ARABIC COINS
and how to read them

by
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DEDICATION

to my wife Anne and sons Peter and Stephen

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FOREWORD

Reading Arabic is fun. Persevere long enough at least to get through the "alphabet barrier", and a whole new world will open up to the collector through his own coins.

"Teach Yourself Arabic" and other grammar books get into complicated declensions and conjugations at an early stage; and in any case the vocabulary taught is not of the type needed by the numismatist. Of what use to him are phrases like "the lady girl is in the yellow room" or "the girl speaks truth and lies not"?

I am not teaching the reader Arabic. After mastering this book he will not be able to go out and hold a conversation with an Arab; but he will have got the "start" he needs towards an understanding of coins inscribed in Arabic.

The Arabic alphabet in fact covers a number of languages — Arabic is Semitic; Persian is Indo-European; and Malay is in the Malayo-Polynesian group. Differences are not just of dialect, they are of basic structure. However, Arabic itself is the really important one, bearing a relationship to other Oriental languages not unlike that of Latin to the languages of Europe. Just as mediaeval European coins are inscribed in Latin, so are the majority of the coins of North African, Turkish, Persian, and Indian origin inscribed until very recent times in Arabic. A limited knowledge of Persian will also be necessary for unravelling the Persian poetic couplets found on Indian and Persian coins particularly during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries A.D.

I intend to simplify things as much as possible. Pronunciation, for instance, is not of prime importance to the numismatist, so only a rough equivalent is given — a number of Arabic letters are transcribed "as" "z". "z" is near enough!

Again, I intend to leave out the Arabic short vowel symbols, except just to explain what these are. I intend to leave out case endings where these are written in the Arabic, as the majority are; by short vowels and "mushaf" symbols, which are not usually shown on the coins. For simplicity's sake these are also left out of the transcription of the Arabic in European letters. In other words the Arabic of this book is not fully grammatical in that it has been simplified wherever possible.

With regard to the illustrations, size is not related to the actual size of the coin, but rather to the need of being able to make out the writing on it. A coin with a more complicated inscription will tend to be "blown up" more than a coin with writing that is easily legible. In most cases I leave out the many dots and marks which one finds on these coins, but which are not part of the inscription — marks which can be very confusing.

I begin with the Ottoman Empire, hoping that the thrill of discovering that these common coins can be interpreted very easily will induce the reader to follow through to the more modern Arabic coins, and then, by this stage being familiar with the Arabic alphabet, to tackle the early coins straight from the world of the "Arabian Nights", from the cultured civilization the gave us, amongst other things, Algebra. From here we move forward again, and into the realm of Persian and Indian coins.

Only a small selection of possible legends can be looked at in a small book like this; but if I fail I will have succeeded if the reader gains an interest in his Arabic coins, if perhaps it makes him go out and buy more books on the subject.

CHAPTER I  The numerals. Arabic dating

Our easiest topic will be the numeral figures, so here we begin.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>European</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>ᵢ</td>
<td>ᵣ</td>
<td>ᵤ</td>
<td>ᵥ</td>
<td>ecided</td>
<td>ᵩ</td>
<td>ᵪ</td>
<td>ᵫ</td>
<td>ᵪ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figures do vary considerably in shape, for example, may be ᵣ or ᵩ. Occasionally they tip to the right, ᵣ for 6, ᵪ for 7.

All Arabic is written from right to left, but in the case of numbers this is cancelled out by the fact that Arabs speak of them the opposite way round from the way we do. 754 is to them "Four and fifty and seven hundred", ᵩ and ᵪ and ᵪ, which is put together and written in their usual way from right to left as ᵩ ᵪ ᵩ ᵣ ᵩ. This means that for practical purposes Arabic numerals are "the right way round" as far as we are concerned.

Note that in Morocco they have used European numerals for the past two hundred years, and an Arabic coin with European numerals on it probably comes from Morocco or, just possibly, Tunis.

We need a knowledge of numerals to work out the denomination of a coin. For example, a large Turkish copper coin with ᵣ in the centre is a 40 para coin. But our main concern with Arabic numerals is for working out dates.

Dates are nearly always "Anno Hegirae" rather than "Anno Domini" — A.H. rather than A.D. The Hegira was the "Flight", Mohammed's flight from Mecca on 16th July 622 A.D. But to change an A.H. date into an A.D. one we have to do more than just add 622; we have to take account of the Moslem year being lunar and only having 354 days, as compared with our solar year of 365 days. A hundred Moslem years are equal to ninety-seven of our years.

This means that when faced with a date like 1111 T we must do three things.

(1) We change it into European numerals: 1111 1 becomes 1223.

(2) As there are three more lunar years per hundred than there are solar, we subtract 3%, i.e. 3 x 12 for the 1200 A.H., and another 1 for the remaining 23, as this is getting on for a third of another hundred, making 37 altogether.

(3) We add 622, to bring A.H. back to the same starting line as A.D.

So our sum is 1223 A.H. - 37 1186 + 622 1288 A.D. 1288 A.H. is the date of the ascension of the Ottoman Sultan, Mahmud II, and this is equivalent to 1808 A.D.

We examine a coin of Morocco with the date 1371. No need to transmute this. We subtract 3x13 for the hundreds A.H., and 2 more because 71 is about two-thirds of another hundred, and then we add 622.

The sum reads 1371 A.H. - 41 1330 + 622 1952 A.D. 7
We must be prepared for slight inaccuracy as A.H. and A.D. years do not coincide. Thus an A.H. date usually falls within two A.D. years anyway.

There are other dating systems used on coins written in Arabic script, but only one can really confuse the collector. Between 1920 and 1929 A.D. and since 1926 A.D., Afghanistan and since 1926 A.D., Persia have used a system of solar Hegira dates. These start from the Hegira in 622 A.D., but have years the same length as our own. Thus a Persian coin of the new system in 1926 A.D. was dated 1304, exactly 52 less than the A.D. date. To make things worse, these solar Hegira years are still called A.H., so 1936 A.D. was 1344 A.H. (Solar) for the rest of the Moslem world. Fortunately for purposes of identification, the larger proportion of Persian coins put the name of the reigning Shah and his dynastic name on the coins, and the change to solar years was made at the beginning of Fiza Shah's reign, and he was the first Pahlavi. This means that any coin with the name Pahlavi must be dated in solar years. The trouble is that some coins, particularly those of lower value, do not inscribe a ruler's name. For these we must refer to a catalogue for date information.

Another dating system is that devised by Tipu Sultan of Mysore, who between 1787 and 1799 A.D. dated his coins in solar years from Mohammad's birth, calculated as occurring in 622 A.H. calling these 'Mauludi' (birth) years, and marked them as A.M.

However, there is no mistake in coins dated A.M., as this illustration shows.

1. The Mauludi date is written backwards. 1224 A.M. is written as ১২২৪.
2. Tipu's commonest coins, the copper ones, have an elephant on the obverse.

There are various minor systems of dating, but these always have low numbers and are not confusing. Abu Sa'id, 1318-1335 A.D., one of the Mongols of Persia, occasionally used the 'Khanian' era. The Moghul Emperor Akbar invented an era he called 'Kali', which means 'Divine'. Akbar's years were solar dating from the commencement of his own reign in 1556 A.D., however the lowest kali date is 5, and the highest is 50.

One other fact must be noted, that in the 800's and 900's, A.H. coins use only figures for 9, 8, and 7, being 9 is ٩, ٨ is ٨, and ٧ is ٧. The figures for 4 and 5 are particularly confusing as they ought to represent ٤ and ٥ rather than ٧ and ٨. The date 890 A.H. on a coin can for example of the Indian king of Jaunpur — is not 954 as it would be on an Egyptian or Persian coin.

**Exercise No. 1**

Determine the denomination of the following coins:


## Русский алфавит

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Правила орфографии</th>
<th>Правила переноса</th>
<th>Правила ударения</th>
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<tr>
<td>A</td>
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<td>Q</td>
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## Перевод

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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>B</td>
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<td>V</td>
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<td>S</td>
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<tr>
<td>Z</td>
<td>Z</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q</td>
<td>Q</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Примечание

В данном примере показаны правила орфографии, переноса и ударения для русского алфавита.

## Справка

Термины и правила, представленные в таблице, основаны на современных нормах русского языка и могут быть использованы при написании текстов на русском языке.
at the end of a word it can be placed "on the line" without any "carrying letter", though no examples of this occur in this book. As hamza is only a "symbol" it needs a proper letter to "rest" on or under - just as the short vowel symbols do. However with hamza a "proper letter" is put in specially for it to rest on, and if alef is written, and if ya may be used in this way. When included as a hamza-holder the holding alef, waw, or ya is not itself pronounced, its only function is to hold hamza.

At the beginning of a word alef is always the hamza-holder, and as it holds the hamza it also holds the vowel which the hamza holds. In Omdurman the o is held by a hamza, but an alef itself unpronounced holds the hamza. This makes Omdurman look as though it begins with an alef - it is not written alef m d (which "holds" the short i before a m) pronounced in its own right as a long i m. Thus 

Even a long vowel at the beginning of a word needs a hamza to hold it, and must therefore begin with an alef - thus, "el-Tibb. Where the first vowel is a long g which is alef in its own right the word ought to begin with two alefs, one to hold the hamza and one for the long i - in fact these two alefs are written together as one with a "madda" on top of the first.

However, the reader need not take further notice of initial hamza or madda, as I do not intend to mark them in the Arabic or in the transliteration. But it must be noticed that in practice an introductory alef may represent any of the short vowels or a long i.

Medial hamza, however, must be noticed. It is written over alef, waw, or ya - the ya normally being undotted. Thus mi"at "hundred" is composed of three syllables: m i"a t, which holds the short i in "hame" which holds the short a t. It is written with the short i in "hame" (see below for an explanation of h as a final vowel when placed in the last position of a word) but not in the last position of a word, where coins this would normally appear as a final without the hamza mark.

Unfortunately medial or final hamza may sometimes be written as a dottet instead of a ya with no hamza symbol. Thus "Aleger" is 

Medial hamza i do intend to transliterate - as a 'a, the same mark as for "sin. Thus 

mi"at, and 

The normal ending for feminine nouns in Arabic is t, but this t is written as two dots over the ya, to form what is technically known as "la marbute". In modern Arabic this letter is only pronounced when followed by a word beginning with a vowel, but I intend to transliterate it as a "la marbute". This rule is found in the Persian use of Arabic words we find that they write سرائی "sarahi".

But without dots, is sometimes used in place of alef at the end of a word, and is pronounced as a long g, as in Mustafa המ מוסטפא t f i s E. One other "symbol" we must know is the "tashid", which is placed above a letter to show that it is doubled. Particularly interesting is a word like "Constantinople" which, in its Arabic form "كستاني" has a long g and a y next to each other. As these are both written by the same Arabic letter ya, this becomes y double letter, and the two y's are written together as in the word "quintmessene".

We must also note peculiarities in the way certain letters join up with certain other letters. J joins an p m , when written on coins, like this - . As in el-Masry "Egyptian".

J joins the z group, j ch h kh, this is - . As in el-Jazair "Algerian".

I also links with a following alef like this - and thereby forming what is almost an extra letter in the Alphabet "Lam-Alef", which means "No God except Allah", where we see lam-alef twice. Once in the ل meaning "no", and once in the V ل "except".

Certain letters, namely a alef j d z r j sh zh do not let other letters join onto them, and any letter following one of these must "start again" in its initial (or isolated) form. For instance, in the word, if the j and the zh are isolated from each other, as az, cannot be linked to a following letter: the sh is in its initial rather than its medial form, because it cannot join onto the zh.

One very peculiar word needs explanation. ل el, which is the definite article "the" and therefore extremely common, can change its sound in pronunciation, though not in writing. Firstly, the initial vowel is not pronounced if the word follows a vowel. Secondly, the "l" is assimilated to the following consonant if that consonant is one of a group known (from this very function) as "sun letters". These are 

All other letters are called "moon letters", because they do not assimilate to themselves. This means that a word like "ال", "ال", though still written in this way, is really "ال", or "ال", and in "full" writing this is shown by a š tashid over the j or the d. The rule of thumb spell "Asafu-eldaulat" is actually pronounced "Asafu-eldaulat", with the "l" being assimilated to the "d" and the "l" dropping out after the preceding "u".

The fact that short vowels are not normally put in means, unfortunately, that we have to know what a word is before we can be sure of our reading of it. We shall find that authorities do not all write the same word in the same way anyway, "the" may be equally "el" or "el". The Ottoman sultan may be "Abdul Mejid" or "Abdul-Medjid" or "Abdul-i Mejid".

As regards the special "Persian" letters ϫ ϩ ϫ ϩ ϫ ϩ ϫ we find that these are not used at all on the earlier coins, where the language is always Arabic. Even in words and names which ought to contain them we find instead the nearest equivalent: ϫ ϩ ϫ ϩ ϫ ϩ ϫ ϩ for ϫ , as in "Padushah", the title of the Mogul Emperors, which is written محمد شاه. ϫ ϩ is used for ϫ ϩ, as in the mint of the Khanate of Krim called "Baghchis Sari", which is written باغچے سرای. ϫ ϩ is used for ϫ in the name of the great Seljuq conqueror, Tughril Bagh, which is written تغلق باغ. The letter ϫ does not come across in any book in this case.

Exercise No. 2

Transcribe into English the following mint towns,

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7.

8. 9. 10.
CHAPTER 11

Mint and Signum of Ottoman Coins. Lists of money names.

Vocabulary

The paper of the Ottoman Empire, besides being very common, is the material of all text manuscripts. They therefore provide a good starting point.

Good Muslims may make arrangements of lining things, and, though they have been in use since the establishment of Islam, coins of coins have been manufactured until very recent times, kept away from every object in the material and kept out of geometrical designs, and in particular writing, and the whole is all calligraphy. This means that of their written in one place there are some that are too complex to look beautiful.

As a rule, the term of the Ottomans is the same as that of the Turks. Every number has its own design, but it is true that the name of the Sultan is in a larger form, and therefore not written elsewhere. The data will also give the only indication as to which Sultan are dealing with. At all times with Turks and Ottomans, we find them used by the Khedives of the Sudan, by the rulers of South Africa, and some think that the name of the Khedive is the same as that of the Sultan.

For all the names of the important side of an Ottoman coin, there is always found one word that is repeated fourfold and, on the face, there is a design that is repeated on the back. The name of the Sultan is in a larger form, and therefore not written elsewhere. The data will also give the only indication as to which Sultan are dealing with. At all times with Turks and Ottomans, we find them used by the Khedives of the Sudan, by the rulers of South Africa, and some think that the name of the Khedive is the same as that of the Sultan.

In the text, the name of the Sultan is written in a larger form, and therefore not written elsewhere. The data will also give the only indication as to which Sultan are dealing with. At all times with Turks and Ottomans, we find them used by the Khedives of the Sudan, by the rulers of South Africa, and some think that the name of the Khedive is the same as that of the Sultan.

The text here refers to the name of the Ottoman coin, which is mentioned in

"Al-Khuriyya" and **"Al-Khuriyya"** separated by a name, which on Ottoman coins is written as a two-worded name:

The coin's name is written in a two-worded name:

**"Al-Khuriyya"**

The text here refers to the name of the Ottoman coin, which is mentioned in

"Al-Khuriyya" and **"Al-Khuriyya"** separated by a name, which on Ottoman coins is written as a two-worded name:

The coin's name is written in a two-worded name:

**"Al-Khuriyya"**
Again, we read around the coin 
"May his victory be glorious it was minted in the metropolis of Egypt!"
The mahrjat is split into, with the same written over the mahrjat as an "s" with a squiggle.

Constantinople and Cairo coins have two dates, the year of accession and the regnal year of the sultan. Mahmud II became sultan in 1222 A.H., 1806 A.D., and 1223, his year of accession, is on coins of these mints, usually at the bottom. A coin of 1224 A.H. would not have 1224 on the coin, it would still have 1223, but with the numeral 2 to indicate the second year of reign. A coin of 1225 A.H. would have 1225 and 3, and so on up to 1229 and 432, which is 1839 A.D., when Abdul Mejid begins, 1255 A.H.

The dates are placed like this:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year Of Accession</th>
<th>Year Of Reign</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1223</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quintermishah</td>
<td>1223</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Accession year is at the bottom, and the Regnal year at the top. We find the actual date of the coin by adding the two numbers together and subtracting 1. In this case we have 1223 + 16 – 1 = 1238 A.H. = 1823 A.D. We have to subtract the one, because the Accession year is itself Regnal Year 1, and if we did not subtract it we would be counting it in twice.

In the case of the circular inscription copper type the year of Accession is written at the bottom over the name of the Sultan, with the Regnal Year on the Obverse under the Tughra above a single squiggle which also represents the word "s."
CHAPTER IV

Coin denominations. The plural:

Vocabulary:

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</tr>
<tr>
<td>٥٠٠٠</td>
<td>5,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>٤٠٠٠</td>
<td>4,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>٣٠٠٠</td>
<td>3,000</td>
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<td>2,000</td>
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<td>1,000</td>
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<td>800</td>
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<td>500</td>
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<td>400</td>
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<td>100</td>
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<td>80</td>
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<td>20</td>
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<td>٨</td>
<td>8</td>
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<td>٣</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>٢</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>١</td>
<td>1</td>
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It is interesting that the Egyptian stamps of 1888 A.D. are bilingual, inscribed in French and Arabic — the value being given in tenths of a piastre in Arabic, but in "millimes" in French. In January 1914 Egyptian stamps go over to English and Arabic, and on this set the Arabic side also gives the value in millimes; but the first coin with "Millime" is not until 1916.

The "tenth" series goes right down to two small copper coins, the ١٠٠٠, which is min 'ushar el-qirsh "half from the tenth of the piastre", and the ٢٠٠ which is nu'ub min 'ushar el-qirsh "quarter from the tenth of the piastre" — in other words, a twentieth and afortieth of a piastre.

During the reign of Caior II, coins were marked on the reverse with the word "Tughra" — the name of the ruler. These coins were usually marked in a rectangular shape, with the word "Tughra" in the center.

The word "piastre" is either ١٠٠٠ or ١٠٠٠, but it is the last letter ١٠٠٠ which is used as the abbreviation to show the piastre value. Thus the coin on the left is a 10 piastre piece, and the one on the right is a 10 ١٠٠٠.

During Abdul Hamid II's reign, in 1888 A.D., the Egyptians stopped using paras, and started instead to use "tenths of a piastre" for their smaller values. "The tenth of the piastre" is in Arabic مئة "millim" "millime" in Egypt, the لج "leh" in the Palestine Mandate, and the ح "haj" in Iraq and its surrounding areas.

As these denominations are used in quantities, 20 fils, 2 mils, and so on, we must look at how the plural is expressed.

For "two" of anything Arabs use the "dual", which is a form of the noun all on its own. The dual is the singular noun with ١٠٠٠ added when it is nominative, and ١٠٠٠ when it is accusative or genitive (as ١٠٠٠ "البراء" which means "of the two seas"). Thus "two millimes" is ١٠٠٠ "ليل" and "two horse" is ١٠٠٠ "مال" without any need for the numeral ١. Numbers between eleven and ninety-nine are followed by the accusative singular! Thus ١٠٠٠ is ١٠٠٠ "ما" ١٠٠٠ "س"، and ١٠٠٠ "ما" ١٠٠٠ "س".

The Arabic plural is confined to numbers between three and ten!

Arabic has two different types of plural — there is the "sound" plural, where the plural is the singular form with a syllable added on at the end; and there is the "broken" plural, which is
formed by breaking into, and changing or adding vowels inside, the singular form. Normally nouns take either one sort of plural or the other, though occasional nouns have more than one plural form.

The "sound" plural is straightforward. Masculine nouns add -م to the stem in the nominative, and -م in the other cases (I intend to leave off the final short vowels of the dual and the plural as I do the case endings of the singular). Feminine nouns add -ة, which is given the normal case endings, ٤ and ٥. Thus the masculine ميل - ميلم "beloved" becomes ميلم - ميلم in the nominative, ميلم - ميلم in the plural. The feminine ميل - ميلم has the plural ميلم - ميلم -- thus 3 milliems is ميلم.

Unfortunately the "broken" plural is not as simple, as there are thirty-one different ways of forming broken plurals. "piastres" comes from قرش and "francs" from دينار. Yet the plural of مليم - مليم is مليم.

Thus we find:

1 fil - مليم
2 fil - مليم
3 fil - مليم
11 fil - مليم
100 fil - مليم

Similarly with other coins. The مليم of Palestine has مليم - مليم - مليم plural. The مليم of North-West Africa has مليم - مليم - مليم plural.

In the vocabulary at the head of this chapter are listed one or two numbers (the full list is given in Chapter Nine). Unfortunately there are masculine and feminine forms, and the reader may be remembering the long list of le's and la's of French. However, things are not quite as bad as that, as there is a simple rule that helps with all the numerals except "one", and that is that all plurals except those referring to male human beings are feminine.

Exercise No. 4.

State the values of the following coins:

1) Syrian  2) Egyptian  3)  نامور
4) Egyptian  5) Palestinian  6) Lebanese

Translate the following:

7) خمس مليمات
8) أربع غروش
9) نصف من عشر القرش
10) عشر فرنك
11) مليم ونصف
12) 33 فلس
CHAPTER V
Four coins with Ottoman connections. Names

Vocabulary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>English</th>
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<tr>
<td>bar</td>
<td>land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bah</td>
<td>sea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 'in or 1 'in</td>
<td>son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daulat</td>
<td>state, government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gabi</td>
<td>before - of time or direction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>talat</td>
<td>pure, fine</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This chapter is a slightly more general one, looking at four coins, with Ottoman connections, and then at the Arabic personal name.

The first is the "inscription type" in common use up to and including the reign of Mahmud II. We read -

سُنْنَةُ الْبَرَّينِ وَخَاطِرِ الْمُجَرَّةِ السَّلاَطِينِ صَلَواتِهِمُ السَّلاَم

sultan el-barrain wa khagan el-bahrain es-sultan ibn es-sultan

"barrain" ("of the two lands") and "bahrain" ("of the two seas") are both dually in the genitive case which is an adaptation of the old Mongol title of Jenghiz Khan "Khaan", a word which contracts to the even shorter form كَاَنَ ("Khan"). "ibn" is the means "son", a word which is often shortened to یَبَن when between the name of the father and the son. The inscription translates:

"Sultan of the two empires (i.e. Europe and Asia) and Khagan of the two seas (i.e. the Black Sea and the Aegean), the Sultan son of the Sultan".

I love these high sounding titles! Mahmud II used this legend, and during his reign occurred the Greek War of Independence. The Ottoman Empire was contracting, so Mahmud's successors could no longer use these titles. The "Sultan son of the Sultan" is a commonly used phrase to emphasise legitimate descent from the previous sultan, i.e. he was neither illegitimate nor a usurper.

The next coin, a 40 para piece from the Constantinople mint, is at the other extreme. No more dreams of an empire that once was. The Sultan Abdul Hamid II, 1876 - 1909 A.D., was an absolute monarch and wanted to be considered an old style "caliph" recognised as the religious leader of all Moslems. He was opposed by the young Turks who wanted Turkey for the Turks. In 1909 their influence achieved the deposition of Abdul Hamid, and the setting up of Abdul's brother as Mohammed V. This coin is in the new style adopted when Young Turk influence was paramount in the reign of the last two sultansMohammed V and Mohammed VI.

The spray of laurel and corn shows a break from hide-bound Moslem conservatism towards the coinage of the West - not actually representing "living" creatures, but gods. The obverse still has the tugha, but the wording, though the words are Arabic words, is in a Turkish form, ending in ی rather than ی. On the reverse, "Justice". The reverse has at the top دُونِ الْبَرَّينِ دُونِ الْبَحْرِينِ "Doun el-barrain Doun el-bahrain" "Ottoman Government" - I put ی as rather than ی, because it is Turkish rather than Arabic pronunciation. To left and right of "Ottoman Government" we read zuraba یَرَبَّأ یَرَبَّأ "Instituted in Constantinople."

Now a coin of a country that broke away from the Ottoman dominions, the Sudan. Under the Mahdi. In 1885 A.D. the Mahdi's followers captured Khartoum and killed General Gordon, and though the Mahdi himself died that same year, his followers retained independence under Abdullah, the "Khshiat" (a word meaning "successor" normally used of the successors of Mohammed, the word we anglicise as "caliph"), until in 1898 they were utterly defeated by an Anglo-Egyptian army under Kitchener. Between 1885 and 1908 they struck coins from their capital Omdurman.

The reverse reads the usual Ottoman way,

زَرِيبَةُ فِي أُمْدُرَمْنِ "Zuriba in Omdurman", the only irregularity being that the first ی of Omdurman is not linked to the ی. The obverse has a very poor sort of tugha, and below we see the abbreviation ١٠٠۰ for 20 piastres, though this is in fact a copper coin.

Above the ١٠٠۰ is a word which seems to have lost its final ی, ی, which means "accepted".

We pause at zuriba for a moment. Most Arabic nouns are formed from a basic root of three consonants. This root may add syllables, and may have any number of vowel changes, but it still has a meaning derived in some way from the basic meaning held by the three root consonants - though the connection may appear rather obscure to us. Zuriba comes from a root word of three consonants, زَرِيبَة، which is a preposition meaning "before" in either time or direction. From the "before" of direction, "in front of"; concept, comes زَرِيبَة، which means "southwards". This is because most Moslems live to the North of Mecca, and "southwards" is "in front of" them when they turn towards Mecca to pray. Similarly, "b" of word means "pocket compass", as this enables us to find the direction of Mecca. Also from the general idea of "in front of" come words from the same root meaning "advance", "welcome", "receive", "accept", "believe in", "agree to". Again, from the "before" of time concept, similar words mean "the future" and "waiting for".

When faced with a new word one should decide, if possible, which are the root three consonants. Not only may this help with the meaning, but many Arabic dictionaries list all words under their root.

The fourth coin we look at in this chapter is from the Kasghar, or Kashgar, in Chinese Turkestan. The Moslem general Yakub Beg revolted from the Chinese and struck coins in Kashgar between 1875 and 1877 A.D., and this is one of his silver coins. It has two different dates, ١٢٩٩ and ١٢٩٩ (A.H.), one on each side. The obverse reads from the bottom upwards: لَا يَؤْتِي الْجَمْهُورِ "Abd al-gaffar Khan. This refers to the Ottoman Sultan Abdul Aziz, 1861-1876 A.D. The nearest Ottoman frontier was a very long way away, but Yakub Beg is putting his name on thinking of him as spiritual and temporal leader of all good Moslems - he cannot have been expecting help in any material way. I hope Abdul Aziz was flattered, if he ever knew about it. The reverse reads یَرَبَّأ زَرِيبَةٌ "Zuriba of Kashgar".

Now in the name "pure" above, referring to the quality of the silver. I have read یَرَبَّأ بَسَر as zuriba the verbal noun passive form "it was minted" simply because in previous instances it has been followed by a preposition. یَرَبَّأ بَسَر یَرَبَّأ یَرَبَّأ "As we shall see it followed by a similar word which is used as a prefix, یَرَبَّأ بَسَر which also means "in", but here it is not followed by any preposition.

Without short vowel markings یَرَبَّأ could be either zuriba or zuriba equally well; but when followed by یَرَبَّأ I am considering that it is zuriba "it was minted"; when there is no preposition, zuriba being "minting". On this Kashgar coin we notice that the writing is not so "accurate", and this is what we shall have to get used to when we get to the earlier coins. There is no recognisable dot under the یَرَبَّأ; the یَرَبَّأ of Kashgar is separated from the rest of the word; there is no dot over the یَرَبَّأ of Kashgar. To get the feel of Arabic script at its various stages the reader must trace out for himself the inscriptions to see how they are written on each coin example. We shall find the styles of writing varying considerably.
We conclude this chapter with a note about Arabic personal names.

The personal name proper, i.e. the equivalent of our Christian name, normally falls into one of three categories.

1) Names of prophets and patriarchs mentioned in the Koran. For instance, 
Yusuf, the Arabic form of "Joseph" - يُوسُف (Yūsuf), the "Job" of the Old Testament - يُوسُف (Yūsuf), which is "Aaron". We note that very many of the Old Testament characters are mentioned in the Koran.

2) Names meaning "the Servant of Allah". The word for "servant" or "slave" is 
abd: this combines with "Allah" to form the name عبد الله (Abd al-llah), which, when its nominative case ending is added to "abd", is really abdu Allah. The first "A" of Allah is not pronounced after the "u", and the name becomes abdu Ilah, or "Abdullah". However, Allah may be referred to as "The Merciful One" - رحيمه (Rahimah) and we have the name عبد الرحمن (Abd er-Rahman), "Servant of the Merciful One". Abdul Aziz, Abdul Hamid, and other "Abd" or "Abdul" names all mean "Servant of Allah" in one of His aspects, and come into this category of name.

3) Names borne by the Prophet himself, by his family or companions, by one of the first four Caliphs, or by one of the twelve Imams. Mohammed's own name comes in three forms - محمد (Muhammad), also meaning "the praised"; مصطفى (Mustafa), also meaning "the beloved"; and أحمد "the most praised".

Ali is a name in this category, being that of Mohammad's son-in-law; and Husain, his grandson. عumeric (Umar), similarly, being the descriptive epithet used to describe the second Caliph "Umaremic" "Umar the discriminator between right and wrong."

However, besides having a personal name proper, every Arab has a kunyat, which is a name of relationship, such as عليه (Ahlu) ("son of Ayub"); or it may be istıb ("father of"); or some other relationship. We shall notice later that many rulers give themselves an artificial kunyat, such as ابنا (Abu) "father of the Victorious One".

In addition to these two names, most rulers took a لقب (t Extremely), which is a title of honour usually of a religious nature. Such a لقب is عدل (Aladin), a title meaning "moral goodness of the faith" which the Western world has corrupted into "Saladin".

Names can be confusing, particularly around the period of Saladin, where we know the rulers by their لقب, but where very often this is the one name the coins do not include. For instance I have a copper of Nureddin, 1146-73 A.D., with the legend "Muhammad ibn Zengi" - محمد بن علی (imad) - Likewise, "Abu Bakr ibn Ayoub" - the same men only not using their لقب - using only their personal names with a kunyat.

Exercise No. 5.

Read the following well-known Arabic names.

1. حسن (Hasan) 2. فاطم (Fatima) 3. إسحاق (Isaac) 4. علي (Ali) 5. محمد (Muhammad) 6. نصر (Nasr) 7. خالد (Khalid) 8. عثمان (Othman) 9. عبد الرحمن (Abd er-Rahman)

Try to work out the following: 10) An Ottoman coin from Tripoli, with very crude writing.
In 1922 Egypt became a kingdom with Fuad as King. We find a definite pattern of inscription amongst the "royal" coins of the former Ottoman territories. I show a 10 mille coin of Egypt under King Fuad. The obverse reads on the back of the coin: "Faruq the First" and on the front: "malik Mis' "King of Egypt" auw al-
first has no radical connection with wáhā'd "one".

The reverse reads "al-mamlakat al-Miṣrīyyah "the Egyptian Kingdom" — "mamluk" is the same root as malik, a root having an "ownership" idea. The Medallion Egyptian Mamluks, 1250–1516 A.D., have a name based on the same root — mamlūk, which means "slave" in the sense of "owned". The Mamluks were a dynasty of rulers who all started their careers as slave soldiers in the royal bodyguard.

On the same pattern is this coin of Iraq. This 2 fils ("fils" is used in its singular form on all values of this issue) of 1933 reads: Fāsīl el-thānī malik al-`Irāq "Fašāl the Second King of Iraq" thānī "second" is from the same root as thānī "two". The reverse, in very ornate script, reads: al-mamlakat al-Miṣrīyyah "the "Irāq Kingdom".

Again, modern Morocco uses a similar style. This obverse of a silver dirhem reads: Muhammad al-khānīs, mamlakat el-Magribiyyah "Mohammed V, the Moroccan Kingdom" khānīs "fifth" is very close to khan "kings" khamīs "fifth". Morocco is one of the few countries that keep the old name of "West".

Saudi Arabia began its numismatic life in 1926 A.D. when Abdul Aziz ("Slaves of the Glorious One") related to the word "mazād" on the coin: "mazād". The most frequent words are: mazād "slaves" or "money". The reverse reads: mazād "slaves" or "money". It was a necessary help in reading the coin.

A difficulty is that on coins one finds many extra dates and signs that have no meaning at all, merely being decorative. Numismatists can afford to ignore short vowel symbols at most times, but just occasionally knowledge of them is useful.

The "Egyptian Sultanate" arose after many years of nominal dependence on Turkey. The Egyptian ruler had been an Ottoman vassal, Khedive, and on his coins he had always shown the tuğra of the reigning Ottoman, until the start of World War I, when in 1914 Turkey came in on the German side and Egypt joined the Allies. In December 1914 the British, to make Egypt completely independent of the new hostile Turkey, made Husain Kamil Sultan — equal in rank to the Turkish ruler. In 1916 and 1917 coins bear Husain Kamil's name. The obverse reads: su-luqfu Husain Kamal, which he used weekly to follow up: in particular the 1916 in Husain's name right back to join the name as like this: قر. The date below: 1333 A.H., the Accession date.

On September 2, 1922, Husain Kamal was enthroned, and his second son, Fuad, was crowned King. Fuad was born in 1906, and in 1922 he was 16 years old. He was a brilliant young man who had been educated in France. He was a great athlete, and he was also a gifted musician. He was a great admirer of Art Nouveau, and he was a great collector of art. He was a great lover of music, and he was a great patron of the arts. He was a great friend of the British, and he was a great admirer of British culture. He was a great admirer of France, and he was a great admirer of French culture. He was a great admirer of Italy, and he was a great admirer of Italian culture. He was a great admirer of the United States, and he was a great admirer of American culture. He was a great admirer of Germany, and he was a great admirer of German culture. He was a great admirer of Japan, and he was a great admirer of Japanese culture. He was a great admirer of China, and he was a great admirer of Chinese culture. He was a great admirer of India, and he was a great admirer of Indian culture. He was a great admirer of Russia, and he was a great admirer of Russian culture. He was a great admirer of Greece, and he was a great admirer of Greek culture. He was a great admirer of Spain, and he was a great admirer of Spanish culture. He was a great admirer of Portugal, and he was a great admirer of Portuguese culture. He was a great admirer of Italy, and he was a great admirer of Italian culture. He was a great admirer of France, and he was a great admirer of French culture. He was a great admirer of Germany, and he was a great admirer of German culture. He was a great admirer of Japan, and he was a great admirer of Japanese culture. He was a great admirer of China, and he was a great admirer of Chinese culture. He was a great admirer of India, and he was a great admirer of Indian culture. He was a great admirer of Russia, and he was a great admirer of Russian culture. He was a great admirer of Greece, and he was a great admirer of Greek culture. He was a great admirer of Spain, and he was a great admirer of Spanish culture. He was a great admirer of Portugal, and he was a great admirer of Portuguese culture.
the Caliphate” is a practice we shall find very commonly used with Persian and Indian mints, that of putting an “Honourific epithet” before the name of the place. Teheran is also Dār al-Khāliq. Tabriz is “the Abode of the Suqman.” etc. The word “Khāliq” is derived from the Latin “calvus,” meaning “head.”

The Muñakkat or “Capital” of the Kingdom of the Yemen is a dynastic name, as is “Hashimite.” With the Jordanian rulers being described in very much the same way as the previous rulers of the Yemens. It is called the "Jordaniyas Hashimite Kingdom.”

In the central obverse circle is the “Kalima,” i.e., the basic Moslem statement of faith. "There is no god except Allah and Muhammad, the Messenger of Allah.” To left and right of the Kalima is the name of the ruler and his wife, i.e., "Abū al-Maʿālī amrī rādī Allah ar-Raḥmān, amīr al-Maṣūmiscīnīn, with the date 1367 repeated. In the smaller crescent is the ruler’s name, “Abū al-Maʿālī amrī rādī Allah ar-Raḥmān, amīr al-Maṣūmiscīnīn, with the date 1367 repeated.”

The reverse has, at the top, the phrase “Allah nasrātu ‘Allāh.” For Allah means “help” or “defender,” as well as “victory,” and the date 1367. The name of the ruler, “Abū al-Maʿālī amrī rādī Allah ar-Raḥmān, amīr al-Maṣūmiscīnīn, with the date 1367 repeated.”

In the big crescent we read “Abū al-Maʿālī amrī rādī Allah ar-Raḥmān, amīr al-Maṣūmiscīnīn, with the date 1367 repeated.” This is a coin of 1371 A.H., 1952 A.D., and the obverse reads “Abū al-Maʿālī amrī rādī Allah ar-Raḥmān, amīr al-Maṣūmiscīnīn, with the date 1367 repeated.”

This is a coin of 1371 A.H., 1952 A.D., and the obverse reads “Abū al-Maʿālī amrī rādī Allah ar-Raḥmān, amīr al-Maṣūmiscīnīn, with the date 1367 repeated.”

The name of the ruler, “Abū al-Maʿālī amrī rādī Allah ar-Raḥmān, amīr al-Maṣūmiscīnīn, with the date 1367 repeated.”

At the base of the reverse are two swords. These represent the sword of ‘Ali, the Prophet’s son-in-law, who originally converted this part of the world to Islam.

Exercise No. 6

Read the following coins

1) 2) 3) 4) 5) 6)
Also influenced by Morocco is Tunisia, which has gone over to European numerals. This 5 milliones of 1950 has its lettering entirely in Arabic, e.g. بنك المركزي التونسي (Bank of Tunisia). The adjective "دولي" (dual) and "الدولي" (dual and foreign) are feminine. The masculine form of "geographical" adjectives is made by adding "ال" to the original noun: "جامعة مصر" from "جامعة مصري". Syria is actually called "سوريا" and not "سوري". Syria has undergone a rather greater change to become "سوريا". This masculine form of the adjective is made feminine by adding "المرأة" (woman) to "مرأة". Thus "bank" (masculine) becomes "مرأة" (feminine). The plural of "bank" takes a feminine adjective.

A French colonial coin of 1921 has Arabic figures and a date. It reads "العاهل التونسي" (the Tunisian province).

Algeria provides us with an interesting formula translated into Arabic. Starting to read anti-clockwise round the coin from three o'clock, "الجمهورى جمهورية الجزائر" (Algerian Democratic Republic), "جمهورية الجزائر" (Algerian Republic), "جمهورية الجزائر" (Algerian Republic), and many more. The word "جمهورية" means, of course, "democratic"; and "الجمهورى" (adjective form of جمهورية) means "government" or "state". The word "جمهورية" is often used in the form جمهوري or جمهوري.

How plain when compared with these coins seems those of the British mandate of Palestine, with just the bare word "فلسطين" (Palestine) and the old Arabic name of the province. Of course with inscriptions in three languages one has to keep them short! Strange how in Biblical times three languages, Greek, Latin, and Hebrew were written over the Cross of Jesus.

Lebanon, at that time a Frenchmandated territory, began its numismatic existence as "الدولة لبنانية الكبرى" (State of Lebanon the Great). The word "العاهل" (state) is one we shall meet again in its "relative" form (this is a term used to include both our comparative and superlative "very great" and "greatest") as "العاهل" (state) as the name of the first great Moghul Emperor. Lebanon nowadays is just another of the rather large crop of republics.

During the period of the United Arab Republic Egypt and Syria started a period of separate coinage, but both bore the same legend, "الجمهورية العربية المتحدة". This is an Egyptian 20 milliones of 1958. The legend reads "الجمهورية العربية المتحدة". "الجمهورية العربية المتحدة" being the word for "United Arab Republic".

Bahrain has a very simple formula "حكومة البحرين" (Government of Bahrain), with a coin that puts in the vowel points quite legibly. It means, "Government of Bahrain".

Exercise No. 7.

Read as much as possible on the following coins:

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7.
CHAPTER VIII  The Kufic script

At this point I turn back to the early Arabic coins, back to the times of the Umayyad and Abbasid Caliphs. We have to learn a new script, called Kufi, which was used from the earliest Mohammedan times until it was ousted by a rounded writing called Naskhi, perfected in the tenth century by the Vizier Ibn Muqlah, which had fully replaced Kufi as the normal script on coins by around 1200 A.D.

Kufi is much squarer in shape, and does not have the diacritical dots which distinguish letters like ١٢٣٤٥. In fact the main difficulty with Kufi is that it is very hard to tell many of the letters apart: not only b, t, and th; and ١٢٣٤٥, ١٢٣, ١٢٣, ١٢٣, but also ٩٠١ which looks very much like the ١٢٣ group.

In this list I again show positional differences.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>Medial</th>
<th>Final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>١ Alef</td>
<td>٢ b</td>
<td>٣ t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>٤ d</td>
<td>٥ g</td>
<td>٦ h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>٧ h</td>
<td>٨ k</td>
<td>٩ y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>١٠ w, etc</td>
<td>١١ l</td>
<td>١٢ v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>١٣ i</td>
<td>١٤ m</td>
<td>١٥ a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>١٦ d</td>
<td>١٧ j</td>
<td>١٨ j</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>١٩ k</td>
<td>٢٠ ١</td>
<td>٢١ ١</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Letters vary considerably in shape. In particular the “box” letters ١٢٣ and ١٤٥ may lengthen out to practically any length. The only way to learn the possible shapes of a letter is to look at the coins themselves; and in this sense the reader will find any “key” inadequate. The earlier coins can be fairly easily read, as the lettering is fairly bold, but even here there is a considerable help to know what the legend ought to be before one starts. On later coins there are many mistakes and misspellings to complicate what is already very difficult. My feeling is that even an educated Arab of the time could not have read many of the legends either.

However, despite every difficulty, these coins are easy to identify — in that mint and date, and, on the later coins, the Caliph’s name, are readable and always to be found in certain spots.

This book is of course only an introduction, and will certainly not enable the reader to identify every Kufic coin, or to translate every Koranic text; but I hope that by showing that coins of this period are not impossible to come to terms with, I may encourage the reader to go on to consult other more specialist books, particularly the British Museum catalogues of Oriental Coins and works like Codrington’s “Musulman Numismatics”.

Exercises No. 8

The following mint names are written below in the Kufic script, but not in the same order. Identify them.

Balh, Wath [in Iraq], Dimishq [the Arabic name for Damascus], Samarqand, Jayy [the old name for Isfahan in Persia], Baskat, Medinet es-Salūm [a name for Baghdad], Tabarišan [South end of the Caspian Sea], Herāt, Karanj [capital of Sijistan]. In Arabic some of these names may be preceded by ١٢٣, others by ١٢٣, mediat "city".

1. ١٢٣
2. ١٢٣
3. ١٢٣
4. ١٢٣
5. ١٢٣
6. ١٢٣
7. ١٢٣
8. ١٢٣
9. ١٢٣
10. ١٢٣
CHAPTER IX  Kufic dating

In the vocabulary of Chapter Four the reader was introduced to a few of the Arabic numerals; it is now essential that we should know what all the numerals are. Arab dates are written out in full during the early period, and the ciphers do not start until about the 1300's A.D.

The date comes at the end of a formula which reads, "it was struck this dirhem (or dinar) in" — here follows the mint name — "in the year" followed by the date in words. "In the year" was at first expressed by a feminine form, in the singular number, which meant that the number was in the genitive case. At an early period the preposition in the feminine was dropped, and sanat became an independent noun of time, and as such is in the accusative case. 

Commonly sanat is feminine, and to agree with sanat the numbers which have masculine and feminine forms must be in their feminine form. And, again, agree with sanat, where numbers have not inflectionally different accusative and genitive forms, that is what is commonly used here — this affects the higher numbers, e.g. "twenty" is 'ishrīn in the nominative, but 'ishrīn in the other two cases.

This is a list of the numbers as found on the coins — they are feminine and in their accusative or genitive form where any distinction applies.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Modern Arabic Script</th>
<th>Kufic Script</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>One</td>
<td>اَحَدٌ</td>
<td>ihdā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two</td>
<td>اَثْنَئْنِينَ</td>
<td>ithnātīn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three</td>
<td>ثَلَاثَ</td>
<td>thlāth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Four</td>
<td>أَرْبعٌ</td>
<td>arba'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Five</td>
<td>خَمْسَ</td>
<td>khams</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Six</td>
<td>سَيْتَ</td>
<td>sitt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seven</td>
<td>سَبْعَ</td>
<td>sib'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eight</td>
<td>نَصْدُ</td>
<td>nāṣad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nine</td>
<td>نَِّمَ</td>
<td>nimān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ten</td>
<td>تِمْهَرَ</td>
<td>thmhrār</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eleven</td>
<td>اَحَدُ إِثْرَةٍ</td>
<td>ihdā ishrāt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twelve</td>
<td>اَثَنَى إِثْرَةٍ</td>
<td>ithnāt ishrāt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Numbers "thirteen" to "nineteen" are straightforward, with the unit first, following straight on to the tens, e.g., 'ishrīn.

And thereafter units link on to the tens with the word "and", "twenty" is 'ishrīn wa 'ishrīn.

Thirty       | اَرْبَعِينَ     | arba'         |
| Forty       | فِنْسَانَ     | fīnsan         |
| Fifty       | مِلْتَنَ     | mlṭan         |
| Seventy     | سَبْعِينَ     | sib'         |
| Eighty     | ثَلَاثِينَ     | thlāth'        |
| Ninety     | نَضَعينَ     | nāṣayn        |
| One Hundred | مِلْتَينَ     | mlṭīn        |

All tens and units link on to the hundred number with "and", e.g., 101 is 'ahdī wa mlṭīn.

Exercise No. 9

Translate the following dates.

1. سَبْعُونَ وَمِلْتَينَ 9 مِلْتَينَ
2. سَبْعُونَ وَسَبْعِينَ 8 مِلْتَينَ
3. سَبْعُونَ وَسَبْعِينَ وَمِلْتَينَ 7 مِلْتَينَ
4. سَبْعُونَ وَسَبْعِينَ وَمِلْتَينَ خَمْسَةَ مِلْتَينَ
5. سَبْعُونَ وَسَبْعِينَ وَمِلْتَينَ خَمْسَةَ مِلْتَينَ مِلْتَينَ
6. سَبْعُونَ وَسَبْعِينَ وَمِلْتَينَ خَمْسَةَ مِلْتَينَ مِلْتَينَ خَمْسَةَ مِلْتَينَ

Look at the following: in the feminine, "thnātīn" is "two". Thnātīn often drops a syllable to become "thnān", which is actually the masculine form.
CHAPTER X

Mohammed and the early Caliphate. Umayyad Caliphs, Early mints

Vocabulary

father, which, when "father" is followed by the name of his son— 
ابن یوسف (Ibn Yusef) — is lengthened thus—
in the nominative to یابن (Yabin)
in the accusative to یابن (Yabin)
in the genitive to یابن (Yabin)
نور light
مدينة city

The Arab Empire built up to its climax of extent and splendour in little more than a hundred years after Mohammad's flight from Mecca in 622 A.D. It was religious fervour alone which could have turned the quarrelling tribes and small towns of Arabia into the most powerful force in the then world.

The first success was the capture of Mecca in 630 A.D. with the few followers Mohammed had collected at his base in Medina.

Mohammed died in 632 A.D.; but his work was carried on by his successors. In Arabic the word for "successor" is خليفة, which we anglicise into "caliph". The Caliphs inherited Mohammed's secular and religious leadership, and in fact "secular" and "religious" were to early Moslems the same thing. Because it was a theocracy, the "real" ruler being Allah, the early coins of the Caliphs are anonymous — what matters the earthly ruler when there is Eternal truth to be shown from texts in the Koran?

We do later find the Caliph's name appearing on the coinage, though this is more prominent as the secular power of the Caliphs is on the wane. In fact we shall find their name one of the chief aids towards identification in the later Umayyad and early Abbasid period.

The first four Caliphs are in a class apart from the others. These are Abu Bakr, 632–634 A.D., a name which changes according to case: بكر (Bakr) in the Nominative; یابن بكر (Yabin Bakr) in the Accusative, and یابن بكر (Yabin Bakr) in the Genitive. "Abu" means "father", and "Bakr" means "father" in the Nominative. "Abu Bakr" in the Accusative and "Abu Bakr" in the Genitive. "Umar" means "Slave" of "Ummat", 644–661 A.D. the last Caliph to reside at Medina. "Ali" means "husband" of "Fatima", 661–661 A.D., when he was deposed — the beginning of much trouble for Islam. The names of these four successors appear very frequently indeed on coins, especially during the Medineel and later periods when the Karima ("there is no god except Allah: Mohammed is the Messenger of Allah") is put in a square on many coins and the names of the first four Caliphs appear in the margins.

On the Illustration Abu Bakr is at the bottom: "Umar at the top; and "Ali at the right. Often these names are qualified by adjectives, such as یابن عاصم "Abu Bakr as-Siddiq". "Abu Bakr the faithful witness" — ضال "ali ko" coming from the root meaning "to part" or "to separate". "Umar al-Farh" means "Umar the discriminator between right and wrong". علی relative coming from a root meaning "to part" or "to separate". "Uthman al-Batt" means "Uthman the father of the two lights". "Uthman al-Batt" is the dual in the Genitive case of یابن "Ali - al-murtazza" ("All the pleasing to God").

The four did carry on the Prophet's work. Abu Bakr fought against both Byzantines and Sassanians — all infidels. "Umar conquered Iraq, where in 639 A.D. he founded new cities at Kufa and Basra: his armies captured Damascus in 635 A.D., Jerusalem in 636, and in 640 conquered Egypt, founding Fustat, which later became "Cairo". Before his death in 644 Persia had been taken from the Sassanians, and Ravy (later to become "Teheran") captured.

With the Caliphate as an elective office, — so long as the candidate belonged to the Prophet's tribe, the Qurashi, — Uthman was chosen to succeed. He was from the branch of the Qurashi descended from a man called Umayr, and he intended to favour his own kin, the "Umayyids". One particular appointment was that of Mu'awiyah, an Umayyid, to be governor of Syria.

In 666 A.D. "Uthman was murdered, and 'Ali, his successor, was lenient with the murderers, which leniency was resented by Mu'awiyah, who eventually, in 661, succeeded in getting 'Ali disposed.

Mu'awiyah became Caliph himself, and, contrary to the elective principle, had his son named heir. By establishing this new principle of heredity, he was breaking the old Arabian customs and setting up a dynasty of Umayyad Caliphs, a dynasty which seems to be spoilt in many different ways — Omeyyad, Omeyyad, Umayyad.

The Umayyad capital was Damascus; but there was no longer a really united Islam. 'Ali still had adherents, and there were risings of his party supported by Persian "nationalists", and in one of these Husain, one of 'Ali's two sons, was killed — at the Battle of Kerbela in 680 A.D.

In 750 A.D. the Umayyads were in fact overthrown, but not by the party of 'Ali. They were wiped out and were replaced in the Caliphate by another branch of the Qurashi descended from a man called معاوية whence they were called "Abbasids", though in fact one Umayyad did escape, 'Abd al-Rahman, who got away to Spain where he founded a new Umayyad dynasty which ruled from Cordova between 755 and 1009 A.D. It was under the "Abbasids" that the Arab Empire reached its farthest boundaries Westwards. They considered the "Jihadi", the sacred war fought against non-Muslims, a more prominent religious duty. In 732 A.D. they reached Tours in the Northern half of France, where, however, they were decisively defeated.

The Abbasids had their capital in Iraq, and first at Kufa, then at Samarra, finally in 762 A.D. at Baghdad. Their court was a brilliant one, especially under Harum, whose son, Amin, and Mamun, had a civil war to decide the succession, and by the time, 813 A.D., Mamun had emerged, the victor, the decline had set in.

Harum's third son, Muntasim, Caliph from 833 to 842 A.D., set a dangerous precedent. He introduced a Turkish bodyguard, which became so unpopular that he had to remove his capital from Baghdad to Samarra. Though the Caliphs returned to Baghdad in 889 A.D., their temporal power had largely gone, and they were soon to become mere puppets of invading Turks.

In 1258 A.D. the Mongols sacked Baghdad, killing the Abbasid Caliph of the time; but the Abbasids were not quite finished. They continued a shadow Caliphate in Egypt until the Ottoman conquest of that country in 1517 A.D., with the last of the Abbasid line, Muradkum II, dying in Cairo in 1338 A.D.

However small their temporal power, until at least the fall of Baghdad in 1258 they were to remain numismatically very important. The only numismatically unimportant ones are those of the period of greatness as their coins are for the most part anonymous. However, as most collectors like to attribute a coin to a ruler of some sort, at this point I give a list of the Umayyad Caliphs.

Mu'awiyah I 661 A.D. 41 A.H.
Yazid I 680 60
Although the gold dinars were normally only minted at one or two mints, the silver dirhems were issued from many. In fact the Umayyads minted dirhems at more than sixty different mints. It is the many different mints that makes collecting dirhems so interesting. The mint name is inscribed in the formula which also contains the date, the formula reading, “In the name of God this dirhem [dirham] was struck in —— in year ——.” The above has ed-dirhem bi – “was struck this dirhem in ——.” I list the common mintss occurring on Umayyad and Abbasid coins. These names are either of a town or of a province. Where the name is of a province, the mint was in the capital of the province named, as we have seen with Ottoman coins struck at مَصر مِصر, which actually means the capital of مصر.</p>
CHAPTER XI  An Umayyad coin examined. The verb

Vocabulary

اسم ism name
شريك sheikh partner

I intend to pass over the "mixed" coins, where the conquering Arabs used the coins of the people they conquered, the Arab—Byzantine and Arab—Sassanian issues. I begin with Abd el—Melik's reform of the coinage in, and just after, 696 A.D. The legend is told of the Byzantine Emperor, Justinian II, complaining that the seal on the papyrus the Byzantines bought from Arab—occupied Egypt was offensive to Christians. The Caliph, Abd el-Melik, replied that if the Byzantines wanted the papyrus they would put up with the seal. Justinian, knowing that the Byzantine gold coins the Arabs received in payment were the sole source of Arab gold currency, countered by telling the Caliph that he would make the coins just as offensive to the Arabs as the papyrus was to them. Abd el-Melik said that he did not depend on the Byzantines for his gold coins, and thenceforth he started minting his own. This story is probably not historically true, but the Arabs did start minting their own coins at this time.

The gold دينار or dinar, a word from the Roman "denarius", was valued at twenty silver dirhems. ديرهم was a word taken from the Greek "drachma". The copper coin was the "fals", which is a plural of "فس", which word is derived from the Roman and Byzantine "follis".

Despite the Greek origin of the word "dirhem", the broad flat plan and the layout of the design make it a fairly obvious imitation of the Sassanian (Persian) silver coins, though they are much lighter in weight. The earliest dirhem in the British Museum catalogue is from the Damascus mint, dated 78 A.H. The dirhem illustrated is of the Wasit mint 55 A.H., 714 A.D., when the Umayyad Walid I was Caliph.

The marginal inscription begins at the point where the arrow indicates near the top of the coin, and is to be read round in an anti-clockwise direction thus:

Arabic
بسمل الله عدد هذا العمل، بإسم الله وحده لا شريك له
Bismillah ziriba haziz ed—dirhem bi—Wasit f'anzah wa tis'ah

The coin reads: الله وحده لا شريك له
Allah wahdahu la sheikh labu

"There is no God except Allah. He is Alone. (There is) no partner to Him."

This is the first part of the "Kalima", which is later itself shortened, and has added to it the second part "Mohammed is the Messenger of Allah."

The collector only really needs to know the Bismillah, which contains both mint and date; but at this stage I intend to examine the reverse inscriptions on this dirhem. In order to interpret these one needs to understand a certain amount of Arabic grammar, particularly the Verb. The reader may feel he can pass over this section if it does not meet his particular needs.

The reverse has two legends, both from the Koran. The Koran is divided into "Suras", or Chapters, which vary very considerably in length, some only one verse long! The area inscription is Sura 112, and it is called "the Umayyad Symbol", because it is found on all Umayyad coins including those of the Umayyids of Spain, up to Abd al-Rahman III's reign in 912 A.D. The Abbasids, when they came to power, replaced it with the second part of the Kalima Mohammed rasul Allah, "Mohammed is the Messenger of Allah". The marginal legend on the reverse — which was continued in use by the Abbasids — is Sura 9, verse 33, which is known as the "Second Symbol".

Before translating these I break off to look at the verb.

The Arabic verb has indicative, subjunctive, and passive moods; but we begin with the relief of knowing that these are only to be distinguished by a final short vowel we can usually afford to ignore them as regards coins!

Again, though there is a form of the verb for every person, "I struck" is zarabu: "you struck" is zaraba, and so on, we normally only need the third person singular form "he struck".

We do need to know that there are two tenses. The "perfect" which has a past meaning "he struck"; and the "imperfect" tense which can mean either present or future — "he strikes" and "he will strike".

Also we have an Active and a Passive, "he struck" and "he was struck". Both perfect and imperfect have Active and Passive forms.

Using as an example the verb ضرب z-r-b we look at the four forms:

Active He struck zaraba he strikes yarabu
Passive He was struck zariba he is struck yarabu

The general rule is that the Perfect changes its "person" by changing the endings — zarabu, zaraba, etc. The Imperfect changes its person by providing different prefixes, ya— and ya— being the appropriate prefixes of the third person singular.

However, the reader will notice that if the short vowel markings are omitted it is impossible to distinguish Active from Passive: "he struck" is the same as "he was struck", and "he strikes" is the same as "he is struck". As early writing never did put in the short vowels, there is often doubt as to which is the true meaning.
So far all is simplicity! There are snags. First of all, there are the "weak" verbs, like w-
and their root meaning is gathering a child. This is "weak" because it begins with y-
which is a letter very liable to disappear. The Perfect is normal w-
and the Perfect Passive voids, not w-
and the Imperfect active w-
and the Imperfect Passive it is supported by the first u vowel and remains.

Second difficulty, there are irregular verbs, - like kāna "he was". The
Imperfect is yakun, which generally has a future meaning "he will be," and
the very first time we meet it, in the Umayyid Symbol, it is in the jussive mood
yakun.

Greatest difficulty, the fact that each verb can have up to fifteen "derived" forms,
which scholars number 1 to XV; though, fortunately, not all are in common use. A derived form
has an extra letter, or letters, added to, or included in, the basic form. A derived form has its
own, slightly different, meaning, and has its own Perfect and Imperfect, Active and Passive.

For instance, take رسل رس as a root which has a root meaning "message." Derived
form IV has a causative shade of meaning, which gives the sense "cause a message," "despatch." The Perfect of Form IV prefixes an alef (the Imperfect form IV is formed merely
by short vowel changes) giving us أرسل, arsonale "despatch".

Additional Vocabulary needed at this stage.

انساب samad eternal 
لا lem not (to deny a statement), followed by verb in imperfect tense, but perfect meaning.

اکثر kafti equal 
اعلم hādī guidance, religious (present) 
الحق haqq truth 
على sāli on, over, towards 
كل koll all, every, 
ولو if, although 
كرحة kariha he disliked

The "Umayyid symbol" is the reverse of the Umayyid dinrāh reads:

الله أكبر الله 
الحمد لله بلغ و 
لا يُلَد و لا كَبِير 
لا كَفِر أَحَد 

(I am in many cases omitting the final short vowel from verbs as well as from nouns, as
this saves us from having to examine the "moods," which I feel are not of vital importance to
the numismatist.)

This translates, "Allah is One. Allah is the Eternal. He did not beget and He was not
begotten, and there was not to Him equal a single one."
we call the Caliph of 842–847 A.H. "Wathiq", but actually he is  \textit{el-wathiq bilah}, which translates as "the confiding in Allah" – \textit{bilah}, being the contracted form of \textit{bi–ilah}, the short a which begins Allah (held by the alif) being absorbed by the \textit{i} of \textit{bi}.

\textit{Bimmullah ziriba el-fils bi-Bukhara sanat thalath wa khamsi wa thelathmi}.

This copper fulus of the Samanids of Bukhara, dated 363 A.H., 864 A.D., looks entirely similar, but in fact the only difference is that the Kalima is written around instead of across, and it reads quite easily, beginning at the diagonal of the inscription.

The outer circle has the Bismillah, and the coin has a number of peculiarities, either misspellings or contractions; notably thelathmi is reduced to 10. The seljuk coin.

Turning back from these later coins, picked out to show how diverse the "same thing" can look, we move to the normal style of the century after the Umayyads, and in Chapter Twelve. This is a gold dinar of Baghdad 212 A.H., 828 A.D., with the mint not named, which means that it may have been struck in the capital, in this case Baghdad. The majority of dinars are without mint-name – though some struck at "Mays" can be very interesting, with a governor's name below the obverse Kalima. We note that on gold the marginal legends have changed sides, with the Bismillah now on the reverse, and the second symbol taking its place on the obverse, in the Bismillah's reads:

\textit{bimmullah ziriba hazr ed–dirhar sanat ithnashah thabat al-mas}.

"in the name of Allah was struck this dinar in the year twelve and two hundred". The "two" of "twelve" has lost its final 
\textit{y} and is the same as \textit{ithnashah} as it should be, but such misspellings are too common to bother about.

The area of the reverse has now changed, no longer having the Umayyad Symbol (which has gone to Spain), but taking the second part of the Kalyan inscription. The most important development is that we now have the Caliph's name on the reverse. Above Muhammad, we have the name of the Caliph: \textit{el-khalifat} below Allah \textit{el-Mahmol} the Caliph of 813–833 A.D.

When the Abbassids first overthrew the Umayyads they promised a new era of Concord, Happiness, and Just Rule; and they took special \textit{lagh}h (titles of honour) to express their devotion to God -- in fact it is by these \textit{lagh}h that they are known, their own personal name being of the least importance, except in a few instances. Where their personal name is important for our purposes I put it in brackets. Normally we call caliphs by a shortened form of their \textit{lagh}: e.g.
It will be noticed that many of the names begin with "mu-", this is because many of the words are verbal nouns "he who...". It will also be noticed that many of the translations are the same; this is because I ran out of English synonyms. Arabic is very rich in words expressing certain particular ideas such as "trusting in" and "implores help from". Some of the meanings do not mean very much to us at all, but it is to be seen that each name spells differently when written in the Kufic script. They are all different when seen on coins: they probably chose their lagabs carefully with this very factor in mind.

Note that a Caliph is ʿĀlim ʿalā al-ʿUlūm: his office is al-khilīfah: "the Caliphate". The title ʿĀlim ʿalā al-ʿUlūm is also used for the Imam. It is a word that has a number of meanings, right down to the "imam" who takes prayers at the local mosque; but on coins ʿĀlim ʿalā al-ʿUlūm "the Religious Leader in Chief" is always, when followed by a name, a reference to the Caliph, or to someone claiming to be a Caliph.

Exercise No 12

Identify these Caliphs:

1. ʿĀlim ʿalā al-ʿUlūm
2. ʿĀlim ʿalā al-ʿUlūm
3. ʿĀlim ʿalā al-ʿUlūm
4. ʿĀlim ʿalā al-ʿUlūm
5. ʿĀlim ʿalā al-ʿUlūm
6. ʿĀlim ʿalā al-ʿUlūm
CHAPTER XIII

The developing Kufi type. Secular rulers.

Vocabulary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ba'd</td>
<td>after</td>
<td>the past tense of ‘be’</td>
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<td>farīha</td>
<td>rejoiced</td>
<td>he rejoiced</td>
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<td>ghalaba</td>
<td>conquered</td>
<td>he conquered</td>
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<td>mu’azzam</td>
<td>very great</td>
<td>he who is very great</td>
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<td>who</td>
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<td>ghair</td>
<td>other</td>
<td>than</td>
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<tr>
<td>khāsir</td>
<td>suffered defeat</td>
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<tr>
<td>wali</td>
<td>guardian, friend, saint;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not with a future sense</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

As we move forward in time the Kufic lettering has a tendency to get "scruffy". We saw an example in Ex. 12 ch.10 where there seemed to be a line underneath the Caliph's name, joining letters which were not supposed to be joined. Sometimes coins have no horizontal at all, and for instance, can be written as

This coin takes us a century from the Mamun dinar of the last chapter. It is from Medīnat es-Salām "City of Peace", as Baghdad is called at this period. The date is 311 A.H., 924 A.D. The reverse has the Arabic phrase "Al-ṭūrūq li-Allah "above, which is a normal dedication". Below it is the phrase "Allahu 'llah" which is an abbreviation of al-Muqaddas Allah. The area reverse words are underlined whatever the letter. The obverse is the side to notice. We now have an outer marginal legend, which began to appear on coins after the death of Mamun in 833 A.D. On later coins this becomes almost unreadable, so carefully is it written.

This legend is Korān Sura 30, verses 3 and 4, and reads:


"This day, youma’zin means "on that day"; and yafruha is the imperfect "he rejoices", of which the perfect farīha "he rejoiced", and it is another case of a singular verb preceding a plural subject.

It is thought that this Sura in the Koran refers to the defeat of the Persians by the Byzantine Emperor Heraclius. If so, then this battle is referred to as a "victory of Allah". The theme of the Sura is the everlasting power of Allah as compared with the shortness of man's existence.

It translates: "Of Allah is the Command from before (man existed) and from after (man shall cease to exist), and on that day the believers shall rejoice in the victory of Allah".

Another interesting thing is that there is a second name below if sheik lahu on the obverse:

Abū al-‘Abbas bin Abī Musa

The reverse area goes on from "Mohammed rasūl Allah" (notice the shape of the ج in Mohammed) to the name of "al-Qab‘am b‘ālam", Caliph 1031-1076 A.D. The bottom line has another name:

al-Anbār Farāmanz

Farāmanz ibn Mohammed was the local Kāwahlid ruler, ruling from 1041 to 1081 A.D. The ج of Farāmanz actually points upwards with its tail ی. It can be very difficult to tell the curly tail letters apart.

With a weakened Caliphate, all sorts of independent dynasties were springing up through the Arab world; but the basic pattern of coin was very largely maintained. By no means all these dynasties acknowledged the Baghdad Caliphs, but many did, and indicate this by retaining the Caliph’s name usually immediately underneath Mohammed rasūl Allah — though it is occasionally on the Obverse beneath if sheik lahu.

The first thing I do with a coin of this period is to look for the mint and date: the second thing is to look for the Caliph’s name, which is fairly easily recognised by the būha or similar ending (not forgetting the possibility that the Caliph may be a Fatimid — listed in Chapter 141). From this point some dynasties give us further help: as, for instance, the Aghlabids who ruled in Tunisia in the 800's A.D. and who put ghalla, "he
conquered" above Mohammed on the Reverse, from which word "ghalaba" comes their dynastic name "Aghlabid".

The Buwaydids ruled in the Iraq–Persia region from 932 to their destruction by Tughril Beg in 1055 A.D. The three brothers who started this dynasty are known by their lqabas as Mu'izz ed–du'lat, Rukn ed–du'lat and 'Imad ed–du'lat. They divided their empire between them, acknowledging the eldest as overlord, and very helpfully putting their father's name (from whom the dynasty was named) below their own names on their coins as بعثه بعثه بعثه بعثه. Later Buwaydids are harder to recognize, but their "ed–du'lat" lqabas, which they all have, does help; though we must watch out for the occasional "ed–du'lat" lqab used by a ruler like Muhammad of Ghazni.

The Tulunids, who ruled Egypt in the ninth century A.D. can be helpful too with Ahmad putting "Ibn Tulun" after his own name; similarly other rulers such as Abu 'I–Qasim the Ikhshidid ruler of Egypt, 946–960 A.D., who is called أبا القاسم بن البهلو. On the other hand, take a coin like this rather worn Samanid, of which I show the Reverse. The date and mint are illegible, and the Obverse has the Kalima and nothing more. On the Reverse beneath the Mohammed ra'ul Allah we read اب–بعل billah, the name of the Caliph Qazi, 934–40 A.D., and below that Nasr bin Ahmed, who was in fact the Samanid ruler Nasr II, 913–42 A.D.; but there is nothing at all on the coin to indicate that it is a Samanid — it could even have been a mere provincial governor somewhere, except that the Caliph dates the coin and we are able to check with a list of rulers for a Nasr, son of Ahmed.

Now look at these two coins of Mahmud of Ghazni in Afghanistan, 987–1030 A.D., founder of the "Ghaznavid" dynasty. The first coin is a beautiful small size dirhem, of which I show the Reverse. There is no marginal legend of any sort on either side, except for the decorative حضانة الله written around. There is no date or mint; but the Caliph Qazi's name is written below the Mohammed ra' ul Allah, and below that is the plain word محمد. This dinar of Nisabur, 407 A.H., 1017 A.D., though, does not mention the word "Mahmud" at all. Instead, we find a number of titles which we know Mahmud liked to use particularly the lqab "al-Firdaws" and the "ed–du'lat "right hand of the state". I have enlarged this particular Reverse to point out one or two peculiarities of script — usually I have found coins of this period to be very blurred and quite difficult to read. The area of this coin reads:

CURRENT
GOD IS ALLAH
MUKKASAR
\[\text{ Guardians of the Trust}\]

el–gulb billah
yamn ed–du'lat
the triumphant through Allah
right hand of the state.

To right and left are the words: و امین الموتیل
wa amīn al–mutali "and trusty one of the nation". To identify this coin one has to know that these are titles that Mahmud used, or else one has to know who ruled in Nisabur in 1017 A.D. It is fortunate that not many rulers are quite so difficult.

The letters of the word wa 'hadat have peculiarties. The ya shaped as ي, the thayin as ث, and the waw as وا. The word 'hadat is not the same root as یسر "agreement" we shall meet later. The Arabic way of writing so as to bring out the, to them, important letters, i.e. the consonants, makes it much easier to spot the root connections — 'hadat and یسر look totally different, whereas یسر and یسر and یسر are obviously connected.

Some dynasties, like the Murabits who ruled in Morocco (and in Andalusia for a time between 1056 and 1147 A.D. when their power was destroyed by the Almoravids), had a more individualistic approach. The illustration shows a dinar of Abu Bekr ibn 'Umar, the first Murabit ruler. The Bismillah reads:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
by-‘ibn–sulaiman sa'id ibn sa'id ibn islam
Minted in ‘isaal, 507 A.H., 1106 A.D.

The obverse has the two parts of the Kalima joined together with the ruler's name below:

El–i–i–ilah, Mohammed ra'ul Allah
el–amīn ‘Abdul Bekr
bin ‘Umar

At a later date the Murabits gave themselves the title amīn al–Mūslīmin "Commander of the Muslims", a title only just short of the Caliphal amīn al–Mūslīmin.

The reverse is the interesting side. The Caliph Qai'm's personal name was Abdullah, and, in rather a "familiar" way as far as treating Caliphs is concerned, this is what he is called on this coin. By a coincidence Qai'm's successor, Mustadi, was also an Abdullah, and by the end of his reign in 1094 A.D., the Murabs had got so used to Caliphs called Abdullah that they called later Caliphs by that name also. The area reads:

el–i–i–ilah
‘Abdul
el–i–i–ilah
al–mawli–n

The marginal inscription on the obverse is different too. It is Koran Sura 3 Verse 79:

"WORLD 3173 ISLAM 3173 ORISAN 3173 MIN 3173 PROFANATE 3173 WE MAKE THIS MARK IN THE NAME OF ALLAH, THE MOST KIND, THE MOST MERCIFUL."

50

51
CHAPTER XIV  The Umayyids of Spain. Shī'ites. The Fatimids

Vocabulary

سعودī  fortunate
داشع pray, call, summon
افضل very superior – attuned to rūzī excellent
ワジţījī executioner of a will
خير khārīr good – can act as its own elative, “very good”
أمور wāzīr vizier, “prime minister”
نادر defender

Not all Moslems, however, accepted the Baghdad Caliphate. There were, for instance, the Umayyads of Spain, who kept on with their anonymous coins, with the same “Umayyad Formula” as in the old days at Damascus. In fact the only effective difference between these coins and the much earlier Umayyad coins is the date, and the mint which is usually ʿAlī-Andalus, the name of the province – meaning in effect the capital, Cordova.

This changed in 929 A.D. when ʿAbd er-Rahman III assumed the title of Caliph.

The illustration shows a dinar of ʿAbd er-Rahman, the Bismillah reading:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم bismillah zuriba ḥaṣā ed-dinar bi-ʾI-Andalus sanat thalath wa ista’sī wa thalath mi’at.
Cordova mint 329 A.H.

The Obverse area has the normal Kalima with the single word سعدī “fortunate” below – various similar words are put in this position on Spanish coins. The reverse area has the name and Ilāyah and Caliphal title of ʿAbd er-Rahman III:

الامام الاقصى The Imam the Defender
لايتعا ابن ʿAbd er-Rahman of the faith of Allah ʿAbd er-Rahman
أمير المؤمنين Commander of the Faithful

Most of those who rejected the Baghdad Caliphs did so on more fundamental religious grounds, though possibly these religious grounds were themselves political in origin; neither Persians nor Berbers, for instance, liking Arabs.

An early tradition says that Mohammed said that Islam would be divided into 73 sects, of which 72 would perish, and one would be saved! The majority of Moslems are “Sunnis”; in fact the Encyclopedia Britannica states that in 1956 out of a total of 350 Million Moslems, 350 million were Sunnis. The word “sunnah” is derived from the root سُنَّ “tooth”, which in the language of horses came to mean “age”.

The Sunnis believed in the Koran, accepted the “Hadith” or “traditions” which are six collections of the sayings of Mohammed compiled in the ninth century A.D., and accepted also “ʿīma”, the “Universal Consent” which is held to justify practices or beliefs even when they are apparently inconsistent with the Koran. They always believed that the Caliphate was an elective
"Ali is the most excellent of the executors and Vizier of the best of messengers."

The Bismillah is the outer circle of the reverse and reads that the coin was minted in Morocco in 381 A.H.

The reverse inner circle, starting at one o'clock, reads:

The interesting word here is "lt-tawfih". The li- is "in order to": the tawfih is a form II (which has an intensive meaning) derived form of a verb from the root w-h-d, and it means "to protect the unity". The whole legend means, "The Imam Ma'ddi summons all men to profess the Unity of the Eternal God".

The Fatimids survived as rulers in Egypt until 1171 A.D., when they were replaced by the Ayyubids under Saladin. We see a habit developing later of beginning the Bismillah phrase with the words "al-Ma'mur" "al-Rahman" "al-Rahim" "in the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate". We see another Shi'ite habit of beginning the Kalima to include "Ali". "Ali" - the Friend of Allah - this lengthened Kalima I shall be referring to as "the Shi'ite Kalima". I show a sample of the Shi'ite Kalima from the centre of an el-Hakim obverse. Actually this is longer than usual, as it still has wadahu liSherki lahu. It reads:

"There is no God but Allah alone. He has no partner. Mohammed rasul Allah "Ali" wali Allah. "There is no God but Allah alone. He has no partner. Mohammed is the messenger of Allah. 'Ali is the friend of Allah"."

At this point I list the Fatimid Caliphs. In the English I shorten the Caliphal name by leaving out the bilal and li-din Allah and such like, as I did with the Baghdad Caliphs; though we have one new word in this connection, El-Amr is the name by which El-Amr b-ahlam Allah "commander" is the plural of hokam "commandment". so the name means "the command by the commandments of Allah". The name by which the ruler would normally be known is in italics.

**Exercise No. 14.**

The following coins are all, with one exception, Fatimid. The exception is a coin of Saladin, who recognised the Bagdad Caliphs. Identify them.

1. 
2. 
3. 
4. 
5. This is a Fatimid quarter dinar from Sicily. Read as much as possible of the legend.
We move out of the Kufic era into what I term as the "Mediaeval" period. I define this as the period after the end of the use of the Kufi script as the normal thing, and before the rise of the Selavids in Persia, the Moghuls in India, and the Ottomans in the West. In the geographical central area this period is divided into two by the Mongol invasions; so I intend to start my survey with India and Egypt, as these are numerically far more settled regions.

As regards the writing, though no longer Kufi, it is by no means yet "modern" Arabic. The main peculiarity is that a few of the dialectical dots distinguishing letters are put in, but by no means all — one could say that the use of dots increases as time goes on.

Nothing is better than experience, learning from the coins themselves. That is recognised immediately as seven hundred "māʾ", and irregularities. The reader is urged to work out for himself the legends as they appear on the illustrations of the coins.

The commonest Mediaeval coins are those of the Sultans of Delhi, and commonest of all are their base metal coins. The Delhi rulers are divided into six distinct dynasties, but numerically there is no real break.

Apart from an early Moslem advance into Sind, Moslems first entered India under the Ghaznavids; but their intention was more plunder than conquest. Mahmud mounted between twelve and seventeen (according to which authority one accepts different versions into India; but permanent settlement only came when the later Ghaznavids were driven out of Ghazni by their rivals the Ghurids — from Ghur, another town in Afghanistan. In 1155 A.D. the Ghaznavids retired to Lahore, where the last of their line, Khushru Malik, was eventually caught and destroyed in 1168 A.D. by the Ghurids. A.D. was able to gather the fragments of the power together for a short while; but it was left to the Moghul Akbar, 1556-1605 A.D., to build another really great Moslem empire in India — but Akbar and the Moghuls come in a later chapter.

At this point I list the Sultans of Delhi.

Many have a lagâb ending ed-dîn, This is only part of the lagâb, which in every case is actually ed-dûnî and ed-dîn "of the world and of the faith", e.g. Firoz II is in full Jaflî ed-dûnî ed-dîn Firoz. "Glory of the world and of the faith Firoz." I say ed-dûnî means "the present world" as opposed to the "Hereafter", I have shortened this formula in this list for the sake of brevity.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date A.H.</th>
<th>A.D.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>586</td>
<td>1193</td>
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<tr>
<td>602</td>
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<td>837</td>
<td>1433</td>
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</table>
The obverse of this same coin of Balban is given up to the Caliph, Musta'sim, though in actual fact when Balban came to the throne in 1265 A.D. Musta'sim had already been dead for seven years. We read:

el-must'am
amīr
el-Musta'sim
musta'sim
mustu'mīn

amīn is split up from the mūmin. Around the margin, the same on both sides, is a marginal legend adapted from the old Islam. These marginal legends seldom get on the coin sufficiently to be read, but it should read:

zuriba hazīl el-fizzat bi-hazar Dehīf if sanat arba' wa sixin wa afīmin 'at. "Was struck this silver coin in the honourable Delhi in the year four and sixty and six hundred."

This is another coin of Balban, a copper one. This putting the name in the centre of the obverse with a Nagari legend around is common at this time. Balban is given two of its three dots—never bad coins! The reverse is the normal type, which we can make out even though the die is as usual, so much bigger than the coin.

These very orthodox rulers of Delhi were very keen to have the Caliph's name on their gold and silver coins to prove their orthodoxy. The murder of Musta'sim and taking of Baghdad by the Mongols in 1268 A.D. makes this rather difficult; but Musta'sim's name is retained until the accession of Ibrahim in 1296 A.D. Ibrahim discontinues its use; instead, taking a title for himself which implies the existence of a Caliph, namely, amīr anīr el-mūminīn "defender of the commander of the faithful." His successor, Mohammed I, continues this title, adding yamin el-khālīfāt "right hand of the Caliphate."

The first illustration of a coin of the Sultanate is the obverse of a copper coin of Balban. It is typical of the period. Note how the die is too big for the flan of the coin. The wording reads:

es-sultan el-a'zam

"The very great sultan". Note how the s of sultan has disappeared, and also the strange "new" letter alef-lam-alef. The n of sultan is shaped like this j not unlike a z. Es-sultan el-a'zam is the invariable title of the Sultans of the first two dynasties.

This next illustration shows a typical reverse, also from a copper coin. It is of Jai-gl ed-dīn Fīrūz II. For identifying coins the lagāb are quite as important as the names. Here we have just the lagāb, reading jai-gl ed-dinīs wa ed-dīn, the n of dinār being practically always dotted like this, and often split over two lines.

Sultans at this time also used a kunya (relationship name), which is usually the same one, and a very "artificial" relationship at that: abū el-muzaffar "father of the Victorious One". Legends on the silver coins like this tanak of Balban are fuller than on the copper. This coin reads:

es-sultan el a'zam

Ghiyāṣ ed-dinīs wa ed-dīn, abū el-muzaffar Balbān

"the very great Sultan Help, Ghiyāṣ of the World and of the Faith, father of the Victorious, Balban the Sultan." Here again, the lagāb Ghiyāṣ is much more noticeable for purposes of identification than the Balban. These lagāb have very interesting meanings — "Bedr ed-dīn," which one of the Atabaks of Mosul, Luw, has as a lagāb means "full moon of the faith"; "Duḥs ed-dīn" means "pole star of the faith"; "Shīkh ed-dīn" means "fame of the faith", and so on.
This is a silver tanka of Mohammed I. The obverse reads:

```
السلاطين الأعظم
أبو النور الداعم
السلطان
```

References the great Sultan, Glory of the world and the faith, father of the victorious, Mohammed Shah the Sultan.

The reverse reads:

```
سکاندر es-رک
نادر
یامین el-کیشات
امیر el-مینین
```

"The second Alexander, right hand of the Caliph, defender of the commander of the faithful."

The reverse margin reads:

```
zurba hazihi el-fizat bi-haarat Dehif if sanat khamas wa ta'ith wa sit'mi'at" Dethi mint, 695 A.H.
```

Mubarak I, after beginning with the نادر of his predecessors assumed the title of Caliph himself, taking the ishab el-wasaiq billah "the truster in Allah," and calling himself Khalifat Allah "the Caliph of Allah," and Khalifat sulam "the Caliph of the Lord of the Worlds."

Dehif now becoming dar el-Khiisat "the Abode of the Caliphate."

However the idea of being a caliph is too daring for his successors, and Khurar Shah, 1320 A.D., instead calls himself Amir al-mumínin "Walami el-muminin." He "Friend of the Commander of the Faithful."

This is a Khuras Shah reverse reading:

```
خورشیش es-sultin
السلطان نصر الرحمن
والي أمير المومین
```

"Khuras Shah the Sultan, truster in the help of the Merciful One, friend of the commander of the faithful."

Taghiq Shah goes back to the plain نادر amir el-مینین.

Mohammed II, 1324–1351 A.D., suddenly seems to discover the continued existence of genuine Abbasid Caliphs in Egypt, and until 1993 A.D. the Sultans name these on their coins.

On this piece Mohammed II goes to extremes, not mentioning his own name at all, just that of the Caliph Hakim, 741–753 A.H.

The obverse reads:

```
أحمد
```

Ahmed

and the reverse:

```
الله
```

Allah

```
الخانم
```

Hakim

```
بامر
```

Bamr

I.e. the name of the Caliph "el-Hakim Bamr Allah."

The peculiar trident form of the reverse is made by the alef of bamr coming up between the J. and the alef of "Hakim." Notice the shape of k-

The peculiar trident form of the reverse is made by the alef of bamr coming up between the J. and the alef of "Hakim." Notice the shape of k-

This coin, in reality much smaller than the illustration indicates, passed as a silver tanka. The experiment lasted from 730–732 A.H., 1329–1331 AD but, as it proved a happy hunting ground for forgers, Mohammed redeemed all the coins, genuine and forged alike, at the value they were supposed to represent.

The obverse margin and the reverse are written in Persian, but this is an isolated use of the Persian language, which does not reappear on coins until a much later period (and for this reason I do not translate the words individually. I take much more notice of Persian from Chapter Twenty onwards).

The area of the obverse — in Arabic — reads:

```
man es-sultan
fe-qad es-sultan
```

This is one of my favourite Arabic legends! man is "who." es-sultan is "the Sultan.

```
fe-qad is composed of fa "and" and qad which is a word making a verb definitely past.
```

fe-qad is composed of fa "and" and qad which is a word making a verb definitely past.

fad qad es-sultan "he had obeyed."
Chapter XVI

Later Delhi coins, The Mohammedan kingdoms of India

Vocabulary

khaliq perpetuate, prosper — in the phrases:
khaliq Allah wakhu may Allah perpetuate his reign
khaliq Allah mukhahu may his Caliphate last for ever.

khaliq soldier in the jihâd “holy war”.

mujahid defender

hâmi month

fateh conquest

shehr generous, great, noble.

kerim the one who seeks protection.

al-âdiq a month.

Mutesâf the father.

Exercise No. 15.

Read the following coins, in particular identifying the ruler in each case.

1)

2)

This is all one legend, giving on the obverse the son, and following on the reverse with the father.

3)

Here is a copper coin of Firuz II, 1351-1388 A.D., the obverse of which reads:

"The Caliph, commander of the faithful, may his Caliphate last for ever". The Sultans have given up naming a particular Caliph, just saying "the Caliph".

The reverse reads:

Firuz Shah Sultan in the honourable Delhi.

This is the reverse of a gold piece of Mahmud Shah II, 1392-1412 A.D., which reads:

A.D., which reads:
"The very great sultan, father of the victorious, Mahmud Shah son of Mohammed Shah (son of) Firuz Shah, the Sultan."

This omission of 'u or ' in a is a very confusing habit!

This is a copper coin of Sikander II Lodhi, 1488–1517 A.D., which reads on the obverse:

١٤٨٨ هـ

"In the time of the commander of the faithful (not named) May his Caliphate last for ever."

The reverse reads:

البيكول على الرحمن السالم: بأسمائه مملوءة

"He who trusts in the Merciful One, Sikander Shah, (son of) Buhfoil Shah, the Sultan."

The letters have a square look about them, and are "scrappy." Sikander has given himself the Caliphal jagab "He who trusts in the Merciful One."

Shir Shah changes things completely. We have now a beautiful series of large silver coins; in fact Shir Shah introduced the "Rupee" in 1542 A.D. Instead of any mention of the Caliphate — pretty useless by now — the Kalima is enclosed in a square with the four successors in the margins.

The obverse reads:

لا نحسب الله مريم

"We do not believe in Mary, the mother of Jesus."

The margins are not very clear, but at the bottom we can see traces of 'Abd al-Rahman and 'Uthman at the top.

The reverse reads:

السلطان شير شاه مخلص الله ملك

"The Sultan Shir Shah, May Allah perpetuate his reign."

Below this is a Nagari legend, and in the margin Shir's jagab and the mint and date:

"Caliphate of Firuz Shah 840 A.H."
fath (which is strictly fath, but I have put the e in to keep the r and h separate) is an interesting word which means "opening", moving to the idea of opening a country by "conquest".

The reverse reads: ইব্রাহিম শাহ সুলতান.

The later kings are fairly easy to recognize, because they keep the name of Ibrahim on their coins, the cabinet of which becomes a boxlike in the middle of the coin. The kings build up their genealogy, leaving out the ন ন বা হা হা. The word which is put on the coins with the final ya forming a line right across the centre of the reverse. Most of the Malwa money is square.

The kingdom of Malwa declared its independence from Delhi in 804 A.H., 1401 A.D., to disappear again on its annexation by Gujarai, another of the break-away kingdoms, in 937 A.H., 1530 A.D. The commensurate coins of Malwa are those of the family of Khalji, a word which is put on the coins with the final ya forming a line right across the centre of the reverse. Most of the Malwa money is square.


This is a silver coin of Ghivais Shāh dated 898 A.H., 1492 A.D. The obverse reads: el-wasiq bi'l-malik el-muttaqi

"The truster in the King, the one who seeks protection, father of the conquer, Ghiyas Shah."

The reverse reads: بن مغود شاه السلطنة المبعدة خد ملك

"Son of Mahmud Shah, the Khalji, (may Allah perpetuate his reign)."

It would be very easy not to spot the ন ন বা হা হা, and to attribute to the father instead of the son; it always helps if one can see the date.

The kingdom of Gujarat was independent of Delhi between 799 A.H., 1396 A.D., and its submission to Akbar in 980 A.H., 1572 A.D.

Here is a copper of Ahmad Shāh 814–946 A.H., 1411–1443 A.D., dated 831 A.H. It is hard to decipher much of the legend - as is often the case with copper coins. The obverse just

1586 A.D., and the illustration is of a silver coin of Mahmud Shah 961 A.H., with the obverse reading, which is helpful:

es-sultan el-a'am Shah 961 A.H.

"The very great Sultan Mahmud Shah".

The reverse reads:

There is a reverse of a slightly earlier copper, which is not "given away" by the zarb Kashmīr in a lozenge. The horizontal line with the circle in the centre is the characteristic here which would indicate Kashmir to the experienced collector. The reading is straightforward:

es-sultan el-a'am Hasen Shah, Hasen's reign being 1469–81 A.D.

The Bahmanis of the Deccan lasted from 748 A.H., 1347 A.D., to 933 A.H., 1526 A.D., and minted coins some of which have quite difficult legends.

This is a silver piece of Zab e din Ahmad Shah II 838–862 A.H., 1435–57 A.D., with the obverse reading:

es-sultan el-halim el-kerim es-ra'uf 'ad dīd Allah el-ghanir el-muhinnan a legend which contains more new vocabulary than in any single legend so far!

The word رفف contains the idea of forgiveness arising from kindness and I translate it "benevolent". The difficulty of رفف is that the vow is a hamza-holder and as
such ought not to be pronounced — yet the ẓ is a long vowel and modern Arabs would spell the word ẓūrūṭ.  ...  ...  ...  ʿabīd is one of the two possible plural forms of ʿabd, ʿabd “slave”, and it has the special sense of “worshippers.” It translates, “The Sultan, the gracious, the generous, the benevolent to the worshippers of Allah, the rich, the protector.” He had quite a high opinion of himself!

The reverse reads:

أبو الظاهر علاء الدين أحمد بن أحمد شاه قطب الدين علاء الدين أحمد شاه بن أحمد شاه بن أحمد شاه

"Father of the victorious, Glory of the world and of the faith, Ahmad Shah son of Ahmad Shah, the governor, the Bahmani."

"Governor" is one of the several meanings of the word ʿādd. The writing of ʿādd in the name Ahmad is peculiar, the ʿā of ʿādd, which looks very like the other ʿā of ʿāh. The date below the square is 850 (not 845) at this period of Indian coinage.

The Bahmani's frequently do put on their coins the family name "Bahmani".

Bengal has a long line of coins from Gendors, and from 739 A.H., 1338 A.D., of independent kings. It was reconquered by Shir Shah in 1537 A.D. but regained freedom in 1552 A.D., retaining independence until conquered by Akbar in 1576 A.D. The large silver pieces of the "second" independence are beautiful coins in the style of those of Shir Shah and Islam Shah. Among the rulers of this period are Mohammad Shah Ghiyās al-Dīn Bahadur Shah 962–964 A.H., 1554–1556 A.D.; and, belonging to the house of Sulaiman Karan: Naqib Shah 980–984 A.H., 1572–1576 A.D.

This is a silver coin of Ghiyās al-Dīn Bahadur Shah. The obverse has the Kalima in a square, with a row of "tashkis" separating the two parts; and around the margin are traces of the four successors.

The reverse reads:

"Baḥādur Shāh bin Muḥammad Shāh Ghiyās al-Dīn Bahadur Shah," Bahadur Shah, son of Mohammad Shah, fighter in the war against infidels, May Allah perpetuate his reign and his sultanate.

Below this is the line of Nasiri script which is usual on this style of coin. The margin is illegible, but should read "Ghiyās al-Dīn Bahadur Shāh al-Mustawfi"

This period of independent Moslem kingdoms is made difficult by paucity of definite distinguishing marks — to be certain that a coin is of the kings of Bengal, for instance, one must have a knowledge of the names of the rulers and their dates.

Exercise No. 16.

Amongst these coins are included coins of Haidar Shah of Kashmir, 1497–68 A.D.; Muzaffar Shah II of Gujarat 1511–1526 A.D.; and of other rulers mentioned within the course of the chapter.
The other noticeable feature of the Ayyubids and the Mamluks is that they were called "malik" with a suitable adjective. Saladin is el-malik en-nasir "the defending king"—this can be confusing in that his reign overlapped that of the Caliph Nasir id-din. In fact, particularly on Mamluk copper the epithet with malik tends to be the most noticeable thing on the coin.

This is a Damascus silver piece of Saladin. The wording is only one step removed from the Kufi dirhems.

On the obverse the Kalima has been removed to the margin. Allah, and the ‘affirmation’ of Allah. The obverse area has the Caliph’s name and titles:

el-imam el-Mustafâ b’amir Allah amir el-muminin

The reverse has the remains of the old “Bismillah” in the margin:

وَسَلَّمَ رَبُّ الْعَالَمِينَ

The reverse area reads:

الله الصالح الذي يهدد إلى الساليم و الدارين

el-malik en-nasir salâh ed-dûnî wa ad-din

"The defending King, Honour of the world and of the faith."

It is the form of some of the letters which is worth noticing, and it is profitable to study the illustration carefully. The final ya of “Mustafâ” forms an unusual tail. The shape of “malik” is 3.5 and above the s of “Salâh” is what can be a short mark, but is probably just coincidental.

Here is the Al-ppo type. On the obverse the Kalima is in the angles, with the Caliph in the centre:

el-imâm en-nasir il-âdîn Allah amir el-mumînin.

The reverse area has the name of Saladin in the area:

el-malik en-nasir salâh ed-dûnî Yâsuf bin Ayyûb.

In the angles is the mint bi-Halab "in Aleppo" and the date 680 A.H.
This is the period of very un-Moslem coin types, like this Saladin copper. These living figures come from areas which were in contact with the Crusaders, and this type of coin was probably due more to finding something a Crusader could understand than to any religious indifference on the part of the Moslems. The Urquids and Zengids have particularly fine designs on many of their pieces.

The obverse, around the erased figure, reads:

el-malik es-nuris sahii ed-dunya wa ed-din Yusauf bin Ayyubi.
The reverse has the Caliph in the centre:

el-imam en-nah
Sir li-din Allah
Amr el-muminin
and around:

Top: zuriba hazh Bottom: ed-dinham sanat Right: sitt wa
temaniin Left: wa khamaniin "Was struck this dirhem (though this is a copper coin) year six and eighty and fifty hundred". No mint is given.

After Saladin the Ayubids spread out with different branches in Egypt, in Damascus, in Aleppo, and in Mesopotamia - in fact they became very difficult to follow. The most important numerically are:

1) el-malik es-Salih (the Just King) Abd Bektin Ayyub sah ii ed-din (word of the faith), 1196-1218 A.D.

2) His son,
el-malik el-Kamil (the Perfect King) Mohammed bin Ali Bekr, 1218-1238 A.D.

3) His son
el-malik es-Salih (the Good King) Najm ed-din (star of the faith)
Ayyubi bin el-malik el-Kamil, 1240-1249 A.D.

Es-Salih paved the way for the Mamluks by purchasing a large number of slaves (mamluk "owned") for his army, and when the inhabitants of Cairo complained of their lawlessness he built barracks for them on an island in the Nile, and they came to be called "Bahri" (of the River) Mamluks. Also, Es-Salih married a very capable Turkish slave concubine making her his queen, with the name sheger ed-durr "Pearl of Pearls".

When he died in 1249 A.D., St. Louis was in occupation of Damietta, and Egypt was in a precarious position. Sheger ed-durr concealed her husband's death. She became the "power behind the throne", and she ruled through the first of the Bahri Mamluks whom she raised to the throne by marrying, Mamlik power was soon to spread from Egypt to Syria too. The Bahri Mamliks ruled 648-704 A.H., 1250-1262 A.D.; to be followed by the Burji Mamliks 784-922 A.H., 1382-1516 A.D., at which time the Ottoman Selim conquered Egypt.

This is a gold coin of the first outstanding Bahri Mamlik, Beybars, 668-676 A.H., 1260-77 A.D. The obverse reads:
el-haqq
Is sacrifices raucc Allah
Mohammed rasu Allah
ars alah bi-t-hudl
wa-din
The el-haqq follows the wa-din at the bottom, and the legend translates:

"There is no God but Allah, Mohammed is the Messenger of Allah. He sent him with the guidance and a religion of the Truth.".

The margin if legible would have given date and mint - el-iskanderiyat, i.e., Alexandria.

The reverse gives Beybars' name and titles:

Beybars (Beybars is a Europeanisation of es-Salih)
el-malik ez-Zahir
ruku ed-dunya wa ed-din
"Beybars the good, the Manifest King, Pillar (rukn) of the world and of the faith". Below the legend is the lion which Beybars put on most of his coins - though some of his successors use this same lion too, e.g., Sha'ban puts a lion on the obverse of his copper coins from the Tripoli (Syrian) mint.

Note that the k of Malik is a plain loop, rather like

This is a copper coin of Es-Salih Isma'il 743-6 A.H., 1342-5 A.D., illustrating the importance of the kingly epithet. The obverse reads:
el-malik es-Salih, and below the dotted line
bin Mohammed. The mint and date fill all the reverse:

above the line: zuriba bi-Dimaq
between the lines: fi sanat thalith wa arb'in
below the line: wa mithn
minted in Damascus in the year three and forty and seven hundred. Mamlik copper is generally hard to attribute, as it comes in many very varied designs, and the lettering is not usually very clear.
"Struck in Aleppo. The Sultan, the Manifest King, sword of the world and of the faith, Abu Sa'id Barquq. May Allah perpetuate his reign. Year seven and eighty and seven hundred:"
The date is often difficult to read as it is on this Barquq coin. Difficulty is caused by repetition of names. There are seven Mamluks called "el-malik ez-zahir", and eight "el-malik el-ashraf" — but identifying the epithet at least narrows the field.

The Mamluks

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Exercise No. 17.
The following coins are all of rulers mentioned in the chapter.

1) 2) 3)

4)
The Seljuks of Rum managed to prosper in Anatolia, despite chaos elsewhere. Their capital was at Qiniyef, better known as Konya. They were sandwiched between the Byzantine Empire and the Crusading States, and were largely cut off from the East until the Mongols came. The last years of these Seljuks were as puppets of the Mongols, and when Kai Qubad III died in about 1304 A.D. the Mongols parceled out Anatolia amongst a number of rival petty amirates, amongst whom were the Ottomans.

The "family tree" of the Seljuks of Rum is — (dates are A.D.):

Sulaiman, 1077-86
Daud Qilij Arslan I, 1092-1107
Malik Shah, 1107-16
Ma'tud, 1116-56
Izz ed-din Qilij Arslan II, 1156-88
Qubad ed-din
Malik Shah II
Ghiyas ed-din
Kai-Khusru I, 1192-1200
Ruank ed-din
Sulaiman II, 1200-03
and 1204-1211
Izz ed-din Kai-Khusru I
'Ala ed-din Kai-Kubad I
Kawus I, 1211-19
1219-36
1203-4
Ghiyas ed-din Kai-Khusru II, 1236-45 (who in 1243 was defeated by the Mongols and became their vassal)
'Ali ed-din Kai-Kubad II
Izz ed-din Kai-Kubad II
Kawus II, 1246-60
Ruank ed-din
Qilij Arslan IV, 1246-67
Mas'ud II, 1284-95
Ghiyas ed-din Kai-Khusru III
Kai-Kubad III, 1295-1304
1267-84

These Seljuks produced a particularly fine series of silver dirhems, and here is one of Qilij Arslan II. The Overse reads:

الاسم
el-imām
III Laḩā līs Allah
wāḥadu hā la
shērīn lahu
en-nāsir li-
dīn Allah
ṣarih al-
mūminin

which is the first part of the Kalima, combined with the Caliph en-Nasir's name and title. The margin reads: to the left "ṣurūb hasta: below ed-dīhr" (though this is actually a silver piece!); and to the right "bl-Qiniyef.

The reverse reads:

Mūḥammad rasūl Allah
ṣalālī Allah 'alaihī
ṣarias al-mu'azzam
Qilij Arslan

Unfortunately, after Malik Shah's death these provinces were taken over piecemeal by the officers, who were known as the Atabegs. The Empire disintegrated, except Khorasan which was held by Malik Shah's son, Sinjar 1118–57 A.D.; but after 1153 A.D. Khorasan was disputed between two of Sinjar's ex-vassals, the Shahs of Khwarizm and the chieftains of Ghor in Afghanistan. The Khwarizm Shahs gained control, establishing a large empire of their own under Takshah, 1172–99 A.D., and his son 'Ala ed-din Mohammed, 1199–1220 A.D.

As the Seljuk power weakened even the Caliphs broke loose and re-established a temporal power over most of the province of Iraq.

Under en-Nasir, 1180–1225 A.D., the Caliph even came into conflict with the Khwarizm Shah who prepared for war against Baghdad. Overwhelming disaster was about to fall — in 1219 and 1220 A.D. Jenghiz Khan and his Mongol hordes invaded Transoxiana and Khorasan, and things were never the same thereafter.

Meanwhile Northern Mesopotamia was a mosaic of warring Atabegs and Crusaders, with the intervention of, and temporary supremacy of, Saladin. In 1144 A.D. Zengi expelled the Crusaders from Edessa.

The chief rulers of pre-Mongol times in this region were the various Urtuqids — of Kayfa and Amid of Khatatip; and of Marind, also (of the house of Zengi) Atabegs of Mosul: Atabeg of Aleppo, and Atabeg of Sinjar.
salāh is actually an ordinary perfect of derived form II verb, "he prayed". This perfect is used to express a pious wish, and has the meaning "Bless", "May He bless".

الذكاء is an awkward combination of the prefix and the suffix -hu. "Mohammed the Messenger of Allah: may Allah bless him. The very great Sultan Qilij Arslan".

The margin gives the date 582 A.H. - reading on the right: سنة ثمانين sanat tmnin (thmnin); at the top: علي الوثيقين; and on the left: مسمى (shamasi). The numerals are being contracted, and shortly we shall see signs being used for some of the numbers, a sort of half-way house towards the use of the later Arabic ciphers.

The most interesting of all Seljuk dirhems are those of Kais-Khusru II. This sultan was madly in love with his beautiful Georgian wife, and he wanted to put her portrait on his coin; but, this not being approved of by his advisers, he put his wife's horoscope on his coin instead - the Sun in Leo. At least that is one explanation of this type!

Above the "horoscope", we read the Caliph Mustansir's name and titles: الأئمة المستنصر بالله أمير المؤمنين es-sultan el-as-zam
Ghiyās ed-dunyā wa ed-din
Kai-Khusro bin Kai-Qubad

"Struck at Qunyat (this is really part of the marginal inscription). The very great Sultan, help (ghiyās) of the world and of the faith, Kais-Khusru son of Kai-Qubad". Note the shapes of the initial k of the names.

This is another dirhem - of Kais-Khusru II.

The reverse reads:
الإمام المستنصر بالله أمير المؤمنين es-sultan el-as-zam
Ghīyās ed-dunyā wa ed-din
Kai-Khusro bin Kai-Qubad

"The very great Sultan, shadow of Allah in the world, glory (izz) of the world and of the faith, Kais-Khusru son of Kai-Qubad".

The margin - haas ed-dinham bi-Gunyat

The reverse has the Kalima, with the Caliph's name and titles:
الإمام المستنصر بالله أمير المؤمنين es-sultan el-as-zam
Ghiyās ed-din yūtuq Arslan
Nasir ed-din Urtuq Arslan
Kai-Khusro bin Kai-Qubad

We read the margin round, starting at the top: سنة sanas: sittī, 646 A.H. with / acting as a symbol for our ar.

The most important of the Urtuqids, from the numismatic point of view, were those variously described as being of Diarbekr or of Maridin. Their coins are largely beautifully designed copper pieces, copying Greek, Roman, or Byzantine prototypes; and a list of their rulers may be found helpful.

Nejm ed-din (spelled اب) Ghūzil 1108-1122 - the son of Urtuq
Hoqim ed-din Timur Balsh
Nasir ed-din Alpī
Ayyūb Qutb ed-din Ghūzil II
Hoqim ed-din Yūtuq Arslan
Ayyūb Qutb ed-din Urtuq Arslan
Nejm ed-din Ghūzil I
Qarā Arslan
Shems ed-din Dāwūd
Nejm ed-din Ghūzil II
Fīrūz ed-din "Alī Alpī"
Shems ed-din Sāliḥ

This is a coin of Nejm ed-din Alpī with a Byzantine reverse, taken from a coin of John II Comnenus with the Virgin crowning the Emperor. Urtuqid legends are very simple, largely being genealogical.

On the reverse we read, at the top: Nejm ed-din; and at the bottom: malik Diarbekr; followed by a typical Urtuqid ornament.

The reverse, starting at the right and reading right round reads: ابني الظفر البشري أبو الظفر البشري أبو الظفر البشري (and at the base between the figures) Urtuq.
Here is another. This coin leaves out the genealogy, but adds another very interesting feature of these “Turkoman” coins – an overlord.

The obverse has the name of the Urtuqid ruler: right side first, then left Nāṣir ed-dīn Urtuq Arslān. It is worth noticing that the Caliph’s name is Nāṣir Il-dīn: Secular rulers use Nāṣir ed-dīn as a laqab.

The reverse gives the date 628 A.H., 1231 A.D., in the right and left margins. The central area reads:

Billah
al-āimmah al-mustansir
amīr al-muminīn
al-malik al-Kamil
Mohammed

In other words we have the Caliph Mustangir and the Ayyubid al-Kamil who is recognised as overlord.

As four out of the five coins in the exercise are coins of the Urtuqids of Mardin, I add just a little more information. The mint Maridūr occurs, and the epithet Maridūr “the wise” in the name of the ruler of the Mardin occurs unexpectedly in the area legend, made harder by the shape of the initial kāf, which looks rather like two letters. As such it is followed on this particular coin by the threat ma‘ūn man yughfrahu which means “being cursed”, and actually Arabs use it as a name for Satan, “the Cursed One”, and yughfrahu is the verb connected with their “other than”, with the addition of the pronominal suffix –ahu; and it reads “Cursed (be he) who changes it”.

This is a coin of the Urtuqids of Keyfa and Amid, who have very similar types. The ruler is Fakhr ed-dīn Gara Arslān, 1146–74 A.D., son of Dawud, 1108–48, son of Sukman, 1101–1104 A.D.

The obverse gives the Kālima at the bottom and going on to the left, with the Caliph el-Mustansir billah on the right.

The reverse has the date 560 A.H. to the right and left, and in the area:

Mamluk al-‘āmir
Qara Arslān bin
Dawud bin Sukman
bin Urtuq

“King of Commanders, Qara Arslan son of Dawud son of Sukman son of Urtuq”.

The various rulers descended from Zengi produced similar picturesque designs, though not all of their coins are pictorial. Here is a copper struck at Damascus by Nur ed-din Mahmūd, Atabeg of Aleppo from 1146, and of Damascus as well from 1153, until 1174. This ruler is interesting as being Saladin’s overlord, to whom Saladin was always loyal while he lived, but from whose successor he broke away — occupying Damascus himself in 1174 A.D.

On the obverse is the legend Mahomūd bin
Zenj, on the margin bi-Damish can be made out. The reverse has el-malik el-Sālil “the Just King”.

This is a copper of the Zengid Atabegs of Mosul. It is of Qutb ed-din Mawwūd 1148–70 A.D., one of Zengi’s sons and brother to Nur ed-din Mahmūd.

The obverse gives the date 556 A.H., and the margin of the reverse reads:

Mawwūd bin ZenjF bin Aq Sungar. The area has:

el-malik el-Sādil
el-Sālim malik umarū
al-sharq wa el-sharb
Tughrulkhan Atabek

Lane Poole, in his introduction to the B.M.C. “Oriental Coins” Vol.3 written in 1877, suggests that this is tughrulkhan meaning “Falcon Knight”, though personally I should be more satisfied if it were something more like “Tughrīl Beg” – possibly meaning “an Atabeg originally appointed by Tughrīl Beg.” The translation runs:
"The King, the just, the wise, King of the Commanders of the East and of the West, 
Falcon Knight, Atabeg'.

The last Atabeg of Mosul, who was reigning when the Mongols got there, was Bedr
ed-din Lulu, who was actually a "mamluk" of the last of the Zengid line. He succeeded in that
ominous year when Baghdad fell 1258 A.D. The obverse, starting at the right hand side, reads:
zuriba bi'-l-Mausil sanat ahad wa 
thalathin wa amat'at. Struck at Mosul 631 A.H. 
احذى احذى اد (mas) should read
in'd (Fem).

The Obverse margin gives the ruler's titles — starting from two o'clock to:
لؤي ولا الوالد الاشتر والمملكة الاشتر "Full moon bedr" of the world and of the faithful Lulu, the Perfect
King, the very Noble King". These rulers are no longer content with one epitaph with malik, so
the kindy epithet loses its value for identification.

The reverse area has:

el-imam
el-Mustansir
billah amir
el-muminin
which refers to the ill-fated Caliph Mustansir.

Exercise No. 18

Identify the following coins:

1)

2)

THE HOUSE OF ZENG
Atabeg in Mosul, Aleppo, Sinjar and El-Jezira

'Imad ed-din Zengi 1126-46

Abd ed-din Ghazi I 1146-8 MOSUL

Qubb ed-din Menced 1149-60 MOSUL

Nur ed-din Mahmod 1148-73 ALLEPO

Ed-Sehli Ismail 1123-38 ALLEPO

Self ed-din Ghazi II
1170-85 MOSUL

Zengi
1170-75 MOSUL

Nur ed-din Shahshah
1180-92 MOSUL

Nur ed-din Ma‘bud
1193-1211 MOSUL

Mohammad
1197-1205 MOSUL

'Imad ed-din Shahnah
1211-18 MOSUL

Mahmod
1218-20 SINJAR

(nick named as 'Umar)
1218-20 SINJAR

Bedr ed-din Lulu (Mamluk of Mahmod)
1234-58 MOSUL

'Ismu'd
1258-62 MOSUL
CHAPTER XIX
The history and coinage of the Mongols. The Ilkhans

Vocabulary

تعالى may be exalted, on high.
مُولًا prince
رقبة - plural رقبات neck
تی tribe
بی city, region
عَشْر nation - plural عُشُور umum
سمعа he heard
سِمْد lord, also the sense
"a descendant of the Prophet"
بهادر valiant

Yissuqel, the father of Jenghiz Khan, was the first to assert Mongol independence from Chinese rule, and he ruled over "forty thousand tents." His people were just a clan amongst clans, a member of a great nomad confederacy wandering about in the area to the North of the Gobi Desert in search of water and pasture, hunting and breeding cattle, and living on flesh and sour milk called "kumt." Yissuqel was succeeded by Temujin, which is actually the name of Jenghiz Khan. Temujin spent his first thirty years of rule struggling against foes at home amongst his own and rival tribes. Then in 1206 A.D., when he was forty years old, he summoned a Kuriltai (Distill) of the chiefs of all the tribes, and a shaman (priest) announced that Heaven had decreed a higher title to Temujin — he was now "Jenghiz Khan," which means "very mighty king."

When Jenghiz Khan died in 1227 A.D. at the age of 64, he ruled an Empire that stretched from the Yellow Sea to the Caspian.

His armies consisted entirely of cavalry unsupported by infantry. Though by no means superior in number or armour to their enemies, the incredible mobility and shock tactics of the Mongols made them irresistible.

The first approach into Muslim territories was made in 1219 A.D. through Khwarizm, and this is a coin of the Khwarizm Shah 'Ala ed-din Mohammad, 1199-1220 A.D., who was first to suffer defeat at their hands. The reverse reads: "أب الفتح الغد على السكاكين" (Abu al-Fath al-Ghad fi al-Sakkin) and "Founder of the conquest, Mohammad son of the Sultan." The reverse reads: "السلطان الأعظم الدين الأشرف في المنصور السعدي" (Al-Sultan al-Ashraf al-Mansur al-Sa'di) — "he is the great Sultan of the world and — - -".

In 1227 A.D., on Jenghiz Khan's death, it was his clans rather than his territories that were distributed amongst his sons, with less important appanages being allotted to his brothers. One of his sons was given the supreme command with the Mongol title Khagan, which in Arabic is "خاگان" or "خاگان" or "خاگان" or "خاگان", which is also used in a shortened form خاقان or خاقان, which was a lesser title, but gradually came to be the same thing.

Jenghiz Khan had four sons:

The oldest was Juji, who had four sons himself: Batu, Orda, Tuka-Timur and Sheyban. They were to rule the tribes of the vast area to the East of Russia and to the North of Transoxiana. The general name for these tribes is "the Golden Horde", which subdivides into...
Here is a silver coin of the last Khan of Khiv, Shahin Girai, 1191-97 A.D., 1777-83 A.D., minted at Baghchisarai. In style it is similar to the Ottoman coins of the period, with year of accession and regnal year on the reverse. The obverse reads:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{khan} & \quad \text{Shahin Kirgiz}\nonumber \\
\text{bin Ahmad Kirgiz} & \quad \text{Sultan}\nonumber \\
\text{and the reverse} & \quad 2 \text{ (regnal year)} \nonumber \\
\text{zuraba} & \quad \text{Baghchisarai}\nonumber \\
\text{sanat} & \quad 1191
\end{align*}
\]

This is a copper of the same ruler, with a Tughras on the obverse, and on the reverse:

[Image: Copper coins]

The reverse reads:

\[
\text{Mammad Ali} \quad \text{Abu al-Gharbi}
\]

The Uzbegs began with the Golden Horde, and some of them were to stay in Siberia, where they became the Chars of Tiumen. The numismatically important branch invaded Transoxiana under Mohammed Shyebani in 906 A.H., 1500 A.D.

Uzbegs and others of Mongol stock ruled petty khanates in this area until the 1860's and 1870's when Russia annexed them. There was the Emirate of Bukhara: the Khante of Khiva, which was called Khwarimek on coins, of which those of a ruler like Allah Quill, 1825-42 A.D., are not too uncommon. There was also the Emirate of Khwand — more usually known as Khokand — of which this is an example. The denomination of this gold piece is a "dirh"; and it was minted by Mohammed Ali Khan, 1822-40 A.D. The obverse reads:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{zurab} & \quad \text{Baghchisarai}\nonumber \\
\text{sanat} & \quad 1191\nonumber \\
\end{align*}
\]

The reverse reads:

\[
\text{Mammad} \quad \text{Ali}\nonumber \\
\text{father of the warrior fighting against infidels, Lord, 1252 A.H.}
\]

Jenghiz Khan's second son was Jagatay, whose appellation was Transoxiana which his descendants held until ousted by Timur in 1370 A.D. — the Timurids were later to be ousted in turn by the Shaybanids, as mentioned above.

This is a coin of the Jagatai Mongols of Transoxiana; a silver piece of Dari of Jenghiz Khan (who was actually of Ogotai stock), 1346 A.D., and this coin was struck in Bukhara in 1472 A.H.

The obverse has the normal Kalima — with a very exotic "Mammad" — and the four successors around:

The reverse reads:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Kalim ul-Mulk} & \quad \text{Kalim ul-Mulk}\nonumber \\
\text{sanat} & \quad \text{sanat}\nonumber \\
\text{arba'}h} & \quad \text{Baghchisarai}
\end{align*}
\]

Jenghiz Khan's third son, Ogotai, received Zungaria, the Western corner of Mongolia itself; and in addition was appointed supreme Khan of all the Mongols. Ogotai died in 1241 A.D., and his widow Turakna ruled the Empire for several years, until in 1246 A.D. Ogotai's son Kuyuk was elected Khan. When Kuyuk died in 1248 A.D. the line of the fourth son of Jenghiz Khan, Tului, took the supreme power, and the line of Ogotai disappeared into obscurity. The strange thing is that the great Timur (the Tamerlane of English literature) attempted to resurrect the Ogotai Khaqanship.
Timur’s family had connections with the Jagatai rulers of Transoxiana, and in 1369-70 he seized the throne of the Khanate, with Samarqand as his capital. He began a remarkable career of conquest with the capture of Herat in 1381 A.D. By 1384 he had conquered all the Persia, Mesopotamia, Georgia region. In 1399 he invaded India, sacking Delhi. He died in 1404 A.D. It was Timur’s fancy to strike coins with the names of Suyughmati and, later, his son Mahmut, who were the remnants of the line of Ogatai, though he does not actually call them Khaagan. It was the Sultan ul-ulama (the emir of the clerics) who came to meet him and on 30 April 1403 entered into a treaty with him, which is still in force, giving him all the lands east of the eastern frontiers of Iran. This treaty with the sultan ul-ulama of Khaagan, and the emirvoid, was the foundation of the Timurid empire, which was to be the greatest of the Mongol successor states in Central Asia.

Mangu died in 1257 A.D.; but before he died he had made two very important moves. He had sent one of his brothers, Kubilai, to govern the Mongol provinces in China – Kubilai Khan was to succeed his brother as Khaagan, and to hold a brilliant court at Peking, which was to replace Karakorum as capital of the Mongols. Mangu had sent a second brother, Hulagu, to take over Persia from the minor governors who had been set up there by the Mongols. Hulagu was to establish there his own dynasty, who are known either as “the Mongols of Persia” or as the “Ilkhans.” The word “Ilkhanid” consists of the two words “Ilhan” (Persian for “tribe”) and “Khan,” and Hulagu took this title as being distinctly lower than “Khaagan” – he was only a “tribal chief.”

Up to the split up which occurred after Abu Sa’id’s death the Ilkhans rulers were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>A.H.</th>
<th>A.D.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hulagu</td>
<td>654</td>
<td>1256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atabu (Abu)</td>
<td>663</td>
<td>1265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahmad</td>
<td>680</td>
<td>1281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arghun</td>
<td>683</td>
<td>1284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arinchi Turji (Arin Turji)</td>
<td>690</td>
<td>1291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baabdur</td>
<td>694</td>
<td>1295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gisam Mahmut</td>
<td>694</td>
<td>1295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uljai</td>
<td>703</td>
<td>1304</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abu Sa’id</td>
<td>716</td>
<td>1316</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On their coins there is usually some Mongol as well as the Arabic legend, and, as Mongol is not unlike Arabic in appearance, this can be confusing to the beginner. For instance in Exercise 19 one of the coins has four lines in Mongol, with only one, containing the ruler’s name, in Arabic.

While Mangu is alive, at the beginning of Hulagu’s reign, he is recognised by name and has the title “the very great Ilkhan,” with Hulagu himself being just “Khaagan.” It is interesting to note that right from Hulagu’s time the Ilkhanids give the Moslem Kaliima on one side of their pieces.

After Mangu’s death, when Kubilai is Khaagan, reference is made to his existence with the title “the very great Ilkhan.” It is kept, but the Khaagan is not named. Hulagu steps himself up to be called “Ilkhan Khaagan el-mu’azzam.” “Hulagu the very great Ilkhan.” After Hulagu’s death reference to a Khaagan is dropped: this is at the commencement of Ghazan’s reign.

A number of copper coins occur through this earlier Ilkhanid period with figures on them. In particular the Mosul mint, carrying on its Arab tradition, produces a type with a man seated cross-legged holding a crescent moon. Inscriptions are easy, with these copper coins often putting after the Khan’s titles a phrase like “by the power of God Ghazan’s coinage.”

Ghazan’s coins are usually very simple, and, though he was an ardent Shi’ite, have no special formulae; in fact they often have more in Mongol than Arabic, with something like “By the power of God Ghazan’s coinage” in Mongol, and his name written in Arabic.
Ghazan, and all the later Persian Shi'ite rulers were "twelves", disallowing the disinheruntion of 'Ali, but allowing the rejection of Isma'il; but it is Ujjatu who is the first numismatic Shi'ite.

This is a silver coin of Ujjatu. On the obverse we see the Shi'ite Kalima, with the ending "Allah wa Muhammad wa 'Ali wa smoking" - rather complicated. The whole sentence means, "And Allah will be sufficient to protect you against them;" — rather complicated. The whole sentence means, "And Allah will be sufficient to protect you against them, and He is the Hearer, the Knower."

The second coin with its square Kufi Kalima reads:

"La ilah illa Allah, Mohammd rasûl Allah, Saîd Allah Walahi."

There is no God but Allah, Mohammed is the messenger of Allah, May Allah bless him." Around the square are the successors.

Exercise No. 19

1) 2)

3) 4) 5)

The commonest Ilkhānid coins are those of Abu Sa'id, who has a series of different types - inscription in hexagram: inscription in square, etc., of which there is one only currency.

The left hand coin has the ordinary Shi'ite Kalima in the centre, with the successors below. The upper framework is made up of a Koranic text we have not met before. Sura 2, verse 133.

"Fasayyikfahum Allah wa huwa esem" il-'a'am. Fasayyikfahum has its root imperfect of the stem K-F-Y "to satisfy", "to be enough". To this are added two prefixes and two suffixes. The prefixes are kār "and", and sa which makes the verb definitely future. The suffixes are the pronouns sūb "you"
CHAPTER XX  Post-Iltchanid Persia. The Persian couplet

After the death of Abu Sa'id in 1335 A.D., Persia was split with rival contenders for the throne; with Mohammed, Togha Timur, Jahans Timur, Sati Beg, Sulaaman and Nushirwan all striking coins in the 1340's and 1350's with much overlapping. And, quite apart from Iltchanid claimants, the Jelairis gained control of Baghdad and Tabriz: the Muzaffarids, Faris and Isfahan: the Kura, Herat: the Serbedarians, Khorasan: and the Turkomans of the Black Sheep, Divarbeer and Khuristan.

This chaos was swept away by Timur, who by 1394 A.D. had gained possession of the whole region; but it was Timur's son Shah Rukh, 1405-47 A.D. who restored to Persia some measure of her former prosperity. His capital, Herat, was the centre of a renewed and artistically brilliant Persian culture.

The obverses of the coins of Shah Rukh have the ordinary Sunni Kalima with the four successors around, but the way these are written may vary tremendously. These both have exactly the same legend, except for the date, 893 in the centre of the left hand coin.

The reverse of both these coins is almost identical. Both read (though with different mints):

\[\text{سرب zarb}\]
\[\text{سپ سولتان es-sultan el-azam}\]
\[\text{شاهرخ باهصد خلیفه اللہ مکا اور سولتان مکہ wa sulthanahu}\]
\[\text{صدارۃ 89}\]
\[\text{Herat 829}\]

"striking of Herat 829 A.H. The very great sultan Shah Rukh the Valiant, May Allah perpetuate his reign and his sultanate".

The رکh Rukh usually stands out pretty clearly near the centre of the coin as it does here. bahsurd is one of those words one ought to learn to pick out in its varying shapes – as here where the \(b\) is \(c\) as it is very commonly used.

After the passing of Shah Rukh, Persia once again split up, with the Sheybanids taking over in Transoxiana, and the Black Sheep Turkomans and White Sheep Turkomans struggling for power with Iraq and the West of Persia as the prize.

The last important stronghold left to the Timurids was Herat, where Husain Baikara ruled in splendour 873-913 A.D., 1469-1506 A.D.

This silver coin of Husain Baikara is similar in style to the coin of the Sheybanid Iskander. The obverse has the Kalima with the successors, who each have their epithets, around.

The reverse has, in the centre: \(b\) باهسد هرک - but what \(bah\) means is not certain, probably it means something like "it is good". The rest of the reverse reads:

\[\text{سلطان الاعظم}\]
\[\text{دیگیز el-ghazi}\]
\[\text{حسین abu}\]
\[\text{سولتان مکا mukahw wa sulthanahu}\]
\[\text{خلد الله علیه}\]
\[\text{کالیل Allah walai}\]

This translates, "the very great Sultan, Husain, father of the warrior against infidels, Valiant. May Allah on High perpetuate his reign and his sultanate".

At this point we glance backwards at the Serbedarians, who were mentioned as controlling Khorasan before the arrival of Timur. These Serbedarians are particularly interesting as being local groups of warriors and others who were bound together in a religious association with a common religious teacher. Many such associations grew up during the Mongol period, some were Sunni and some Shi'ite.

At the time of this coin their leader was known to have been 'Ali el-Musuyad, 1364-81 A.D., but as often happens when religion becomes all-important there is no mention of the accurate ruler on the coin.

The obverse, very like the Ujeitu coin only cruder in execution, has the Shi'ite Kalima with the twelve imams around.

The reverse has in the centre square: \(\text{بی مدینت استرآباد bi-medinaf Astarabad} \)
\(\text{'د میں خیبر سی، سیمین و سیمین گا'}\)
\[\text{به شهوطرستان خمشا wa sab'ini at in the months of the year 775 A.H.}\]

Another similar association, also Shi'ite, was founded at Ardabil by a man called Safi ed-din, 1252-1334 A.D., who claimed to be a descendant of the imams. His descendants were known, from his name, as Safavids, and one of those ws Isma'il, who took command of the association in 1499 A.D. Isma'il used his followers to conquer Persia. When he took Tabriz in 1502 A.D. he took the title of "Shah". In 1503 A.D. he defeated his main enemies in the West, the Turkomans of the White Sheep; and in 1510 he defeated his main enemies in the East of Persia, the Sheybanid Uzbeks, in a battle near Merv. With all Persia in his possession Isma'il set out to force the Shi'ite faith upon the people, though up to this point the majority of Persians had actually been Sunni."
On the coins these couplets are made more difficult by the way they start in different places: sometimes to be read from the bottom up, sometimes from some point in the middle, and at times they are spread over both reverse and obverse. Almost always, though, the ruler’s name and the mint, where that is included in the couplet, are in fairly prominent positions.

These couplets are in the Persian language, and do occupy just two lines when written out properly, with the end letter, or perhaps syllable, rhyming. Usually the rhyme is a feeble one—e.g., Isfah “God” at the end of the first line rhyming with Shahr at the end of the second, or something of that sort.

Although the language is Persian, many Arabic words are used, and these are Persianised, e.g., سکه sīkheh “coin” becomes سکه sīkheh.

The couplets tend to be similar in pattern, and the knowledge of comparatively few Persian words will go a long way. In this chapter I propose to examine seven couplets, and in the exercise to ask the reader to fit the illustrated coins to the couplets. This will give us a basis for further study of coins of the “couplet period”.

**Vocabulary**

Shah may also be written استاد or استاد. The plural is شاهان "shahān", which builds up into "Shah of Shahr" or "Emperor". There is also a "Madan" another "Emperor" word.

سلاطین sultān is the plural of سلطان.

شکibli Lord combines with قربان qurbān, which means the favourite astrological conjunction of the planets Venus and Jupiter, to make the title قربان "Qurban" - "Lord of the favourable conjunction", which was a title first used by Timur. This title can be adjectival "Qurbanī" - "the sort used by the Lord of the favourable conjunction."

Another title a ruler may take is خسرو Khosrow, which is actually the old Persian name Cyrus, the name of the great conqueror who died in 529 BC, and has the general meaning "conqueror".

"God" may be the Arabic "Ilah", or the Persian "Khoda" – it is interesting that the Persian "Khodabanda" (Shah, 1578-87 A.D.) has the same meaning as the Arabic "Ilah". It is the Persian meaning "God" and the Arabic "Ilah", "the slave of God", "the slave of God". The Arabic حض "品牌的" may also be used of God.

God’s help or "Isra" may be one of three words: فضل, تعاون, or نصرت or نصرت. "Help" may also be تعاون or تعاون or تعاون.

"Shadow" is either سایه or سایه.

"World" is one of three words again – "دهیار", جهان, or جهان "world-gasper" or "conqueror", and "دهیار" جهان "refuge of the world".

The "sun" may be صحیر or شمس or mīr (not to be confused with the very different mīr "seal"). ماه māh is "moon", and شهر shehr "city", a word also meaning "month" in Arabi.
6) Used by the Durrani, Mahomad Shah, 1801-1829 A.D.

*ساکهٔ در زادِ بِتاریکیتیْ که یِشیرتیْ تَصادْ بَسیمْ*

*کھورُ گُردِرتُہِ محاوْرہِ شاہِ*

"Coin on gold he struck by the Grace of God did the Conqueror, world-grasper, Mahomad Shah*.

7) Used by Waqid 'Ali Shah, Sultan of Awadh, 1847-66 A.D.

*ساکهٔ در بِتاریکیتیْ وَزارتِ بِپرْ فرْزت وَبِتُیدِ الْمَّلکِ وَلِیْ عَلِیْ سُلْطَنِ عَالِمِ بِلَامْ بَائِدْ*

*سالِہِ حِکْمَۃِ آلِ سِعْدِ ٌْلِامْ بَائِدْ*

"Coin he struck on silver and gold by the Grace and Help of God did the Shadow of the True One, Waqid Ali, Sultan of the World, Emperor*.

Exercise No. 20.

The above seven couplets are inscribed on these coins. Sort out which couplet is on which coin.

1) [Image 1]
2) [Image 2]
3) [Image 3]
4) [Image 4]
5) [Image 5]
6) [Image 6]
7) [Image 7]
wala, a word which has a wide range of meaning, “friend”, “saint”, “governor”, “guardian”; but in a Shi‘ite context it particularly refers to ‘Ali as the “friend” of Allah. Bandah Shāh Wilāyat translates as “slave of the Lord of Friendship”, i.e. of ‘Ali; though an English translation does not give full justice to all that the Safavids would have read into the phrase. For practical purposes we may take it that they are claiming to be good and faithful Shi‘ites!

The legend on the coin translates, “Slave of the Lord of Friendship, Husain, Striking of Erivan, 1132.”

The horizontalis are formed by the ل of Wilāyat and the ی of zarb. We see the three crescents they liked to put in the centre of the design – formed by the first dāl of banab as this ی, the ك of Husain, and the final ت of Erivan.

In 1722 A.D. Husain was driven from his capital, Isfahan, by the Afghans under Mahmud the Ghilzai. Mahmud and his son Ashraf, who succeeded him, issued coins for a few years. Husain’s son Tahmasp II fled North where he had the good fortune to fall in with a petty chief called Nadir Quli “the Slave (quill) of the Wonderful One (Nadir)”. Nadir Quli, later to become Nadir Shah, was a brilliant general, and in 1729 A.D. he drove out the Afghans.

Afghan coins are recognised by the Sunni Kalima which they use instead of the Shi‘ite Kalima of the Safavids. This is a gold coin, of the denomination known as an “ashrafi”, and Ashraf, the issuer, plays on the similarity of this to his own name in the couplet on the reverse:

١١٣٢ش حرف نام انجماد رست
ش راز سکه اشراپ یار ابتاه رست

"Upon the Ashraf the mark of the name of His Excellency came. Nobility (sharaf) from the coin of Ashraf upon the sun there came”.

Below the couplet is the ل of zarb Isfahan. The horizontalis are formed by the ل of anjamān, the ل of sharaf, and the ی of zarb.

At first Nadir ruled Persia in the name of the Safavid he was helping, Tahmasp II; but in 1731 A.D. Nadir deposed Tahmasp and replaced him by his infant son Abbas III, who died in 1736 A.D.

During this period some coins are minted in the name of the puppet kings Tahmasp II and Abbas III; but many coins are minted in the name of the popular eighth imam, reputedly murdered by Mumun in 819 A.D. and buried at Meshed – whence Meshed was given the epithet مقدس “holy”. This eighth imam was called Ali, and to distinguish him from the other Ails he had the ت of rāz “the pleasing one”.

The Safavid Shahs reigned as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A.H.</th>
<th>A.D.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ismā’īl I</td>
<td>907</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tahmasp I</td>
<td>930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ismā’īl II</td>
<td>961</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mohammed Khodabandah</td>
<td>985</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Abbas I</td>
<td>995</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Safi I</td>
<td>1038</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Abbas II</td>
<td>1052</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sulaiman’s first سلیم in the name سلیم 1177 | 1667 |
second سلیم as Sulaiman 1179 | 1669 |
Husain I | 1105   | 1694 |
Tahmasp II | 1135   | 1722 |
'Abbas III | 1144   | 1731 |

He died early in 1736

The regular obverse of Safavid coins was the Shi‘ite Kalima, very often with the twelve imams written around, as on this coin of Abbas II; but the form of the Shi‘ite Kalima varies considerably, as on this obverse of a Sulaiman I coin minted at Huwala, where the ل of Isfahān Allah, مولو لوگا ابنا of Allah is written around, with امن "Allah ‘Ali Allah in the centre.

It was Shah Abbas II who introduced the couplet as a regular feature of the reverses, and this is one of his silver coins. The couplet reads:

بیگلی سکه صاحب قدر
شد آن از دانش جنگ تاپ سنت

"In the world the sorts of coin a Lord of the fortunate conjunction of the planets strikes he struck by the Grace of the True One, did ‘Abbas the Second”.

In the legend is the date 1059 A.H., and below is the mint نسبت تبریز zarb Tabrīz.

But often instead of a couplet the Safavids use a Reverse like this of Husain, which reads:

banadah Shāh Wilāyat Husain zarb Trivān (ie Erivan)
This coin is dated 1143 A.H., in Tahmasp II’s reign, and it gives Ali Riza a royal style. The obverse is normal, the reverse reads:

"az Khorasan sikkah bar zar shod be ta’rif Khodâ na’arat va imâdi Shân dîh ‘Ali Mush Râzâ ‘From Khorasan coin on gold went, by the Grace of God, by the aid and help of the Shah of Religion, (son of) Musa, the Pleading One’.

Below the couplet is the mint: zarb Mashhad mogadás. The horizontals are the sh of shad; the t of na’arat; and the b of zarb.

In 1736 A.D. Nadir proclaimed himself Shah. He invaded India, sacking Delhi in 1739 and taking off vast loads of treasure, including the Koh-i-Nur and other jewels. In 1747 Nadir was assassinated in camp by his own officers. Out of his Empire rose two factors.

Firstly, the independence of Afghanistan under his general Ahmad Khan, whom the Afghan section of Nadir’s army proclaimed as their king, with the titles Ahmad Shîh Bâdshâh Durran di Durran (‘Pearl of Pearls’). and from this last title Ahmad’s dynasty became known as the ‘Durranis’.

Secondly, in Persia itself there followed a long period of divided rule until eventually the Qajar dynasty were established.

Nadir used couplets, one of which was given in the previous chapter; but many of his pieces are much simpler as is this coin. Here he has omitted the Kalinga, and has an obverse reading:

"zarb Qandahâr 1150 A.H. khâlid Allah nukhahu.

But of all Nadir’s coins, this type is the most interesting. It contains a Chronogram. The legend reads, or is supposed to read, though it is not easy to follow the letters: bi-târîkh al-khair fînum waqâ. ‘well’; and waqâ ‘happens’. ‘by Chronogram, the best while it happens’, or ‘Whatever happens is best’.

The earlier Arabs used a system of numbering based on the old Semitic alphabetical numerals, and this system is called the Abjad after its first four numbers and . To show its origin I write also the Hebrew alphabet, which retains its correct order!

The numerals are.

Hebrew: 
English value: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Arabic letter: 

Hebrew: 
English: 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100
Arabic: 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100

This coin is dated 1148, which is the A.H. date of Nadir’s succession, 1736 A.D.

After 1747 A.D. Persia split up. There is Shah Rukh, of Nadir’s line, who ruled on and off in Khorasan under the protection of Afghanistan from 1748 through to 1766 A.D. There are a number of Safavids, such as Suleiman II, 1749-50 and Isma’il III, 1750-55 A.D.; as well as members of the Qajar and Zand tribes claiming the throne. Eventually the Qajars were to give Persia a stable ruling house, but before this time the Zand, Kerim Khan, 1756-79 A.D., is worth noting.

Kerim struck coins in the name of the twelfth Imam – the one who disappeared in about 874 A.D. He calls this Imam Sâhib az-zemân “the Lord of the Age”; because this Imam was to arise at the end of the present age, to inaugurate a new age of justice and peace.

The obverse of this gold piece of Kerim has the couplet:

...shod ašâb wa mâzar wa sâhib dar jahân az sikkah imâm be-haq sâhib az-zemân “Went sun and moon (in form of) gold and silver through the world, thanks to the Imam in truth, the Lord of the Age”.

The horizontals are formed by the b of ašâb and the h of sâhib.

The reverse is particularly interesting as it has an “innovation” at the top: Kerim “O Kerim!”, which is the only place on the coin where the actual ruler is mentioned. The centre gives the mint: zarb dâr el-mard Raišt “minting of the abode of the frontier Rašît”, which is written like this:

Below this is the date 1/9/1190, with the 9 backwards.

Throughout this period from the beginning of the Safavids till recent times no copper was struck in the royal name. Instead each city minted its own. The obverse usually has a
pictorial design, and the reverse has the place of minting, which is without any honorific epithet on the copper.

This copper of Tabriz is typical, with the reverse reading zarb fā'in Tabrīz 1367 "Copper coin. Striking of Tabriz (I) 1367 A.H."

Each city used a whole number of differing obverse designs, and this means that, generally speaking, one has to be able to read the mint name to be able to identify the coin.

Soon after Nadir's death the gold and silver began to devote the reverse to the mint, giving an "honorific epithet" to each. This lasted until 1294 A.H, 1877 A.D., when Nasir ed-din suppressed the provincial mints, making Teheran the mint for the whole of Persia.

As a help towards the identification of later Persian coins the mints and their honorific epithets are listed. The language of these epithets is Arabic.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MINT</th>
<th>EPITHET</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Astur-B byd</td>
<td>abode of the faithful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iṣfahān</td>
<td>abode of the Sultanate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Īrān (Erīvan)</td>
<td>the lap of happiness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tabrīz</td>
<td>abode of the Sultanate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khūzestān</td>
<td>abode of purity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rešt</td>
<td>abode of the frontier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enjān</td>
<td>abode of happiness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shīrāz</td>
<td>abode of learning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tābāristān</td>
<td>abode of the kingdom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tāherān</td>
<td>1) abode of the Sultanate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) later abode of the Caliphate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qazvīn</td>
<td>abode of the Sultanate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāshān</td>
<td>abode of the faithful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kermān</td>
<td>abode of safety</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kermānshāh</td>
<td>abode of the government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meshhed</td>
<td>madīs (most holy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hamadān</td>
<td>pleasant town</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yezd</td>
<td>abode of plenty</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The reverse of a silver kran, like this of Nasir ed-din's reign, 1848-96 A.D., is much more easily read if one knows the epithet, which is quite clear, dar el-mulk, because the actual name of the mint is far from clear: but the list shows that if it is a Persian coin it can only be Tabaristan. Now we know what it must be, it is not too difficult to make it out.

Some, like this gold coin of Karim Khan from Yazd are not so easy.

At the top is Karim's invocation kūr Karim. The hallmark, dar el-lād, forms the elaborate pattern, with the right hand loop, and Yazd in the left.

Exercise No. 21
Read the following coins, in each case identifying the mint.
This is the obverse of a silver coin of Fateh Ali. It reads

Fateh‘alif Shāh Qajar es-sultan ibn

Here is the favourite three crescents pattern again, formed of the

n’s of the sultan and the n’s of ibn. Placing the

two alefs inside the crescents is a new, but growing, habit.

Compare this Nasir ed-din obverse:

Nasir es-din Shāh Qajar es-sultan ibn es-sultan, with

n’s and alefs dropping to the bottom.

Mohammed has a different style. His obverse reads:

Muhannad anbiya Mohammed, “The Emperor of the prophets is

Mohammed”. This comes in the class of “allusive religious
mottoes”, in that on the surface it refers to the Prophet Mohammed, yet as

the Shah was called Mohammed too it implies that the Shah Mohammed was

the issuing authority. This is another of Shah Mohammed’s coins, which is shown because in this case the usual obverse and reverse inscriptions are crowded together on one side — the mint

is Tehran.

One other thing about Mohammed. After his death in 1848 A.D., a rebel by the name of

Hasan Khan Salar continued minting these same coins from Meshed between 1848 and 1850

A.D., 1264 and 1266 A.H.

As we come to Nasir ed-din’s reign we find denominations written on the coins in Persian on his new style coins of Tehran from 1261 A.H., 1846 A.D., and we need to know the numerals in that language.

Note that in Persian final -i can indicate a final short vowel — as in se ‘three’.

| One    | دین | yek  |
| Two    | دو   | do   |
| Three  | سه   | se   |
| Four   | چهار | chahr |
| Five   | پنج | panj |
| Six    | شش | shesh |
| Seven  | هفت | hahft |
| Eight  | هشت | hahst |
| Nine   | نه   | nah |
| Ten    | ده   | dah |
| Eleven | یازده | yaZeddah |
| Twelve | دوازده | davazdadah |
| Thirteen | سیزده | sizzedah |

Mohammed was to give Persia its first period of stability since the Afghan invasion of 1722 A.D.

The founder of the Qajar dynasty, Mohammed Hasan Khan, had been just another of the seekers of power in the post-1747 era. As one amongst many others between 1750 and 1759 A.D., he had indulged in minting coins with ‘Ali Riza couplets. By 1769 Kerim Khan, the Zand, had ousted all rivals — except Shah Rukh in Khorasan, who ruled from Meshed until 1786.

When Kerim died in 1779 A.D. there arose another Qajar claimant, Aqa Mohammed Khan, who successfully pushed out Kerim’s Zand successors, and was able to rule alone between 1794 and 1797 A.D., when he died; and at this point Qajar rule was firmly established.

Aqa Mohammed uses coins with “Lord of the Age” couplets, and has the invocation Ya‘y Mohammed over the mint name on his reverses.

This is a list of Aqa Mohammed’s Qajar successors:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A.H.</th>
<th>A.D.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fateh‘alif</td>
<td>1211</td>
<td>1797</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mohammed</td>
<td>1250</td>
<td>1835</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasir ed-din</td>
<td>1264</td>
<td>1848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muzaffar ed-din</td>
<td>1314</td>
<td>1897</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mohammed‘alif</td>
<td>1324</td>
<td>1907</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahmad</td>
<td>1327</td>
<td>1909-25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Once past the “couplet” period, which ends roughly at the beginning of Fateh Ali’s reign, the obverse takes the Shah’s name and title, including the dynastic “Qajar”. The reverse has the mint in the form shown in the previous chapter. The date is put in at almost any point, obverse or reverse.
Sixty shast 500 pānsad
Seventy haftād 600 sheh sad
Eighty heštād 700 haft sad
Ninety nāvad 800 haft sad
100 sad 900 nāv sad
200 devlāst 1000 hezār
300 șīst 1000 ḫāraj
400 șīst 1000 ḫāraj

On this gold ten toman piece of 1880 A.D. of Nasir ed-din the titles are much fuller than usual. It reads:

السلطان الأعظم والخليفة العالی ناصر الدین شاه قاجار
The very great Sultan and the very mighty Khagān Nasir ed-din Shah Gajar

Above the circle in small writing is the mint Teherān - the ksh shaped ۱ as almost disappearing after the ۱. The abbreviation for the place of minting is not given.

At the bottom is the denomination ۱۰ Tomān "Ten Tomans". The noun of denomination after the numeral does not change to a plural form on Persian coins.

The new style coins of 1864 included copper, and this is a copper reverse, the obverse being a sun with rays. It reads: یادهکوه ایران کشورهای پادشاهی ایران ۱۳۶۱ گیبر "Circulating (coin) of the Kingdom of Iran, 50 Dinars". Teheran is at the base of the coin. Note the shape of the Persian S as a heart upside down జాతిస్త్రం.

This is a silver coin of the same 1864 issue, with the value below the lion:

This 10 Rials of 1966 A.D. looks very similar to the 1964 coin we have just seen. Here the denomination below the lion is ده ریال "Ten Rials". The reverse reads:

Mohammed Riza Shāh Pahlavi Shāhnāshih Iran.

The script on these modern Persian pieces is not easy to read - the style of writing is very cramped - the dynastic name Pahlavi, for instance, has the final ya written in a way we have not previously seen, and it is over the rest of the word. The ی of Shāhnāshih is written ی but with a tendency to become ی.

On this coin the date is ۱۳۶۴ ۱۳۴۴: this is Shah Riza's solar Hegira system referred to in Chapter One.

This is a gold two-tomans of Nasir ed-din. It has two dates! Actually it is quite simple. We read: ۱۳۶۴ ۱۳۴۴ "Enthronement 1264 A.H. " and ۱۳۱۱ "minting of 1311 A.H."

Similar is this silver coin of Shah Riza, who puts the month as well as the year of his enthronement across the field ۱۳۶۴ حرم خور "Enthroned in the month of Azar 1394". Having the date of the minting, 1306, at the bottom. Around the top we read: Pahlavi Shāhnāshih Iran.

Afghanistan is numismatically very similar to Persia.

With Ahmad Shah, 1160-88 A.H., 1747-72 A.D., the first Durranii, we go straight into the copper age. The copper on the reverse of this coin reads:

The word بیشتر "is chūn "like" with the prefix ت کب "without"; so the top line translates, "the command came from the Powerful One, who has none like Him, to Ahmad the Emperor".

On the second line زان is an infinitive form, "to strike", of which we have met another form زاد "he struck". یی is "height", and ی "fish", referring here to the constellation "Pisces". It reads: "to strike coin on silver and gold from the height of the Fish up to the Moon."
On the coin the couplet is written like this:

The date \( A.H. 1181 \) is written down the left hand of the coin.

The forming the third horizontal is the 

This coin was minted at Attock in India, and the reverse of this coin gives us a preview of the Indian coinage of the period. Reading upwards we have zarb Atak sanat 21 julus maimanat munsah, "mINTING of Attock year 21 of his reign, associated with prosperity."

Both Nadir Shah and Ahmad struck a number of coins in "Shahjahanalabd", the name by which Delhi was known, and this was the Moghul capital. This means that an "Indian" coin could just possibly actually be a Durrani or Nadir's Delhi coins are 1151 and 1152 A.H.: Ahmad's are 1170, 1173, and 1174 A.H. As the Durrani army withdrew on the last occasion it was harassed by the Sikhs, who were a new power rising in Northern India, and who from now on blocked Afghan progress in this direction.

Ahmad's capital was Gondhar, where he built a new city called Ahmadshahi; but on his death in 1772 A.D. a younger son, Sulaiman, used Gondhar as the headquarters of a rebellion against Ahmad's eldest son, Taimur. The rebellion was soon squashed, but Taimur moved the capital to Kabul, where it was to remain.

This is a gold coin of Taimur, 1772-93 A.D., 1186-1207 A.H., with the couplet on the reverse reading: 

This couplet contains a number of new words; mā a sign of the "continuous": tālah from the verb tālah, "to bring"; mār from the verb mār, "gold"; and māsūr from the verb māsūr, "silver".

The couplet translates, "The revolution of the heavens brings gold and silver from the sun and moon, in order that it may engrave on the face of the metal the design of the coin of Taimur Shah."

On the coin one reads the bottom section first, then the top, then the centre — it is very clear. Note how the māsūr mā looks ou, the mār mā all but vanish: the right eye is almost always centrally in chahrah, which is used as the top horizontal.

The reverse is in the "Indian" style of the previous coin — it was minted in Peshawar. 

This is a rupee of Shir Ali, and the obverse has just the name with the plain title "Mir" or "Amir" which reads upwards. The reverse is in the Persian style emperors. The reverse is in the Persian style: zarb dār es-sultanat Ka'bul "minting of the atode of the Sultanate, Kabul."
Herat is also "the abode of the Sultanate", and this is the Reverse of one of Mahmoud Shah's very common Herat rupees. It reads "Zarb akhlāq "as-Sultanat Herāt"". The lower horizontal being formed by the " t of Herāt."

This is another of Mahmoud Shah's coins, from the Kashmir mint. Kashmir has the epithet "Khittah" "territory", and we read upwards "Zarb akhlāq Khittah Kashmir sanat 10". Kashmir was lost to the Sikhs in 1819 A.D.

Gandahar or Durrani coins has the name Ahmadshah, being the name of the capital Ahmad built, which formed a section of the city of Gandahar. This has the epithet "Ashraf af Bilad" "Nobility of cities". On this coin of Humayun, who was a "pretender" who ruled in Gandahar in 1207 A.H., 1794 A.D., the words are very much split up; "Zarb akhlāq af Bilad Ahmadshah" has to be fitted onto the reverse of the coin illustrated.

With 'Abd er-Rahman's reign Afghanistan at last had a period of stability; and numismatically he brought the coinage into modern times with the introduction of the "throne soom" type.

This is a silver kran of this type; but of a very interesting "pretender" the rebel Bahlal's son, "the child of the water carrier", but this is not what he calls himself on his coins! The reverse reads:

جلب الله اخیر روز الله خادم دیب
Habibullah Amir rashil Allah khuddim dīb

Friend of Allah, the Amir, Messenger of Allah, Servant of Religion." This colourful character, Habibullah, reigned for nine months as recently as 1929 A.D.

We move forward to Mohammed Zahir, who came to the throne in 1933 A.D. The date at the base of the obverse, 1313, is solar Hegira, and is 1936 A.D. Afghanistan having solar years between 1920 and 1929 and since 1935 A.D. At the top of the obverse is Afghanistan; but in the centre we go right back to Mediaeval times with the legend:

محمود زاهر شاه معوضی و ول الله
Mohammed Zahir Shah mutawakkil "alā Allah

"Mohammed Zahir Shah, the one who trusts in Allah"

The reverse gives the value as 25 pula.
CHAPTER XXIII
The Moghuls, and their earlier coins. Persian solar months

Vocabulary

- Akbar: Akbar
- Ulsh: Ulsh
- Yerq: Yerq
- Ziyyâr: Ziyyâr
- Shâhâ: Shâhâ
- Urdû: Urdû

Akbar was one of the greatest emperors in Indian history, and his reign spanned from 1556 to 1605 A.D. He is remembered for his military conquests, his patronage of the arts, and his efforts to establish a stable administration across his vast empire.

There is a most interesting coin of this type, with the date 988 A.H., 1580 A.D. Although it is not a coin at all, it is a copy of an Akbar rupee, and it is probably the Lahore mint. It has a thick copper coinage, with the date written out in Persian, as well as in the Arabic figures. This is a thick copper of the Lahore mint, but the difficulty is, as with many Indian coins, there is only part of the plan. The obverse reads: "Farhad was founded in 1569-71 A.D., and is a very common mint of coins between 986 and 988 A.H., after which it disappears, numerically speaking. The final digit of the date is kept until after the mulkahu to give the top horizontal.

There is a most interesting coin of this type, with the date 988 A.H., 1580 A.D. The name is written exactly where the 987 was on the previous coin. The mint is farhad, and the date is 988 H. It is very probable that this name has a religious significance, connected with the expectation of something special happening in 1000 A.H. It may be something like “Camp of the approaching triumph of the faith”.

This square rupee dates from before his religious changes, and the obverse has the Kalima in the centre with the four successors around: on the left: bi-sulûq Allah.Bekr “by the truth of Abu Bekr”; at the top: bi-sulûq “by the justice of Umar”; at the right: bi-sulûq “by the watchfulness of Uthman”; with the final ya of hayya standing for hamza; and below: bi-sulûq “by the wisdom (knowledge) of Allah.”

The reverse reads: "May Allah keep his kingdom, 987, Mohammed Akbar Emperor, Glory of the faith, warrior against the infidels, Minting of the Abode of the Sultanate, Fatehpur (Conquest Town)."

Fatehpur was founded in 1569-71 A.D., and is a very common mint of coins between 986 and 988 A.H., after which it disappears, numerically speaking. The final digit of the date is kept until after the mulkahu to give the top horizontal.

However not all coins of this type are what they seem. This one is dated 988 A.H., 1580 A.D. But it is not a coin at all. It is a copy of an Akbar rupee, probably of the Lahore mint, and in fact a Moslem “Temple Token”. The crudity of the style gives it away — this particular type of 988 A.H. is the one most commonly copied.

Akbar has quite a number of copper coinage, with the date written out in Persian, as well as in the Arabic figures. This is a thick copper of the Lahore mint, but the difficulty is, as with many Indian coins, it’s only part of the plan. The obverse reads:

The reverse has part of: haft, heksand o, 987, noshad o, sanat, and at that point it stops. This is unfortunate as Ahmadabad, Fatehpur, and Lahore are all dar es-sultanat, and it was only by comparison with other coins I was able to be sure this was Lahore.

The “iliâh” coins are very interesting, with Akbar’s new formula on the obverse: Allah akbar jala jala “God is very Great, glorified be His glory”. No actual mention is made of Akbar, but he is “alluded to” in the epithet akbar.

The reverse reads: "Note Ahmadabad, and above that: 30 dai is one of the Persian months — and the word mân “Month” is often included on the coin."

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Ilahi year 28, the first appearing on Akbar’s coins is 1583 A.D., and the last, 50, is 1605 A.D. They are calculated from the year of his accession, and they are dropped after his death, with Akbar’s son Salim, who took the better known name of Jahangir (“world-grasper”), reverting to the Hegira years.

Jahangir, however, retained the Persian solar months, which are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persian Month</th>
<th>Arabic Equivalent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Azur</td>
<td>Azar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dal</td>
<td>Dah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahman</td>
<td>Buhum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shahryar</td>
<td>Shahreyar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mihir</td>
<td>Muhir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khurash</td>
<td>Khurash</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alau</td>
<td>Alau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ishandarmiz</td>
<td>Ishandarmiz</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Jahangir also used these Persian months, and both he and Jahangir count their reignal years according to the solar year.

Jahangir’s zodiacal coins are a development of the custom of putting the month on. To quote Jahangir himself, “It now occurred to my mind that, instead of naming the month, the figure of the sign of the zodiac corresponding to the particular month should be stamped. For instance, in the month of Farvardin, the figure of a Ram, in Ardibihist, that of a bull, and so on; that is, in every month in which a coin might be struck, the figure of the constellation in which the sun might be at the time, should be impressed on one side of it.”

These zodiacal pieces were issued as gold mohurs and as silver rupees between 1027 and 1034 A.H., 1617 and 1624 A.D., and many of them come from the Agrah mint.

This mohur from Agrah is dated 1028 A.H. The reverse has the couplet:

آزاب در آراگ رنگ زیب یافته ناخورش نام شاه ناز شاه نیست

The face of gold received ornaments at Agrah, from Jahangir Shah (son of) Shah Akbar.” The obverse has Aries, the Ram, and below session 1028 A.H. 14th “Year 14 of reign.”

Another interesting feature of Jahangir’s coinage is the inclusion on some coins of his wife Nur Jahan (“Light of the world”).

This is a rupee reading:

برهکنار شاه جهانگیر یافته صد زیب یافته نام نور جهان بادن بیگم ز

This is straightforward; but as often as not there were one or two “usurpers” between reigns. For instance, between Jahangir and Shah Jahan there was Dewan Baksh, who struck some very rare coins at Lahore.

A story is told about Nur Jahan in connection with the Zodiacal coins, though the facts prove that it has no historical basis. Still it is a charming little story! Nur Jahan begged her adoring husband for twenty-four hours of supreme sovereignty, and, on obtaining his consent, she immediately issued the zodiacal coins, having previously had the necessary bullion collected and the dies engraved with her own name and that of the Emperor.

Another interesting Jahangir coin is the portrait mohur, with the Emperor holding a book, or fruit, or, in this case, a goblet.

The obverse reads — on the left

شیخ سعیدی شاه ناز شاه ناز نام شهر نام شهر نو من شاه ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز ناز N
Shah Jahan is very tame after Jahangir, and this is his commonest type of coin. The
Kalima is back on the Obverse with the successors around, described
by u'st Abb' Bkr wa Sal 'Umar wa 'Abdul M'm "Uthman wa 'Imr Ali",
"by the truth of Abu Bekr and the justice of Umar: by the modesty of Uthman and the wisdom
of Ali".

The reverse has in the central square, شاه جهان باد شاه غازی
Jahan Badaish Ghaz. Around, in the margins,
شیباد محمد سبیل شیرین جهان
shibb ed-dib Mohammed sarih silih zahr Surat, "Flame of the faith of
Mohammed, second lord of the favourable conjunction of the planets (Timur being the first).
Minting of Surat".

The hardest thing on this type is to pick out the mint name.

The reader may find it useful to have just a few of the mints of the early Moghul period
not so far used in the text.

Akbarabad, the name given to Agra by Shah Jahan
Burhanpur, or Patna
Lahor, the name given to Delhi.

Exercise No. 23.

Extract as much information as possible from the following coins.

1)  
2)  
3)  
4)  
5)  

CHAPTER XXIV  Later Moghul coins

Vocabulary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>مشر</td>
<td>shining</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ماج</td>
<td>preserver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>مبارک</td>
<td>auspicious, fortunate,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>قضا</td>
<td>horizons (a plural form)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>جان</td>
<td>dignity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ہند</td>
<td>India</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ہرات</td>
<td>blessings (a plural form)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ہر</td>
<td>hair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ہر</td>
<td>crown</td>
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<tr>
<td>ہر</td>
<td>throne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ہر</td>
<td>lamp</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

At the end of Shah Jahan's reign there were two pretenders, who both struck coins very
much in the Shah Jahan style, and dated 1068 A.H., 1658 A.D.

The left hand illustration is a reverse of Shah Shuja's reading
Mohammed Shah Shuja Badaish ghashi, with a little
added for the first reignal
year.

The right hand coin is a reverse of Murad Bakhsh ('desire fulfilled,'), reading:
بدوجود میر حضرت محمد میر بدخش,
in 1609 A.H., 1658 A.D. Aurangzeb 'Alamgir ("throne-adorner, world-grasper")
ascended the throne. In his reign the Empire reached its greatest territorial extent, and he used
47 different mints! The trouble was that he was a very bigoted Moslem, and when he died in
1118 A.H., 1707 A.D., at the age of almost ninety, the unity of the Empire, which had been
based on Akbar's policy of religious toleration, had been very seriously undermined, and in a
very short time it had largely disintegrated.

Aurangzeb, after starting with coins in the Shah Jahan style, decided to take the Kalima off – lest the sacred words should tangle under the feet of infidels. He introduced a new
style of coin, which was to last right through to the end of the Moghul period.

Aurangzeb abolished marginal inscriptions. The obverse was to have either the Emperor's
simple titles, or an appropriate couplet, and the reverse to have the formula
سنات جلاد میران رات میر
"year of his reign associated with prosperity". A style we saw copied by the Durrans in India.
On this reverse is the couplet:

sikakah zad dar jehan chah bedr monir
Shah Aurangzeb Alamin

"Shah Aurangzeb Alamin strok coin in the world like chah Bedr monir" (chah is a shortened version of choin "like") shining full moon

On the coin the horizontals are formed, the upper one by Shah (as is usual), and the lower one by K of mubarak "blessed" forming this lower line

It is not too difficult working out these couplets on the coins, providing one is ready to "jump about" for words. On this coin the der jehan is at the bottom, and in the centre is sed chah bedr monir as long as it got on the coin they were not too concerned about the order of the words in the couplet.

The reverse is normal, with Regnal Year 41, and zarb Surat.

This "new" style of coin is much easier to read than the old "Shah Jahan" style. Compare the last coin with this early Aurangzeb rupee, of his fourth reign year. The centre boxes are clear, on the obverse Alamin, and on the reverse Alamin and Akbarabad being the old Ahir renamed, a name very liable to be confused with Ahirabad. Compare Akbarabad with Alamin.

The obverse margin reads from the left side: abub as zafar mubayyid ed-din Mohammed Aurangzeb Bahadur sanat 1071. "Father of victory, preserver of the religion of Mohammed, Aurangzeb Valiant one, year 1071 A.H.".

The reverse margin reads from the bottom: sanat 4 julus maisanet mina - the same wording as on his "new" coins.

There are earlier coins with variations, such as Alamin Aurangzeb and julus maisanet in the central boxes.

Moving on to the end of Aurangzeb's reign in 1118 A.H., 1707 A.D., there are the usual pretenders, A'zam Shah and Kam Bakhsh. I am giving their couplets here, but am reserving the illustrations to the exercise - half the fun of coin collecting is looking for the rare pieces, and the exercise will be concerned with identifying some of the rarer Moghol ones.

A'zam's couplet reads:
sikakah zad dar jehan be-daulat wa jah
Shah Bahadur mamlik A'zam Shah

"Emperor of the countries" mamlik is plural of mamlikat "kingdom") A'zam Shah struck coin in the world with governmental power (my translation of daulat) and dignity.

Kam Bakhsh's couplet reads:
Sikakah zad dar Dakhkana bar khudad va moh raza
Dastagh Kam Bakhsh din panah
"Emperor Kam Bakhsh, refuge of the faith, struck coin in the Deccan on sun and moon (i.e. on gold and silver)"

From Shah A'zem Bahadur's time couplets do appear, but less often. The usual pattern is the simple name and titles of the Emperor preceded by the word sikakah or sikkah mubarak "Fortunate money". The reverses are all in the style Aurangzeb introduced.

The only real break was the single attempt, in the one year 1118 A.H., 1755 A.D., by the devout Alamin II to put the Kalima and four successors back on the coinage.

This obverse of Bahadur is typical. Reading from the bottom upwards, sikakah mubarak Shah Alam Bahadur Bahadur Qasim 1123 A.H. - the k of mubarak forming the lowest horizontal.

After Bahadur comes Ahammad ("world-owner") in 1124 A.H., 1712 A.D. One of his two couplets reads:
sikakah zad dar fazi chuf mihr va moh radaab
"The father of conquest, the soldier against infidels, Jahandar Shah, struck coin in the horizons like sun and moon"

Farrukh-Siyar ("happy natured"), 1713-19 A.D., used this couplet:
sikakah zad an fazi Haqq bar din va zar
"Emperor of Sea and Land Farrukh-Siyar struck coin by the Grace of the True One on silver and gold"

Between Farrukh-Siyar and Mohammed are "sandwiched" Rafi' ed-darajat ("summit of rank") Shah Jahan II, and Ibrahim, who mint coins in the 1719-20 period.

Rafi' ed-darajat and Ibrahim both use couplets:
sikakah zad dar Hind haizman barakat
"Emperor of sea and land Rafi' ed-darajat struck coin in India with thousands of blessings"

The Emperor Mohammed Ibrahim struck coin in the world by the grace of the Generous One".
Mohammed Akbar II's rupees look like this: It reads 

Mohammed Akbar Shah, the Emperor, the
soldier against infidels, the second lord of the fortunate conjunction of
the planets. Fortunate money". One frequently finds the short o vowel sign as
here, over the m of mubarak. The umbrella mintmark is the symbol of
sovereignty.

Bahadur II's coinage has the legend (reading from the bottom up)

Abū al-muṣaffār Sirāj ed-dīn Mohammed Bahadur Shāh bādhāshīn ghāzī 1259 
the father of the victorious, lamp of the
faith of Mohammed, Bahadur Shah, Emperor, soldier against the infidel, 1259
A.H.

Exercise No. 24

These are the coins of rulers with short reigns. Identify them.

1) 2) 3) 4) 5) 6) 7)
CHAPTER XXV  Mogul reverses, Company coins, and coins of Native States

Vocabulary

sawār  one and a quarter, above average, superior.
sanā‘at  the discipline of the kingdom — a title.
farkhandah  auspicious, happy.
būnīyād  foundation
shāmsīrāf  swordman
khhā  special
khilīf  army, cavalry
sannā  leader
baīt  house

The reverse of these late Mogul coins is almost always the same formula sanā‘at julīa ma‘īn māna mān. The mint name is sometimes at the top and sometimes at the bottom. If it gets on the face all it is usually comparatively easy to read. The difficult is that names change. Dakhī is known as “Ahadgarir:” Patanah, as “Hrazmabad;” and Farkhahabad, keeping its original name as well as at its new name, becomes “Ahmadnagar Farrukhahabad.” Delhi is “Shahjahanabad” with the nominative del or akhīd added.

However this type of reverse formula and the Mogul Emperor’s name do not ensure that we are dealing with a Mogul coin. The Emperors were in many ways similar to the Caliphs, who were named on coins which had no direct connection with themselves. The difference is that the old-time rulers wrote in their own names as well as that of the Caliph; but the rulers of the states that secured some measure of independence from the Mogul Empire often did not put any indication of their own names.

This is a rupee, of which the obverse has a Shah ‘Alam II couplet: “He struck coin through the seven climates, the shadow of the Grace of God, defender of the religion of Mohammed, Shah Alam the Emperor” — the couplet we saw in Chapter 20. The coin appears to leave out the . . . Saya ibn ‘Alam. It includes a date, 1229 A.H.

The reverse has the normal formula with Mohammad ‘Ali of Benares at the top, and Muzammil ‘Ali of Poona at the bottom. It has two reverse:

The mint town of Benares, or “Mohammedabad Benares” as it is on this coin, passed through three stages in a short number of years. It began as a Mogul city, then it went with the rulers of Awadh on their obtaining independence, and then it passed to the East India Company. The date 1229 A.H. 1814 A.D., makes this coin belong to the period of the East India Company, but there is nothing apart from the date to indicate this. The fish and the leaf are mint marks in a literal sense — they belong to the mint such as rather to a ruler. The two reverse are confusing: the 49 is Shah Alam’s regnal year, he having died in his 49th year, which was 1221 A.H. — so this is a posthumous coin as far as he is concerned. The 17 must refer to something which happened in the 17th year of Shah Alam, probably something to do with the ruler of Awadh.

East India Company coins tend to be very much “Mogul” coins, except in so far as the later ones are machine made. This is a Surat rupee, and it is easy to pick out the word “surat” at the bottom. It is not so easy always to tell which is Company, and which is from Surat before the Company gained possession. Other similar particularly common Company coins come from Murshidabad and Arcot.

This coin is dated 1218 A.H. from Jaipur, from the reign of either Pratap Singh, 1778-1803 A.D. or Jagat Singh II, 1803-18 A.D. There is no mention of either Maharajah on the coin, though it is true that the flower, the “pahari,” on the reverse is the mint mark that would at least indicate Jaipur if one could read the mint name — and these native state coins are usually very crudely inscribed. The legend is actually perfectly normal one of Shah ‘Alam II, reading upwards on the obverse . . . Saya ibn ‘Alam bābāzār . . . throne mark mānuṣūkh bābāzār ghaṭa Shah ‘Alam bābabāzār; and on the reverse having the mint mark sawār ‘Alam “Superior Jaipur.” Sewal was the title given by Mohammed Shah to Jaig Singh II who in 1726 A.D. laid the foundation of Jaipur, a new capital for the province he governed. Jaig Singh was considered “superior in knowledge and authority to his fellows.”

Jaipur acknowledged the ruler of India after the Marathas had put an end to the last Mogul. This Jaipur coin has the name of Queen Victoria — spelled with a v which is one of the extra letters Hindustani has in its alphabet. It reads from the bottom upwards . . . Victoria.”

Very similar are these two obverses of coins of Kutch. The left hand one reads upwards . . . zār Zari 1870 bābāzār “by permission of!” malik muzammil sultan Angil Hari Victoria “Striking of Sewal Jaipur by permission of the very great queen of the Empire (sultan) of England, Victoria.”

The right hand coin was minted after 1877 A.D. when Queen Victoria became Empress of India, and reads: . . . zār Bhuj 1883 Qaiser Hind Vic 52, “Qaiser-i-Hind” being the title “Emperor of India.” The q of Vic 52 forms the top horizontal.

However, not all the Native States leave off their own ruler’s name. The rulers of Awadh, as we saw in chapter 20, use their own Persian couplets containing their own names; but this is because after 1819 A.D. they held the rank of “badshah” themselves.
This is the reverse of the rupee of Wajid Ali Shah, the obverse of which has the couplet we have already seen. It reads from the bottom round.

And the reverse:

Perhaps one of the commonest Indian coins is this copper dub of Hyderabad. It is a coin which looks older than it is. One can pick out the \( m \) of "Mahlub" "Juli" to the left of the \( m \) on the obverse.

The rulers of Baroda have their own style too. Their official title is "Gaikwar" which means "cowherd"; and they are so named because the founder of their line, Damaji, was in fact the son of a cowherd. He so distinguished himself on the rebel side in a battle in 1721 A.D., when the Emperor Mohammed was fighting against the Nizam el-mulk whom he was trying to depose, that he was given the title "Shamsi Bahadur", "Valiant Swordsman". In 1731 the then Gaikwar, Pilarji, received the additional title of "Seni Khus Khili", "Leader of the Special Cavalry Group". The difficulty is that usually only a portion of his titles gets on a coin. This is a half rupee showing the size of inscription as compared with that of the coin. It reads:

Tipu Sultan, ruler of Mysore between 1782 and 1799 A.D. is most fascinating numismatically. In Chapter One we saw that he used his own system of dating from Mohammed's birth; he also invented his own names for coin denominations. He names the gold and silver after Mohammed and the Twelve Imams. The copper, as with this Double Paisa which is an "Usmani", he named similarly, but later he changed to the names of the heavenly bodies The Double Paisa then becomes a "Muharri" the name of the planet Jupiter; the paisa a "Zohra" after Venus; the half paisa a "Bahrami" after Mars; the quarter an "Aktor", a "star"; and the eighth a "Qulbu", the Paisa Star.

This Double Paisa has Tipu's usual elephant on the obverse, with the Mauludi date 1219 A.M., 1791 A.D.

The reverse gives the mint Pattam, which is his capital Seringapatam, with the honorific "abode of the Sultanate". It also names the coin as an "Usmani".

It reads:

This is a Hyderabad coin of an earlier style, a quarter rupee. Actually the legend is exactly similar to the "modern" coin, except that it incorporates an extra \( m \), the initial of the reigning Nizam, Mahbub Ali Khan II, 1868-1911 A.D. The obverse reads:

This is the reverse of the rupee of Wajid Ali Shah, the obverse of which has the couplet we have already seen. It reads from the bottom round.
Even these later coins are not always helpful with regards to place of origin. This uniface tin piece reads just 1339, ‘in the name of the King. 1722 A.D.’ Actually it comes from Trengganu on the East coast of Malaya.

From Pahang, which is itself a word meaning “tin”, come the lovely tin “tampangs”, which circulated within the state as currency until as recently as 1893 A.D., when they were finally demonetised. The upper side is decorated with a pattern, and the illustration is of the underside, and reads: 1339(23), “one keping 1247” (one keping 1247 A.H.”

One of the strangest British colonial coins is this from Penang, which is soon after this coin called “Pulu Penang”, “the island of Penang”, but which at the time of this piece was called “Prince of Wales Island”. The legend reads: 1340, “one keping 1247” (one keping 1247 A.H.”

The main concern with coins of this period of the late eighteenth, early nineteenth centuries is to know the names of the coin-issuing states, knowing that negri Acheh, “the State of Acheh”, is really the same as Achin in Sumatra, and that Sumatra may be “Pulu Percha”, “the Island of Percha” — and recognising too some of the less familiar places.

Take, for instance, this crude Dutch colonial type. The writing within the shield is often illegible, but on this specimen the name Banjarmasin, a town in the South of Borneo is clearly seen.

In Sumatra there are quite a number of interesting places from which coins come, often prefixed by negri — Tarum, Selangor, etc. Malay.

From Malaya, with many states like Pahang (Perak) and Selangor and others, I show one of Trengganu, reading 1317, “An Tadulak” (sultan Tadulak) sanat 1784. This has the three letters ፋ and ዡ. These are the initials of the native ruler, Sultan Zainal Abidin.

Other coins were struck by private companies, and here is one on the Chinese model — with Chinese on the reverse — reading 1307, “Pahang Kung-Fu”. “Pahang” is spelled differently from the last Pahang coin we saw.

Exercise No. 26
Interpret these coins:

1) 2) 3) 4) 5) 6)
Exercise No. 1.

Answers

1) 40 paras. 2) 50 dinars. 3) 25 fils. 4) 1327 A.H. = 1909 A.D. 5) 1288 A.H. = 1881 A.D. — I have taken off 3 for the 68, as this is approaching 100. 6) 1247 A.H. = 1832 A.D. — I have only taken 1 off for the 47. 7) 843 A.H. = 1440 A.D.

Exercise No. 2.

1) Tunis 2) Kabul 3) Baghdad 4) Cairo 5) Marakesh
6) Herat 7) Kabul 8) Taeberan.

Exercise No. 3.

1) Cairo mint, Reign of Abdul Hamid II. Dated 1322 A.H., 1904 A.D.
2) Cairo, Mahmud II. 1251 A.H. = 1836 or 1837 A.D.
3) Constantinople, Abdul Mejid. 1274 A.H. = 1858 A.D.
4) Tripoli, Selim III. 1210 A.H. = 1796 A.D.
5) Tunis, Mahmud II. 1245 A.H. = 1830 A.D.
6) Algiers, Mustafa III. 1172 A.H. = 1759 A.D.

Exercise No. 4.

1) ghirah wāhīd One piastre 2) Five paras 3) Five fils
4) Two tenths of a piastre 5) ma‘īn Two mils
6) ghirah Two piastres 7) khamis milḥāt Five millimes.
8) tebrān Frank or Ten francs 9) arba‘ghurṣuq Four piastres.
10) nisf min ‘ustur el-ghirah Half from the tenth of the piastre, i.e. 1/20th piastre.
11) milhmān wa nisf Two millimes and a half.
12) 23 fils.

Exercise No. 5.

1) Mohammed 2) Ali 3) Isma‘īl 4) Fārūq (King Farouk)
5) Faisal 6) Husain 7) Fūdā 8) ‘Abd er-Rāhman
9) Yūsuf bin Ayyūb 10) Mahmud II — reading sultān Mahmud khān
11) Mustafa III — reading sultān Mustafa khān ‘ezz nasrāh
12) Mir ‘Abd er-Rāhman, Mir of Afghanistan 1880-1901 A.D.

Exercise No. 6.

1) el-mamlukat el-Libyāt “the Libyan kingdom”
2) Fūdā el-suwal malik Misr “Fud the First, King of Egypt”
3) Husain Kāmil sulṭān Misr, “Sultan of Egypt”
4) el-Hasan eth-thānī el-mamlukat el-Maghribiyāt “Hasan the Second, the Moroccan kingdom”
5) el-mamlukat el-‘Irādiyyāt el-anṣārīyyāt “the Hashemite kingdom of the Jordan”
6) Idrīs el-suwal malik Libya “Idris the First, King of Libya”

Exercise No. 7.


Exercise No. 8.


Exercise No. 9.

1) 123 A.H. 2) 257 A.H. 3) 369 A.H. 4) 90 A.H. 5) 135 A.H. 6) 218 A.H.

Exercise No. 10.

1) Zuruba hasāz ed-dīrhem bi-‘l-Kūfah sanat ihdās wa mi‘ṣat. This dirhem was minted in Kufa year 101 A.H. 2) — bi-r-Rayy 98 A.H. 3) — bi-Medīnat Bukhārā 194 A.H. 4) — bi-Armānīyyat 167 A.H. 5) — bi-‘l-Basar 200 A.H. 6) — bi-Kennān 102 A.H.

Exercise No. 11.

1) Damascus mint, 100 A.H. = 719 A.D. Reign of ‘Umar II
2) Medīnat Baḥrī, 192 A.H. = 799 A.D. Hārūn er-Rashīd
3) Samarkand, 197 A.H. = 813 A.D. Reign of Amīn or Māmūn.

Exercise No. 12.


Exercise No. 13.

1) Buwailid. ‘Ismā‘īl es-daulat abū al-Hasan, Caliph Mu‘āf
2) Ahmad ibn Tūlūn, Caliph Mu‘āftrying, Caliph Mu‘āf
3) Samā‘īl, Ismā‘īl ibn Ahmad, Caliph Mu‘āf, Caliph Mu‘āf, Caliph Mu‘āf
4) The ovb. of number 1, Mu‘āf ed-daulat. Medīnat ev-Sulām 336 A.H.
5) Aghlabid, Ziyādīt Allah 1, No mint. 209 A.H.

Exercise No. 14.

1) Gānim, 934-945 A.D. It reads — el-amīn el-Qānim ishīl, Mohammed rašīl Allah, amīn el-mūminīn
Exercise No. 15


Exercise No. 16

1) Malva: Mahmūd Shāh II, reading Mahmūd Shāh el-Khūhī bin Nāṣir Shāh.
2) Jaunpur: Husain Shāh (bin) Mahmūd Shāh (bi’il) Ibrāhīm Shāh. Dated 866 A.H.
3) Delhi: Buḫtu Loḍi, reading el-mustawakkil ‘Alla en-Rahman Buḫtu Shāh Sūliṭān
4) Gujarāt: Muzaffar Shāh II — suštān bin (the position of this word above Muzaffar makes it ambiguous) Mahmūd Shāh Muzaffar Shāh 790.
5) Bengal: Dādū Shāh bin Sulāmān Shāh Karshāh khalid Allah mulkahu wa mukhtarahu.
6) Kashmir: Haidar Shāh. The Rev. reads suštān al-a’zam Haidar Shāh. 874 A.H. The Obverse reads 874 — top right, bottom left; top left, bottom right.

Exercise No. 17

1) al-Kāmil Mohammed: reading — el-malik el-Kāmil nāsir ed-dunjā wa ed-dīn Mohammed bin Abū Bekr, Margin: bīmāmilh zurība bi-Dimūs char salett wad stilmis at. 616 A.H.
3) el-Ashraf Shāhshāh, reading: zarb Tār — — el-malik el-ashraf — — ūlūs. Tarbūsus = Tripoli (Syria).
4) el-Mansūr Shāh bin ed-dīn Mohammed, son of Muzaffar Shāhjū, son of nāsir Mohammed, Cairo mint, 764 A.H. The date is written with the arba” at the top left, the wa sittin in wa sīmītāt at the base. It reads — zurība bi’-l-Ghārīs salett arba” es-sūlān el-malik el-mansūr Shāh ed-dunjā wa ed-dīn el-malik el-Muzaffar Shāhjū bin el-malik en-nāsir wa sittin in wa sīmītāt.

Exercise No. 18

2) Uruqūd of Marābīn. Nāsir ed-dīn Uruq Arslān. Obv. bi-Mārābīn (sanat) tīz wiṭān khams (mi’as). 599 A.H. Rev. area: (the Caliph and the overlord) en-nāsir il-dīn Allah amīr el-mūminīn el-malik el-ʿĀdil *Abū Bekr malik Dūbekr. At the top is bi’n Ayyūb which must go with the name of the Ayyūbīd el-ʿĀdil. The rest of the margin is: Nāsir ed-dīn Uruq Arslān. *el-ʿĀdil saif ed-dīn 1196-1218 A.D.

Exercise No. 19

3) The Ikshānī Ghāzī Mahmūdī. Four lines of Mongol, with three? Tibetan characters at the left. The third line down is the Arabic, reading — Ghāzī Mahmūdī.
4) Hulagu, with name of Khagān Marāgū, Ghārī el-ʿāzam Mūniktāsh Ghāzī Khān.

Exercise No. 20

1) Couplet No. 3.

Jahangir, Obv.

Bād Shāh

Aṭār

Jāhib Gīrīn

 Sharīq

Sharef

Suṣūn ʿaz Dar

(date 1017AH)

Each side has one line of the couplet, and starts from the bottom working upwards.

2) Couplet No. 1.

Tahmasp II. Top horizontal line formed by ya of Sūlāṃnīnīfīn; lower line by the b in zarb moqaddas Meshhed “minting of Holy Meshed”, which is at the bottom of the coin. It reads:

Clue to solving

3) Couplet No. 6.

Sulaiman. Three “crescents” formed by n n of chīn; n n of ibn; n n of Sulaimān. Two horizontal lines formed by sh of shāh, and by s of sikkah.

Reads:

Hajī ʿAbbās Khān bīn ʿAbbās ʿAlī bīn Nūr ʿAlī bīn Musa bīn Ḥasan

Zūr ʿAlī sīmūn ʿAlī bīn Ḥasan bīn Zāhīr ʿAlī ʿAlī bīn Zāhīr ʿAlī bīn
4) Couplet No. 7.
Wajid 'All. Reads fairly clearly from the bottom upwards.
5) Couplet No. 6.
Mahmud Shah. Bottom line first; then top line; then the centre — خسرو
forms the lower horizontal, written
6) Couplet No. 4
Shah 'Alam II. Written like this:

The horizontals are formed by Shâh and sikkah. Some of the writing at the right hand side is off the coin. Note the date I 194 H, 1194 A.H. at the left.
7) Couplet No. 2
Nadir Shah. Three n's are used to form a favourite pattern of three crescents, and this has placed the n of jehân below the rest of the word. The h of shâhân is shaped . The three dots above the hast are purely decorative — there are many more of such dots than appear on the illustrations, but most "extra" ones I have omitted.

Exercise No. 21.
1) dâr el-mu'minin Astonâb. 2) bâledet tayyibat Hamadân. 3) Meshhed maqadas. 4) dâr al-khâlifat Teherân. 5) dâr es-sultanat Tabriz. 6) dâr ed-daulat Kermânschâhân. 7) dâr al-marz Resht. 8) dâr es-sulattan Zenân.

Exercise No. 22.
1) dâr hazâr dînâr = 2000 dinars. 2) bâr o panj dînâr = 25 dinars 3) panj dînâr = 5 Dinars 4) panjîn dînâr = 50 Dinars. 5) Sultân Shujâ'- Shâh el-mulk 1255 A.H. 1839 A.D. Zarb dâr es-sultanat Kâbul.

Exercise No. 23.
1) An'fâfhist mâh ilahi. Zarb Agra 1026 A.H. Regnal Year 12,
2) Mâr mâh ilahi. Zarb Bûrgârgûr. Ilahi year 48 — Akbar's reign,

Exercise No. 24.

Exercise No. 25.
1) Arcot (East India Co.) 2) 'Azimabad, Patmâh. 3) Murshidabad (E. India Co.) 4) Jahangirnagar, Dâkka. 5) Ahmednagar Farrukhabad. 6) Shahjahanabad dâr el-khiyâêt, Delhi.

Exercise No. 26.
1) narghî Pîrzæ "State of Peræk".
2) pîlî Pîrzâ "Island of Penang".
3) ampat keping four kepinga".
4) pîlî Percoha "Island of Sumatra".
5) tâga keping "three kepinga."
6) se-per dwâr pîlîh rûpiyâh "one divided by twenty of a Rupee" = 5 cents.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aban</td>
<td>a Persian month</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ibn</td>
<td>son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abū</td>
<td>father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asr</td>
<td>mark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ithnān</td>
<td>two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'ashrāt</td>
<td>one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ikhār</td>
<td>after</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arba'</td>
<td>forty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arba'th</td>
<td>brings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ārd</td>
<td>camp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ardi</td>
<td>a Persian month</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arslu</td>
<td>he dispatched him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arz</td>
<td>ground, land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>az</td>
<td>from</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>azam</td>
<td>modesty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ista'rahmiz</td>
<td>a Persian month</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ijm</td>
<td>name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'ashāf</td>
<td>very noble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>āṭā'</td>
<td>obeyed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'asam</td>
<td>very mighty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>āfīq</td>
<td>horizons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>afād</td>
<td>the sun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>afkāh</td>
<td>very mighty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>afzal</td>
<td>very superior</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aqdas</td>
<td>very holy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ākbar</td>
<td>very great</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>el-</td>
<td>the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>āl-</td>
<td>except</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aif</td>
<td>a thousand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>allahumma</td>
<td>Oh Allah!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ihšad</td>
<td>divine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imām</td>
<td>religious teacher. Used of the Caliph,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amān</td>
<td>safety</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imād</td>
<td>help</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amr</td>
<td>command</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amād</td>
<td>a Persian month</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qāf</td>
<td>nation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ummat</td>
<td>leader, commander</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amīr</td>
<td>trusty one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amīn</td>
<td>his excellency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aju</td>
<td>height</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>awwal</td>
<td>first</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ātā</td>
<td>Iran, Persia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'āl</td>
<td>tribe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bi-</td>
<td>to, in (a Persian prefix)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bālālah</td>
<td>in (an Arabic prefix)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b'amr Allah ( contraction of bi-amr )</td>
<td>emperor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bahr</td>
<td>in Allah ( contraction of bi-Allah )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bedr</td>
<td>by the command of Allah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bār</td>
<td>sea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barr</td>
<td>full moon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bakt</td>
<td>blessings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bismillah</td>
<td>in the name of Allah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ba'd</td>
<td>after</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bed</td>
<td>city</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bālata</td>
<td>town</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bi</td>
<td>son of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bank</td>
<td>slave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>banka</td>
<td>bank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>būnayd</td>
<td>foundation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bah</td>
<td>it is good ( probable meaning )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bahā</td>
<td>valiant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bahādūr</td>
<td>a Persian month</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bahman</td>
<td>house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bīta</td>
<td>there is none like</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bīt</td>
<td>twenty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bāt</td>
<td>para. A Turkish coin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bāh</td>
<td>refuge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bānū</td>
<td>five</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bānū</td>
<td>fifty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bāt</td>
<td>up to, in order to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bāt</td>
<td>crown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tā'</td>
<td>history, date, year. A chronogram</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
grace
the land of the Malays.
throne
nine
ninety
equal
on high
half
tanka. An Indian coin.
grace, help to prosper in life.
a Persian gold coin.
a Persian month
three
second
third
thirty
eight
eighty
an eighth
dignity
Algiers
island
glorified
republic
world
enthronement, reign.
wheel
four
face
forty
like
defender
friend
lap (le when a person sits down)
freedom
honourable
guard, protect
truth
commandment, order
government
gracious, gentle
modesty
servant
special
fifth
God
suffered defeat
conqueror
territory
the Caliphate
prolong for ever, perpetuate.
last for ever.
Caliph
five
fifty
a Persian month
sun
best
army, cavalry
home, abode
21 durr pearl
Arabic coin
pray, summon
world, This present world as opposed to
"the Hereafter."
ten
two
two
twelve
state, government
two hundred
a copper coin
a Persian month
democratic
faith, religion
an Arabic coin
circulating
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ayyub</th>
<th>Shahanshah</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>En-Nasir Salah ed-din Yusuf 1169–93, Egypt, Syria (from 1174) Mesopotamia, Arabia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>El-Mansur Mohammed 1191–1220 Hama</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>El-Muzaffar Taqi ed-din 'Umar 1180–91 Hama (N. Syria)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>El-Mansur Mohammed 1191–1220 Hama</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>En-Nasir Yusuf 1200 Damascus (and after 1250 Damascus)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>El-Kamil Mohammed 1218–38 Egypt &amp; Damascus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Es-Salih Isma'il Damascus 1237 &amp; 1239–45</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>El-Awhad Ayyub 1220–1210 Mesopotamia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>El-Ashraf Musa 1210–20 Mesopotamia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>El-Muzaffar Ghazi 1220–45 Mesopotamia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- El-'Adil 'Ali 1186–96 Egypt
- Ez-Zahir Ghazi 1186–1216 Aleppo
- El-'Aziz 'Uthman 1193–98 Egypt & Damascus
- El-'Aziz Mohammed 1216–37 Aleppo
- En-Nasir Yusuf 1251–60 Aleppo
- El-Mansur Mohammed 1198–1200 Egypt
- El-'Adil Abu Bekr 1238–40 Egypt & Damascus
- Es-Salih Ayyub Egypt 1240–9 & Damascus 1238–9 and 1245–9

- Shahanshah
  - El-Mansur Mohammed 1191–1220 Hama
  - El-Muzaffar Taqi ed-din 'Umar 1180–91 Hama (N. Syria)
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ERRATA:
p. 126, centre: the sanat 92 that appears on all Hyderabad coins represents the name 'Mohammed', Mohammed is written with the letters M M D, and these, by the Abjad system (pp. 102–3), add up to 92.
p. 132, Exercise No. 1, the answer to S9 is 1288 A.H. = 1871 A.D.