). **Damascus** 7095 (23/
3.30 = **Shamma Study** 143). **IM** 15853 (-/3.42); 15854 (-/3.79). **Khalili**
487 (23/3.19). **Khed** 1815/K945 (21/2.82); 1816/K946 (22/3.81).
Kazan 415 (21/4.20). **Lavoix III** 58 (23/3.47). **London Private** (21/
4.03). **Munzel** (23/3.13). **Sarraj** 455 (24/3.20). **Shamma Study** 147; 148;
148a (23/3–30). **SICA** 6 : 202 (23/3.87); 6:203 (21/3.52 holed). **Smith-**
sonian (22/4.14). **Tiesenhause**n: Melanges No. 149. **SNAT** 135 (-/5.06).
Baldwin Auction 20 (2012) 367 (-/3.93); 20 (2012) 368 (-/3.76); 23
(2012) 334 (-/3.81); 26 (2014) 312 (-/5.52). **Morton & Eden** (Dec.
2009) 511 (-/3.23). **SB** 00138 (-/4.23); SB 10039 (-/3.03). **Zeno** 52739:
(22/no wt.).
- 98 **FG352a** *al-Muti'/'Ali* O6 ʿ below R11
Shamma Study 151–153.
- 99 **FG353a** *al-Muti'/'Ali* O6 ʿ below R11
ANS 1957.82.6 (23/3.55); 1972.288.124 (23/4.32). **Berman Letter** (23/
4.14); (24/4.07). **BMC** II 237 (23/2.64). **Haddad** 506 (24/3.65); 507
(24/2.87). **Horowitz** (25/3.21). **Khed** 1817/K947 (22/4.06). **Lavoix** III
59 (23/4.09); 60 (23/3.07); 61 (23/3.90). **Levy** 83 (23/3.04); 84 (24/
4.51); 85 (24/4.21). **Mayer** 113 (23/4.19). **Markoff**. Invent, p. 347 No. 5.
Munzel (23/3.56). **Naqshabandi** 388a (23/4.37). **Qatar II** 2360 (24/
3.65); 2361 (23/3.50); 2362 (24/2.87). **Schulman Catalogue** 6–8 April
1969 1007. **Shamma Study** 159; 161 (3.86); 162–168. **SICA** 6:207 (22/
3.86 = Study 158). **SNAT** 136 (-/3.71). **Album Auction** 10 (2011) Lot
467: Item 99436 (-/3.77); 10 (2011) Lot 468: Item 97169 (-/3.43). **Bald-**
win Auction 16 (2009) 432 (-/4.55); 16 (2009) 433 (-/3.82); 16 (2009)
434 (-/2.91); 17 (2010) 356 (-/3.43); 17 (2010) 357 (-/3.19); 20 (2012)
369 (-/3.80); 20 (2012) 371 (-/4.41); 23 (2012) 335 (-/2.21); 24 (2013)
4576 (-/3.23); 26 (2014) 313 (-/3.98). **Morton & Eden** (May, 2010)
739 (-/4.52).
- 100 **FG354a** *al-Muti'/'Ali* O6 ʿ below R11
Milan (22/4.95). **Shamma Study** 177 (22/4.14); 179; 180.
- 100a **FG3XXa** *al-Muti'/'Ali* O6 ʿ below R11
Zeno 112587 (25/4.10).

Kafur (355–357)

Misr Mint

- 101 **MG355a** *al-Muti'/(Kafur)* Ol ʿ below R11
ANS 1002.1.539 (23/3.88). **Balog Assiout. Haddad** 403 (23/4.07). **Khed** 1821/K948 (32/4.18). **London** 1929.5.7.3 (22/4.62 possibly minted as 353). **Munzel** (21/4.11). **Naqshabandi** (24/4.30). **Baldwin Auction** 18 (2011) 518 (-/4.10); 24 (2013) 4578 (-/1.95). **David Collection C** 248 (2.00/4.18). **Morton & Eden** (7 March 2006); 36 (-/3.51). **Spink March**, 2014 105 (-/3.59).
- 102 **MG355b** *al-Muti'/(Kafur)* Ol ʿ below R11
ANS (22/3.88). **IM** 15855 (-/3.93). **Baldwin Auction** 25 (2013) 444 (-/4.06). **Morton & Eden** (Dec. 2009) 513 (-/4.11).
- 103 **MG356a** *al-Muti'/(Kafur)* Ol ʿ below R11
ANS 1002.1.845 (22.4.21). **Munzel** 1975 (21/4.14). **Morton & Eden** (7 March 2006) 35 (-/4.15); (May, 2010) 740 (-/2.14). **Baldwin** 4577 (-/4.06).

Filastin Mint

- 104 **FG355a** *al-Muti'/(Kafur)* Ol ʿ below R11
Album (-/4.84) ; (-/4.36). **ANS** 1002.1.781 (22/3.41) ; 1957.82.7 (21/2.69); 1972.288.125 (23/3.57). **Artuk** 503 (20/2.35). **Berman Letter** (22/2.30). **BMC II** 239 (23/4.94). **Khed** 1820/K949 (22/2.64). **Lavoix I** 1269 (22/4.41). **Levy** 86 (24/4.36) ; 87 (23/3.46). **Mayer** 114 (22/4.00). **Rogers** 186. **Shamma Study** 183 (23/3.75); 184 (25/2.61). **SICA** 6:208 (23/4.38); 6:209 (21/3.80); 6:210 (23/3.60). **SNAT** 140 (-/4.83). **Baldwin Auction** 11 (2006) 114 (-/4.66); 16 (2009) 435 (-/3.96); 17 (2010) 359 (-/4.65); 18 (2011) 519 (-/3.84); 20 (2012) 372 (-/3.49). **Morton & Eden** (Dec. 2009) 512 (-/3.36); (Nov. 2007) 571 (-/3.51).

Ahmad ibn Ali (357–358)

Misr Mint

- 105 **MG358x** *al-Muti'/Ahmad*
Balog Personal Letter 12 June 1974. Not among holdings from Balog collection in the Israel Museum.

Filastin Mint

- 106 **FG357a** *al-Muti'/Ahmad* O7 R15
Pellets on either side of Li-llah on rev. **Levy** 88 (24/3.36). **Morton & Eden** (7 March 2006) 37 (-/3.85).
- 107 **FG358a** *al-Muti'/Ahmad* O8 R15
Pellet below ob. Field. **Damascus** 10569 (22/5.05). **IM** 15856 (-M.86); 15857 (-/2.99) **Kazan** (23/3.30). **Lavoix** III 63 (24/3.90). **London** 1892.11.1.7 (23/2.78). **SICA** 6:213 (-/5.08). **Album Auction** 13 (2012) Lot 519: Item 126076 (-/3.71). **Baldwin Auction** 16 (2009) 439 (-/4.29); 18 (2011) (-/3.84). 21 (2012) 377 (-/3.51); 21 (2012) 378 (-/3.54); 26 (2014) 314 (-/3.71). **Morton & Eden** (7 March 2006) 38 (-/3.89).
- 108 **FG358b** *al-Muti'/Ahmad* O7 R16
ANS 1957.99.1 (23/3.83); 1957.99.2 (23/3.52). **Mayer** 115 (22/2.28). **Lavoix** III 63 (24/3.94). **Pere** 16294 (28/3–90). **Shamma Study** 197 (25/4.45); 198; 200; 202. **SICA** 6:214 (22/4.90). Pellet below ob. **Shamma Study** 194 (24/2.78). **Vienna** 7866 (-14.65). **Baldwin Auction** 17 (2010) 360 (-/3.55).
- 109 **FG359a** *al-Muti'/Ahmad* O8 R15
SICA 6:216 (-/3.99). **Album Auction** 17 (2013) Lot 222: Item 141087 (-/4.11). **Baldwin Auction** 20 (2012) 373 (-/4.37); 24 (2013) 4579 (-/3.74). **David Collection** C 461 (23.5/3.81). **Morton & Eden** (May, 2010) 741 (-/4.22); (May, 2010) 742 (-/4.60).

Chapter 7

Catalogue—Silver Coins

Muhammad ibn Tughj al-Ikhshid (323–334)

Misr Mint

No./ Code	<i>Caliph/Governor (if inscribed)</i>	Ob.	Rev.
110	MS323a <i>al-Radi</i>	O1	R1
	ANS 1917.215.486 (23/1.88) ; 1917.215.487 (22/4.86); 1954.119.16 (22/3.45); 1972.79.678 (23/2.15). Caesaria 64 = IAA 28699 (25/2,78). Fadi (-/5.3x). Mutzel 1851 (24/2.78).		
111	MS323b <i>al-Radi</i>	O1	ç below R1
	Paris (24/2.59).		
112	MS328a <i>al-Radi</i>	O1	R1 › below
	Pellet in center rev. Fadi (-/1.76).		
113	MS330a <i>al-Muttaqi/al-Ikhshid</i>	O3	R4
	ANS 1971.316.1066 (25/3.25) (dinar for dirham). BM 1947.6.2.3 (23/3.03 with inscription in 18 cm.—It may have been a presentation piece rather than a regular dirham.)		
114	MS332a <i>al-Muttaqi/al-Ikhshid</i>	O2	R3
	Paris (24/2.70). Shamma (26/3.85). SICA 6:143 (28/3.81).		

- 115 **MS332b** *al-Muttaqi/al-Ikhshid* O2 R3
Alder II , p. 143. **Artuk** 618 (24/3.65). **Damascus** 19524; 1816 (24/2.81). **Fadi** (-/3.4x). **Shamma** (23/2.14).
- 116 **MS332X** *al-Muttaqi/al-Ikhshid*
Moller p. 133.

Filastin Mint

- 117 **FS323a** *al-Radi* O1 R1
Caesaria 63 = IAA 28693 (25/3.60). **Rock** 2.57 = IAA 53110 (26/3.62).
- 118 **FS32x** *al-Radi* O1 R1
Fadi (-/3.2 date 325?); (-/2.5x dace 328?); (-/3.5x); (-/2.4x date 329?).
- 119 **FS329a** *al-Muttaqi* O2 R2
Fadi (-/3.3x). **Kmietowicz** 24.
- 120 **FS332a** *al-Muttaqi/al-Ikhshid* O2 R5
Pellets on either side of Li-llah on rev. **ANS** 1917.215.799 (25/3.04); 1971.316.935 (25/3.12). **Bacharach and Awad** 1 (24/2.40); 2 (23/3.05). **Damascus** 2989.147. **Linder-Welin Nordish** 1146 (25/3.51) **Shamma Study** 11 (25/2.94). **SNAT** 123 (-/2.52).
- 121 **FS333a** *al-Muttaqi/al-Ikhshid* O2 R3
Bacharach and Awad 3 (22/3.30); 4 (24/3.05); 5 (24/2.70). **Damascus** 2016 (24/2.94). **Shamma** (21/4.30). **Soret. Yepi Kredi** 16292 (24/3.00).
- 122 **FS334a** *al-Mustakfi/al-Ikhshid* O1 R8
Shamma (22/4.22). **Shamma Study** 24, 25, 26

Tabariya Mint

- 123 **TS323a** *al-Radi* O1 R1
Lavoix I 1229 (24/3.60).
- 124 **TS329a** *al-Muttaqi* O1 R2
Album List 25 (Feb. 1982) #334. **Blau**#17. **Rock** 2.66 = IAA 53119 (27/2.74); 2.67 = IAA 53122 (27/3.02). With pellet below rev. **Shamma** (26/2.52).
- 125 **TS329b** *al-Muttaqi* O2 R2 ḡ below
SNAT 385 (-/1.94).
- 126 **TS330a** *al-Muttaqi* O2 R2 ḡ below
ANS 1917.215.430 (-/2.58).

- 127 **TS331a** *al-Muttaqi/al-Ikhshid* O2 R3 ζ below
Iverson p. 296 (dated by variety). **Nur** 1556 (27/3.78). **Rock** 2.67 =
 IAA 53120 (27/2.02). **SNAT** 386 (-/2.40 — dated by variety)
- 128 **TS334a** *al-Mustakfi/al-Ikhshid*
 Shamma Study 23.

Dimashq Mint

- 129 **DS323a** *al-Radi* O1 R1
Fadi (-/2.6x); (-/3.5x). **Rock** 2.53 = IAA 53106 (29/2.46).
- 130 **DS324a** *al-Radi* O1 R1
Negic
- 131 **DS331a** *al-Muttaqi/al-Ikbshid* O2 R3
Fadi (-/2.9x) (date difficult to read),
- 132 **DS332a** *al-Muttaqi/al-Ikhshid* O2 R3
Damascus. Qatar II 2363 (27/2.95). **Rock** 19.7 = IAA 56238
 (27/2.27).
- 133 **DS332b** *al-Muttaqi/al-Ikbshid* O2 R5
Balog. Paris A 134 (25/3.35). **Tübingen** CA2 C3.
- 133a **DS332c** *al-Muttaqi/al-Ikhshid* O2 R17
 London Private
- 134 **DS333a** *al-Muttaqi/al-Ikhshid* O2 R6
ANS 1917.215.775 (24/3.54). **Bacharach and Awad** 6 (22/2.30); 7
 (25/2.50). **Caesaria** 46 = IAA 28683 (28/2.88). **Linder-Welin** 5 (26/
 4.09). **SICA** 6:127 (25/2.73). **Torenberg** Class XVI #1 p. 262. With pel-
 let above ob. **Paris A** 135 (27/3.72); 136 (26/3.07). **SICA**
 6:128 (-/3.44).
- 135 **DS333X** *al-Muttaqi/al-Ikhshid*
Album List 25 (Feb. 82) 372. **Lemaire** p. 299 — 2 specimens. **Paris** 49
 bis. **Soret. Tubingen** CA2 C3; CA2 C5.
- 136 **DS334b** *at-Mustafi/al-Ikhshid* O1a R7
 With Li-llah at cop and bottom and Muhammad at 90 and 270 degrees
 on ob. **Damascus** 1823 (23/3.86 holed). **London Private** (-/2.70).
- 137 **DS334a** *al-Mustafi/al-Ikhshid* O1 R8
 With dot above ob., without pellets on rev. **Album List** 25 (Feb., 82)
 373, 373a; 73 (March, 91) 160. **ANS** 1917.215.776 (26/3.13);
 1917.316.934 (25/3.55). **Bacharach and Awad** 8 (25/3.00) ; 9 (24/
 3.10) ; 10 (26/3.55). **BM** 1957.6.2.1. (26/3.73). **Fadi** (-/2.6x). **Gosset.**
Haddad (25/2.38). **Linder-Welin** letter. **Paris A** 132 (25/3.50); 137

(26/3.78); 138 (28/2.76); 139 (264.02). **Qatar II** 2363 (25/2.38). **Rock** 19.13=IAA 56244 (24/2.02) ; 19.14 = IAA 56245 (24/2.95). **SICA** 6:129 (26/3.63); 6:130 (-/3.58). **Soret. Tubingen CA2 C6; CM Dl. Baldwin Auction** 10 (2004) 156 (3.69); 22 (2012) 3366 (3.03).

Hims Mint

- 138 **HS323a** *al-Radi* O1 R1
ANS 1972.79.659 (-/3.10). **Nutzel** 1815 (21/1.53); 1816 (23/3.06). **Nur** 4430 (26/3–53). **SICA** 4: (27/3–24). **Album Auction** 12 (2012) Lot 173: Item 116861 (-/4.17).
- 139 **HS331a** *al-Muttaqi* O2 R2 ζ below
 With pellets on both sides of Li-llah on rev. **Khalili** 1551 (27/4.52). **Rock** 2.65 = IAA 53118 (27/3.29).
- 140 **HS331b** *al-Muttaqilal-Ikhshid* O2 R3
Paris (25/3.03).
- 141 **HS332a** *al-Muttaqi/al-Ikhshid* O2 R3
Bacharach and Awad 11 (25/2.55). Haddad.

Mintless

- 142 **XS332a** *al-Muttaqi/al-Ikhsbid* O2 R3
Rock 19.12 = IAA 56243 (26/2.99).
- 143 **XS3Xxa** *d-Munaqi/al-Ikhshid* O2 R3
Pere 16292 (24/3.00).

Abu-l-Qasim Unujur (335–349)

Filastin Mint

- 144 **FS335a** *al-Muti'/Abu-l-Qasim* O5 R9
Caesaria 66 = IAA 28703 (25/2.93). **SNAT** 126 (-/3.43)
- 145 **FS335b** *al-Muti'IAbu-l-Qasim* O5 R9 \cup below
Lavoix A 123 (26/2.46).
- 146 **FS336a** *al-Muti'/Abu-l-Qasim* O4 R11
ANS 1949.163.83 (28/3.39).
- 147 **FS337a** *al-Muti'/Abu-l-Qasim* O4 R9
Album Hoaxd 21 ; 22. **Lavoix III** 56 (23/3.92). **Shamma Study** 69 (29/3.45). **SICA** 167 (24/262). **SNAT** 127 (-/2.92).

- 148 **FS337b** *al-Muti'/Abu-l-Qasim* O4 R9 ۛ below
Rock 19.21 = IAA 56252 (25/2.71) ; 19.25 = IAA 56256 (26/3.14) ;
19.26 = IAA 56257 (27/2.29).
- 149 **FS337X** *al-MutiiAbu-l-Qasim*
Pere 16293 (26/2.65); 16294 (28/3.67). **Shamma Study** 70; 71.
- 150 **FS339a** *al-Muti'/Abu-l-Qasim* O4 R11
Damascus 2989.151 (28/3.21).
- 151 **FS340a** *al-Muti'/Abu-l-Qasim* O4 R11
Without Pellets on rev. **ANS** 1917.215.1275 (24/2.35). **Shamma Study**
82. **SNAT** 129 (-/3.13).
- 152 **FS341a** *al-Muti'/'Abu-l-Qasim* O4 R11
ANS 1954.119.85 (24/2.45). **Arroyo. Damascus** 2989.145 (27/3.61);
14750 23/4.86 = Shamma Study 86). **Limbada** (-/2.9x). **Mitchiner**
(-/2.90). **Shamma Study** 91 (27/3.61). **SNAT** 131 (-/2.53).
- 153 **FS344a** *al-Muti'/Abu-l-Qasim* O4 R11
Without Pellets on rev. **Shamma Study** 97 (26/2.18).
- 154 **FS345a** *al-Muti'/Abu-l-Qasim* O4 R11
Without Pellets on rev. **Damascus** 2989.117 (23/2.38 = Shamma Study
108). **Shamma Study** 109.
- 155 **FS34x** *al-Muti'/Abu-l-Qasim* O4 R11
Khalili 1866 (22/260).
- 156 **FS346a** *al-Muti'/Abu-l-Qasim* O4 ۛ below R11
Damascus 2989.121 (24/2.85); 2989.142 (28/3.71). **Khalili** 1865 (29/
3.47). **Shamma Study** 121 (28/3.71); 122; 123.
- 157 **FS349a** *al-Muti'/Abu-l-Qasim* O4 ۛ below R11
One pellet below on rev. **Shamma Study** 130 (28/3.21).
- 158 **FS34x** *al-Muti'/Abu-l-Qasim* O4 ۛ below R11
Ilisch (24/3.13). **Rock** 19.15 = IAA 56246 (29/2.65). **Khalili** 1864
(22/2.61).

Tabariya Mint

- 159 **TS335a** *al-Muti'/Abu-l-Qasim*
Shamma Study 40.
- 160 **TS336a** *al-Muti'/Abu-l-Qasim* O5 R11 ط below
Pellets on either side of Li-llah on rev. **ANS** 1949.163.86 (24/3.12);
1949.163.85 (25/2.89). **SICA** 6 : 150 (-/2.87)
- 160a **TS336aa** *al-Muti'/Abu-l-Qasim*
Album Auction 10 (2011) Lot 464: Item 21853 (-/3.38).

- 161 **TS336b** *al-Muti'/Abu-l-Qasim* O5 R12
Khalili 1863 (24/2.25). **Lavoix A** 127 (25/2.65). **London** 1949.8.3.127 (25/3.15). **Shamma** (25/3.25). **SNAT** 388 (-/2.88). **Yepi Kredi** 16293 (26/2.65). **Baldwin Auction** 10 (2004) 161 (3.81).
- 162 **TS336C** *al-Muti'/Abu-l-Qasim* O4 R12
Album List 25 (Feb, 83) 378. **SNAT** 387 (-/2.15). **Yepi Kredi** 16294 (28/3.67).
- 163 **TS337a** *al-Muti'/Abu-l-Qasimi*
Limbada (-/3.4x). **Shamma Study** 80, 81, 82, 83.
- 164 **TS338a** *al-Muti I Abu-l-Qasim*
Shamma Study 89.
- 165 **TS33Xa** *al-Muti'/Abu-l-Qasim* O4 R11[⬇] below
SICA 6:151 (-/3.22—probably 336).
- 166 **TS340a** *al-Muti'/Abu-l-Qasim* O4 R11
Lemaire 299.
- 167 **TS34la** *al-Muti'/Abu-l-Qasim* O4 R11
Album Hoard 25. **Damascus** 2989.117 (28/2.85—**Shamma Study** 94). **Shamma Study** 93. **SICA** 6:152 (-/3.09 date not clear). **SNAT** 389 (-/2.80).
- 168 **TS342a** *al-Muti'/Abu-l-Qasim* O4 R11
Album Hoard 26. **Damascus** 14403 (27/2.53). **Hannon** 19 (-/2.86). **SNAT** 390 (-/3.51).
- 169 **TS3XXa** *al-Muti'/Abu-l-Qasim* O4 R11
ANS 1917.215.791 (26/2.74). (After 337 and before 349 because no ك)
- 170 **TS349a** *al-Muti''/Abu-l-Qasim* O4 ك below R11
Pellet below rev. **Damascus** 14405 (25/-). **Shamma Study** 130 (28/3.21).
- 171 **TS3Xxa** *al-Muti''/Abu-l-Qasim* O4 ك below R11
Shamma Study 131 (26/2.81); (27/2.53).
- 172 **TS3XXb** *al-Muti'/Abu-l-Qasim*
Album Hoard 27–32. **Iverson** 86. **Lemaire** p. 299. **Shamma Study** 210–212.

Dimashq Mint

- 173 **D5335a** *al-Muti'/Abu-l-Qasim* O4 R9
ANS 1917.215.777 (26/3.69). **Fadi** (-/1.7x). **Haddad** (27/2.98).

174	DS335D	<i>al-Muti'/Abu-l-Qasim</i>	O4 knot below	R10
	Qatar II 2366 (27/2.98)			
175	DS336a	<i>al-Muti'/Abu-l-Qasim</i>	O5 ص below	R10
	Damascus 2989.164 (27/-). Lavoix A 126 (26/2.88). Tübingen CA2 El.			
176	DS336D	<i>al-Muti'/Abu-l-Qasim</i>	O5	R9 ~ below
	ANS 1917.215.778 (27/4.59).			
177	DS336C	<i>al-Muti'/Abu-l-Qasim</i>	O4 ص below	R9 Knot below
	Rock 19.16 = IAA 56247 (25/3.20).			
178	DS338a	<i>al-Muti'/Abu-l-Qasim</i>	O4	R14
	Album List 25 (Feb. 82) 375. BMC II 236 (23/1.39). Paris (26/2.89).			
178a	DS338b	<i>al-Muti'/Abu-l-Qasim</i>	O4	R9
	Tübingen CA2 E2.			
179	DS339a	<i>al-Muti'/Abu-l-Qasim</i>	O4	R9
	Rock 19.17 = IAA 56248 (24/4.55).			
180	DS33Xa	<i>al-Muti'/Abu-l-Qasim</i>	O4	R11
	Damascus 2989.59 (27/2.20). Rock 19.18 - IAA 56247 (27/3.35); 19.19 = IAA 56250 (26/2.92). Tornberg Class XVI 2, p. 262.			
181	DS34Ia	<i>al-Muti'/Abu-l-Qasim</i>	O4	R9
	SICA 6:148 (25/2.75); 6:149 (-/370 on the basis that <i>kaf</i> not present). Album Auction 10 (2011) Lot 466: Item 99362 (3.13). Baldwin Auction 10 (2004) 160 = 15 (2009) 345 (3.14).			
181a	DS342a	<i>al-Muti'/Abu-l-Qasim</i>	O4 ص below	R9
	Album Auction List 226 Item No. 59806 = Zeno 113027.			
181b	DS[343]a	<i>al-Muti'/Abu-l-Qasim</i>	O4 ص below	R9
	Kuwait 8355 (29.0/2.22).			
181c	DS345a	<i>al-Muti'/Abu-l-Qasim</i>	O4 ص below	R9
	Baldwin Auction 15, Lot: 346 = Zeno 93105.			
181d	DS346a		O4 ص below	R9
	Album List 269 (August, 2012) 121424 (-/3.33) (no image available).			

- 182 **DS347a** *al-Muti'/Abu-l-Qasim* O4 ∩ below R10
Without Pellets on rev. **Damascus** 1743 (22/3.08).
- 183 **DS349a** *al-Muti'/Abu-l-Qasim* O4 ∩ below R10
Damascus 2989.125 (26/2.18). **Balog Ikh.**
- 184 **DS34Xa** *al-Muti'/Abu-l-Qasim* O4 ∩ below R10
Album Hoard 19;20.

Hims Mini

- 185 **HS336a** *al-Muti'/Abu-l-Qasim* O5 R13
Pellet below rev. **London Private** (-/2.1x). **Tornberg III** 110..
- 186 **HS336b** *al-Muti'/Abu-l-Qasim* O5 R10 ∪ below
Pellet below ob. **Album Hoard** 23. **Damascus** 0440 (-/3.37). **Fadi**
(-/4.7x). **Tubingen** CA2 F5-/CA2 F6. **Baldwin Auction** 22 (2012)
3368 (2.68). **Zeno** 46943: (23/2.94).

Halab Mint

- 187 **HAS336a** *al-Muti'/Abu-l-Qasim* O4 R9
Pellets on either side of Li-llah. **SICA** 147 (-/2.29). **Baldwin Auction**
14 (2008) 187 (-/3.37).

Mintless

- 188 **XS337a** *al-Muti'/Abu-l-Qasim*
Pere: 16293 (26/2.65); (28/3.67).
- 189 **XS33Xa** *al-Muti'/Abu-l-Qasim* O4 R11
Kmietowicz 423 (-/3.68). **Rock** 19.20 = IAA 56251 (28/3.41); 19.22 =
IAA 56253 (25/2.88); 19.23 = IAA 56254 (24/3.07); 19.24 =
IAA 56255 (27/3.49); 19.27 = IAA 56258 (26/3.35).
- 189a **XS3XXa** *al-Muti'/Abu-l-Qasim*
Zeno 128167 (25/4.00)

Ali ibn al-Ikhshid (350–354)

Misr Mint

- 190 **MS353a** *al-Muti'/'Ali* O6 ∩ below R11
Damascus 14407 (24/-) **Rock** 19.39 = IAA 56270 (26/2.28).

Filastin Mint

- 191 **FS350a** *al-Muti'/'Ali* O6 ∩ below R11
Without Pellets on rev. **Rock** 19.29 = IAA 56260 (27/2.30).

- 192 **FS351a** *al-Muti''Ali* O6 ʿ below R11
ANS 1954.119.38 (26/3.28). **Damascus** 1114 (24/3–15); 2989.170 (24/-). **Linder-Welin** 36 (2.56). Pellet below on rev. **Shamma Study** 149 (24/3.15). **Baldwin Auction** 16 (2009) 437 (2.64). **Morton & Eden** (Nov. 2013) 590 (3.84). **Zeno** 112585: (24/2.76).
- 193 **FS353a** *al-Muti''Ali* O6 ʿ betow R11
Albam Hoard 33. **ANS** 1954.119.38 (25/1.82) ; 1954.119.39 (25/3.95); 1954.119.40 (25/1.82). **Balog Ikh. Blau:** Nachlese p. 26. BMC II 238 (25/3.32). **Damascus** 2898.126 (21/2.35); 2989.165 (25/3.27); 14409 (26/-). **Fadi** (-/3.6x). **Khalili** 1867 (27/3.15); 1868 (26/3.53). **Limbada** (-/3.2x); (-/3.4x). **London Private** (-/4.3x). **Rock** 19.30 = IAA 56261 (26/2.07); 19.31 = IAA 56262 (29/3.09); 19.32 = IAA 56263 (3.64). **Shamma Study** 171 (25/3.27). 173–174. **SNAT** 137 (-/3.27). **Album Auction** 10 (2011) Lot 469; Item 104651 (3.65); 11 (2011) Lot 230: Item 83236 (3.04); 14 (2012) Lot 255: Item 131141 (1.12); 16 (2013) Lot 207: Item 59801 (2.32). **Album List** 265 (Dec. 2011) 103651 (-/3.65); 274 (March, 2013) 136047 (-/4.24). **Baldwin Auction** 16 (2009) 438 (3.04); 17 (2010) 358a (no wt.); 17 (2010) 358b (no wt.). **Kuwait** 512 (25.0/3.21). **Morton & Eden** (June 2011) 569 (3.05); (Nov. 2013). **Zeno** 112588: (25/3.05).
- 194 **FS354a** *al-Muti''Ali* O6 ʿ below R11
Shamma Study 179.
- 195 **FS35x** *al-Muti''Ali* O6 ʿ below R11
Without Pellets on rev. **Ostrop** 1296 (22/2.90). **Rock** 19.33 = IAA 56264 (26/2.48); 19.34 = IAA 56265 (23/3.64) ; 19.35 = IAA 56266 (24/-) ; 19.36 = IAA 56267 (27/2.98) ; 19.37 = IAA 56268 (28/3.59); 19.38 = IAA 56269 (29/2.63). **Shamma Study** 191 (25/2.90); 192. **Zeno** 112587: (25/4.10) from Album.

Tabariya Mint

- 196 **TS350a** *al-Muti''Ali* O6 ʿ below R11
Damascus 14410 (26/-). **London Private** (-2.7x).
- 197 **TS353a** *al-Muti''Ali* O6 ʿ below R11
Damascus 14408 (25/2.61 = Shamma Study 189). **London Private** (-/1.7x) (very poor condition). **Album Auction**, List 255 Item No. 89048 (xx/1.79); List 256 Item No. 89049 (xx/2.45); **Baldwin Auction** 11 (2006) 113 (2.41); 6 (2009) 436 (2.08).

- 198 **TS354a** *al-Muti'/'Ali* O6 ج below R11
ANS 1954.119.30 (24/2.62). **London** 1949.8.3.128 (25/3.18). **Shamma Study** 175 (25/3.18).
- 198a **XSXX** *al-Muti'/'Ali* ج below
Zeno O99384 (18/-) (double struck).

Kafur (355–356)

Filastin Mint

- 199 **FS355a** *al-Muti'/(Kafur)* O1 ج below R11
Fadi (-/2.7x). **Damascus** 2989.83 (26/2.90). **Rock** 19.40 = IAA 56271 (25/2.42); 19.41 = IAA 56272 (23,3.3). **Shamma Study** 187A (21/1.20); 188 (21/1.66). **SICA** 6:210 (-/2.79). **SNAT** 141 (-/2.90); 142 (-/236).

Tabariya Mint

- 200 **TS355a** *al-Muti'i(Kafur)* O1ج below R11
Shamma Study 189 (25/2.61).

Ahmad ibn Ali (357–358)

Filastin Mint

- 201 **FS357a** *al-Muti'/Ahmad* O7 R15
Album Hoard 40 ; 44 ; 45. **Rock** 19.42 = IAA 56273 (26/2.80). **Shamma** (23/2.64). **SICA** 6:212 (-,2.64). **SNAT** 143 (-/3–23); 144 (-/3.48),
- 202 **FS358a** *al-Muti'/Ahmad* O7 R15
Album Hoard. Fadi (-/3.3x). **Oxford** (26/3.51). **Rock** 19.47 = IAA 56278 (26/2.33); 19.48 = IAA 56279 (26/2.54) ; 19.49 = IAA 56280 (26/2.94) ; 19.50 = IAA 56281 (27/3.34) ; 19.51 = IAA 56282 (26/2.80). **SNAT** 145 (-/3.31); 146 (-/3.02); 147 (-/3.04). **Yepi Kredi** 16295 (24/3.90). **Baldwin Auction** 18 (2011) 520 (3.60); 26 (2014) 315 (-/2.99).
- 203 **FS358b** *al-Muti'/Ahmad* O8 knot R15
below
Rock 19.43 = IAA 56274 (27/3.75); 19.44 = IAA 56175 (25/3.08) ; 19.45 = IAA 56276 (25/3.44); 19.46 = IAA 56277 (25/3.10). **SICA** 6:215 (-/4.12)

- 204 **FS358C** *al-Muti'/Ahmad* O7 R16
Album Hoard 36–39; 41. **Damascus** 2989.90 (26/3.58). **Fadi** (-/3.7x).
 Limbada (-/2.9) ; (-/3.7x). **Shamma Study** 204; 206 (26/2.90); 207;
 208. **SNAT** 150 (-/2.80). With pellet below rev. **SNAT** 151 (-/3.35).
Baldwin Auction 18 Lot: 520. **Zeno** 112384.
- 205 **FS35Xa** *al-Muti'/Ahmad* O8 knot R16
 below
SICA 6:217 (26/3.51).

Tabariya Mint

- 206 **TS358a** *d-Muti'/Ahmad* O9 R16
 Two pellets below on rev. **Album Hoard** 42 ; 43. **SNAT** 392 (-/2.62)

Chapter 8

Other Numismatic Material

Ikshhidid Copper Coinage

207 **XC353a** *al-Muti'Ali*

Obverse



لا اله الا
الله وحده
لا شريك له
على بن الاخشيد

Reverse



الله
محمد
رسول الله
صلى الله عليه
وعلى آله
المطيع لله

Cut into a square
SNAT 138 (-/1.12)

208 **XC355a** *al-Muti'Ali*

Obverse

لا اله الا
الله وحده
لا شريك له
على بن الاخشيد

Reverse

الله
محمد
رسول الله
صلى الله عليه
وعلى آله
المطيع لله

A dirham inscription struck on copper
SNAT 139 (-/5.21)

209 **TACXXX** 'Ali/Kafur

Obverse



الاستاذ
كافور الامير
ابو محمد

Reverse



الامير ابو
الحسن علي بن
الاخشيد

Probably struck in Tarsus
Fahmi 3045 (30,6.82).

209a **TACXXXb**



الاستاذ
كافور الامير
ابو محمد



الامير ابو
الحسن علي
بن الاخشيد

Markoff Inventory Katalog p. 347 #7 = **Zeno #** 69237 (29/9.31).

Meccan Coinage

210 **MAG354a** *al-Muti'/Kafir?*

Obverse



لا اله الا الله
محمد رسول الله
المطيع لله
م ع

Reverse



امر به الاستا
ذ كافر
الاخشيدي
قائمي [؟]

Margin

بسم الله
ضرب هذا الدينر بمكة
سنة اربع وخمسين وثلثمائة

قل جاء الحق و زهق الباطل
ان الباطل كان زهوقا
وننزل من القران

Double circle

Obverse Margin: mint-date
SICA 10: 494 (-,2.79).

Reverse Margin: Qur'an 17: 81–82

210a **MAS334a** *al-Mustakfi/al-Ikhsbid*

Obverse



لا اله الا
الله وحده
لا شريك له

Reverse



الله
محمد
رسول الله
صلى الله عليه
المستكفي بالله
الاخشيدي

Inner margin: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينر بمكة سنة اربع وثلثين وثلثمائة

Obverse



لا اله الا الله
محمد رسول الله
المطيع لله
م ح

Reverse



امر به الاستا
ذ كافر
الاخشيدي
قائمي [?]

Margin بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينر بمكة سنة سبع وخمسين وثلثمائة

قل جاء الحق و زهق الباطل
ان الباطل كان زهوقا
وننزل من القران
بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينر بمكة سنة سبع وخمسين
وثلثمائة

Double circle

Obverse Margin: mint-date

Reverse Margin: Qur'an 17: 81-82

Michael Broome Private Collection. **Kazan** 416 (23.5,2.34). **SICA**

10:495 (26, 2.75).

Presentation Pieces

212 **MS324a** *al-Radi*

Obverse



لا اله الا
الله وحده
لا شريك له
محمد بن طفج

Reverse



الله
محمد
رسول
الله
الراضي بالله

Inner Margin بسم الله ضرب هذه الدرهم بمصر سنة اربع وعشرين وتلثمائة

بسم الله
محمد رسول الله ارسله
بالهدى ودين الحق ليظهره
على الدين كله
ولو كره المشركون
ضرب هذا الدرهم بمصر
سنة اربع وعشرون وتلثمائة

Outer Margin

الله الامر من قبل ومن بعد
ويومئذ يفرح المؤمنون
بنصر الله

Regular issue on a smaller flan

Obverse Inner Margin: Mint-Date Reverse Margin: Qur'an 9: 33

Obverse Outer Margin: Qur'an 30: 3-4

SICA 6:139 (18,2.45); 6:140 (17,2.32).

Obverse



لا اله الا
الله وحده
لا شريك له
محمد بن طغج

Reverse



الله
محمد
رسول
الله
الراضي بالله

Margin بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بمصر

بسم الله ضرب هذا
الدرهم بمصر

محمد رسول الله ارسله
بالهدى ودين الحق ليظهره
على الدين كله
ولو كره المشركون

Regular issue on a smaller flan with only one obverse margin

Obverse Margin: O213 Margin Reverse Margin: Qur'an 9: 33

Paris (15,3.18); (18,2.72).

214 **MS32(4)c** *al-Radi*

Obverse



بن
محمد
طغج

Reverse



له
الراضي
بالله

Margin

لا اله الا الله ضرب بمصر

محمد رسول الله
ارسله بالهدى

Obverse Margin: O214 margin Reverse Margin: R214 margin
Berman INJ 1(16,1.55). **Album Auction** 12 (2012) Lot 239:
 Item 116873 -/1.69). **Kuwait #** 232 (15.0/1.56).

215 **MS32Xa** *al-Radi*

Obverse



Reverse



له
الراضي
بالله

Margin

بسم الله ضرب هذا
الدرهم بمصر

لا اله الا الله
محمد رسول الله

Tamga on obverse with name Muhammad under it
 Obverse Margin: O213 margin Reverse Margin: R215 margin
Rock 19.9 = IAA56240 (25,3.81) = **Berman** 2.

216 **MS3XXa** *al-Radi*

Obverse



Enthroned figure

Margin

Reverse



بن
محمد
طفيج

لا اله الا الله ضرب بمصر

Berman INJ 5 (1981): no. 3 (13:3.22).

217 **MG3XXa**

Obverse



Enthroned figure: nimbus with pellets, right hand resting on a cushion, left hand holding scepter, high-back throne

Bendall (1,1.35); Saeed S. Ghobash (UAE) = Album Auction 22 (2015): 34 2 (,1.39).

Reverse



Two beardless frontal busts wearing pointed helmets with finials separated by a palm tree

218 **MS3XXb**

Obverse



Enthroned figure

Berman INJ 4 (19.2.42), 6 (11.0.63).

Reverse



Two beardless frontal busts

219 MS3XXc

Obverse



Reverse



Two beardless frontal busts

ANS 1986.38.1 (24,2.93) = Berman INJ 5.

Two beardless frontal busts

220 MS329a

Obverse



Reverse



لله
الامير
الاخشيدي

بالله
محمد
بن طغج

Margin

بسم الله ضرب
سنة تسع وعشرين
وثمانه

لا اله الا الله
محمد رسول الله

Title *al-amir al-Ikhsid*

Obverse Margin: = O220 margin

Reverse Margin: R215 margin

Damascus 1369 (23.3.28). London Private (-,2.9x). Paris II: 50 (20/3.10)

221 MS329b

Obverse



بِالله
محمد
ينصر

Reverse



له
الاحشيد
يشكر

Margin

بسم الله ضرب سنة
تسع وعشرين

لا اله الا الله
محمد رسول الله

Pious victory phrases
Obverse Margin: O221 margin
Damascus, 1269.

Reverse Margin: R215 margin

222 MS330b *al-Muttaqi*

Obverse



مولى
امير
المؤمنين

Reverse



محمد
بن
طغج

Margin

لا اله الا الله
محمد رسول الله

بسم الله
ضرب هذا
الدرهم
سنة ثلاثين

Title *mawla amir al-mu'minin*
Obverse Margin: = R215 margin
Artuk 617 (27.2.55).

Reverse Margin: R222 margin

223 **FS348a** *al-Muti'Unujur*

Obverse



لله
ابو القسم
بن الاخشيد

Reverse



لله
المطيع
لله

Margin

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم
بفلسطين سنة ثمان واربعين

لا اله الا الله
محمد رسول الله

Lacks any reference to Kafur
Obverse Margin: O224 margin
ANS 1985.118.1 (24, 2.93).

Reverse Margin: R215 margin

224 **Medallion of Abu'-l-Qasim Unujur**

Obverse



بركه وسرور
للامير المنصور
ابو القسم اونوجور

Reverse



ومن يتوكل
على الله
فهو حسبه

Medallion with Qur'anic phrase

British Museum 87.1.2.1 (23,3.63). **Museum of Islamic Art**, Cairo
No. 80-11-47.

Baldwin Auction 15 (2009): 347 & 17 (2010): 355 (2.23).

Catalogue Abbreviations

- Adler** J. G. C. Adler. *Museum Cuficum Borgianum Velitris. Pars II.* (Copenhagen, 1792).
- Al-Afghani** al-Afghani's Antique Shop. Amman, Jordan. Private Collection.
- Album Auction** Stephen Album Sales Catalog. Web-based.
- Album Hoard** Stephen Album. Santa Rosa. Personal Correspondence 16 February 1980.
- Album List** Album Newsletters.
- Album Letter** Stephen Album. Santa Rosa. Personal Correspondence 17 August 1976.
- ANS** American Numismatic Society, New York.
- Arroyo** Dr. Henri Arroyo, Toulon, France. Personal Correspondence 1 October 1974.
- Artuk** I. Artuk and Cevriye Artuk. *Istanbul Arkeoloji Muzleri Teshirdeki Islami Sikkeler.* I (Istanbul, 1971).
- Ashmolean** Heberden Coin Room, Ashmolean Museum.
- Bacharach-Awad** Jere L. Bacharach and Henri Amin Awad. "A Hoard of Ikhshidid Dirhams," *al-Abhath.* XXIV (1974): 51–58.
- Baldwin Auction** Baldwin Auction catalogue.
- Balog** Paul Balog. Personal Correspondence 12 June 1974.
- Balog Assiout** Paul Balog, "Dinars ikhchidites trouves a Assiout en automne 1954." *Revue belge de numismatique*, 101 (1955): 103–11.
- Balog Ikh** Paul Balog "Tables de references des monnaies ikhchidites." *Revue belge de numismatique*, 103 (1957): 107–34.

- Bajoichi** Paul Bajoichi. Private Collection. Cairo.
- Bank Leu** Bank Leu Catalogues.
- Bendall** Simon Bendall, "A Gold Coin of Muhammad ibn Tughj al-Ikhshid," *Israel Numismatic Journal* 8 (1984–85): 76.
- Berman INJ** Ariel Berman, "Additional Information on the Coinage of Egypt during the Governorship of Muhammad ibn Tughj al-Ikhshid," *Israel Numismatic Journal*. V (1981): 6972.
- Berman Letter** Ariel Berman. Haifa. Personal Correspondence, 4 May 1976.
- Blau et Stickel** O. Blau et J. G. Stickel. "Zur muhammed anischen Numismatik und Epigraphik, II" *ZDMG* XI (1857) 443–59.
- BM** Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum, London.
- BMC** Stanley Lane-Poole. *A Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum*. (London, 1875–1889).
- Cairo** Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo.
- Cotevielle-Giraudet** Reny Cotevielle-Giraudet, "La collection Decourde-manche." *Revue numismatique*. 4 serie, 38 (1935): 35.
- Damascus** Syrian National Museum, Damascus.
- Fadi** Private collection, Aleppo, Syria.
- Fahmi** 'Abd al Rahman Fahmi. *Mawsu at al nuqud al arabiyah wa ilm al-numiyat*, Pt. 1: Fajr al sikkah al Arabiyah. Cairo, 1965.
- Gosset** Stanley Lane-Poole, "Fasti Arabici, VI. Arabian and other rare coins from the collections of Colonel Gosset, Major Trotter and J. Avent," *Numismatic Chronicle* ser. 3, 7 (1887), 324–39.
- Gurnet** Robert Gurnet. Personal Correspondence 21 July, 1975.
- Haddad** Selim Haddad. Personal Correspondence 23 September 1974.
- Hannon** Brian Hannon. Personal Correspondence 26 September 1974.
- Horowitz** Theodor Horowitz. Private Collection, Geneva.
- IAA** Department of Antiquities, Israel—Caesaria excavations.

- IM** Israel Museum, Jerusalem.
- Iverson** Julii Iverson, 'Drei Funde mittelalterlicherr Munzen in Russland.' *Berliner Blatter f. Munz, Siegel und Wappenkunde*. VI (1871–1873): 271–96.
- Kazan** Kazan, William. *The Coinage of the Islamic Collection of William Kazan* (Beirut: Bank of Beirut SAF, 1983).
- Khalili** Nasser D. Khalili Collection, London.
- Khed** Norman D. Nicol, Raafat el-Nabarawy and Jere L. Bacharach. *Catalog of the Islamic Coins, Glass Weights, Dies and Medals in the Egyptian National Library*. (Malibu, CA. American Research Center in Egypt/Catalogs—Undena Publications, 1982) Followed by reference to Stanley Lane-Poole. *Catalogue of the Collection of Arabic Coins Preserved in the Khedivial Library at Cairo*. (London, 1897).
- Kmietowicz** Anna Kmietowicz and Wladyslaw Kubiak. *Wczesnosredniowieczny Skarb Srebrny z Zalesia Powiat Slupca* (Worclaw, 1969).
- Kuwait** Dar al-'Athar al-Islamiya, Kuwait.
- Lavoix** Henri Lavoix. *Catalogue des monnaies musulmanes de la Bibliotheque Nationale*, Vol. I. Paris, 1887. vol. III. Paris, 1897.
- Lemaire** Pierre P. Lemaire, 'Muhammadan Coins in the Convent of the Flagellation, Jerusalem,' *Numismatic Chronicle*, 5th Ser., 18 (1938): 295–99.
- Levy** Shalom Levy and Helen W. Mitchell. 'A Hoard of Gold Dinars from Ramlah.' *Israel Numismatic Journal*. III (1965–66): 37–66.
- Limbada Hoard** Private Collection, Limbada, London, U.K.
- Linder-Welin** Ulla S. Linden-Welin, 'Sayf ad Dawlah's Reign in Syria Diyarbekr in the Light of the Numismatic Evidence,' *Commentationes de Nummis Saeculorum IX XI in Suecia Repertic*. Stockholm, 1961: 17–106.
- Linder-Welin letter** Ulla S. Linder-Welin, Personal Correspondence 30 April 1976, with data sent by Paul Balog, 17 December 1956.

- Linder-Welin Nordish** Ulla S. Linder-Welin, "The Kufic Coins in a Hoard from Hagvalds in Gerum, Gotland," *Nordish Numismatisk Arsskrift*, 1966: 82–124.
- London Private** Private Collection, London.
- Markoff** Markoff, Alexei K. *Inventarniy katalog musulmanskikh monet* (St. Petersburg: Imperatorskavo Ermitazha, 1896–1898).
- Mayer** L.A. Mayer Museum, Jerusalem
- Milan** Carlo O. Castiglioni. *Monete Cufiche dell'I.R. Museo di Milano*. (Milan, 1819).
- Mitchiner** Michael B. Mitchiner. *Oriental Coins and Their Values. The World of Islam*. (London, 1973).
- Moller** J.H. Moller. *De Numis orientalibus in Numophylacio Gothano asservates. Commentatio prima*. (Gotha, 1826).
- Morton & Eden** Morton & Eden sales catalogue.
- Munzel** Dr. Kurt Munzel. Personal Correspondence 20 September 1974.
- Munzel 1975** Kurt Munzel. 'Ein Dinar des Ichschiditen Kafur aus dem Jahre 356 A.H.," *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte*. XXV (1975): 129–34.
- Naqshabandi** Nasir al Sayyid Mahmud Naqshabandi. "The Islamic Dinar," *Summer III* (1947); 270–311.
- Negre** Arlette Negre. Personal Correspondence 25 April 1976.
- Nutzel** Heinrich Nutzel. *Katalog der orientalischen Munzen. Königliche Museen zu Berlin*. Bd. I. (Berlin, 1898).
- Ostrup** Johannes Ostrup. *Catalogue des monnaies Arabes et Turques du Cabinet Royal des Medailles du Musee National Copenhague*. (Copenhagen, 1938).
- Paris** Cabinet des Medailles, Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris.
- Pere** Nuri Pere. Personal Correspondence 28 September 1974.
- Qatar** Mohammad Abu'l-Faraj al-Ush. *Arab Islamic Coins preserved in the National Museum of Qatar I* (Doha: The Ministry of Information in Qatar, 1984).
- Qatar II** Ibrahim Jabir al-Jabr. *Arab Islamic Coins preserved in the National Museum of Qatar II* (Doha: The Ministry of Information in Qatar, 1992).

- Rock** Rockefeller Museum, Israel Ministry of Antiquities, Jerusalem.
- Rogers** Edward Rogers, Beg, 'Catalogue of the Collection of Mohammedan Coins,' *Numismatic Chronicle*. 3rd Ser. 3 (1883): 202–60.
- Sarraj** Mahab al-Bakri, 'A Guide to the Sarraj Collection,' *Al-Maskukat II* (1969): 36–79.
- SB** Private collection in Germany c/o Stefan Heidemann.
- Shamma** Samir Shamma. Personal Correspondence 16 November 1974.
- Shamma Kafur** Samir Shamma, 'Ru'yah Jadidah li-Hukm al-'Ustadh Kafur,' *Majallah Al-'Arabi* (Kuwait) 232 (March, 1970): 120–23.
- Shamma Study** Shamma, Samir. *Al-Nuqud al-Islamiyah allati duribat fi Filastin* (West Bank, 1980).
- SICA** *Sylloge of Islamic Coins in the Ashmolean*.
- Simon** Hermann Simon, 'Ein Unederter Ihsididischer Dirham,' *Revue Numismstique*. 6e serie XIX (1977): 109–10.
- Smithsonian** Smithsonian Institution. Washington, D.C.
- SNAT** *Sylloge Numorum Arabicorum Tübingen*.
- Soret** F. Soret, '23rd lettre,' *Revue de la numismatique beige*. 2nd serie, IV (1854): 407.
- Sotheby Catalogue** Sotheby Catalogues, London.
- Yepi ve Kredi** Yepi ve Kredi Museum, Istanbul, Turkey.
- Tiesenhausen** Tiesenhausen, V. *Moneti Vostoghnova Khalafata* (St. Petersburg, 1873).
- Tornberg** Carolus Johannes Tornberg. *Numi Cuffici Regii Numophylocii Holmiensis* (Upsala, 1848).
- Tübingen** Forschungsstelle für Islamische Numismatik Orientalisches Seminar der Universität Tübingen.
- Umm al-Qurra** Umm al-Qurra University, Riyadh, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.
- Vienna** Kunsthistorisches Museum. Vienna.
- Webdale** Tony Webdale. Personal Correspondence 26 October 1975.
- Zeno** www.zeno.ru.

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Canada

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Appendix 3

Standard Obverse and Reverse Coin Types— Illustrated, Transcribed, Referenced

Second Abbasid Monetary Epoch Obverse Types

<i>Type Number</i>	<i>Illustration</i>	<i>Arabic</i>	<i>Catalogue References</i>
O1		لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له	1, 2, 4-6, 8, 9, 11, 12, 14-17, 22, 30-35, 37, 45, 100-104, 110- 112, 118, 122, 123, 129, 130, 136-138, 199, 200, 210, 210a.
O1a		لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له الله = 12 & 6 محمد = 9 & 3	136
O2		لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له ابو منصور بن امير المؤمنين	18-21, 23-26, 28, 29, 38-42, 44, 114, 115, 119, 120, 121, 124-127, 131-134, 139, 143.

Type Number	Illustration	Arabic	Catalogue References
O3		لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له الاخشيد	113.
O4		لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له ابو القاسم بن الاخشيد	47, 48, 50-55, 57-68, 70-76, 78-80, 82- 90, 146-148, 150-158, 162, 165-171, 173- 174, 177-184, 187, 189.
O5		لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له ابو القاسم بن لاخشيد	144, 145, 160, 161, 175, 176, 185, 186.
O6		لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له على بن الاخشيد	91-100, 190-198, 207, 208.
O7		لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له الحسن بن عبيد الله	106, 108a, 109, 201, 202, 204.

O8



لا اله الا
اله وحده
لا شريك له
الحسن بن
عبيد الله

107, 109, 203,
205.



O9



لا اله الا
الله وحده
لا شريك له
الحسن بن عبيد الله

206

Second Abbasid Monetary Epoch Reverse Types

<i>Type Number</i>	<i>Illustration</i>	<i>Arabic</i>	<i>Catalogue References</i>
R1		<p>لله محمد رسول الله الراضي بالله</p>	<p>1, 2, 4-6, 8, 9, 11, 12, 14, 15, 31-35, 37, 110-112, 117, 118, 123, 129, 128, 130, 138, 212, 213.</p>
R2		<p>لله محمد رسول الله المتقى لله</p>	<p>16-19, 21, 119, 124-126, 139.</p>

R3



لله
محمد
رسول
الله
المتقى لله
الاخشيده

20, 22-26, 28, 29,
38-40, 42, 44,
114, 115, 121,
127,
131, 132, 140-
143.

R4



لله
محمد
رسول
الله
المتقى لله
محمد بن طنج

113.

R5



لله
محمد
رسول الله
المتقى لله
الاخشيده

41, 120, 133.

R6



لله
محمد رسول الله
صلى الله عليه
المتقى لله
امير المؤمنين
الاخشيده

134.

R7



لله 30, 45, 136.
محمد
رسول
الله
المستكفى بالله
الاخشيد

R8



لله 122, 137.
محمد
رسول الله
صلى الله عليه
المستكفى بالله
الاخشيد

R9



لله 47, 48, 68,
70-76, 144, 145,
محمد 147, 148, 173,
رسول 176, 177, 178a,
الله 179, 181, 187,
189a.
صلى الله عليه
المطيع لله

R10



لله 174, 175, 182-
184, 186.
محمد رسول
الله صلى الله
عليه وعلى آله
المطيع لله

- R11  الله
محمد
رسول الله
صلى الله عليه
وعلى آله
المطيع لله 50-55, 57-67,
78-80, 82-104,
146, 150-158,
160, 165-171,
180, 181, 18a,
189-200, 207,
208.
- R12  الله
محمد
رسول الله صلى
الله عليه وسلم
المطيع لله 161, 162.
- R13 No Photo Available لله 185.
محمد
رسول الله
صلى الله
عليه وسلم
المطيع لله
- R14  الله 178.
محمد رسول الله
صلى الله عليه
وعلى آله وسلم
المطيع لله

R15



الله
محمد
رسول الله صلى
الله عليه وعلى آله
المطيع لله
احمد بن علي
طغج

106, 107, 108a,
109, 201.

R16



الله
محمد
رسول الله صلى
الله عليه وعلى آله
المطيع لله
احمد بن علي

204, 205, 206.

R17



الله
محمد
رسول
الله المتقى لله
الاخشيد

133a.

R18



الله
محمد
رسول الله
صلى الله عليه
وعلى آله وسلم
المطيع لله

181c.

Second Abbasid Monetary Epoch Marginal Legends

Obverse Inner Margin [] سنة [] بسم الله ضرب هذا

Obverse Outer Margin لله الامر من قبل ومن بعد ويومئذ
يفرح المؤمنون بنصر الله

Reverse Margin محمد رسول الله ارسله بالهدى ودين الحق
ليظهره على الدين كله ولو كره المشركون