

# **ARABIC COINS** **and how to read them**

by  
Richard J. Plant

**Seaby**  
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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 a very 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 lame girl is in the yellow room" or "O girl, speak the truth and lie 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 Malayan 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 "nunation" 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 civilisation that gave us, amongst other things, Algebra! From here we move forward again, and in to 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 I feel 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 ciphers, so here we begin.

European	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0
Arabic	١	٢	٣	٤ or ٥	٥	٦	٧	٨	٩	٠

Figures do vary considerably in shape. 5, for example, may be  $\bigcirc$  or  $\bigcirc$ . Occasionally they tip to the right,  $\swarrow$  for 6,  $\nwarrow$  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",  $\text{٤}$  and  $\text{٥٠}$  and  $\text{٧٠٠}$ , which is put together and written in their usual way from right to left as  $\text{٧٥٤}$ . 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  $\text{٤٠}$  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 365¼ days. A hundred Moslem years are equal to ninety-seven of our years.

This means that when faced with a date like  $\text{١٢٢٣}$  we must do three things.

- (1) We change it into European numerals.  $\text{١٢٢٣}$  becomes 1223.
- (2) As there are three more lunar years per hundred than there are solar, we subtract 3%, i.e.  $3 \times 12$  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

$$\begin{array}{r} 1223 \text{ A.H.} \\ - 37 \\ \hline 1186 \\ + 622 \\ \hline = 1808 \text{ A.D.} \end{array}$$

1223 A.H. is the date of the accession 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 transliterate this. We subtract  $3 \times 13$  for the hundreds A.H., and 2 more because 71 is about two-thirds of a further hundred, and then we add 622.

The sum reads

$$\begin{array}{r} 1371 \text{ A.H.} \\ - 41 \\ \hline 1330 \\ + 622 \\ \hline = 1952 \text{ A.D.} \end{array}$$

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 1935 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 622 less than the A.D. date. To make things worse, these solar Hegira years are still called A.H.; so 1926 A.D. was 1304 A.H. (solar) in Persia, and 1344 A.H. (lunar) 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 Riza Shah Pahlavi'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 certain dating.

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 Mohammed's birth, (calculated as occurring in 572 A.D.) calling these "Mauludi" (birth) years; and we mark them as A.M. However there is no mistaking coins dated A.M. as this illustration shows.

- The Mauludi date is written backwards. 1224 A.M. is written as ۴۲۲۱
- Tipu's commonest coins, the copper ones, have an elephant on the obverse

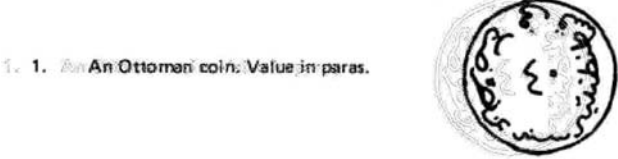


There are various minor systems of dating, but these always have low numbers and are not confusing. Abu Sa'ud, 1316-1335 A.D., one of the Mongols of Persia, occasionally used the "Khanian" era. The Moghul Emperor Akbar invented an era he called "Ilahi", which means "divine". Akbar's years were solar dating from the commencement of his own reign in 1556 A.D. However the lowest Ilahi date is 28, and the highest is 50.

One other fact must be noted, that in the 800's and 900's A.H. Indian coins use different figures for 0, 4, and 5. 0 is 0, 4 is ۴, and 5 is ۵. The 0 and ۵ are particularly confusing as they ought to represent 5 and 4 rather than 0 and 5. The date ۹۵۵ is 905 A.H. on a coin for example of the Indian king of Jaunpur — and is not 954 as it would be on an Egyptian or Persian coin.

**Exercise No. 1**

Determine the denomination of the following coins:



- Value in fils.
- Pick out the date on these coins, and change into A.D.
- An Ottoman coin, minted in Cairo.
- A coin of Shir Ali of Afghanistan.
- A Malayan coin.
- A Persian coin struck by Shah Rukh, son of the great Timur.



**Alif Bāba** | **Tiréa** | **Alif Bāba**

In the Arabic alphabet, the letters Alif Bāba (ا ب) are the first two letters of the alphabet. They are used to form the words 'Alif Bāba' (أب) and 'Alif Ba' (أب). The letter Alif (ا) is the first letter and the letter Bāba (ب) is the second letter.

The letter Alif (ا) is a vowel letter and is used to form the words 'Alif Bāba' (أب) and 'Alif Ba' (أب). The letter Bāba (ب) is a consonant letter and is used to form the words 'Alif Bāba' (أب) and 'Alif Ba' (أب).

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ENGLISH	ARABIC	IRANIAN	INDIAN	FINALS
Alif	ا	ا	ا	ا
bā	ب	ب	ب	ب
*ā	آ	آ	آ	آ
tā	ت	ت	ت	ت
thā	ث	ث	ث	ث
jā	ج	ج	ج	ج
*chā	چ	چ	چ	چ
hā	ح	ح	ح	ح
khā	خ	خ	خ	خ
dāl	د	د	د	د
zā	ذ	ذ	ذ	ذ
rā	ر	ر	ر	ر
zāy	ز	ز	ز	ز

ENGLISH	ARABIC	IRANIAN	INDIAN	FINALS
*hā	ه	ه	ه	ه
sā	س	س	س	س
shā	ش	ش	ش	ش
sā	ص	ص	ص	ص
zā	ض	ض	ض	ض
lā	ل	ل	ل	ل
zā	ظ	ظ	ظ	ظ
ghā	غ	غ	غ	غ
fā	ف	ف	ف	ف
qā	ق	ق	ق	ق
kā	ك	ك	ك	ك
*gā	گ	گ	گ	گ
lā	ل	ل	ل	ل
mā	م	م	م	م
nā	ن	ن	ن	ن
hā	ه	ه	ه	ه
Wāw	و	و	و	و
Yā	ي	ي	ي	ي

The letter Alif (ا) is a vowel letter and is used to form the words 'Alif Bāba' (أب) and 'Alif Ba' (أب). The letter Bāba (ب) is a consonant letter and is used to form the words 'Alif Bāba' (أب) and 'Alif Ba' (أب).

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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 *alef* و *waw*, and *ya* ي 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*; and this makes *Omdurman* look as though it begins with an *alef* – it is written *alef m d* (which "holds" the short *u*) *r m alef* (pronounced in its own right as a long *ā*) *n*. Thus *أمدردمان* *Omdurmān*.

Even a long vowel at the beginning of a word needs a *hamza* to hold it, and must therefore begin with an *alef* – thus *أمران* *Trān*. Where the first vowel is a long *ā* 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 *ā* – in fact these two *alefs* are written together as one with a "madda" on top *آ*.

However the reader need take no further notice of initial *hamza* or of *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 initial *alef* may represent any of the short vowels or a long *ā*.

Medial *hamza*, however, must be noticed. It is written over *alef*, *waw*, or *ya* – the *ya* normally being undotted. Thus *miāt* "hundred" is composed of three syllables: *m* which holds the short *i*, *hamza* which holds the short *a*, *t*. It is written (leaving out the short vowel marks but putting in the *hamza*) *مئآت* (see below for an explanation of *h* with two dots = *t*), and on coins this would normally appear as *مئة*, without the *hamza* mark.

Unfortunately medial or final *hamza* may sometimes be written as a dotted *ya* with no *hamza* symbol. Thus "Algiers" is *Jezā* (*hamza*) *ir*, which is *جزائر*; but on Ottoman coins it appears as *جزاير* with a dotted *ya* which is not itself pronounced but is only there to represent *hamza*. This can be confusing.

Medial *hamza* I do intend to transliterate – by a ' , the same mark as for 'ain. Thus *مئآت* *mi'at*, and *جزائر* *Jezā'ir*.

The normal ending for feminine nouns in Arabic is *t*, but this *t* is written as two dots over *h*, to form what is technically known as "ta' marbuta". In modern Arabic this combined letter *th* is only pronounced when followed by a word beginning with a vowel, but I intend to transliterate it as *t* – thus *سنة* *s n t* (= *h+t*), *sanat* "year", though when we come to the Persian use of Arabic words we find that they write *سنه* *sanah*.

*ya* without dots, is sometimes used in place of *alef* at the end of a word, and is pronounced as a long "ā", as in *Mustafā مصطفي* *m s t f + y = ā*. One other "symbol" we must know is called *tashdid*, which is placed above a letter to show that it is doubled. Particularly interesting is a word like "Constantinople", which in its Arabic form "Custentiniyah" has a long *ī* and a *y* next to each other. As these are both written by the same Arabic letter *ya*, this becomes a double letter, and the two *yas* are written together *yy* in the word *قسطنطينية* *qustentiniyah*.

We must also note peculiarities in the way certain letters join up with certain other letters. *l* joins an *p m*, when written on coins, like this *م + ل = ل*, as in *المصرية* *el-Misriyat* "Egyptian".

*l* joins the *ch* group, *j ch h kh*, like this – *ل + ح = ل*, as in *الجزائرية* "Algerian".

*l* also links with a following *alef* like this *ل + ا = لا* thereby forming what is almost an extra letter in the Alphabet "Lam-Alef", as in

لا اله الا الله ← Reminder! Start from here in Arabic

لا اله الا الله

which means "No God except Allah", where we see lam-alef twice. Once in the *لا* meaning "no", and once in the *الله* "except".

Certain letters, namely *alef* ا *d d* ذ *z z* ز *r r* ر *zh zh* و *w*, do not let other letters join onto them, and any letter following one of these must "start again" in its initial (or isolate) form. For instance, in the word *درهم* *dirhem* the *d* and the *r* are isolated from each other, as *d* cannot be linked to a following letter: the *h* is in its initial rather than its medial form, because it cannot join onto the *r*.

One very peculiar word needs explanation. *al* *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 *t* ت *th* ث *d* د *z* ز *r* ر *zh* و *w*. All other letters are called "moon" letters, because they do not assimilate to themselves. This means that a word like *الدين* *el-dīn*, though still written in this way is really *ed-dīn*, and in "full" writing this is shown by a *sh* tashdid over the *d* – *الدين* *ed-dīn*. The ruler of Awadh spelt "Asafu el-daulat" is actually pronounced "Asafu-d-daulat", with the "l" being assimilated to the "d" and the "e" 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 "al" or "el". The Ottoman sultan may be "Abdul Mejid" or "abd-el-Medjeed" or "Abdu'l Mejid".

As regards the special "Persian" letters *p* پ *ch* چ *zh* ژ *g* گ 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: *b* ب is used for *p* پ, as in "Padishah", the title of the Moghul Emperors, which is written *بادشاه* *bādshāh*. *j* ج is used for *ch* چ, as in the mint of the Khanate of Krim called "Baghchih Serai", which is written *باغچه سرای* *Bāghjih Serāi*. *k* ک is used for *g* گ as in the name of the great Seljuq conqueror, Tughril Beg, which is written *تغرل بک* *Tughrīl Bek*. The letter *zh* ژ we do not come across in this book in any case.

Exercise No. 2

Transcribe into English the following mint towns.

- |           |          |          |
|-----------|----------|----------|
| 1. تونس   | 2. کابل  | 3. بغداد |
| 4. قندهار | 5. مراکش | 6. هراة  |
| 7. لاهور  | 8. طهران |          |

Vocabulary

ضرب	<i>zuriba</i>	was struck, minted
في	<i>fi</i>	in
سنة	<i>sana</i>	year
عز نصرته	<i>'azz nasratu</i>	may his victory be glorious
قسطنطينية	<i>Constantiniyah</i>	Constantinople
تونس	<i>Tunis</i>	Tunis
ترابلس الغرب	<i>Tarabulus gharb</i>	Tripoli (west)
مصر	<i>Misr</i>	Egypt - Cairo, as the capital of the Province
جزائر	<i>Jazair</i>	Algiers

The coins of the Ottoman Empire, besides being very common, are the easiest of all to understand. They therefore provide a good starting point.

Good Muslims may not make representations of living things, and, though there have been times when this ordinance of Mohammed has been disobeyed, Muslim coin designs have normally, until very recent times, kept away from everything of explicit nature and kept to geometrical designs, and in particular to writing and the whole art of calligraphy. This means that of ten their writing is not put there to be read so much as to look beautiful.

A case in point is the Tughra on the obverse of most Ottoman coins. This is in fact the Sultan's name. Every Sultan had his own tughra, but in practice tughras look so nearly alike that they do not help us in identification — in other words they are virtually unreadable. This means that when the Sultan's name is in tughra form, and therefore not written elsewhere, the date will give the only indication as to which Sultan was one striking with it. (Not all coins with tughras are Ottoman, we find them used by the Khalifas of the Sultan, by the rulers of Saudi Arabia, Hyderabad and Bahawalpur; but the commonest tughras are Ottoman.)



For us the reverse is the important side of an Ottoman coin. Here we always find two words: *zuriba* "was minted" and *fi* "in". *zuriba* reading from right to left and leaving out the short vowels is made up by the three letters ز ر ب and ق ت ب: put together as ضرب. *fi* consists of ف ي and ق ت, reading as في. However, artistic considerations come first, and the top half of a circular coin is to be filled. ضرب *zuriba* is "deformed" into ق ت ب ز and ف ي ت into ق ت ب together they read ق ت ب ز ف ي ت. Rather confusing, but quite artistic!

Below ق ت ب comes the mint name, which is usually:—

(a) Constantinople = *Constantiniyah*, made up like this ق ت ب ن ي ا ه ن ا ت س ق when read right to left and leaving out the short vowels. Remembering that the second "n" and the "y" together make double *ya* we have ق ت ب ن ي ا ه ن ا ت س ق

(b) Cairo, which is referred to by the name of the whole province of which it is the capital, the word for Egypt being *Misr*, which we have little difficulty in deciphering, مصر *Misr*. This is occasionally preceded by the word *matrasa*, "the capital," م ت ر ا س ا

(c) Tunis, which the "t" being long and the "n" short reads as ت ن س

(d) Tripoli, which to emphasise the fact that it is the North African one rather than the Syrian one, is referred to as "Tripoli of the West," in Arabic *Tarabulus gharb* with a long second "a" in *Tarabulus*: م ت ر ا ب ل س ق ر ب

(e) Algiers = *Jazair* with the "z" and "r" separated by a *tanze*, which on Ottoman coins is written as a two-dotted *ya* thus:— ج ز ا ي ر

On the coins these names tend to get distorted



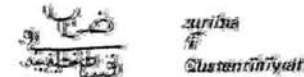
This reads "minted in Tunis", but the two dots of the *ya* have got above the line of the *ya*. The dot of the *ya* has been omitted, as has that of the *ya*, and the two dots of the *ya* of *fi* have got inside the loop of the *ya* of "Tunis".

The hardest to recognise is usually Tripoli. This inscription is taken from a copper coin of the reign of Ibrahim III, 1638-1639 A.D.



The bottom two lines ought to read ق ت ب ز ف ي ت but the dots have got all over the place, and the *gharb* has gone completely to pieces.

Constantinople is usually clear, with the final *ah* as a squiggle.



Possibly the clearest of all is Algiers:



A common phrase we ought to know is *'azz nasratu*, which is sometimes placed above the *zuriba* and is used to begin the legend on *tyras* with the circular legend. The *nasr* means either "victory" or the "help" which results in victory. The *nasr* has been added as a suffix the pronoun "his", *hu*, which is usually *-hu*, but if it follows the vowel *i* is *-hi*.

As it is hard to leave off case endings from nouns I am going to write this pronoun as *-ahu* on the end of words to which it is added as a suffix, though depending on the case of a particular word it could actually be *-ahu* or *-hi*.

عز نصرته *'azz nasratu*, then, means "may his victory be glorious", with the *'azz* "may it be glorious", and *'azz nasratu* "his victory."

We read round the coin from seven o'clock:



عز نصرته قدوم في القسطنطينية  
*'azz nasratu zuriba fi Constantiniyah*  
"May his victory be glorious it was minted in Constantinople."

Again, we read round this coin *عز نصره ضرب في محروسة مصر*  
*'azz nasrahu zuriba fi mahrūsat Misr*  
 "May his victory be glorious it was minted in the metropolis of Egypt".  
 The *mahrūsat* is split in two, with the *سة sat* written over the *Misr* 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 1223 A.H., 1808 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 1224 and 3, and so on up to 1223 and 32, which is 1839 A.D. when Abdul Mejid begins, 1255 A.H.

The dates are placed like this:

16  
 zuriba  
 fi  
 Qustentīniyah  
 1223

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 *سنة sanat* thus *سنة*, with the Regnal Year on the Obverse under the Tughra above a single squiggle which also represents the word *sanat*.

To identify the Ottoman Sultans one must know the dates of accession:

'Uthman I	683 A.H.	1284 A.D.
Urkhān	724	1324
Murad I	763	1362
Bayazid I	791	1389
period of confusion	804	1402
Mohammed I	816	1413
Murad II	824	1421
Mohammed II	855	1451
Bayazid II	886	1481
Selim I	918	1512
Sulāiman I (the Magnificent)	926	1520
Selim II	974	1566
Murad III	982	1574
Mohammed III	1003	1595
Ahmed I	1012	1603
Mustafa I 1st reign	1026	1617
'Uthman II	1027	1618
Mustafa I 2nd reign	1031	1622
Murad IV	1032	1623
Ibrahim I	1049	1640
Mohammed IV	1058	1648
Sulāiman II	1099	1687

Ahmed II	1102 A.H.	1691 A.D.
Mustafa II	1106	1695
Ahmed III	1115	1703
Mahmud I	1143	1730
'Uthman III	1168	1754
Mustafa III	1171	1757
Abdul Hamid I	1187	1774
Selim III	1203	1789
Mustafa IV	1222	1807
Mahmud II	1223	1808
Abdul Mejid	1255	1839
Abdul Aziz	1277	1861
Murad V	1293	1875
Abdul Hamid II	1293	1875
Mohammed V	1327	1909
Mohammed VI	1336	1918, who was the last Sultan.

### Exercise No. 3

Extract as much information as you can from the following:

- 
- 
- 
- 
- 
-



CHAPTER IV Coin denominations. The plural:

Vocabulary

قروش or غرش	ghirsh or qirsh	piastre, a corruption of the word "groschen"
و	wa	and
من	min	from
نصف	nisf	half
ربع	rubu'	a quarter, which is from the same root as
اربعه	arba'at	(masculine) اربع arba' (feminine) four
ثمان	thumn	an eighth which is from the same root as
ثمانية	themāniyat	(masc.) ثمان themān (fem) eight
عشر	'ushur	a tenth, which is from the same root as
عشره	'asharat	(masc.) عشر 'ashr (fem) ten
واحد or احد	wāhid or ahad	(masc.) احدى ihdā (fem) one
خمسة	khamzat	(masc.) خمس khams (fem) five.

During Mahmud II's reign values began to be marked on coins from Cairo – they note the value beneath the obverse tughra. Forty paras make a piastre, and accordingly the markings are in paras or piastres. "Para" is more strictly پارا pārah, and para values have a numeral within an initial پ p; though on copper coins with the circular legend (cf Exercise 1 qn 1) the para value is the numeral in the centre of the reverse with no hint of "para".

The word for "piastre" is either غرش ghirsh or قروش qirsh, but it is the last letter ش sh 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 para piece.



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 عشر القروش 'ushur el-qirsh

At this point we must make a grammatical note about the noun. Even though I intend normally to omit case endings we must know what they are. Arabic has three cases. Nominative, for the subject of a sentence. Accusative, for the object and when the noun is used adverbially. Genitive, after prepositions, eg after في fī "in"; and also to indicate possession.

In "the tenth of the piastre" القروش el-qirsh "the piastre" is in the genitive case – following on immediately after "tenth" without a separate word for "of".

These cases are marked in "full writing" with different case endings, which indicate the nominative with certain exceptions as ending in a short u (marked ُ), the accusative as ending in short a (marked َ), and genitive in short i (marked ِ). If, however, a noun is indefinite the vowel indicating case ending is doubled, and we have uu nominative: aa َ (to which is added alef) 1 = accusative: ii genitive. This doubling of the case ending vowels is called "nunation", and they are pronounced as though they finished in n: thus ُ –un, َ –ān, ِ –in.

"The tenth of the piastre" is actually عشر القروش 'ushuru 'l-qirshi. The ال el "the" of the genitive automatically applying to, and making definite, the preceding noun عشر 'ushuru. The el in pronunciation loses its vowel when following a vowel.

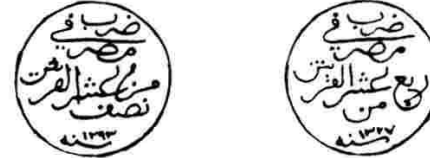
Turning back to Egypt (and forgetting case endings), half-a-piastre becomes "the five tenths of the piastre" ٥ عشر القروش 5 'ushur el-qirsh, as on this coin which reads:

عشر نصرة ضرب في مصر عشر القروش ٥ سنة ١٢٩٣  
'āz nazrah zuriba fī Misr 'ushur el-qirsh 5 sanat 1293



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 "milliemes" 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 Milliemes; but the first coin with "Millieme" is not until 1916.

The "tenth" series goes right down to two small copper coins, the نصرة من عشر القروش nisf min 'ushur el-qirsh "half from the tenth of the piastre", and the ربع من عشر القروش rubu' min 'ushur el-qirsh "quarter from the tenth of the piastre" – in other words, a twentieth and a fortieth of a piastre.



The left hand illustration shows the "half", with the نصرة nisf "half" clearly visible above the date. Above nisf the من min "from" has a peculiar looped tail, and the عشر 'ushur a wide mouth. The right hand coin is the "quarter" – the dots of the ش sh of qirsh are in a straight line, and those of the ق q one above the other, but we must be prepared for things like this. The ق q on the "half" has lost its dots inside the loop of the ش sh.

This matter of the names of denominations can be confusing to the person trying to read the Arabic. For instance, under "Yemen" catalogues tell us that "One Bogach = Two Halala: Forty Bogaches = One Ryal" But the coins make no mention of Bogaches or Halalas, we find instead this sort of thing ربع عنتب which is most puzzling until one realises that values are given as fractions of the larger coin, the Ryal. A Bogach, a fortieth of a ryal, is ربع عشر rubu' ushur "quarter tenth", and a Halala is ثمن عشر thumn 'ushur "eighth tenth", an eightieth of a ryal.

After the break up of the old Ottoman Empire we get a new burst of life in the Middle Eastern coinage as European influence flooded into the area. Religion appears to lose its influence before progress, and the coins go "Western" with all sorts of designs and portraits; but, most important, with writing losing its place as the central feature of the design we now find inscriptions that are meant to be read rather than just look pretty. Also there are a number of new denominations: the مليم millim "millieme" in Egypt, the ميل mil in the Palestine Mandate, the فيل fil 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 ان -āni added when it is nominative, and ايني -aini when it is accusative or genitive (as بحرین Bahraini which means "of the two seas"). Thus "two milliemes" is مليمان millimāni, and "two fils" is فيلسان filsāni without any need for the numeral ٢ 2.

Numbers between eleven and ninety-nine are followed by the accusative singular! Thus 37 fils is ٣٧ فيلسا 37 filsān, and 46 milliemes is ٤٦ مليمًا 46 millimā.

Numbers of a hundred and over take the genitive singular. 100 fils is ١٠٠ فيلسين 100 filsin and 216 milliemes is ٢١٦ مليم 216 millim. In less than "full" writing these would look the same as the completely singular forms فيلس and مليم.

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 **ون** -*ūna* in the nominative, and **ون** *ūna* 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 **ات** *āt*, which is given the normal case endings *u* and *i*. Thus the masculine **مؤمنون** *mūminūn* "believer" becomes **مؤمنون** *mūminūna* in the nominative, **مؤمنين** *mūminīna* other cases. The feminine **مؤمنات** *millīmāt* has the plural **مؤمنات** *millīmāt* – thus 3 milliemes is **ثلاث** *3 millīmāt*.

Unfortunately the "broken" plural is not as simple, as there are thirty-one different ways of forming broken plurals. **قروش** *qurūsh* "piastres" comes from **قرش** *qirsh*; and **فلوس** *fulūs* from **فلس** *fuls*. Yet the plural of **درهم** *dirhem* is **دراهم** *darāhim*.

Thus we find:

1 fils	<b>فلس</b> <i>fuls</i>	1 millieme	<b>مليم</b> <i>millīm</i>	
2 fils	<b>فلسان</b> <i>fulsān</i>	2 milliemes	<b>مليمان</b> <i>millīmān</i>	dual
3 fils	<b>فلوس</b> <i>fulūs</i>	3 milliemes	<b>مليمان</b> <i>millīmāt</i>	plural
11 fils	<b>فلسا</b> <i>fulsā</i>	11 milliemes	<b>مليمان</b> <i>millīmān</i>	accusative singular
100 fils	<b>فلسين</b> <i>fulsin</i>	100 milliemes	<b>مليم</b> <i>millīmīn</i>	genitive singular

Similarly with other coins. The **ميل** *mil* of Palestine has **مِلان** *milān*, dual, and **مِلات** *milāt*, plural. The **فرنك** *frank* ("franc") of North-West Africa has **فِرْكان** *frankān*, dual, and **فِرْكات** *frankāt*, 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) 
- 4) Egyptian 
- 5) Palestinian 
- 6) Lebanese 

Translate the following

- 7) **خمس مليمات**
- 9) **اربع غروش**
- 11) **مليمان ونصف**

- 9) **عشر فرنكات**
- 10) **نصف من عشر القرش**
- 12) **٢٣ فلساً**

CHAPTER V Four coins with Ottoman connections. Names

Vocabulary

بَرّ barr	land
بحر bahr	sea
ابن ibn or بن bin	son
دولة daulat	state, government
قبل qabl	before – of time or direction
لطيف latif	pure, fine

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 –



سلطان البرين و خاقان البحرين سلطان ابن السلطان  
sultān el-barrain wa khāqān el-bahrain es-sultān ibn es-sultān

سلطان البرين barrain "of the two lands" and البحرين bahrain "of the two seas" are both duals in the genitive case. خاقان khāqān is an adaptation of the old Mongol title of Jenghiz Khan "Kāghān", a word which contracts to the even shorter form خان "Khān". ابن ibn means "son", a word which is often shortened to بن bin when between the name of the father and of the son. The inscription translates:

"Sultan of the two continents (i.e. Europe and Asia) and Khaqan 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, 1875 – 1909 A.D., was an extreme reactionary who sought to be 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 dethronement 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 reigns of the last two sultans Mohammed 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 going that way. The obverse still has the tughra, but the wording, though the words are Arabic words, is in a Turkish form, ending in ت t rather than ه h + t. On the

obverse we have حرييت hurriyyet "Freedom"; مساوات musāvāt "Equality"; and عدالت adālet "Justice". The reverse has at the top دولتنا عثمانية daulat "Ottoman Government" – I put ت as s rather than th, because it is Turkish rather than Arabic pronunciation. To left and right of "Ottoman Government" we read ضرب في قسطنطينية zuriba fi Qustantinīyah "minted 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 Abdulla, the "Khalīfat" (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 1898 they struck coins from their capital Omdurman.



The reverse reads the usual Ottoman way, ضرب في امدردمان zuriba fi Omdurmān "minted in Omdurman", the only irregularity being that the first م m of Omdurman is not linked to the د d. The obverse has a very poor sort of tughra, and below we see the abbreviation ضرب for 20 piastres, though this is in fact a copper coin. Above the ضرب is a word which seems to have lost its final ل l, the word مقبول maqbūl which means "accepted".

We pause at maqbūl 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. مقبول maqbūl comes from a root word of three consonants, قبل qabl, which is a preposition meaning "before" in either time or direction. From the "before" of direction, "in front of", concept, comes قبله qiblah, 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. Another similar q-b-l 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 كاشغار Kāshghar, 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, 1291 and 1292 A.H., one on each side. The obverse reads from the bottom upwards عبد العزيز خان Abd el-'azīz Khān. This refers to the Ottoman Sultan Abdul Aziz, 1861–1875 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 ضرب كاشغار zarb Kāshghar "minting of Kashgar"; and لطيف latif "pure" above, referring to the quality of the silver. I have read ضرب as zarb the verbal noun passive form "it was minted" simply because in previous instances it has been followed by a preposition في fi "in", as we shall see it followed by a similar word which is used as a prefix ب bi- which also means "in", but here it is not followed by any preposition. Without short vowel markings ضرب could be either zarb or zuriba equally well; but when followed by "in" I am considering that it is zuriba "it was minted"; when there is no preposition, as zarb "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 ب b of zarb: the ك kā of Kāshghar is separated from the rest of the word: there is no dot over the ح gh of Kāshghar. 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, **يوسف** *Yūsuf*, the Arabic form of "Joseph": **أيوب** *Ayyūb*, the "Job" of the Old Testament: **هارون** *Hārūn* 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 **عبد** *'abd*: this combines with "Allah" to form the name **عبد الله** *'abd Allah*, 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 'llah*, or "Abdullah". However, Allah may be referred to as "The Merciful One" **الرحمن** *er-Rāhman*, and we have the name **عبد الرحمن** *'abd er-Rāhman*, "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** *Mohammed* "the praised": **محمود** *Mahmūd*, also meaning "the praised", and **احمد** *Ahmed* "the most praised".

**علي** *'Alī* is a name in this category, being that of Mohammed's son-in-law; and **حسين** *Husain*, his grandson. **فاروق** *Fārūq*, similarly, being the descriptive epithet used to describe the second Caliph 'Umar **عمر الفاروق** *'Umar el-fārūq* "Umar the discriminator between right and wrong."

However, besides having a personal name proper, every Arab has a **كنية** *kunya*, which is a name of relationship, such as **ابن أيوب** *bin Ayyūb* "son of Ayyub," or it may be **أبو** *abū* "father of", or some other relationship. We shall notice later that many rulers give themselves an artificial kunyat, such as **أبو المظفر** *abū el-muzaffar* "father of the Victorious One".

In addition to these two names, most rulers took a **لقب** *laqab*, which is a title of honour usually of a religious nature. Such a laqab is **صالح الدين** *salīh ed-dīn*, 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 laqabs, 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 "*Mahmūd ibn Zangī*": one of Saladin, "*Yūsuf bin Ayyūb*"; and one of Saphadin, "*Abū Bekr bin Ayyūb*" — the same men only not using their laqabs — using only their personal names with a *kunya*.

Exercise No. 5 .

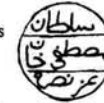
Read the following well-known Arabic names.

- 1) محمد 2) علي 3) اسعید 4) فاروق 5) فيصل 6) حسين  
7) قوار 8) عبد الرحمن 9) يوسف بن أيوب

Try to work out the following: 10) An Ottoman coin from Tripoli, with very crude writing.



11) An Ottoman coin from Tunis



12) A coin from Afghanistan, where the ruler has the title "Mīr".



CHAPTER VI Modern royal coins. The short vowel sign

Vocabulary

ملك	malik	king
أول	auwal	first
ثاني	thānī (sānī)	second
رسول	rasūl	one who has been sent, messenger, Prophet.
دين	dīn	religion
رب	rabb	lord, master.
عالم	‘ālam	the Universe, World.
دار	dār	home, abode.
مؤمنين	mūminīn	believers, from the root آمن amin. to be safe, rely upon, believe in.

As, during the Modern Period, there is a tendency to put in some of the short vowel symbols we ought to know what these are.

A stroke above a consonant means a following short *a* or *e*, as in ملك *malik* "king". In "full" writing a long *ā* is a stroke above the preceding consonant combined with an *alef* – thus *dār* "abode" is in full *دار*.

A stroke below a consonant means a following short *i*, as below the ل *l* of ملك *malik*. A long *ī* is a combination of the stroke and the letter *ya* in "full" script – thus دين *dīn* "religion". On the other hand a combination of the short *a* stroke above the preceding consonant with a following *ya* makes the diphthong *ai* as in فيصل *Faisal* and بحرين *Bahrain*.

Short *o* and *u* are shown by a *u* above the preceding consonant, as in حسين *Husain*: and a long *ō* or *ū* by symbol and letter, thus تونس *Tūnis*. Short *a* symbol combined with long *o* letter form the diphthong *au*, as in دولة *dawlat* "government."


Absence of a vowel is indicated by a small circle called a "sukun" above the preceding consonant, thus كاشغر *Kāshghar*, where the *sh* is followed by the *gh* without intervening vowel.

Very often when all symbols are put in they are more confusing than anything else. Look at this reverse of an Egyptian coin of 1917 A.D.



Here at the top is السلطنة المصرية *es-sultānat el-misriyyat* "the Egyptian Sultanate," but it is very difficult to tell which symbol goes with which letter. The most helpful use of symbols is when just one or two are inserted in the important places, as in ليبيا *Lībya*, where the final short *a* is a definite help in reading the coin.

A difficulty is that on coins one finds many extra dots 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 borne an Ottoman title, Khedive; and on his coins he had always shown the tughra 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 now hostile Turkey, made Husain Kamil "Sultan" – equal in rank to the Turkish ruler. In 1916 and 1917 coins appear in Husain Kamil's name. The obverse reads السلطان حسين كامل *es-sultān Husain Kāmil*, which is by no means easy to follow; in particular the ح *h* of Husain loops right back to join the س *s* like this . The date below, 1333 A.H., is the Accession date.



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 millieme coin of Egypt under King Farouk. The Obverse reads فاروق الأول *Fārūq el-‘auwal* "Farouk the First" and ملك مصر *malik Misr* "King of Egypt" أول *auwal* "first" has no radical connection with واحد *wāhid* "one".



The reverse reads المملكة المصرية *el-mamlakat el-Misriyyat* "the Egyptian Kingdom" – *mamlakat* has the same root as ملك *malik*, a root having an "ownership" idea. The Mediaeval Egyptian Mamluks, 1250–1516 A.D., have a name based on the same root – مملوك *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 1953 reads فيصل الثاني ملك العراق *Faisal eth-thānī malik el-‘Irāq* "Faisal the Second King of Iraq" ثاني *thānī* "second" is from the same root as انسان *ithnān* "two". The reverse, in very ornate script, reads المملكة العراقية *el-mamlakat el-‘Irāqiyyat* "the Iraqi Kingdom".



Again, modern Morocco uses a similar style. This obverse of a silver dirhem reads محمد الخامس الملك المغربي *Mohammed el-khāmis, el-mamlakat el-Maghribiyyat* "Mohammed V, the Moroccan kingdom" خامس *khāmis* "fifth" is very close to خمس *khamis* "five". Morocco is مغرب *maghrib* which means "the West", of the same root as غرب *gharb* which we saw after the mint name of Tripoli, again meaning "West".



Saudi Arabia began its numismatic life in 1926 A.D., when ‘Abdul ‘Aziz ("Slave of the Glorious One", with عز *‘aziz* related to the عز *‘azz* of "may his victory be glorious") ibn Sa‘ud, having conquered Hejaz, proclaimed himself "King of Hejaz and Sultan of Nejd". In February 1927 he became King of Nejd too; and in 1932 the two kingdoms were combined to become the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

This is a coin of 1344 A.H., 1926 A.D., reading in the top section of the obverse ملا الحجاز و سلطان نجد *malik el-‘Hajāz wa sultān Najd*. The lower part reads عبد العزيز السعود *‘abd el-‘Azīz es-sa‘ūd*, which is not helped by the breaking of سعود *sa‘ūd* into قرش واحد *qirsh wāhid* "one piastre". Sa‘ud has become a family name as well as a personal name of one person within that family, and it was this name that gave the "Saudi" of Saudi Arabia. Here is a golden guinea of 1957 of the ruler Sa‘ud ibn ‘abd el-‘Aziz, whose name can be read in the lower half سعود بن عبد العزيز السعود *sa‘ūd bin ‘abd el-‘Azīz es-sa‘ūd*. Above is ملك المملكة العربية السعودية *malik el-mamlakat el-‘Arabīyya es-sa‘ūdīyyat* "King of the kingdom of Saudi Arabia."



The last "kingdom" we are looking at in this chapter is that of the Yemen, and numismatically we step right back into the Middle Ages. Here the basic denomination is the Riyal, equal to the still circulating Maria Theresa thaler. The inscription in the bottom half of the obverse reads ضرب بدار الخلافة صنعاً سنو ١٣٦٧ *zuriba bi-dār el-khālifāt San‘ā sanat 1367* "minted in the Abode of the Caliphate, Sana, year 1367". 1367 A.H. is 1948 A.D. – (this coin certainly does not look as modern as that). The description of Sana as "the Abode of



the Caliphate" is a practice we shall find very commonly used with Persian and Indian mints, that of putting an "Honorific epithet" before the name of the place. Teheran is also *Dār el-Khilāfat*: Tabriz is "the Abode of the Sultanate", etc. The word *khilāfat* "Caliphate" is distinct from *Khilāfat* "Caliph". The top section of the obverse reads



*el-mamlakat el-mutawakelīyat el-Yemenīyat* "the Mutawakelite kingdom of the Yemen" (adjective in its feminine form, as are most of the words derived from proper nouns which end in *-īyat*.) "Mutawakelite" is a dynastic name, as is "Hashemite" with the Jordan rulers – Jordan being described in very much the same way as *el-mamlakat el-Urdunīyat el-Hāshemīyat*, "the Jordanian Hashemite kingdom."

*el-Yemenīyat* actually being an adjective in its feminine form, as are most of the words derived from proper nouns which end in *-īyat*.) "Mutawakelite" is a dynastic name, as is "Hashemite" with the Jordan rulers – Jordan being described in very much the same way as *el-mamlakat el-Urdunīyat el-Hāshemīyat*, "the Jordanian Hashemite kingdom."

In the central obverse circle is the "Kalima", i.e. the basic Moslem statement of faith *ilāh illā Allah Mohammed rasūl Allah* "No god except Allah, Mohammed the Messenger of Allah". To left and right of the Kalima is the name of the denomination of the coin *ryāl Ahmadī*, an "Ahmadi" ryal.

The reverse has, at the top *Allah nasrahu* "Allah (is) his help – remembering that *nasr* means "help" or "defence" as well as "victory" – and the date 1367 repeated. In the smaller crescent is the ruler's name *Ahmed Hamīd ed-dīn*, the "Hamid ed-din", being a *laqab* meaning "praiseworthy one of the faith".

In the big crescent we read *amīr al-mu'minīn al-nāsir li-dīn Allah rab al-ālamīn* *amīr* *en-nāsir li-dīn Allah rab al-ālamīn*. *amīr* is used as an Arabic title of nobility: here it means "commander" and goes with *el-mūminīn* to make the title "Commander of the Faithful", a title of the Caliphs of old. *en-nāsir* means "defender", and *li-* being a prefix meaning "to" or "of", the whole phrase *en-nāsir li-dīn Allah* means "Defender of the religion of Allah" and describing Allah is *rab al-ālamīn* "Lord of the Worlds", *rab* being connected with the Jewish "Rabbi" meaning "Lord", and *ālamīn* being the genitive plural of *ālam* world, as in the name of the Moghul, *Ālamgīr*, which means "World-Grasper."

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

Exercise No. 6

Read the following coins



CHAPTER VII Morocco, Non-royal coins

Vocabulary

عام	<i>ām</i>	year, a word used on Moroccan coins.
سكة	<i>sikka</i>	coin, the stamping of the design on the coin.
باريز	<i>Bārīz</i>	Paris
عمالة	<i>umālat</i>	province
جمهورية	<i>jomhūrīyat</i>	republic
كبير	<i>kebīr</i>	great, large
متحدة	<i>muttahidah</i>	united (from root واحد <i>wāhid</i> "one")
حكومة	<i>hokūmat</i>	government

As we turn to the rest of the Western Arab world, we find that by far the most difficult coins to work out are those of Morocco, where until Mohammed V in 1956 A.D. started inscribing his money in ordinary Arabic script, the Moroccans had their own version of Arabic. Apart from *f* being written as *ف*, and *q* as *ق* the writing generally has a different look about it – even the words used tend to be different, e.g. *ām* is used instead of *sanat* for year, and European numerals are the rule.



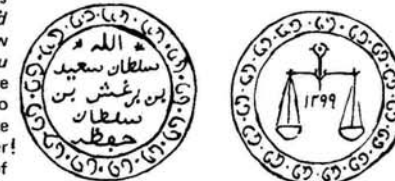
This is a coin of 1371 A.H., 1952 A.D.: the obverse reads *السكة المحمدية الشريفة عام 1371* *es-sikka el-Mohammedīyat esh-Sherīfat ām 1371*, "the coin of the Mohammedan Sherifate, year 1371". Notice the *sherīfat* which in normal Arabic would be written *شريفية* with the dot above the *f*. Notice too the open *m* – *عام* *ām* for *عام*. The rulers of Morocco were called "Sheriffs", a word meaning "Noble", and so the country was a "Sherifate", translated as we shall see into the French as "Empire Cherifien". The reverse reads *20 فرانك المغرب* (the 20 being able to go with Arabic and European) and *el-Maghrib* "the West", i.e. Morocco.



This coin is an undated issue of 1921–1924, the obverse reading *الدولة المغربية* *ed-daulat el-Maghribīyat* "the Moroccan state". The reverse reads *قطعة تساوي 1 فرانك* *qit'at ("piece") tisāwi ("equal") l frank*, "Piece equal to 1 franc".

We find a number of unusual mints on Moroccan coins, the commonest is *ضرب بباريز* *zurība bi-Bārīz* "minted in Paris."

The only other place I have come across a "Moroccan" *f*, is strangely enough in Zanzibar, on a coin inscribed with the Sultan's name – *سلطان سعيد بن برغش بن سلطان* *Sultān Sa'īd bin Barghash bin Sultān*, above and below which are the words *الله حافظه* *Allah hafizahu* "Allah guard him" – the *ه* – *hu* being the third person singular pronoun "him" added to the verb *حفظ* *hafiza* "guard" as the object. The *f* of *hafizahu* is dotted below the letter! (Actually *hafiza* is in the perfect tense of "Pious Wish", "may he guard".)



Also influenced by Morocco is Tunis, which has gone over to European numerals. This 5 milliemmes of 1960 has its lettering entirely in Arabic **البنك المركزي التونسي** *el-bank el-markazī et-Tūnisī*. **مركزي** *markazī* is an adjective meaning "central", and both it and **تونس** *tūnisī* are in their masculine form. It translates "the Central Tunisian Bank", but all numerals are in European numbers, and the date is the Christian one!



A French colonial coin of 1921 has Arabic figures and Moslem date. It reads **العالمة التونسية** *el-umālāt et-Tūnisīyat* "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, **الجمهورية الجزائرية الديمقراطية الشعبية** *el-jomhūrīyat el-Jazā'irīyat ed-dīmuqrāṭīyat esh-sha'bīyat*, which means "the Algerian Democratic Popular Republic". **جمهورية** *jomhūrīyat* is a word we shall meet very frequently in this modern period, "Jomhuriyat Turkiyah" (which when Turkey changed alphabets we can still recognise in "Turkiye Cumhuriyeti"), "Jomhuriyat es-Sudan", "Jomhuriyat el-'Iraqiyat", and many more. **ديمقراطية** *dīmuqrāṭīyat* means, of course, "democratic"; and **شعبية** *sha'bīyat*, from the root **شعب** *sha'ab* "to gather" or "assemble", means "popular". The word **جزائرية** *Jazā'irīyat* is adjectival form of **جراثر** *Jazā'ir* "Algiers".



How plain when compared with these coins seem those of the British mandated Palestine, with just the bare word **فلسطين** *Filastīn*, 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 French mandated territory, began its numismatic existence as **دولة لبنان الكبير** *daulat Lubnān el-kebīr* "State of Lebanon the great." The word **كبير** *kebīr* is one we shall meet again in its "elative" form (this is a term used to include both our comparative and superlative "very great" and "greatest") as **أكبر** *Akbar*, the name of the first great Moghul Emperor. Lebanon nowadays is just another of the rather large crop of republics.



Syria, also a French mandate, first issued a coin in 1921 inscribed **البنك السوري** *el-bank es-Sūrī*, "the Syrian Bank", but it soon became **دولة سوريا** *daulat Sūrīyat*, "Syrian State". Later, it changed again to **جمهورية سوريا** *jomhūrīyat es-Sūrīyat*, which with a slight break in the "United Arab Republics", it has remained since.

At this point a pause to look at the adjectives. Adjectives normally have different masculine and feminine forms. In the singular, on the whole (with many exceptions), nouns

which end in **تا' marbuta**, ie **ة**, are feminine, whereas those which do not are masculine. Thus **بنك** *bank* is masculine, whereas **دولة** *daulat* and **جمهورية** *jomhūrīyat* are feminine. The masculine form of "geographical" adjectives is made by adding **يا** to the original noun: **مصري** *misrī* from **مصر** *misr* "Egypt": **تونسي** *tūnisī* from **تونس** *tūnis*. Syria is actually **سوري** *sūrīyā*, so it has undergone a rather greater change to become **سوري** *sūrī* "Syrian". This masculine form of the adjective is made feminine by adding **تا' marbuta** – thus making **سورية** *sūrīyat* into **سورية** *sūrīyat*, and so on. Thus **بنك** (masc) needs **سوري** *sūrī*, but **دولة** *daulat* and **جمهورية** *jomhūrīyat* need **سورية** *sūrīyat* – yet (as we saw in Chapter 4) the plural of **بنك** takes a feminine adjective.

During the period of the United Arab Republic Egypt and Syria had separate coinage, but both bore the same legend, "United Arab Republic". This is an Egyptian 20 milliemmes of 1958. The legend reads **الجمهورية العربية المتحدة** *el-jomhūrīyat el-'Arabīyat el-muttahidah*, **متحدة** *muttahidah* being the word for "united".



Bahrain has a very simple formula **حكومة البحرين** *hokūmat el-Bahrain*, with a coin that puts in the vowel pointings quite legibly. It means, "Government of Bahrain".



Exercise No. 7.

Read as much as possible on the following coins:

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CHAPTER VIII The Kufic script

At this point I turn back to the early Arabic coins, back to the times of the Umayyid 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 *b* *t* and *th*. In fact the great difficulty with Kufi is that it is very hard to tell many of the letters apart: not only *b*, *t*, and *th*; and *j* *h* and *kh*, but also *m* which looks very like the *f* *q* group.

In this list I again show positional differences.

	Initial	Medial	Final
ا Alef	ا		
ب b ت t ث th	ب	ت	ث
ج j ح h خ kh	ج	ح	خ
د d ذ z	د		
ر r ز z	ر		ز
س s ش sh	س		ش
ص s ض z	ص		ض
ط t ظ z	ط		ظ
ع gh	ع		
ف f ق q	ف	ق	
ك k	ك		
ل l	ل		
م m	م		
ن n	ن		
ه h	ه		
و w, etc	و		
ي y	ي		
لام-alef	لا		

Letters vary considerably in shape. In particular the "box" letters *ط* and *ظ* may lengthen out to practically any length. The only way to learn the possible shapes a letter may take during the roughly five hundred years of the use of Kufi is by reading the coins themselves; and in this sense the reader will find any "list" inadequate. The earlier coins can be fairly easily read, as the lettering is fairly bold; but even here it 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 set places.

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 "Mussalman Numismatics".

Exercise No. 8

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

Balkh, Wāsīt (in Iraq), Dimishq (the Arabic name for Damascus), Samarqand, Jayy (the old name for Isfahan in Persia), Basrat, Medinat es-Salām (a name for Baghdad), Tabaristān (South end of the Caspian Sea), Herāt, Karanj (capital of Sijistan). In Arabic some of these names may be preceded by *al*, others by *medīnat* "city".

- 1) مدینه بلخ
- 2) مدینه بلخ
- 3) مدینه بلخ
- 4) البصرة
- 5) طبرستان
- 6) دمسوق
- 7) واسط
- 8) هرات
- 9) مدینه سمرقند
- 10) مدینه السلام



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 **سنة في سنة** *fī sanat*, which meant that *sanat* was in the genitive case. At an early period the preposition **في** *fī* was dropped, and *sanat* became an adverbial noun of time, and as such is in the accusative case. **سنة** *sanat* is feminine, and to agree with *sanat* the lower numbers which have masculine and feminine forms must be in their feminine form; and, again to agree with *sanat*, where numbers have a noticeably different accusative and genitive form that form is the one used here – this affects the higher numbers, eg "twenty" is **عشرون** *'ishrūn* in the nominative, but **عشرين** *'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.

English	Modern Arabic Script	Kufic Script
One	احدى <i>ihdā</i>	احدا
Two	اثنين <i>ithnatain</i>	اثنين
Three	ثلاث or ثلاث <i>thelath</i>	ثلاث
Four	اربع <i>arba'</i>	اربعة
Five	خمس <i>khamis</i>	خمسة
Six	ست <i>sitt</i>	ستة
Seven	سبع <i>seb'</i>	سبعة
Eight	ثمان <i>themān</i>	ثمان
Nine	تسع <i>tis'</i>	تسعة
Ten	عشر <i>'ashr</i>	عشرة
Eleven	احدى عشرة <i>ihdā 'ashrat</i>	احدا عشرة
Twelve	اثنى عشرة <i>ithnatai 'ashrat</i>	اثنين عشرة

Numbers "thirteen" to "nineteen" are straightforward, with the unit first, following straight on to **عشرة** *'ashrat*.

Twenty	عشرين <i>'ishrīn</i>	عشرون
Twenty One	احدى و عشرين <i>ihdā wa 'ishrīn</i>	احدا و عشرين

And thereafter units link on to the tens with the word **و** *wa* between.

Thirty	ثلاثين <i>thelathīn</i>	ثلاثين
Forty	اربعين <i>arba'īn</i>	اربعة
Fifty	خمسين <i>khamisīn</i>	خمسة
Sixty	ستين <i>sittīn</i>	ستة
Seventy	سبعين <i>seb'īn</i>	سبعة
Eighty	ثمانين <i>themānīn</i>	ثمان
Ninety	تسعين <i>tis'īn</i>	تسعة
100	مئة or مائة <i>mi'at</i>	مئة or مائة

(the *alef* of مائة is not pronounced)

All tens and units link on to the hundred number with **و** *wa*

e.g. 101	احدى و مئة <i>ihdā wa mi'at</i>	احدا و مئة
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English	Modern Arabic Script	Kufic Script
121	احدى و عشرين و مئة	احدا و عشرين و مئة
200	مئتين	مئتين
300	ثلاث مئة	ثلاث مئة
400	اربع مئة	اربعة مئة
500	خمسة مئة	خمسة مئة
600	ست مئة	ستة مئة
700	سبع مئة	سبعة مئة

The two confusing numbers are **سبع** *seb'* "seven" and **تسعة** *tis'* "nine"; and "seventy" and "ninety". In the "seven" numbers the *b* is slightly taller than the *s*; and in the "nine" numbers the *t* is slightly taller than the *s* – thus **سبع** *seb'*: **تسعة** *tis'in*.

Often the small uprights of separate letters have the middle one taller than the others to avoid confusion with *s*; the only trouble being that it sometimes be thought to be an *l*. Look at **اثنين** *ithnatain* "two". *Ithnatain* often drops a syllable to become **اثنين** *ithnain*, which is actually the masculine form.

Exercise No. 9

Translate the following dates.

- سنة ثمان و عشرين و مئة
- سنة سبع و خمسين و مئتين
- سنة تسع و ستين و مئة
- سنة تسعين
- سنة خمسة و ثمانين و مئة
- سنة ثمان و عشرين و مئتين

CHAPTER X Mohammed and the early Caliphate. Umayyid Caliphs, Early mints

Vocabulary

أب	ab	father, which, when "father" is followed by the name of his son — eg "Father of Yusuf" — is lengthened thus—
		in the nominative to أبو <i>abū</i>
		in the accusative to أباً <i>abā</i>
		in the genitive to أبي <i>abī</i>
نور	<i>nūr</i>	light
هذا	<i>haza</i>	this
مدينة	<i>medīnat</i>	city.

The Arab Empire built up to its climax of extent and splendour in little more than a hundred years after Mohammed'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 *khalīfat*, 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 through texts from 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 Kufic and early Mediaeval period.

The first four Caliphs are in a class apart from the others. These are Abu Bekr, 632–634 A.D. a name which changes according to case أبو بكر *Abū Bekr* in the Nominative; أبا بكر *Abā Bekr* in the Accusative; and ابى بكر *Abī Bekr* in the Genitive. عمر *Umar* or "Omar", 634–644 A.D. عثمان *Uthman*, 644–656 A.D., the last Caliph to reside at Medina. علي *Ali*, who married Mohammed's daughter Fatima, 656–661 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 Mediaeval and later period when the Kalima ("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 Bekr is at the bottom; "Umar at the left; "Uthman at the top; and "Ali at the right. Often these names are qualified by adjectives, such as أبو بكر الصديق *Abū Bekr as-sadiq*, "Abu Bekr the faithful witness" — صديق *sadiq* coming from the root meaning "truth"; عمر القاروق *Umar al-farūq*, "Umar the discriminator between right and wrong", فاروق *farūq* coming from a root meaning "to part" or "separate"; عثمان أبو نورين *Uthman abū nūrain*, "Uthman the father of the two lights" نورين *nūrain* being the Dual in the Genitive case of نور *nūr* "light"; علي المرتضى *Alī al-murtazā*, "Ali the pleasing to God".



The four did carry on the Prophet's work. Abu Bekr fought against both Byzantines and Sassanians — all infidels. Umar conquered Iraq, where in 635 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 Rayy (later to become "Teheran") captured.

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

In 656 A.D. 'Uthman was murdered, and 'Ali, his successor, was lenient with the murderers, which leniency was resented by Mu'awiya, who eventually, in 661, succeeded in getting 'Ali deposed.

Mu'awiya 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 Umayyid Caliphs, a dynasty which seems to be spelled in many different ways — Omayyid, Ommayyid, Umayyyid.

The Umayyid capital was Damascus; but there was no longer a really unified 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 Umayyids 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 Quraish descended from a man called عباس *Abbās* whence they were called "Abbasids", though in fact one Umayyid did escape, 'Abd er-Rahman, who got away to Spain where he founded a new Umayyid dynasty which ruled from Cordova between 755 and 1009 A.D. It was under the Umayyids that the Arab Empire reached its farthest boundaries Westwards. They considered the "Jihād", the sacred war fought against non-Moslems, as a 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, first at Kufa, then at Anbar, finally from 762 A.D. at Baghdad. Their court was a brilliant one, especially under Harun er-rashid. Harun's sons, 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.

Harun's third son, Mutasim, 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, Mutawakkil III, dying in Cairo in 1538 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 Umayyid Caliphs.

Mu'awiya I	661 A.D.	41 A.H.
Yezid I	680	60

	683 A.D.	64 A.H.
Mu'awiya II	684	64
Merwan	685	65
'Abd el-melik	705	86
Walid I	715	96
Sulaiman	717	99
'Umar II	720	101
Yezid II	724	105
Hisham	743	125
Walid II	744	126
Yezid III	744-750 A.D.	127-132 A.H.
Merwan II		

Although the gold dinars were normally only minted at one or two mints, the silver dirhems were issued from many. In fact the Umayyids 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 (dinar, fulus) was struck in --- in year ---." *بِاسْمِ اللَّهِ هَذَا دِرْهَمٌ* *zuriba hazā ed-dirhem bi-* "was struck this dirhem in ---." I list the commoner mints occurring on Umayyid 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 **مصر** *Misr*, which actually means the capital of Misr, Cairo.

#### A. PROVINCES

Kufic	Arabic	English
أدار	أذربان	<i>Arrān</i> . Arab name for Azerbaijan
أدمينه	أرمينية	<i>Armīniyat</i> . Armenia.
أفريقية	أفريقية	<i>Ifriqiyyat</i> . The old Roman province of Africa around Tunisia.
الأندلس	الأندلس	<i>el-Andalus</i> . Spain.
الجزيرة	الجزيرة	<i>el-Jazīrat</i> . The northern part of Mesopotamia.
سجستان	سجستان	<i>Sijistān</i> , also called Seistan.
طبرستان	طبرستان	<i>Tabaristān</i> . The southern shore of the Caspian Sea
العراق	العراق	<i>el-'Irāq</i> . The southern part of Mesopotamia.
فلسطين	فلسطين	<i>Filastīn</i> . Palestine.
ماهي	ماهي	<i>Māhī</i> . The old Media
مصر	مصر	<i>Misr</i> . Egypt.

#### B. TOWNS

أبرشهر	أبرشهر	<i>Abrashahr</i> . An old name for Nisabur.
أردشير خرتة	أردشير خرتة	<i>Ardashīr-Khurrat</i> . Firuzabad in Farsistan.
مدينة إصبهان	مدينة إصبهان	<i>Medīnat Isbahān</i> . Isfahan.
اصطخر	اصطخر	<i>Istakhr</i> . The ancient Persepolis.
الأهواز	الأهواز	<i>el-Ahwāz</i> . In Khuzistan, South-West Iran.
الباب	الباب	<i>el-Bāb</i> . Derbend, on the Caspian Sea.
مدينة بخارا	مدينة بخارا	<i>Medīnat Bukhārā</i> .
البصرة	البصرة	<i>el-Basrat</i> . Basra.
بعلبك	بعلبك	<i>Balkh</i> . Sometimes prefixed by <i>Medīnat</i> .
بغ	بغ	<i>Tiflīs</i> .
جندی سابور	جندی سابور	<i>Jundai-Sābūr</i> . Near Susa, in Khuzistan.
جاي	جاي	<i>Jāy</i> . An old name for Isfahan.
حاران	حاران	<i>Harrān</i> . The ancient Carrhae in North Mesopotamia.
حلب	حلب	<i>Halab</i> . Aleppo.
حمص	حمص	<i>Homs</i> . In Syria.
درابجرد	درابجرد	<i>Darābjard</i> . Darab in Farsistan.
دمشق	دمشق	<i>Dimishq</i> . Damascus.
الرافقة	الرافقة	<i>er-Rāfiqat</i> . Rakka, on the Euphrates.

Kufic	Arabic	English
داهرمز	داهرمز	<i>Rāmhurmuz</i> . In Khuzistan.
الرج	الرج	<i>er-Rayy</i> . Name for Teheran up to 148 A.H.
المعدنية	المعدنية	<i>el-Mohammadiyat</i> . Name for Teheran after 148 A.H.
مدينة زرنج	مدينة زرنج	<i>Medīnat Zerenj</i> . In Seistan.
سابور	سابور	<i>Sābūr</i> . In Farsistan.
سارمن رأى	سارمن رأى	<i>Sarra-man-ra'ā</i> . Samarra on the Tigris. (The name means "it pleases the one who sees it")
سمرقند	سمرقند	<i>Surraq</i> . In Iraq.
سمرقند	سمرقند	<i>Samarqand</i> . Often prefixed by <i>Medīnat</i> .
سبخار	سبخار	<i>Sinjar</i> . West of Mosul.
سوق الأهواز	سوق الأهواز	<i>Sūq el-Ahwāz</i> . Same as Ahwaz.
الشاش	الشاش	<i>esh-Shāsh</i> . Tashkent.
صنعا	صنعا	<i>San'ā</i>
العباسية	العباسية	<i>el-'Abbāsīyat</i> 1) near Baghdad. 2) near Qairawan. Tunisia.
كرمان	كرمان	<i>Kermān</i> .
الكوفة	الكوفة	<i>el-Kūfat</i> . Near Nejeif in Iraq.
ماه الكوفة	ماه الكوفة	<i>Māh el-Kūfat</i> . Dinawar, in Luristan.
المباركة	المباركة	<i>el-Mubārakat</i> . Probably in Ifriqiyyat.
مدينة السلام	مدينة السلام	<i>Medīnat es-Salām</i> . The usual name for Baghdad.
مرو	مرو	<i>Merv</i> .
مناذر	مناذر	<i>Manāzur</i> . North of Ahwaz.
الموصل	الموصل	<i>el-Mausil</i> . Mosul.
مدينة نيسابور	مدينة نيسابور	<i>Medīnat Nīsābūr</i> . Nishapur, North-East Iran.
الهادوية	الهادوية	<i>el-Hārūniyat</i> . Near Baghdad.
هراة	هراة	<i>Herāt</i> . Sometimes prefixed by <i>Medīnat</i> .
واسط	واسط	<i>Wāsīt</i> . On the Euphrates West of Basra.

Remember that at this period mint names are prefixed by the preposition **بِ** *bi-* "in".

#### Exercise No. 10.

Translate the following:

- 1) ضرب هذا الدرهم بالكوفة سنة احدى و عنة
- 2) ضرب هذا الدرهم بالرج سنة ثمان و سبعين
- 3) ضرب هذا الدرهم بمناذر سنة اربع و ثمانين و عنة
- 4) ضرب هذا الدرهم بأدمينه سنة ثمان و ستين و عنة
- 5) ضرب هذا الدرهم بالبصرة سنة ثمانين
- 6) ضرب هذا الدرهم بحمص سنة اربع و عنة

Note that letters are so variable in shape that the same word can assume different appearances as the "Kufic" period progresses. This can be very confusing, as with, for example, **سجستان** for *bi-Bukhārā* where the **ح** *h* is shaped rather differently; or **سمرقند** for *Samarqand*. There are times when one has to use a process of elimination to decide upon the mint at all – particularly on worn coins.

CHAPTER XI An Umayyid coin examined. The verb

Vocabulary

اسم	ism	name
شريك	sherik	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 have to 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 thereupon 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 دينار dīnār, a word from the Roman "denarius", was valued at twenty silver dirhems. درهم dirhem was a word taken from the Greek "drachma". The copper coin was the فلس fulūs, which is a plural of فلس fils, which word is derived from the Roman and Byzantine "folius".

Despite the Greek origin of the word "dirhem", the broad flat flan and the lay-out 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 79 A.H. The dirhem illustrated is of the Wasit mint 95 A.H., 714 A.D., when the Umayyid 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:

Kufic **بِسْمِ اللَّهِ طَرِبَ هَذَا الدِّرْهَمُ بِوَسْطِ سَنَةِ خَمْسٍ وَتِسْعِينَ**

Arabic **بِسْمِ اللَّهِ ضَرَبَ هَذَا الدِّرْهَمَ بِوَسْطِ فِي سَنَةِ خَمْسٍ وَتِسْعِينَ**

bismillah zuriba hazā ed-dirhem bi-Wāsīt fī sanat khams wa tisīn

bismillah is a word composed of the prefix بِـ bi-"in", اسم ism "name" and الله Allah, meaning altogether "in the Name of Allah". Bismillah nowadays means little more than "please", but in early days it was full of religious significance.

هذا hazā is the masculine form of the demonstrative pronoun "this" — the feminine being هَذِهِ hazīhi.

This marginal legend is known to numismatists as the "Bismillah" from its first word; and on this coin the Bismillah translates, "In the name of Allah this dirhem was minted in Wasit in the year five and ninety".

The area legend is fairly straightforward. وحده wahdahu means "alone", being related to the word واحد wāhid "one". شريك sherik means "partner", and له lahu is the prefix لِ li-, which means "to" combined with the suffix هـ -hu "him" or "his", to mean "to him".



The coin reads: **لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ وَحْدَهُ لَا شَرِيكَ لَهُ** *lā ilāh illā Allāh waḥdahū lā sherīk lahu*

"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 Umayyid Symbol", because it is found on all Umayyid coins including those of the Umayyids of Spain, up to Abd er-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 rasūl Allāh*, "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 jussive moods; but we begin with the relief of knowing that as 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 *zarabtu*: "you struck" is *zarabta*, 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 ضَرَبَ z-r-b we look at the four forms:

		Perfect		Imperfect	
Active	He struck	ضَرَبَ	zaraba.	he strikes	يَضْرِبُ yazribu
Passive	He was struck	ضُرِبَ	zuriba.	he is struck	يُضْرَبُ yuzrabu

The general rule is that the Perfect changes its "person" by changing the endings — *zarabtu*, *zarabta*, etc. The Imperfect changes its person by providing different prefixes, *ya-* and *yu-* 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. Firstly, there are the "weak" verbs, like **ولد** *w-l-d* with a root meaning of fathering a child. This is "weak" because it begins with **و** *w*, which is a letter very liable to disappear. The Perfect is normal **ولد** *walada* "he begot"; but in the imperfect active the *waw* vanishes, not **يولد** but **يولد** *yalidu* "he begets", though in the Imperfect Passive it is supported by the first *u* vowel and remains, **يولد** *yūladu*.

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

Greatest difficulty, the fact that each verb can have up to fifteen "derived" forms, which scholars number I 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** *r-s-l* which has a root meaning of "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 **ارسل** *arsala* "despatch".

Additional Vocabulary needed at this stage.

<b>صمد</b> <i>samad</i>	eternal
<b>لم</b> <i>lem</i>	not (to deny a statement), followed by verb in imperfect tense, but perfect meaning.
<b>كفو</b> <i>kufū</i>	equal
<b>هدى</b> <i>hudā</i>	guidance (religious)
<b>حق</b> <i>haqq</i>	truth
<b>علي</b> <i>'alā</i>	upon, over, towards
<b>كل</b> <i>koll</i>	all, every.
<b>ولو</b> <i>walau</i>	although
<b>كره</b> <i>kariha</i>	he disliked

The "Umaiyyid symbol" in the area of the reverse of the Umaiyyid dirhem reads:

الله احد الله  
الصمد لم يلد و  
لم يولد ولم يكن  
له كفوا احد

Allah ahad Allah  
es-Samad lem yalid wa  
lem yūlad wa lem yakun  
lahu kufū ahad. (Sura 112)

(I am in many cases omitting the final short vowel from verbs as well as from nouns, as this spares 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."

The "Second Symbol" round the margin, beginning at the point arrowed in the diagram, and reading anti-clockwise, reads:-  
**محمد رسول الله ارسله بالهدى ودين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله ولو كره المشركون**  
*Mohammed rasūl Allah arsalahu bi-l-hudā wa dīn el-haqq li-yuzhirahu 'alā ed-dīn kollihī walau kariha el-mushrikūn.* (Sura 9 verse 33)

This is one of the harder legends!

**ارسله** *arsalahu* is derived form IV of **رسل** *r-s-l* with the **ه** *hu* suffix acting as an object, "He despatched him".

The **ب** *bi-* prefix in **الهدى** *bi-l-hudā* has the shade of meaning "with" - "with the guidance".

The hardest word is **ليظهره** *li-yuzhirahu*, which has the prefix **ل** *li-* "to", which added to a verb gives the idea of purpose "in order to". The verb itself is **يظهر** *yuzhir* which is another derived form IV (causative), from the root **ظهر** *z-h-r* "to be bright". The form IV perfect would have been **اظهره** *azhara* "he caused to be bright"; but this is the imperfect, "he causes to be bright", with the **ه** *-hu* suffix acting as an object, to make the whole word *li-yuzhirahu* mean "in order that he might cause it to be bright".

**كله** *kollihī* is *koll* "all", with the pronominal **ه** *-hu* "all of it"; but in this case, as it is a definite text from the Koran, I am going to break my own principle of leaving off case endings. *koll* is a genitive after the preposition **علي** *'alā* and is *kollī* - which makes the suffix **ه** *-hi* rather than *-hu*, so that in this instance it is *kollihī*.

**كره** *kariha* is a singular form "he disliked", yet it has a plural subject. In Arabic when a sentence begins with a verb, and when the subject of that verb has not already been mentioned, that verb is singular whatever the subject.

**مشركون** *mushrikūn* is from the same root as **شريك** *sheṛīk* "partner", being the plural of the participle formed from the derived form IV verb "cause to have partners". *mushrikūn* means "polytheists", ie people who say that God has a number of equal partners.

The Sura translates, "Mohammed is the messenger of Allah. He sent him with the Guidance and a religion of the truth in order that he might cause it to be bright over the (already-existing) religion, all of it, although polytheists disliked (it)."

The meaning of this is that Mohammed does not think of his religion as coming to destroy other already existing religions, but as coming to supplement them. Allah sent Mohammed's divine guidance to perfect the monotheistic religions, Christianity and Judaism, to be the final light of revelation illuminating what was only dim before.

### Exercise No. II

Look at the differing styles of these three dirhems. Read all the legend, finding mint and date. Work out the A.D. dates, and by referring to the lists in Chapters 10 and 12 attribute each coin to a Caliph.



CHAPTER XII The Abbasid coin. Abbasid Caliphs

Vocabulary

أمر *amr* command

As time went by, though the legends themselves remain more or less the same, the writing — still in the Kufic script — can give the coin a very different appearance from the earlier dirhems. We saw this in Exercise No. 11. We see even greater difference in this billon dirhem of the Spanish Hammudids (or Beni Idris, as they are also called), of the reign of Mohammed el-Mahdi, 1046–53 A.D. It is a very badly shaped, with all the Bismillah missing except the first two words, which now look as if they are the top line of a four line inscription. Further, "looped tails" are now popular, and the *r* joins on to the *z* of ضرب *zuriba* to form the very looped tail *ح*



This copper fulus of the Samanids of Bukhara, dated 353 A.H., 964 A.D., looks entirely dissimilar; but in fact the only difference is that the Kalima is written around instead of across. It is read quite easily, beginning at four o'clock. لا اله الا الله وحده. The outer circle has the Bismillah *بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ* *ilāh illā Allah wahdahū* *بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ ضَرْبِ القَلْبِ بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ ضَرْبِ القَلْبِ* *bi-smillah zuriba el-fils bi-Bukhārā sanat thelath wa khamāsīn wa thelathmi'at*. The coin has a number of peculiarities, either misspellings or contractions; notably *thelathmi'at* reduced to *thelma*.



Turning back from these later coins, picked out to show how diverse the "same thing" can look, we move to the normal coin of the century after the Wasit dirhem examined in Chapter Eleven. This is a gold dinar of Baghdad 212 A.H., 828 A.D., The mint is 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 ones struck at "Misr" 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. The Bismillah reads



بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ ضَرْبِ هَذَا الدِّينَرِ سَنَةِ اثْنَتَيْ عَشْرَةَ وَمِائَتَيْنِ

*bi-smillah zuriba hazā ed-dīnar sanat ithnat 'ashrat wa mi'atain*

"in the name of Allah was struck this dinar in the year twelve and two hundred". The "two" of "twelve" has lost its final *yā* and is *اثنتي* *ithnat*, not *اثنتاي* *ithnatai* 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 Umayyid Symbol (which has gone to Spain), but taking the second part of the Kalima *محمد رسول الله* *Mohammed rasūl Allah* "Mohammed the messenger of Allah". The most important development is that we now have the Caliph's name on the reverse. Above *Mohammed* is *الخليفة* *el-khalīfat*; below *Allah* is *المامون العاصمور* *el-Māmūn*, the Caliph of 813–833 A.D.

When the Abbasids first overthrew the Umayyids they promised a new era of Concord, Happiness, and Just Rule; and they took special *laqabs* (titles of honour) to express their devotion to God — in fact it is by these *laqabs* that they are known, their own personal names being unimportant, 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 *laqab*; e.g.

we call the Caliph of 842–847 A.H. "Wathiq", but actually he is *الواثق بالله* *el-wāthiq billah*, which translates as "the confiding in Allah" — *بالله* *billah* being the contracted form of *bi-Allah*, the short *a* which begins Allah (held by the *alef*) being absorbed by the *i* of *bi-*. *ل* *li* "to" with Allah contracts to *لله* *li-llah* "to Allah" or "of Allah". *بِأمر الله* *b'amr Allah* means "by the command of Allah." In the translations of the *laqabs* of the Caliphs one needs to be very flexible with prepositions like *bi-* and *li-* and *'alā*.

The following list of Abbasid Caliphs goes down to the murder of Must'asim by Hulagu, grandson of Jenghiz Khan, at the Sack of Baghdad in 1258 A.D.

CALIPH	A.D. Date	A.H. Date	Meaning
(abū el-'abbās) Saffah	750	132	
Mansūr	754	136	Conqueror (lit. "the assisted by God")
Mehedī	775	158	right guided
Hādī	785	169	the guide
(Hārūn) er-Rashīd	786	170	the orthodox
Amīn	809	193	the trusty
Māmūn	813	198	preserved
Mu'tasim	833	218	holding fast to Allah
Wāthiq	842	227	confiding in Allah
Mutawakkil	847	232	trusting in Allah
Muntasir	861	247	seeking aid from Allah
Musta'in	862	248	seeking help from Allah
Mu'tazz	866	251	made illustrious by Allah
Muhtadī	869	255	guided aright by Allah
Mu'tamid	870	256	he whose support is in Allah
Mu'tazid	892	279	who seeks assistance from Allah
Muktafī	902	289	content in Allah
Muqtadir	908	295	powerful through Allah
Qāhir	932	320	conqueror through Allah
Rāzī	934	322	content in Allah
Muttaqī	940	329	the pious towards Allah
Mustakfī	944	333	who puts his whole trust in Allah
Mu'tā	946	334	the one who obeys Allah
Karīm	974	363	the noble, the obedient to Allah
Qādir	991	381	conqueror through Allah
(Abdullah) Qā'im	1031	422	steadfast by the command of Allah
(Abdullah) Muqtadī	1075	467	follower of the command of Allah
Mustazhir	1094	487	who implores help from Allah

الصخر بالله  
العالم بأمر الله  
الرائع بالله  
find and read the Caliph's name on this coin.



CALIPH	A.D. Date	A.H. Date	Meaning	
Mustarshid	المسترشد بالله	1118	512	who seeks direction from Allah
Rāshid	الراشد بالله	1135	529	the orthodox towards Allah
Muqtafī	المقتفي لأمر الله	1136	530	he who follows the command of Allah
Mustanjid	المستنجد بالله	1160	555	who implores help from Allah
(Hasan) Mustazī	المستضي بأمر الله	1170	566	who seeks light by the command of Allah
(Ahmad) Nāsir	الناصر لدين الله	1180	575	defender of the faith of Allah
Zāhir	الظاهر بأمر الله	1225	622	manifest by the command of Allah
Mustansir	المستنصر بالله	1226	623	who seeks aid from Allah
Must'asim	المستعصم بالله	1242	640	who takes fast hold of Allah

who reigned to the Destruction of Baghdad in 1258 A.D., 656 A.H. After this until 1516 A.D. there was a "shadow" Caliphate in Egypt.

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 *laqabs* carefully with this very factor in mind.

Note that a Caliph is **الخليفة** *el-khalīfat*: his office is **الخلافة** *el-khilāfat* "the Caliphate"

**إمام** *imām* "religious teacher" is also used of the Caliph. 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 **الإمام** *el-imām* "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.

The title **أمير المؤمنين** *amīr el-mūminīn* is also a title used exclusively for the Caliph, "commander of the faithful".

#### Exercise No 12

Identify these Caliphs:

- 1) المكلف بالله
- 2) العاهد بالله
- 3) المسطر بالله
- 4) المسبيط بأمر الله
- 5) الأمير
- 6) الصوفا على الله

CHAPTER XIII The developing Kufi type. Secular rulers

Vocabulary

بعده	ba'd	after	يمين	yamīn	right hand
يوم	yaum	day	فرح	fariha	he rejoiced
معظم	mu'azzam	very great	غلب	ghalaba	he conquered
من	man	who (cf. من min from)	هو	huwa	he
الآخرة	el-ekhirat	the Hereafter	غير	ghair	other than
فلن	fa-lan	and not (with a future sense)	خسر	khasira	he suffered defeat
			ولي	wali	guardian, friend, saint.;

As we move forward in time the Kufic lettering has a tendency to get "scruffier". We saw an example in Ex. 12 qn.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 *س* *s* for instance, can be written *س*.



This coin takes us on 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 *لله* *li-'llah* "to Allah" above, which is a normal "dedication". Below the *Mohammed rasūl Allah* is the Caliph's name *المقتدر بالله* *el-Muqtadir billah*. The area reverse words are underlined whatever the letters. 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 carelessly is it written.

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

*لله الامر من قبل ومن بعد يومئذ يفرج المومنون بنصر الله*  
*li-'llah el-amr min qabl wa min ba'd wa yauma'izin yafrahu el-mūminūn bi-nasr Allah.*

*يومئذ* *yauma'izin* means "on that day", and *يفرج* *yafrahu* is the imperfect "he rejoices", of which the perfect is *فرح* *fariha* "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 *lā sherṭk lahu* on the obverse:

ابو العباس	ابو العباس بن	Abū el-'Abbās bin
امير المؤمنين	امير المؤمنين	Amīr el-mūminīn

"Abu el-'Abbas son of the Commander of the Faithful". Muqtadir was pushing his son forward as heir to the Caliphate.

As time goes on names do multiply: particularly with the appearance of "big" men, like Mahmud, the Ghaznavid, and Tughril Beg, leader of a band of invading Seljuk Turks, who was founder of the important line of Seljuk rulers.



As we move forward another century to this gold dinar of Isfahan 435 A.H., 1044 A.D., we find three names, the reigning Caliph, the local ruler, and the man he feels it wise to acknowledge as Overlord, Tughril Beg. Actually in many ways this gold dinar looks more like a dirhem than like that earlier dinar of Mamun. In size and shape it is a dirhem, and in the placing of the legends it is a dirhem.

The Bismillah reads:

*بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار باصفهان سنة خمس و ثلاثين و اربع مائة*  
*bismillah zuriba hazā ed-dīnār bi-Isfahān sanat khams wa thelathīn wa arba'mi'at* "In the name of Allah was struck this dinar at Isfahan in the year five and thirty and four hundred". Below the Kalima on the obverse are the words:

السلطان المعظم *es-Sultān el-mu'azzam*  
 طغرل بك *Tughril Bek*

"the very great sultan Tughril Beg". Beg is spelled *بك* *bek*, with *ك* *k* used to stand for the Persian *گ* *g*, as we noted in Chapter Two.

On this coin are some lovely "curly tails" on some of the letters. Notice how the "Tughril Beg" is run together as one word.

The reverse area goes on from "Mohammed Rasūl Allah" (notice the shape of the *ح* *h* in *Mohammed*) to the name of "el-Qā'im b'amr Allah", Caliph 1031-1075 A.D. The bottom line has another name

الامير فرامرز *el-Amīr Farāmarz*

Faramarz ibn Mohammed was the local Kakwaid ruler, ruling from 1041 to 1051 A.D. The *ز* *z* of *Farāmarz* actually points upwards with its tail *ز*. 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 *lā sherṭk 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 *billah* or similar ending (not forgetting the possibility that the Caliph may be a Fatimid - listed in Chapter 14). 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 *غلب* *ghalaba*, "he



conquered", above *Mohammed* on the Reverse, from which word (*ghalaba*) comes their dynastic name "Aghlabid".

The Buwaiyids 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 *laqabs* as Mo'izz ed-daulat, Rukn ed-daulat and 'Imad ed-daulat. 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 — **بويه بويه**. *Buwaih*. Later Buwaiyids are harder to recognise, but their "ed-daulat" *laqab*, which they all have, does help; though we must watch out for the occasional "ed-daulat" *laqab* used by a ruler like Mahmud of Ghazni.

The Tulunids, who ruled Egypt in the ninth century A.D. can be helpful too with Ahmad putting **بن طولون** *bin Tūlūn* after his own name; similarly other rulers such as Abu 'l-Qasim the Ikshidid ruler of Egypt, 946-960 A.D., who is called

أبو القسم بن  
الاخشيد *abū 'l-Qasim bin  
el-Ikshīd.*

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 rasūl Allah* we read *er-Rāzī billah*, the name of the Caliph Razi, 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 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, 997-1030 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 **الله** *li-'llah* written around. There is no date or mint; but the Caliph Qadir's name is written below the *Mohammed rasūl Allah*, and below that is the plain word **محمود** *Mahmūd*. 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 *laqab* **يمين الدولة**, *yamīn ed-daulat* "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:

الله	<i>li-'llah</i>	to Allah
محمد رسول الله	<i>Mohammed rasūl Allah</i>	Mohammed the messenger of Allah
القادر بالله	<i>el-Qādir billah</i>	el-Qadir billah (Caliph 991-1031)
ولي عهدة	<i>walī 'uhadat</i>	guardian of the trust

الغالب بالله *el-ghālb billah* the triumphant through Allah  
يمين الدولة *yamīn ed-daulat* right hand of the state.

To right and left are the words **واامين الة** *wa amīn el-mullat* "and trusty one of the nation". To identify this coin one just 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 **ولي عهدة** *walī 'uhadat* have peculiarities. The *ya* shaped **ر**, the *ain* as **ع**, and the *h* as **ه**. The word **عهدة** *'uhadat* is from the same root as **عهد** *'ahd* "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 — *'uhadat* and *'ahd* look totally different, whereas **عهدة** and **عهد** 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 Almohades, had a more individualistic approach. The illustration shows a dinar of Abu Bekr ibn 'Umar, the first Murabit ruler. The Bismillah reads:

**بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بسجاسة سنة سبع وخمسين واربع مائة**  
*bismillah zuriba hazā ed-dīnār bi-Sijilmāsāt sanat seb' wa khamsīn wa arba'mi'at*. Minted in Sijilmaseh 457 A.H., 1065 A.D.



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

لا اله الا الله	<i>lā ilah illā Allah</i>
محمد رسول الله	<i>Mohammed rasūl Allah</i>
الامير ابو بكر	<i>el-amīr Abū Bekr</i>
بن عمر	<i>bin 'Umar</i>

At a later date the Murabits gave themselves the title *amīr el-Muslimīn* "Commander of the Muslims", a title only just short of the Caliphal *amīr el-mūminīn*.

The reverse is the interesting side. The Caliph Qa'im'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 Qa'im's successor, Muqtadi, was also an Abdullah, and by the end of his reign in 1094 A.D., the Murabits had got so used to Caliphs called Abdullah that they called later Caliphs by that name also. The area reads:

الامام	<i>el-imām</i>
عبد	'Abdu-
الله	(A)llah
امير المؤمنين	<i>Amīr el-mūminīn</i>

The marginal inscription on the obverse is different too. It is Koran Sura 3 Verse 79.  
**ومن يبتغ غير الاسلام دينا فلن يقبل منه وهو في الآخرة من الخاسرين**  
*wa man yabtaghi ghair el-Islām dīnān fa-lan yuqbalā minhu wa huwa fī el-ekhirat min el-khāsirīn.*

This is complicated by being a conditional sentence. The clause beginning with **من** *man* "who" or "whosoever" having a verb in the jussive mood, and the clause beginning **فان** *fa-lan* "and not" having a subjunctive. The jussive verb is **يبغى** *yabtaghi*, which is a derived form XIII verb – from a root form **بغى** *baghā* "he transgressed". In this form the verb means "desire", but it contains the idea of wrong desire. **يقبل** *yūqbal* is passive subjunctive of **قبل** *qabila* "he received".

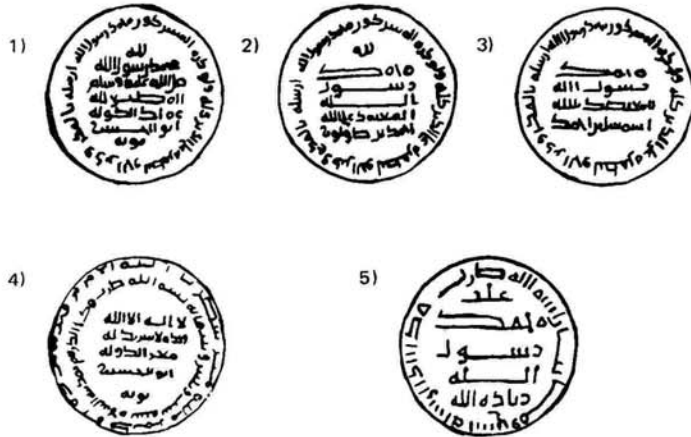
**منه** *minhu* is **من** *min* with the pronominal **هـ** *-hu* suffix. The second **من** *min* I have translated as "among".

The Sura reads, "And whosoever desires a religion other than Islam, it shall not be accepted from him, and he in the Hereafter (shall be) among the defeated".

**Exercise No. 13.**

Sort out the following coins. They belong, in a different order, to the Samanid Isma'īl bin Ahmad 892–907 A.D.; the Aghlabid Ziyādāt Allah I 816–837 A.D.; the Tulunid Ahmad 868–883 A.D.; and two of the three Buwaiyid brothers occupy obverse and reverse (shown separately) of the same coin – 'Imād ed-daulat abū el-Hasan 932–949 A.D., and Mo'izz ed-daulat abū el-Husain 932–967 A.D.

Where there are Caliphs as well as temporal rulers identify these too.



**CHAPTER XIV The Umayyids of Spain. Shi'ites. The Fatimids**

**Vocabulary**

سعيد	sa'īd	fortunate
دعا	da'a	pray, call, summon
افضل	afzal	very superior – elative of <b>فاضل</b> <i>fāzul</i> excellent
وصيين	waziyīn	executors of a will
خير	khair	good – can act as its own elative, "very good".
وزير	wazīr	vizier, "prime minister"
ناصر	nāsir	defender

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

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



The illustration shows a dinar of 'Abd er-Rahman, the Bismillah reading: **بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ** *bismillah zuriba hazā ed-dīnār bi-'l-Andalus sanat thelath wa 'shrīn wa thelath mi'at. Cordova mint 323 A.H.*

The Obverse area has the normal Kalima with the single word **سعيد** *sa'īd* "fortunate" below – various similar words are put in this position on Spanish coins. The reverse area has the name and *laqab* and Caliphal title of 'Abd er-Rahman III

الامام الناصر	el-imām en-nāsir	The Imam the Defender
لدين الله عبد الرحمن	li-dīn Allah 'Abd er-Rahman	of the faith of Allah 'Abd er-Rahman
امير المؤمنين	amīr el-mūminīn	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 Arabians.

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 Encyclopaedia Britannica states that in 1958 out of a total of 350 Million Moslems, 300 million were Sunnis. The word "sunni" is derived from **سنة** *sunnat* "tradition" from the root **سين** *sinn* "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 "ijma", 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

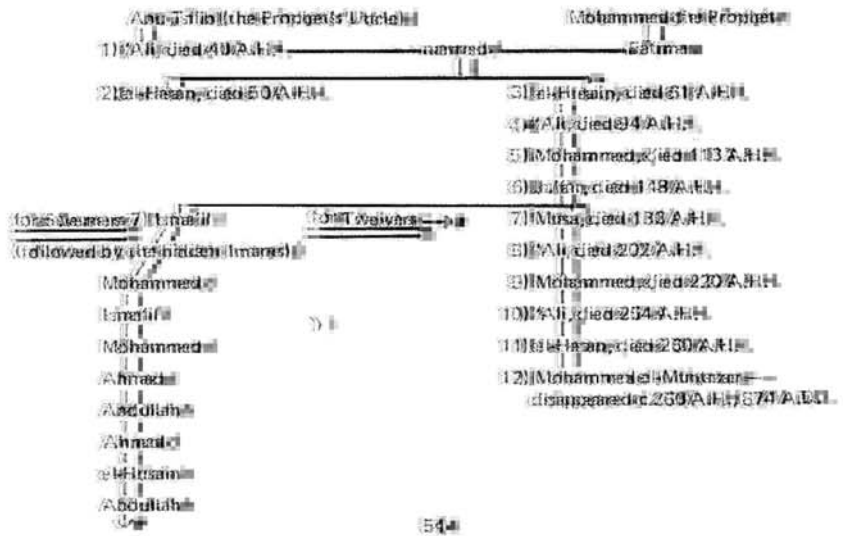
of office and accepted to hold the office of Caliph through the first of four through the Umayyids and taken over by the Abbasids.

The other main group of Muslims are the Shi'ites, from the word **شيعة** *shī'a*, "party" or "sect". The Shi'ites are the party of 'Alī and their historical origin lies in the deposition of Alī by Mu'awiya in 634 A.D. They consider the Caliphate as a God-given office, not one to be given or taken away by human appointment and Alī and his descendants, the descendants in the flesh of the prophet, are the only rightful Caliphs. They prefer using the word **إمام** *imām* rather than "caliph", as the Imam implies the God-given function of being "a pattern whose example is to be followed". So the Imam's are divinely ordained and preserved from sin.

Unfortunately, Ja'far, the sixth Imam, sixth in line of descent from Alī and Fātima, disinherited his eldest son, Isma'il, owing to his addiction to drink. Mahy-Shi'ites accepted his disinheritance, continuing the line of Imams through his son's younger son, Musa, down to the twelfth Imam, who disappeared mysteriously as a child in about 874 A.D. These Shi'ites are called "Twelvers", as they believe in a line of twelve Imams and they believe that their twelfth Imam will one day reappear as the **مهدي** *Mahdi*, "he who is guided (right)" (a word from the same root as **هدى** *hadda*, "guidance"). Mohammed had declared that one of his descendants, "the Imam of God", bearing the name of 'Alī b. 'Abdillāh would fill the earth with justice and justice – quite in Umberto Eco's opinion – were to exist at a time when his Mahdi was. His strongest group of these Twelvers were to come from Persia.

The Shi'ites who did inherit the disinheritance of Isma'il are called the "Isma'ilis" or "Seveners", because to them Isma'il was the seventh and last "debarred" Imam. A Rensselaer came in line of "hidden" Imams, who hid their true identity through fear of the Abbasid Caliphs – a cordoning of Isma'il's belief is to perfectly legitimate to hide one's true beliefs. This line of hidden Imams was expected to barst in to the open again producing the Mahdi.

The first Fatimid ruler of North Africa, Obaidullah, declared that he was in the line of Imams and that he was as they very one they were expecting – the Mahdi. His family took the name "Fatimid" to indicate their descent, or alleged descent, from Mohammed through his daughter Fātima. The following genealogical table, which includes the claim of the Fatimids, may make things clearer.



The first Fatimid ruler, Obaidullah – Mahdi

The Fatimids are the first numismatically important Shi'ites. The dynasty took over from the Aghlabids in Tunisia with Obaidullah in 909 A.D. taking the title, "the Mahdi Commander of the Faithful", thus setting himself up as an opposition Caliph of Baghdad. In fact, on Abderrahman's assumption of the title there were three Caliphs at the same time.



This is a dinar of Obaidullah. On a very orthodox pattern. The Bismillah reads: **بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ هَذَا دِينَارُ حَمْدِ الْإِمَامِ أَبُو عَبْدِ اللَّهِ وَأَوْلَادِهِ مِنَ الْمَدِينَةِ الْخَاتَمَةِ**. *bismillah zuriba hazaed dinar bi' – i – Qairawan sanat elah thmia*

Qairawan mint 300 A.H. 913 A.D. On the reverse is the normal *Allah ilāh alwahdahu la sharik* with the Second Symbol around.

Above and below here are legends: **عبدالله** *'abdullah* and **إمام المؤمنين** *amir al-mu'minin*. The name of this ruler is **عبدالمؤيد** *'obaidullah* but **عبد** *'abd* means "a little slave", so in one sense Obaidullah and Abdullaha are the same name and this may explain why this coin gives the name as 'Abdullah.

The reverse area has the usual *Mohammed* *as salālah* with **إمام** *imām* above and **عبدالمؤيد** *'abd al-mu'ayyid* below. Note the way the *ya* of Mahdi is written below the line. The "Caliph's" names are on both sides of the coin, not on one side only as with the Baghdad ones. I suppose that if one is a pretender, one is more likely to put one's title twice on a coin!

The reverse area is very different to the obverse in that it has a different legend.



Weight in grams 1.85 gm. **Obaidullah** *'Abdullah* *al-Mahdi* *al-Qairawan* mint 300 A.H. 913 A.D. The legend reads: **عبدالمؤيد** *'abd al-mu'ayyid* *al-Qairawan* *sanat 300* *A.H.*

The legend is in a different script to the obverse. The legend reads: **عبدالمؤيد** *'abd al-mu'ayyid* *al-Qairawan* *sanat 300* *A.H.*

The legend is in a different script to the obverse. The legend reads: **عبدالمؤيد** *'abd al-mu'ayyid* *al-Qairawan* *sanat 300* *A.H.*

“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 *بالمصورية* *bi-’l-Mansūriyat* (in Morocco) in 361 A.H.

The reverse inner circle, starting at one o’clock, reads: *المعز لدين الله أمير المؤمنين* *el-Mo’izz li-dīn Allah amīr el-mūminīn* whilst the other part of the ruler’s name is brought into the middle line, which begins at seven o’clock:

*دعا الامام معد لتوحيد الاله الصمد*  
*da’ā el-imām Ma’add li-tawhīd el-Ilah es-samad.*

The interesting word here is *لتوحيد* *li-tawhīd*. The *ل* *li-* is “in order to”: the *توحيد* *tawhīd* is a form II (which has an intensive meaning) derived form of a verb from the root *wāhid* “one”, and it means “to profess the unity”. The whole legend means, “The Imam Ma’add 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 *بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم* *bismillah er-Rahman er-Rahīm* “in the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate”. We see another Shi’ite habit developing of lengthening the Kalima to include ‘*علي ولي الله*’ *‘Alī walī Allah* “‘Ali (is) 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 *wahdahu lā sherīk lahu*. It reads



*لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له محمد رسول الله علي ولي الله*  
*lā ilah illā Allah wahdahu lā sherīk lahu. Mohammed rasūl Allah ‘Alī walī Allah.* “There is no God but Allah alone. He has no partner. Mohammed is the messenger of Allah. ‘Ali is the friend of Allah”.

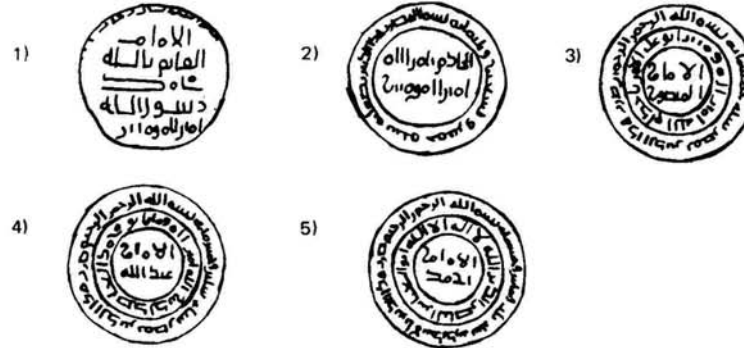
At this point I list the Fatimid Caliphs. In the English I shorten the Caliphal name by leaving out the *billah* and *li-dīn Allah* and such like, as I did with the Baghdad Caliphs; though we have one new word in this connection. El-Amr is *الأمر* *el-Amr bi-ahkām Allah* *ahkām* is the plural of *حكم* *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.

	Date	A.H.	A.D.
Obaidullah el-Mahdī	عبيد الله المهدي بالله	297	907
Mohammed abū el-Qāsim el-Qāsim	محمد أبو القاسم القائم بالله	322	934
Isma’īl el-Mansūr	إسمعيل المنصور بالله	334	945
Ma’add el-Mo’izz	معد المعز لدين الله	341	952
Nezār el-Azīz	نزار العزيز بالله	365	975
el-Mansūr abū ‘Alī el-Hākīm	المنصور أبو علي الحاكم بأمر الله	386	996
‘Alī abū el-Hasan ez-Zāhir	علي أبو الحسن الظاهر	411	1020
Ma’add abū Temīm el-Mustansir	معد أبو تميم المستنصر بالله	427	1035
Ahmad abū el-Qāsim el-Musta’lī	أحمد أبو القاسم المستعلي	487	1094
el-Mansūr abū ‘Alī el-Amr	المنصور أبو علي الأمر بأحكام الله	495	1101
‘abd el-Mejīd abū el-Meymūn el-Hāfiz	عبد المعز أبو الميمون الحافظ لدين الله	524	1130
Isma’īl abū el-Mansūr ez-Zāfir	إسمعيل أبو المنصور الظافر بأمر الله	544	1149
‘Isā abū el-Qāsim el-Fā’iz	عيسى أبو القاسم الفاتح بنصر الله	549	1154

555 عبد الله أبو محمد العاضد لدين الله -Azīd 1160  
to 567 A.H., 1171 A.D. when Saladin took over.

Exercise No. 14.

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



5) This is a Fatimid quarter dinar from Sicily. Read as much as possible of the legend.



## Vocabulary

اعظم	a'zam	(relative form) very mighty
دنيا	dunyā	world
جلال	jalāl	glory
مظفر	muzaffar	victorious
فضة	fizzat	silver
حضرت	hazrat	honourable
غازي	ghāzī	one who fights against infidels
عهد	'ahd	time – also زمن <i>zeman</i> . both have sense "in the time of". عهد also means agreement.
واثق	wāthiq or wāsiq	trusting
سكندر	sikander	Alexander (the Great), with سنانى <i>sānī</i> (Arabic <i>thānī</i> ) "second" it means "the second Alexander"

We move out of the Kufic era into what I term as the "Mediaeval" period. I define this as the time after the end of the use of the Kufi script as the normal thing, and before the rise of the Safavids in Persia, the Moghuls in India, and the Ottomans in the West. In the geographically central area this period is divided in two by the Mongol invasions; so I intend to start my survey with India and Egypt, as these are numismatically 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 diacritical 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 so that is recognised immediately as سبع مائة *seb'mi'at*, "seven hundred", despite the apparent disappearance of the م *m*, and other 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 numismatically 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 invasions into India; but permanent settlement only came when the later Ghaznavids were driven out of Ghazni by their rivals the Ghorids – from Ghor, another town in Afghanistan. In 1155 A.D. the Ghaznavids retired to Lahore, where the last of their line, Khusru Malik, was eventually caught and destroyed in 1186 AD by the Ghorid general Mo'izz ed-din Mohammed ibn Sam (also known as Mohammed Ghori). After going on in 1192 A.D. to defeat totally a Hindu army at Taraon, the Ghorids had India at their mercy – and at this point the Moslem Sultanate of Delhi begins.

The power of the Sultans in India increased until, in Mohammed II ibn Taghlaq's reign, 1324–1351 A.D., it covered twenty-three provinces, from Madura in the far South right up to the far North. Then, suddenly, the empire fell apart till the power of the Sultans was limited practically to Delhi itself. Shir Shah, 1539–1545 A.D. was able to gather the fragments of empire 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 *laqab* ending *ed-dīn*. This is only part of the *laqab*, which in every case is actually *ed-dunyā wa ed-dīn* "of the world and of the faith", e.g. Firoz II is in full جلال الدين و الدنيا و الفيروز *Jalāl ed-dunyā wa ed-dīn Fīrōz*, "Glory of the world and of the faith Firoz". دنيا *dunyā* means "the present world" as opposed to the "Hereafter". I have shortened this formula in this list for the sake of brevity.

	Date A.H.	A.D.
<b>First Dynasty – Turks</b>		
Mo'izz ed-dīn Mohammed ibn Sām	589	1193
–his general, Tāj ed-dīn Yildiz		
Qutb ed-dīn Aibek	602	1205
Arām Shāh	607	1210
Shams ed-dīn Iltutmish known also as (Altamsh)	607	1210
Rukn ed-dīn Fīrōz Shāh I	633	1235
Riziyah	634	1236
Mo'izz ed-dīn Bahrām Shāh	637	1239
'Alā ed-dīn Mas'ūd Shāh	639	1241
Nāsir ed-dīn Mahmūd Shāh I	644	1246
Ghiyās ed-dīn Balban	664	1265
Mo'izz ed-dīn Kai-Qubād	686	1287
<b>Second Dynasty – Khaljis</b>		
Jalāl ed-dīn Fīrōz Shāh II	689	1290
Rukn ed-dīn Ibrāhīm Shāh I	695	1295
'Alā ed-dīn Mohammed Shāh I	695	1295
Shihāb ed-dīn 'Umar Shāh	715	1315
Qutb ed-dīn Mubārak Shāh I	716	1316
Nāsir ed-dīn Khusrū Shāh	720	1320
<b>Third Dynasty – Taghlaqs</b>		
Ghiyās ed-dīn Taghlaq Shāh I	720	1320
Mohammed II ibn Taghlaq	725	1324
Fīrōz Shāh III	752	1351
Taghlaq Shah II	790	1388
Abū Bekr Shāh	791	1388
Mohammed Shah III	792	1389
Sikander Shāh I	795	1392
Mahmūd Shāh II	795	1392
(Nasrat Shāh interregnum 1394)		
Daulat Khān Lodi	815	1412
<b>Fourth Dynasty – Seyyids</b>		
Khizr Khān	817	1414
Mo'izz ed-dīn Mubārak Shāh II	824	1421
Mohammed Shāh IV	837	1433

		Date A.H.	A.D.
'Ālim Shāh	عالمشاه	847	1443
<b>Fifth Dynasty – the Lodis</b>			
Buhlōl Lodi	بھلور	855	1451
Sikander II ibn Buhlōl	سکندر	894	1488
Ibrāhim I ibn Sikander	ابراھم	923	1517
(Moghuls – Baber and Humayun 1526)			
<b>Sixth Dynasty – Afghans</b>			
Farīd ed-dīn Shīr Shāh	فرید الدین شیر شاہ	946	1539
Islām Shāh	اسلام شاہ	952	1545
Mohammed 'Ādil Shāh	محمد عادل شاہ	960	1552
Ibrāhim Sur	ابراھم	961	1553
Sikander Shāh III	سکندر شاہ	962	1554
(Moghuls – Humayun, etc. 1554)			

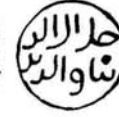
The first illustration of a coin of the Sultanate is the obverse of a copper coin of Balban. It is typical of the period. Note how the die is too big for the flan of the coin. The wording reads:

السلطان الاعظم  
es-sultān  
el-a'zam



"The very great sultan". Note how the *s* of *sultān* has disappeared, and also the strange "new" letter *alef-lam-alef*. The *n* of *sultān* is shaped like this *ن* – not unlike a *ز* – not unlike a *ز*. *Es-sultān 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 Jalāl ed-dīn Fīrōz II. For identifying coins the *laqabs* are quite as important as the names. Here we have just the *laqab*, reading *جلال الدین* *jalāl ed-dunyā wa ed-dīn*, the *n* of *dunyā* being practically always dotted like this, and often split over two lines.



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

السلطان الاعظم  
Ghiyās ed-dunyā wa ed-dīn  
ابو المظفر بلبن  
السلطان  
es-Sultān



"the very great Sultan Help (*Ghiyās*) of the World and of the Faith, father of the Victorious, Balban the Sultan". Here again, the *laqab Ghiyās* is much more noticeable for purposes of identification than the *Balban*. These *laqabs* have very interesting meanings – "Bedr ed-dīn" which one of the Atabegs of Mosul, Lulu, has as a *laqab* means "full moon of the faith"; "Qutb ed-dīn" means "pole star of the faith"; "Shihāb ed-dīn" means "flame of the faith", and so on.



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:

الامام  
amīr  
المستعصم  
el-Musta'sim  
المومنين  
el-mūminīn

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

ضرب هذه الفضة بحضرت دهلي في سنة اربع و ستين و ستمائو

*zuriba hazīhi el-fizzat bi-hazrat Dehlī fī sanat arba' wa sittīn wa sittmī'at*. "Was struck this silver coin in the honourable Delhi in the year four and sixty and six hundred".

*hazīhi* is the feminine of *هذا* *hazā* "this", going with *فضة* *fizzat* "silver" – on gold the word *سكة* *sikkat* "coin" is used. The epithet *حضرت* *hazrat* "honourable" is the first trace of what is later to become the "honorific epithet", whereby most Persian, and many Indian, mints are given some sort of title, such as "abode of the Sultanate" and so on.



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. *بلبن* *Balban* is given two of its three dots – not bad going! The reverse is the normal type, which we can make out even though the die is, as usual, so much bigger than the coin.

السلطان الاعظم  
Ghiyās ed-du  
نيا و الدين  
nyā wa ed-dīn

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 1258 A.D. makes this rather difficult; but Musta'sim's name is retained until the accession of Ibrahim in 1295 A.D. Ibrahim discontinues its use; instead, taking a title for himself which implies the existence of a Caliph *ناصر امير المومنين* *nāsir amīr el-mūminīn* "defender of the commander of the faithful". His successor, Mohammed I, continues this title, adding *يمين الخلافة* *yamīn el-khilāfat* "right hand of the Caliphate".



This is a silver tanka of Mohammed I. The obverse reads:

السلطان الاعظم *es-sultān el-a'zam*  
 علا الدنيا والدين *'Alā ed-dunyā wa ed-dīn*  
 ابو المظفر محمد شاه *abū el-muzaffar Mohammed Shāh*  
 السلطان *es-sultān*

"The very great Sultan, Glory ('Alā) of the world and of the faith, father of the victorious, Mohammed Shah the Sultan".

The reverse reads:

سكندر الثاني *sikander es-sānī*  
 ناصر *nāsir*  
 يمين الخلافة *yamīn el-khilāfat*  
 امير المؤمنين *amīr el-mūminīn*

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

The *nāsir* is removed from, but still goes with, the *amīr el-mūminīn*. The reverse margin reads:

ضرب هذه الفضة بحضرة دهلي في سنة خسرو تسعين وستمائة  
*zuriba hazīhi el-fizzat bi-hazrat Dehli fī sanat khams wa tis'īn wa sittimī'at* Delhi mint, 695 A.H.

Mubarak I, after beginning with the *nāsir* of his predecessors assumed the title of Caliph himself, taking the *laqab* باللقاب *el-wāsiq billah* "the truster in Allah", and calling himself خليفة الله *khalīfat Allah* "the Caliph of Allah", and خليفة رب العالمين *khalīfat rabb el-'ālamīn* "the Caliph of the Lord of the Worlds": Delhi now becoming دار الخلافة *dār el-khilāfat* "the Abode of the Caliphate".

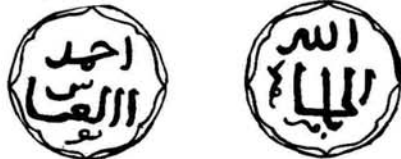
However the idea of being a caliph is too daring for his successors, and Khusru Shah, 1320 A.D., instead calls himself ولي امير المؤمنين *walī amīr el-mūminīn* "Friend of the Commander of the Faithful".



This is a Khusru Shah reverse, reading:  
 خسرو شاه السلطان *Khusrū Shāh es-sultān*  
 الوالي ناصر الرحمن *el-wāsiq nasr er-Rahman*  
 ولي امير المؤمنين *walī amīr el-mūminīn*  
 "Khusru Shah the Sultan, truster in the help of the Merciful One, friend of the commander of the faithful".

Taghlaq Shah goes back to the plainer *nāsir amīr el-mūminīn*.

Mohammed II, 1324–1351 A.D., suddenly seems to discover the continued existence of genuine Abbasid Caliphs in Egypt, and until 1393 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:

احمد *Ahmad*  
 ابو العباس *abū el-'Abbās*

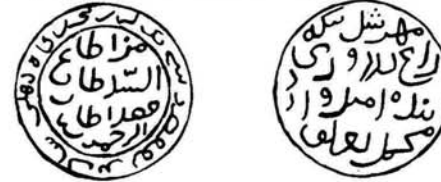
and the reverse:

الله *Allah*  
 الحاكم *el-Hākim*  
 بامر *b'amr*

i.e. the name of the Caliph "el-Hākim b'amr Allah".

The peculiar trident form of the reverse is made by the alef of *b'amr* coming up between the *h* and the alef of "Hakim". Notice the shape of *k* is shaped in a number of ways between this period and modern times *ك* and is a letter that is not always easy to recognise – in Ayyubid and Memluk times in Syria and Egypt it tends to be very similar to an *ل* without any distinguishing small *ء*, *الملا* – *el-malik* is *الملا*.

Mohammed II ibn Taghlaq was a man for novelty; but his greatest novelty numismatically speaking was his issue of a token currency in brass.



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:

من اطاع *man atā'a*  
 السلطان *es-sultān*  
 فقد اطاع *fa-qad atā'a*  
 الرحمن *er-Rahman*

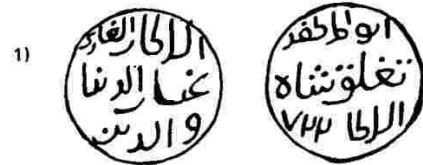
This is one of my favourite Arabic legends! *من* *man* is "who". *اطاع* *atā'a* is a derived form IV verb meaning "obey" – strictly, being perfect, "he obeyed". *فقد* *fa-qad* is composed of *في* *fa* "and" and *قد* *qad* which is a word making a verb definitely past *قد اطاع* *qad atā'a* "he had obeyed".

The sentence, being an Arabic conditional sentence, is difficult to translate word for word into English, "Who obeyed the Sultan and he had obeyed the Merciful One". It is better to be not quite so literal, "Who obeys the Sultan obeys the Merciful One".

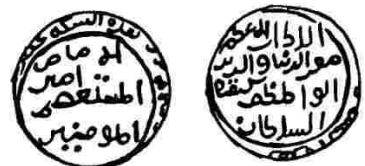
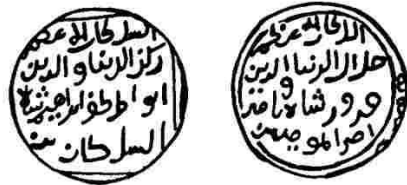
The reverse, in Persian, reads:  
 مهر شد تنکه رائج در روزگار بندۀ امیدوار محمد تغلق  
*muhr shod tankah rā'ij dar rōzgar bandah amīdvār Mohammed Taghlaq* "Sealed as a tanka current in the reign of the slave hopeful (of grace) Mohammed Taghlaq".

**Exercise No. 15.**

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



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



**CHAPTER XVI Later Delhi coins. The Mohammedan kingdoms of India**

**Vocabulary**

خلد	<i>khallad</i>	perpetuate, prosper – in the phrases:
خلد الله ملكه	<i>khallad Allah mulkahu</i>	may Allah perpetuate his reign
خلدت خلفته	<i>khulidat khilāfatuhu</i>	may his Caliphate last for ever.
مجاهد	<i>mujāhid</i>	soldier in the جهاد <i>jihād</i> "holy war".
حامي	<i>hāmī</i>	defender
فتح	<i>fateh</i>	conquest.
شهر	<i>shehr</i>	month
كريم	<i>kerīm</i>	generous, great, noble.
ملتجئ	<i>multajj</i>	the one who seeks protection.

Coins of the Delhi Sultanate after the death of Mohammed II in 1324 A.D. are not very interesting until we get to Shir Shah in 1539 A.D. The coins are usually dumpy, with only a part of the legend getting on. It is usually a case of picking out the ruler's name, and apart from that finding any coin like any other.



Here is a copper coin of Firoz III, 1351–1388 A.D., the obverse of which reads:

الخليفة امير المومنين خلدت خلفته ٧٨٥  
*el-khalīfat amīr el-mūminīn khulidat khilāfatuhu 780 A.H.* (remember the peculiarity of Indian numerals in the seven and eight hundreds A.H. – 4 = ٤, 5 = ٥, 0 = ٠)

"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: فيروز شاه سلطاني ضربت بحضرت دهلي

*Fīrōz Shāh sultānī zuribat bi-hazrat Dehlī*  
*es-sultān* has become *sultānī*, the adjectival "man of Sultan rank", but for simplicity I translate as though it were *es-sultān*.

"Firoz Shah the sultan. (this coin) was struck in the honourable Delhi". The *fīr* of *Fīrōz* forms a line across the top – we see here the beginnings of a very common later habit of dividing a coin in horizontal sections on Indian coins.

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

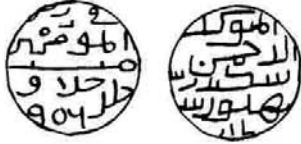
السلطان الاعظم  
 ابو المظفر محمود شاه  
 محمد شاه فيروز شاه  
 سلطاني  
*es-sultān el-a'zam*  
*abū el-muzaffar Mahmūd Shāh*  
*Mohammed Shāh Fīrōz Shāh*  
*sultānī*





"The very great sultan, father of the victorious, Mahmud Shah (son of) Mohammed Shah (son of) Firoz Shah, the Sultan".

This omission of ابن *ibn* or بن *bin* is a very confusing habit!

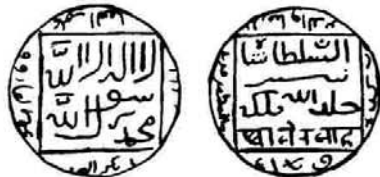


This is a copper coin of Sikander II Lodi, 1488–1517 A.D., which reads on the obverse: في زمن امير المؤمنين خلدت خلافته ٩٠٦  
*fī zeman amīr al-mūminīn khulīdat khilāfatahu 906 A.H.*  
 "In the time of the commander of the faithful (not named) May his Caliphate last for ever."

The reverse reads: المتوكل على الرحمن سيكندر شاه بهلول شاه سلطان  
*al-mutawakkil 'alā er-Rahman Sikander Shāh Buhlōl Shāh Sultān*  
 "He who trusts in the Merciful One, Sikander Shah, (son of) Buhlol Shah, the Sultan".

The letters have a square look about them, and are "scrappy". Sikander has given himself the Caliphal *laqab* "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 "Rupree" 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 اله الا الله محمد رسول الله  
*lā ilāh illā Allah Mohammed rasūl Allah.* The little *ت* above *Allah* are tashdids plus a short a vowel sign, thus giving the sacred Name the markings of "full" writing.

The margins are not very clear, but at the bottom we can see traces of ابو بكر عثمان  
*Abū Bekr, and on the left عمر الفاروق 'Umar el-fārūq; and 'Uthman at the top.*

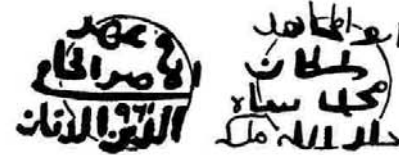
The reverse reads: السلطان شير شاه خلد الله ملكه  
*es-sultān Shīr Shāh khallad Allah mulkahu.*  
 "the Sultan Shir Shah, May Allah perpetuate his reign".

Below this is a Nagari legend, and in the margin Shir's *laqab* and the mint and date:—  
 فريد الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر ضرب شير شاه  
*farīd ed-dunyā wa ed-dīn abū el-muzaffar zarb Shīrshāh*

"Unique One (*farīd*) of the world and of the faith, father of the victorious, minting of (I take ضرب *zarb* to be the verbal noun as it is not followed by a preposition "in") Shīrshāh".

This is the reverse of a similar silver coin of Islam Shah, 952–960 A.D. Here the شاه *Shāh* written above the names makes it harder to follow. It reads:

اسلام شاه ابن شير شاه سلطان خلد الله ملكه  
*Islām Shāh ibn Shīr Shāh sultān khallad Allah mulkahu*  
 "Islam Shah, son of Shir Shah, Sultan, May Allah perpetuate his reign".



coin. It is a lovely thick piece.

The obverse reads: في عهد الامير الحامي الدين الدنان  
*fī 'ahd el-amīr el-hāmī ed-dīn (? ed-dīnān)*

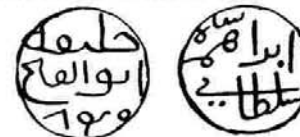
الدنان is the reading in the British Museum Catalogue of the coins of the Sultans of Delhi; but I cannot find an Arabic word that makes sense for this reading. I imagine it must be another title of the ruler – and sometimes the Indian rulers do use rather peculiar words – but I omit it in the translation. Notice how the في *fī*, *fī* runs into the lam-alef of الامير *el-amīr*.

It translates, "In the time of the Amir, defender of the faith –".

The reverse reads: ابو المجاهد سلطان محمد شاه خلد الله ملكه  
*abū el-mujāhid sultān Mohammed Shāh khallad Allah mulkahu*  
 "Father of the soldier in the Holy War, Sultan Mohammed Shah, May Allah perpetuate his reign".

From towards the end of Mohammed II's reign there were other Moslem states arising in India. The Empire was breaking up, and the fragments were issuing independent coins; though these do not help us by giving the name of the state they are from. These states were to disappear later, absorbed back into the Empire either by the later sultans or by Akbar.

The shortest lived was the Kingdom of Jaunpur, independent from 796 A.H., 1394 A.D., until reconquered by Sikander II in 881 A.H., 1476 A.D. The copper of the three main coin-striking kings is very common – these are Ibrahim 803–844 A.H., 1400–1440 A.D.; Mahmud, 844–863 AH 1440–58 A.D.; and Husain, 863–881 A.H., 1458–76 A.D., with posthumous coins of Husain struck until at least 910 A.H.



This is a coin of Ibrahim. The obverse reads:  
 خليفة ابو الفتح ٨٤٠  
*khalfat abū el-fateh 840*  
 "The Caliph, father of the conquest, 840 A.H."

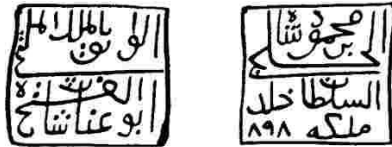
فتح *fateh* (which is strictly *fath*, but I have put the *e* in to keep the *t* and *h* separate) is an interesting word which means "opening", moving to the idea of opening a country by "conquest".

The reverse reads: *ابراهيم شاه سلطاني* *Ibrāhīm Shāh sultānī*.

The later kings are fairly easy to recognise, because they keep the name of Ibrahim on their coins, the *ه* *h* of which becomes a boxlike *ه* in the middle of the coin. The kings build up their genealogy, leaving out the *بن* *bin* – Husain Shāh Mahmūd Shāh *Ibrāhīm Shāh*, and it is the uppermost name mentioned to whom a particular coin must be attributed.

The kingdom of Malwa declared its independence from Delhi in 804 A.H., 1401 A.D., to disappear again on its annexation by Gujarat, another of the break-away kingdoms, in 937 A.H., 1530 A.D. The commonest coins of Malwa are those of the family of *خالي* *Khaljī*, 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.

The Khalji kings are Mahmud I 839–880 A.H., 1435–75 A.D.; Ghiyas Shah 880–906 A.H., 1475–1500 A.D.; Nasir Shah 906–916 A.H., 1500–1510 A.D.; and Mahmud II 916–37 A.H., 1510–30 A.D. These four kings follow in direct line of descent, each mentioning his father's name.



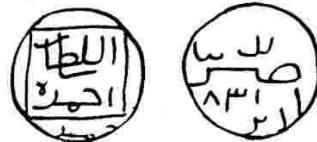
This is a silver coin of Ghiyas Shah dated 898 A.H., 1492 A.D., The obverse reads: *الواثق بالملك الملتجى ابو الفتح غياث شاه* *el-wāsiq bi-'l-malik el-multajjī abū el-fateh Ghīyās Shāh*

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

The reverse reads: *بن محمود شاه السلطان الخالي خالد ملكه ٨٩٨* *bin Mahmūd Shāh es-sultān el-Khaljī khallad mūlkahu 898 A. H.* "Son of Mahmud Shah, the Khalji, (may Allah) perpetuate his reign".

It would be very easy not to spot the *بن* *bin*, 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.

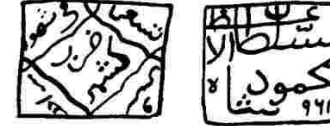


Here is a copper of Ahmad Shah 814–846 A.H., 1411–1443 A.D., dated 831 A.H. It is hard to decipher much of the legend – as is often the case with copper coins. The obverse just

has *شا* *es-sultān Ahmed Shāh* in a square, the *ش* *shā* of "Shāh" being the loop below the *ط* *t* of "Sultān". "Shāh" tends to be tucked away in peculiar ways. The reverse (only a small part of which is legible) reads:

*السلطان الاعظم ناصر الدنيا والدين ٨٣١* *es-sultān el-a'zam nāsir ed-dunyā wa ed-dīn 831 A. H.* "The very great Sultan Defender (*nāsir*) of the world and of the faith".

The kingdom of Kashmir lasted longer, between 735 A.H., 1334 A.D., and 995 A.H.,



1586 A.D., and the illustration is of a square silver coin of Mahmud Shah 961 A.H., with the obverse reading, which is helpful; *ضرب كشمير* *zarb Kashmīr* in a lozenge, with the date, usually pretty undecipherable, around:– *في شهور سنة احدى وستين تسعائة* *fī shohūr sanat ihdā wa sittīn tis'mī'at.* *شهور* *shohūr* is the plural of *شهر* *shehr* "month".

"In the months of the year one and sixty (and) ninehundred". The reverse reads: *السلطان الاعظم محمود شاه ٩٦١* *es-sultān el-a'zam Mahmūd Shāh 961 A. H.* "the very great Sultan Mahmud Shah". The *ظ* *'z* of *a'zam* forms a line across the top of the coin, with the *م* *m* off the flan.



Here is the 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: *السلطان الاعظم حسن شاه* *es-sultān el-a'zam Hasan Shāh*, Hasan'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 'Ala ed-din Ahmad Shah II 838–862 A.H., 1435–57 A.D., with the obverse reading: *السلطان الحكيم الكريم الرؤوف على عباد الله الغني المهيمني* *es-sultān el-halīm el-kerīm er-ra'ūf 'alā 'ibād Allah el-ghanī el-muḥīmanī* a legend which contains more new vocabulary than in any single legend so far!

The word *رؤوف* *ra'ūf* contains the idea of forgiveness arising from kindness and I translate it "benevolent". The difficulty of *ra'ūf* is that the *waw* is a *hamza*–holder and as

such ought not to be pronounced – yet the *u* is a long vowel and modern Arabs would spell the word

رؤوف

عباد *ibād* is one of the two possible plural forms of *عبد* 'abd "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:

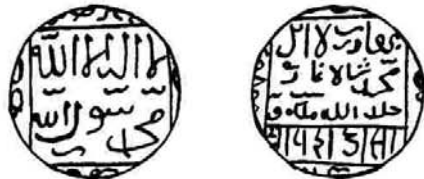
ابوالمظفر علا الدنيا والدين احمد شاه بن احمد شاه الولي البهمني

*abū el-muzaffar 'alā ed-dunyā wa ed-dīn Ahmad Shāh bin Ahmad Shāh el-walī el-Bahmanī*, "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 *ولي* *walī*. The writing of *احمد* *Ahmad* is peculiar, the *اح* *Ah* are linked, which looks very like the other *ه*. The date below the square is ٨٤٥, which is 850 (not 845) at this period of Indian coinage.

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

Bengal has a long line of coins from Governors, and from 739 A.H., 1338 A.D., of independent kings. It was reconquered by Shir Shah in 1537 AD 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 Mohammed Shah Ghazi 960–962 A.H., 1552–54 A.D.; Ghiyas ed-din Bahadur Shah 962–968 A.H., 1554–60 A.D.; and, belonging to the house of Sulaiman Kararani, Daud Shah 980–984 A.H., 1572–1576 A.D.



This is a silver coin of Ghiyas ed-din Bahadur Shah. The Obverse has the Kalima in a square, with a row of "tashdids" separating the two parts; and around the margin are traces of the four successors.

The reverse reads:

بهادر شاه ابن محمد شاه غازي خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه

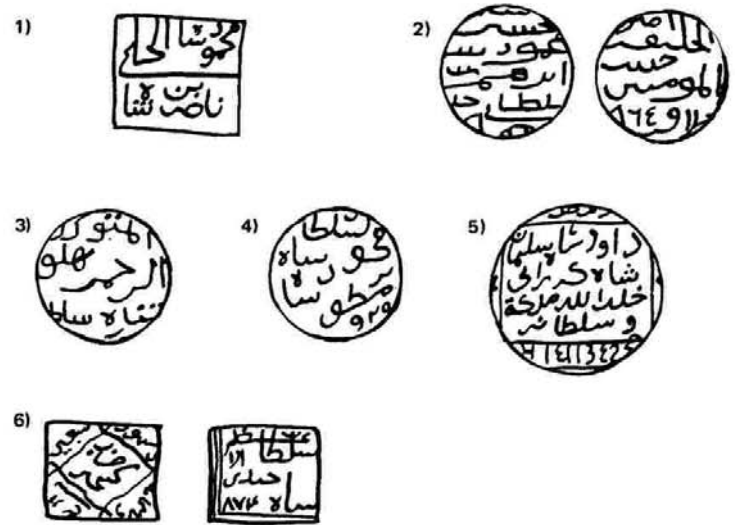
*Bahādur Shāh ibn Mohammed Shāh Ghāzī khallad Allah mulkahu wa sultānahu* "Bahadur Shah, son of Mohammed Shah, fighter in the war against infidels, May Allah perpetuate his reign and his sultanate".

Below this is the line of Nagari script which is usual on this style of coin. The margin is illegible, but should read *Ghiyās ed-dunyā wa ed-dīn abū el-muzaffar*".

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 Haider Shah of Kashmir, 1467–69 A.D.; Muzaffar Shah II of Gujarat 1511–1525 A.D.; and of other rulers mentioned within the course of the chapter.



## Vocabulary

قوة	quwwat	strength
نا	-nā	suffix of the first person plural, "our".
كامل	kāmil	perfect
صالح	sālih	morally good
ظاهر	zāhir	apparent, made manifest.
سيف	saif	sword
دُرّ	durr	pearl

We turn now to the far West – to a coin of the Almohades – also known as "Muwahhids". These called for a puritanical reform of the Moslem faith at a time when, as we shall see, farther East they were breaking the Prophet's ordinances and putting images of living things on their money. The Almohades seized power in Morocco between 1145 and 1269 A.D. To increase his prestige their first ruler announced himself to his Berber followers as the long awaited Mahdi sent to fill the world with justice. The first "coining" ruler was the Mahdi's successor, 'Abd el-mumin el-Kumi 1145–63 A.D., who struck square anonymous dirhems – he was going back to the old way: that it was only God who counts, and not the human ruler. The writing is not quite of the normal style, but is beginning to take on the peculiarities which make Moroccan coins so difficult to read.



The obverse reads:

لا اله الا الله *lā ilah illā Allah*  
 الامر كله لله *el-amr kolluhu li-'llah*  
 لا قوة الا بالله *lā quwwat illā billah*

"There is no God but Allah. The command (ie. power) is all of it belonging to Allah. There is no strength except in Allah".

The reverse has three نا -nā "our" suffixes:

الله ربنا *Allah Rabbunā*  
 محمد رسولنا *Mohammed rasūlunā*  
 المهدي امامنا *el-Mahdī imāmunā*

"Allah is our Lord: Mohammed is our Prophet: the Mahdi is our Imam".

We turn now to Egypt, the one area besides India where there was reasonable numismatic stability through the Mediaeval period. After the Fatimids came the descendants of Ayyub, the Ayyubids, who were followed by the Mamluks who ruled right through to the Ottoman conquest in 922 A.H., 1516 A.D.

The first Ayyubid we are concerned with is Saladin, 564–589 A.H., 1169–93 A.D. Saladin is a Europeanisation of his *laqab* صلاح الدين *Salāh ed-dīn* "the Honour of the faith".

The first thing that will strike us is the number of different types a single ruler can have – this is very different from the old Kufi days, and from the Sultans of Delhi. For instance, Saladin has 1) a gold type (which was seen in Exercise No 14, qn. 5) of the old Kufi pattern. 2) a type with the inscription in a square, on the silver mostly of the Damascus mint. 3) a "hexagram" type, on the silver from the Aleppo mint. 4) a copper type showing a lion 5) another copper type showing Saladin enthroned, and 6) 7) 8) three other copper types.

The other noticeable feature of the Ayyubids and the Mamluks is that they are الملك الناصر *malik* with a suitable adjective. Saladin is *el-malik en-nāsir* "the defending king" – this can be confusing in that his reign overlaps that of the Caliph Nasir li-dīn. 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 لا اله الا الله وحده محمد رسول الله *lā ilah illā Allah wahdahū Mohammed rasūl Allah*. The obverse area has the Caliph's name and titles:

الامام المستضي بامر الله امير المؤمنين  
*el-imām el-Mustazī b'amr Allah amīr el-mūminīn*

The reverse has the remains of the old "Bismillah" in the margin – ضرب بدمشق وخمس مئة سنة ثلث وسبعين وخمسة *zuriba bi-Dimishq sanat thelath wa seb'in wa khamsmi'at*.

"Struck in Damascus. Year three and seventy and five hundred".

The reverse area reads: الملك الناصر صلاح الدنيا والدين  
*el-malik en-nāsir salāh ed-dunyā wa ed-dīn*

"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 "Mustazī" forms an unusual tail. The *k* of "malik" is ك and above the ص of "Salāh" is what could be a short *a* mark, but is probably just coincidental.



Here is the Aleppo type. On the obverse the Kalima is in the angles, with the Caliph in the centre:

*el-imām en-nāsir li-dīn Allah amīr el-mūminīn*.

The reverse area has the name of Saladin in the area – الملك الناصر صلاح الدين يوسف بن ايوب  
*el-malik en-nāsir salāh ed-dīn Yūsuf bin Ayyūb*.

In the angles is the mint بحل حلب *bi-Halab* "in Aleppo" and the date 580 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 Urtuqids and Zengids have particularly fine designs on many of their pieces.

The obverse, around the seated figure, reads:

الملك الناصر صلاح الدين يوسف بن أيوب

*el-malik en-nāsir salāh ed-dunyā wa ed-dīn Yūsuf bin Ayyūb.*

The reverse has the Caliph in the centre:

الإمام النا

صلدين الله

أمير المؤمنين

and around: ضرب هذا الدرهم سنة ست وثمانين وخمسة

Top: *zuriba hazā* Bottom: *ed-dirhem sanat* Right: *sitt wa temanīn* Left: *wa khamsni'at* "Was struck this dirhem (though this is a copper coin) year six and eighty and five hundred". No mint is given.

After Saladin the Ayyubids spread out with different branches in Egypt, in Damascus, in Aleppo, and in Mesopotamia – in fact they become very difficult to follow. The most important numismatically are:

- 1) الملك العادل أبو بكر بن أيوب سيف الدين  
*el-malik el-ādil* (the Just King) *Abū Bekr bin Ayyūb saif ed-dīn* (sword of the faith), 1196–1218 A.D.
- 2) His son, الملك الكامل محمد بن أبو بكر  
*el-malik el-kāmil* (the Perfect King) *Mohammed bin Abū Bekr*, 1218–1238 A.D.
- 3) his son الملك الصالح نجم الدين أيوب بن الملك الكامل  
*el-malik es-sālih* (the Good King) *Nejm ed-dīn* (star of the faith) *Ayyūb bin el-malik el-kāmil*, 1240–1249 A.D.

Es-Salih paved the way for the Mamluks by purchasing a large number of slaves (*مملوك* *mamlūk* "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 *شجر الدر* *shejer ed-durr* "Tree of Pearls".

When he died in 1249 A.D., St. Louis was in occupation of Damietta, and Egypt was in a precarious position. Shejer 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. Mamluk power was soon to spread from Egypt to Syria too. The Bahri Mamluks ruled 648–784 A.H., 1250–1382 A.D.; to be followed by the Burji Mamluks 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 Mamluk, Beybars, 658–676 A.H., 1260–77 A.D. The obverse reads:

الحق  
لا اله الا الله  
محمد رسول الله  
ارسله بالهدى  
ودين

*el-haqq*  
*lā ilah illā Allah*  
*Mohammed rasūl Allah*  
*arsalahu bi-'l-hudā*  
*wa-dīn*

The *الحق* *el-haqq* follows the *wa-dīn* 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-Iskanderīyat*, i.e. Alexandria:

The reverse gives Beybars' name and titles:

ببرس الصالح

*Bibars* (Beybars is a Europeanisation) *es-sālih*

الملك الظاهر

*el-malik ez-Zāhir*

ركن الدنيا والدين

*rukn ed-dunyā wa ed-dīn*

"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, eg. Sha'aban puts a lion on the obverse of his copper coins from the Tripoli (Syria) mint.



Note that the *ك* *k* of *Malik* is a plain loop, rather like an *ل* *l* and the *Alef* of the next word *ال* "el" is put inside it.

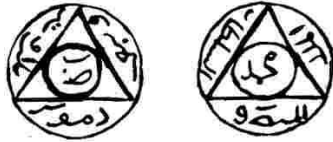
This is a copper coin of Es-Salih Isma'il 743–6 A.H., 1342–5 A.D., illustrating the importance of the kingly epithet. The obverse reads: الملك الصالح *el-malik es-sālih*, and below the dotted line *بن محمد* *bin Mohammed*. The mint and date fill all the reverse:

above the line: ضرب بدمشق *zuriba bi-Dimishq*

between the lines: في سنة ثلاث واربعين *fi sanat thelāth wa arba'in*

below the line: وسبعين *wa seb'mi'at*

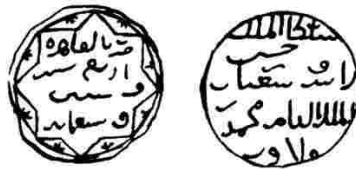
minted in Damascus in the year three and forty and seven hundred". Mamluk copper is generally hard to attribute, as it comes in many very varied designs, and the lettering is not usually very clear.



This typical example is of el-Mansur Salih ed-din Mohammed, 762-4 A.H., 1361-3 A.D. The obverse reads: in the circle ضرب دمشق سنة ضرب *zarb*. Below *Dimishq sanat*. On the left ثلاث وستين *thelāth wa sittīn*. On the right *wa seb'mi'at*. "Striking of Damascus, year 763".

The reverse: in the circle محمد *Mohammed*. To the left السلطان *es-sultān*. To the right الملك *el-malik*. Below *el-mansūr*. "The Sultan, the conqueror (*mansūr*) King, Mohammed".

A very common Mamluk numismatically speaking is el-Ashraf Nasir ed-din Sha'aban, 764-78 A.H., 1363-77 A.D.



This is one of his many varieties of copper. The obverse reads: (though actually "obverse" and "reverse" have very little meaning on coins with no portrait and no Kalima)

ضرب بالقاهرة *zuriba bi-'l-Qāhira*  
سنة اربع وستين *sanat arba' wa sittīn*  
و سبعمائة *wa seb'mi'at*

Cairo mint: 764 A.H.

The reverse reads:

السلطان الملك *es-sultān el-malik*  
الاشرف شعبان بن حسن *el-ashraf Sha'abān bin Hasan*  
بن الملك الناصر محمد بن قلاوون *bin el-malik en-nāsir Mohammed bin Qalāūn*

"The Sultan, the very noble (*ashraf* is the relative of *ashraf* "noble") King Sha'aban, son of Hasan, son of the defending King Mohammed, son of Qalaun"

The first, and longest reigning, of the Burji Mamluks was Barquq, 784-801 A.H., 1382-99 A.D. This is the reverse of one of his gold coins. It reads:

ضرب بحلب *zuriba bi-Halab*  
السلطان الملك الظاهر سيف الدين ابو سعيد برقوق خلد الله *es-sultān el-malik ez-zā-hir saif ed-dunyā wa ed-dīn abū Sa'īd Barqūq khallad Allah*  
ملكه سنة سبعة و سبعمائة *mulkahu, sanat seb'at wa (temānīn wa) seb'mi'at*  
(*seb'at* is maculine. It ought to be the feminine *seb'*)



"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-zāhir", and eight "el-malik el-ashraf" – but identifying the epithet at least narrows the field.

The Mamluks

A. The Bahri Mamluks

Shejer ed-durr	1250
El-Ashraf Musa	1251-3
El-Mu'izz Aybek	1250-57
El-Mansur 'Ali	1257-9
El-Muzaffar Qutuz	1259-60
Ez-Zahir Bibars	1260-77
Es-Sa'id Barakah Qan	1277-9
El-'Adil Salamish	1279
El-Mansur Qala'un	1279-90
El-Ashraf Khalil	1290-93
En-Nasir Mohammed	1293-4, 1299-1309 and 1310-41
El-'Adil Kitbugha	1294-6
El-Mansur Lajin	1296-9
El-Muzaffar Bibars	1309-10
El-Mansur Abu Bekr	1341
El-Ashraf Kujuk	1341-2
En-Nasir Ahmed	1342
Es-Salih Isma'il	1342-5
El-Kamil Sha'aban	1345-6
El-Muzaffar Hajji	1346-7
En-Nasir Hasan	1347-51 and 1354-61
Es-Salih Salih	1351-4
El-Mansur Mohammed	1361-3

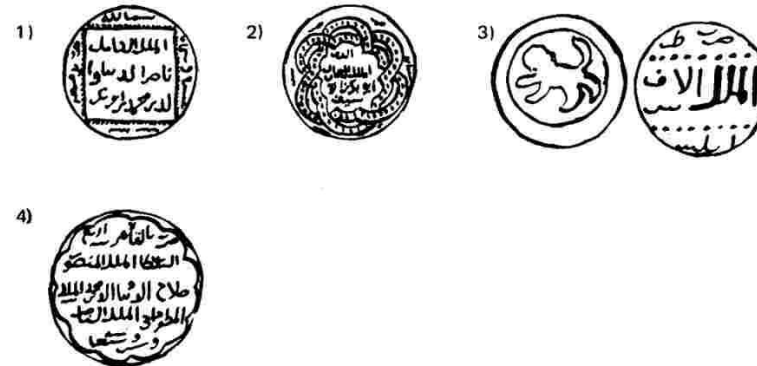
El-Asraf Sha'aban	1363-77
El-Mansur 'Ali	1377-81
Es-Salih Hajji	1381-2 and 1389-90

B. The Burji Mamluks

Ez-Zahir Barquq	1382-9 and 1390-99
En-Nasir Faraj	1399-1412
El-Musta'in billah 'Abbas	1412
El-Mu'ayyad Shaikh	1412-21
El-Muzaffar Ahmed	1421
Ez-Zahir Tatar	1421
Es-Salih Mohammed	1421-2
El-Ashraf Barsbai	1422-38
El-'Aziz Yusuf	1438
Ez-Zahir Jaqmaq	1438-53
El-Mansur 'Uthman	1453
El-Ashraf Ainal	1453-61
El-Mu'ayyad Ahmed	1461
Ez-Zahir Khushqadam	1461-7
Ez-Zahir Temirbugha	1467-8
El-Ashraf Qa'itbai	1468-96
En-Nasir Mohammed	1496-8
Ez-Zahir Qansuh	1498-1500
El-Ashraf Janbalat	1500-1501
El-'Adil Tumanbai	1501
El-Ashraf Qansuh el-Ghuri	1501-16
El-Ashraf Tumanbai	1516

Exercise No. 17.

The following coins are all of rulers mentioned in the chapter.



CHAPTER XVIII The Seljuk advance. The Seljuks of Rum. The Urтуquids and Zengids

Vocabulary

صلى <i>sallā</i>	bless — followed by the preposition	على <i>'alā</i>
ظل <i>zill</i>	shadow	
عالم <i>'alim</i>	wise	
امرا <i>umarā</i>	plural of امير <i>amīr</i> "commanders"	
شرق <i>sharq</i>	East	
ملعون <i>mal'ūn</i>	being cursed	

As we turn to the Central part of the Arab territories, the period before the arrival of the Mongols is a time when the area is divided amongst the officers of the old Seljuk army and their descendants ruling as petty princes, with a small, but fairly brilliant, Seljuk empire surviving in Anatolia — the Seljuks of Rum.

The Seljuks were Ghuzz Turkoman tribesmen who during the 900's A.D., whilst they were still living in the region of the Jaxartes River, had been converted to Islam. The Samanid rulers welcomed them as part of their frontier defence force, and they moved into the Bukhara region around 985 A.D. When the Samanid power passed away with the rise of Mahmud of Ghazni, Mahmud established the Seljuks in the frontier region of Khorasan; but they rose against the Ghaznavids during the reign of Mahmud's son Mas'ud, defeating them near Merv in 1040 A.D. Tughril Beg, their leader, occupied Persia, taking Baghdad in 1055 A.D., where the Caliph el-Qa'im welcomed him as a deliverer from the Buwaiyids who not only had been doing what they liked with the Caliph but, worse, were Shi'ites. The Seljuks became the new power behind the Caliphal throne.

Tughril Beg's son, Alp Arslan, 1063—72 A.D., directed Seljuk conquests Westwards, defeating and capturing the Byzantine emperor Romanus IV at Manzikert in 1071 A.D.

Alp's son, Malik Shah, 1072—92 A.D., held the Empire together, aided by his brilliant vizier Nizam el-mulk, dividing it up into provinces ruled by princes whose armies were maintained by military fiefs.

Unfortunately, after Malik Shah's death these provinces were taken over piecemeal by the officers, who were known as 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 Khwarism and the chiefs of Ghor in Afghanistan. The Khwarism Shahs gained control, establishing a large empire of their own under Takash, 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.

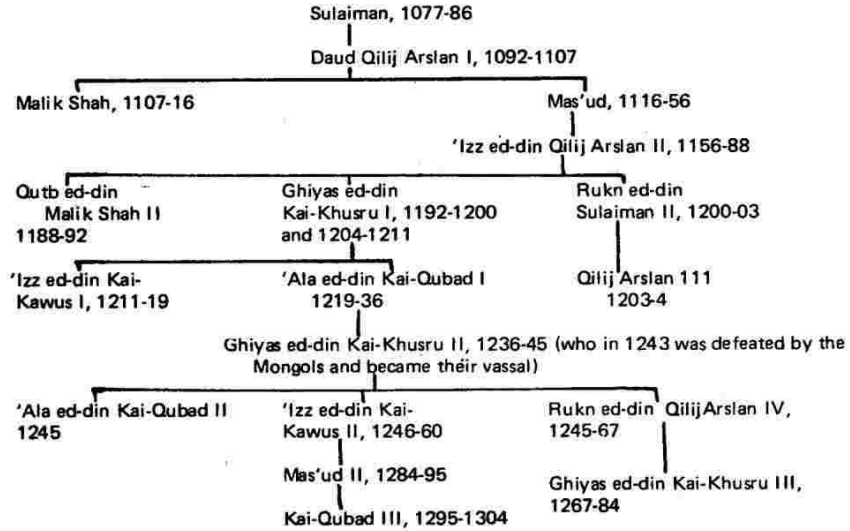
Under en-Nasir, 1180—1225 A.D., the Caliph even came into conflict with the Khwarism Shah who prepared for war against Baghdad. Overwhelming disaster was about to fall — in 1219 and 1220 A.D. Jenghiz Khan and his Mongol hordes invaded Transoxiana and Khorasan, and things were never the same thereafter.

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 Urтуquids — of Keyfa and Amid: of Khartapit; and of Maridin. Also (of the house of Zengi) Atabegs of Mosul: Atabegs of Aleppo, and Atabeg of Sinjar.

The Seljuks of Rum managed to prosper in Anatolia, despite chaos elsewhere. Their capital was at قونية *Qūnyat*, 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 parcelled 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.)



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

الامام	<i>el-imām</i>	
لا اله الا الله	<i>lā ilāh illā Allāh</i>	
وحده لا شريك له	<i>wahdahu lā sherīk lahu</i>	
الناصر لدين الله	<i>en-nāsir li-dīn Allāh</i>	
امير المؤمنين	<i>amīr el-mūminīn</i>	

which is the first part of the Kalima, combined with the Caliph en-Nasir's name and title. The margin reads: to the left ضرب هذا *zuriba hazā*; below الدینار *ed-dīnār* (though this is actually a silver piece!); and to the right بقونية *bi-Qūnyat*.

The reverse reads:

محمد رسول الله	<i>Mohammed rasūl Allāh</i>
صلى الله عليه	<i>sallā Allāh 'alaihī</i>
السلطان المحظم	<i>es-sultān el-mu'azzam</i>
قلاج ارسلان	<i>Qilij Arslān</i>

صلى *sallā* 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".

عليه *'alaihi* is an awkward combination of *'alā* 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 thnain (ithnatain)*: at the top *خمسة وثمانين* *temanīn-wa*; on the left *خمس* *khamṣ (khamṣi'at)*. The numerals are getting 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 Kai-Khusru II. This sultan was madly in love with his beautiful Georgian wife, and he wanted to put her portrait on his coins; but, this not being approved of by his advisers, he put his wife's horoscope on his coins 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: *الامام المستنصر بالله امير المؤمنين* *el-imām el-Mustansir billah amīr el-mūminīn*.

The reverse reads:

ضرب بقونية *zuriba bi-Qūnyat*  
السلطان الاعظم *es-sultān el-a'zam*  
عماد الدنيا والدين *Ghiyās ed-dunyā wa ed-dīn*  
كيخسرو بن كيقباد *Kai-Khusrū bin Kai-Qubād*

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



This is another dirhem — of Kai-Kawus II.

The obverse reads:

السلطان الاعظم *es-sultān el-a'zam*  
ظل الله في العالم *zill Allah fī el-'ālam*  
عز الدنيا والدين *'izz ed-dunyā wa ed-dīn*  
كيكاوس بن كيوخسرو *Kai-Kāwus bin Kai-Khusrū*

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

The margin —  
*haḏā ed-dirhem bi-Qūnyat*

ضرب هذا الدرهم بقونية *zuriba*

The reverse has the Kalima, with the Caliph's name and titles:

الامام المستنصر *el-imām el-Must'asim*  
بالله امير المؤمنين *billah amīr el-mūminīn*

We read the margin round, starting at the top: *سنة وار* *sanat: /wa ar:* *بعين و* *ba'in wa:* *ستائة* *sittm'at*. 646 A.H. with / acting as a symbol for *ست* *sitt* "six".

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-dīn ʿĪl (spelled <i>ايل</i> ) Ghāzī	1108–1122	— the son of <i>ارتق</i> <i>Urtuq</i>
Hosām ed-dīn Timurtāsh	1122–52	
Nejm ed-dīn Alpī	1152–76	
Ayyūb Qutb ed-dīn ʿĪl Ghāzī II	1176–84	
Hosām ed-dīn Yūluq Arslān	1184–1200	} Brothers, sons of Ghāzī II
Nāsir ed-dīn Urtuq Arslān	1200–1239	
Nejm ed-dīn Ghāzī I	1239–60	
Qarā Arslān	1260–92	
Shems ed-dīn Dāwud	1292–94	
Nejm ed-dīn Ghāzī II	1294–1312	
'Imād ed-dīn 'Alī Alpī	1312	
Shems ed-dīn Sālih	1312	



This is a coin of Nejm ed-dīn 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 obverse we read, at the top *نجم الدين* *Nejm ed-dīn*; and at the bottom *ملك ديابكر* *malik Diābekr*, followed by a typical Urtuqid ornament

The reverse, starting at the right and reading right round reads: *ابوالظفر الجي* *abū el-muzaffar Alpī bin Timurtāsh bin ʿĪl ghāzī bin* (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 **ناصر الدين** *Nāsir ed-dīn nāsir ed-dīn Urtuq Arslān*. It is worth noticing that the Caliph's name is *Nāsir li-dīn*: Secular rulers use *Nāsir 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:

بِالله	<i>Billah</i>
الإمام المستنصر	<i>el-imām el-mustansir</i>
أمير المؤمنين	<i>amīr el-mūmiḩīn</i>
الملك الكامل	<i>el-malik el-Kāmil</i>
محمد	<i>Mohammed</i>

In other words we have the Caliph Mustansir and the Ayyubid el-Kāmil who is recognised as overlord.

As four out of the five coins in the exercise are coins of the Urtuqids of Maridin, I add just a little more information. The mint **ماردين** *Māridīn* occurs, and the epithet **الملك العالم** *el-malik el-ālim* "the wise king". In one instance **هذا الدرهم** *hazā ed-dirhem* occurs unexpectedly in the area legend, made harder by the shape of the initial **ه** *h*, which looks rather like two letters **هو**: and this is followed on this particular coin by the threat **ملعون من يغيره** *mal'ūn man yughīrahū* **ملعون** *mal'ūn* is a passive participle meaning "being cursed", and actually Arabs use it as a name for Satan, "the Cursed One". **يغيره** *yughīrahū* is the verb connected with **غير** *ghair* "other than", with the addition of the pronominal suffix *-hu*; and it reads "Curse (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 Qara Arslan, 1148–74 A.D., son of Dawud, 1108–48, son of Sukman, 1101–1104 A.D.

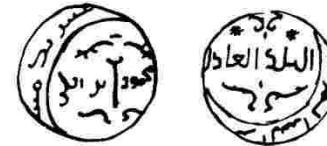
The obverse gives the Kalima at the bottom and going on to the left, with the Caliph **المستنجد بالله** *el-Mustanjid billah* on the right.

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

ملك الامرا	<i>malik el-umārā</i>
قرا ارسلان بن	<i>Qarā Arslān bin</i>
داود بن سكرمان	<i>Dāwud bin Sukmān</i>
بن ارتق	<i>bin Urtuq</i>

"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-dīn Mahmud, Atabeg of Aleppo from 1146, and of Damascus as well from 1154, 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 **محمود بن زكي** *Mahmūd bin Zenkī*, on in the margin **بدمشق** *bi-Dimishq* can be made out. The reverse has **الملك العادل** *el-malik el-ādil* "the Just King".



This is a copper of the Zengid Atabegs of Mosul. It is of Qutb ed-dīn Mawdud 1149–70 A.D., one of Zengi's sons and brother to Nur ed-dīn Mahmud.

The obverse gives the date 556 A.H., and the margin of the reverse reads: **مودود بن زكي بن ابي سنقر** *Mawdūd bin Zenkī bin Aq Sunqar*. The area has:

الملك العادل	<i>el-malik el-ādil</i>
العالم ملك امرا	<i>el-ālim malik umārā</i>
الشرق والغرب	<i>esh-sharq wa el-gharb</i>
طغرل تكتين اتابك	<i>Tughrul tekīn Atābek</i>

Lane Poole, in his introduction to the B.M.C. "Oriental Coins" Vol.3 written in 1877, suggests that **طغرل تكتين** "is" *tughrul tekīn* meaning "Falcon Knight", though personally I should be more satisfied if it were something more like "Tughril Beg" — possibly meaning "an Atabeg originally appointed by Tughril 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: ضرب بالموصل سنة احد وثلثين و ستين *zuriba bi-'l-Mausil sanat ahad wa thelathin wa sittim'at*. Struck at Mosul 631 A.H. احد *ahad* (masc) should read احدى *ihdā* (Fem).



بدر الدين والدينا: *Bedr al-Dunya wa al-Din Lulu al-Malik*  
 The Obverse margin gives the ruler's titles — starting from two o'clock: *لولو الملك الكامل الملك الأشرف* *bedr ed-dunyā wa ed-dīn Lūlū el-malik el-kāmil el-malik el-ashraf* "Full moon (*bedr*) of the world and of the faith Lulu, the Perfect King, the very Noble King". These rulers are no longer content with one epithet with *malik*, so the kingly epithet loses its value for identification.

The reverse area has:

الامام *el-imām*  
 المستنصر *el-Mustansir*  
 بالله امير *billah amir*  
 المؤمنين *el-mūminīn*

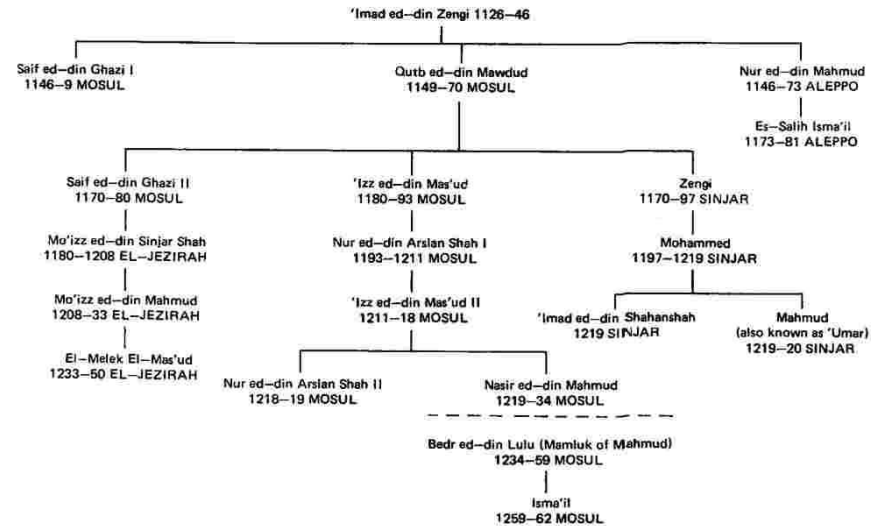
which refers to the ill-fated Caliph Mustansir.

Exercise No. 18

Identify the following coins:



THE HOUSE OF ZENGI  
 Atabegs in Mosul, Aleppo, Sinjar and El-Jezirah



CHAPTER XIX The history and coinage of the Mongols. The Ilkhans

Vocabulary

تعالی	te'ālā	may he be exalted, on high.	
پولی	mowlā	prince	
رقبة	raqabat	neck — plural	رقاب riqāb
ایل	īl	tribe	
بلد	beled	city, region	
امّة	ummat	nation — plural	امم umam
سمع	sami'a	he heard	
سید	sayid	lord, also the sense	
		"a descendant of the Prophet"	
بہادر	bahādur	valiant	

Yissugei, 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 "kum!"

Yissugei 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 four years old, he summoned a Kuriltai (Diet) 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 Crimea.

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 Moslem territories was made in 1219 A.D. through Khwarism, and this is a coin of the Khwarism Shah 'Ala ed-din Mohammed, 1199-1220 A.D., who was first to suffer defeat at their hands. The obverse reads: **ابوالفتح محمد بن السلطان** *abū el-fateh Mohammed bin es-sultān* "Father of the conquest, Mohammed son of the Sultan." The reverse reads: **السلطان الاعظم الدنيا و** *es-sultān el-a'zam ed-dunyā wa* — "the very great Sultan of the world and —".

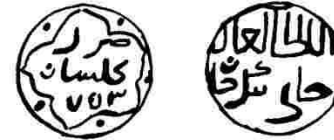


In 1227 A.D., on Jenghiz Khan's death, it was his clans rather than his territories that were distributed amongst his sons, with less important appanages being allotted to his brothers. One of his sons was given the supreme command with the Mongol title Khaghan, which in Arabic is **خاقان** or **خاقان** *Khāqān* or *Khāqān*, which is also used in a shortened form **قان** *qān* and **خان** *khān*. **خان** *khān* 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

"the Blue Horde", which was ruled by Batu's descendants, and "the White Horde" ruled by Orda's descendants. The tribes belonging to Sheyban's descendants are called "Uzbegs" after one of Sheyban's line, Uzbeg, 1312-1340 A.D. These Uzbegs were later to move South into Transoxiana and cause trouble to Timur's successors.



This is a silver coin of Jani-Beg, ruler of the Blue Horde 741-758 A.D. 1340-57 A.D., with the very simple obverse reading: **ضرب كلستان ٧٥٣** *zarb Kulistān 753*; and the reverse **السلطان العادل حاجي بيك خان** *es-sultān el-'ādil Jānī-Bīk Khān*, "the Just Sultan Jani-Beg Khan". Two peculiarities are worth noticing in the script, the 5 shaped **ن** and the *k* of the *Bik* shaped **ك**.



This is another silver piece, of Toqtamish Khan, ruler of the White Horde; 778-93 A.H. 1376-91 A.D. (also of the Blue Horde, which he united with the White in 1378), who brought about a temporary revival of the old Mongol glory, sacking Moscow in 1382, but being himself defeated by Timur and dying in exile in 1406 A.D.

The obverse gives mint and date: **ضرب حاجي ترخان في سنة ٧٨٦** *zarb Hājī Turkhān fī sanat 786*. Note the peculiar tail of *sanat*.

The reverse reads: **السلطان العادل ناصر الدين توقت خان** *es-sultān el-'ādil nāsir ed-dīn Tūqtā Khān* — he has the Moslem *laqab* "Defender of the faith". He leaves the last part of his name — "mish" off the coin.

The territories of the Golden Horde were to be absorbed by the rising power of Russia in the Sixteenth Century.

Juji's third son, Tuka-Timur, had descendants who lived in the shadow of the Golden Horde, but who emerged later as the power of the Horde declined. From this branch rose the Khanate of Kazan, suppressed by Russia in 1552 A.D.; the Khanate of Kasimof, absorbed by Russia in 1678 A.D.; and the Khanate of Krim (the Crimea) which was extinguished by a treaty between Turkey and Russia in 1783 A.D.



Here is a silver coin of the last Khan of Krim, Shahīn Girai, 1191-97 A.D., 1777-83 A.D., minted at Baghchih Serai. 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:

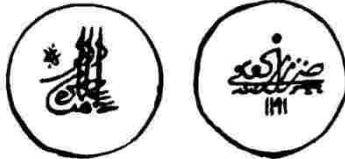
خان  
شاهین کرای  
بن احمد کرای  
سلطان

*khān*  
*Shāhīn Kirāī*  
*bin Ahmad Kirāī*  
*Sultān*

and the reverse

۲  
ضرب فی  
با عجه سرای  
سنه  
۱۱۹۱

2 (regnal year)  
*zuriba fi*  
*Bāghjih Serāī*  
*sanat*  
1191



Here is a copper of the same ruler, with a Tughra on the obverse, and on the reverse: 5 (regnal year) *zuriba fi Kaffat sanat* 1191. Below the right of the line formed by *fi* is *۵* a special device called a Tamgha. The writing on this coin is in a style of its own!

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



This is a typical thin silver coin with a large flan issued by the Sheybaniids of Transoxiana. It was struck by Iskander Bahadur Khan, 1560-83 A.D. This style is not easy to read particularly when the coin is worn. The obverse has the Kalima with the four successors, with suitable epithets around. The reverse has in the centre: *اسکندر بهادر خان* *Iskander bahādūr Khān* "Iskander Valiant Khan" — the initial *alef* of *Iskander* cutting through the line representing the *س* *s*, to form a sort of cross.

The outside part of the reverse, working round anti-clockwise from the right, as far as the small mark outside the coin, reads: *خان (خا) العادل والمکمل الکامل* *khāqān el-'ādil wa el-malik el-kāmil* "the Just Khaqan and Perfect King". The rest starting at the second line from the bottom, reading upwards, and then dropping to the bottom for the final word, reads: *خالد الله ملک سبعة سنه* *khalled Allah te'ālā mulkahu wa sultānahu* "May Allah on High perpetuate his reign and his sultanate".

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 Khanate of Khiva, which was called Khwarizm on coins, of which those of a ruler like Allah Quli, 1825-42 A.D., are not too uncommon. There was also the Emirate of Khoqand — more usually known as Khokand — of which this is an example. The denomination of this gold piece is a "tilla", and it was minted by Mohammed 'Ali Khan, 1822-40 A.D. The obverse reads: *ضرب دار الملک خواقند* *zarb dār el-mulk Khōqand*, "Striking of the Abode of the Kingdom Khokand" — other coins read *خوقند* *Khōqand* without the *alef*. The other Emirates also have honorific epithets: Bukhara is *الشريف* *esh-Sheriff* "the Noble"; and Khiva *دار السلطنة* *dār es-sultanat* "the Abode of the Sultanate".



The reverse reads:

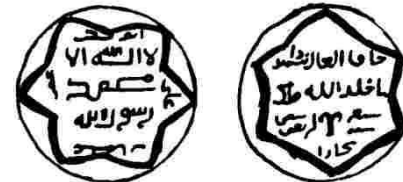
محمد علي  
ابو الغازی  
سید

*Mohammed 'Alī*  
*abū el-Ghāzī*  
*sayid*

۱۲۵۲ 1252

"Mohammed 'Ali, father of the warrior fighting against infidels, Lord, 1252 A.H."

Jenghiz Khan's second son was Jagatai, whose appanage 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 Sheybaniids, as mentioned above.



This is a coin of the Jagatai Mongols of Transoxiana; a silver piece of Danishmendjeh (who was actually of Ogotai stock), 747-9 A.D., 1346-9 A.D., and this coin was struck in Bukhara in 747 A.H.

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

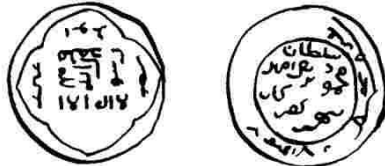
The reverse reads:

خاقان العادل دانشمند  
خلد الله ملكه  
سبع سنه  
اربعين  
بخارا

*Khāqān el-'ādil Dānishmend*  
*khalled Allah mulkahu*  
*seb' sanat*  
*arba'in*  
*Bukhārā*

Jenghiz Khan's third son, Ogotai, received Zungaria, the Western corner of Mongolia itself; and in addition was appointed supreme Khaqan of all the Mongols. Ogotai died in 1241 A.D., and his widow Turakina ruled the Empire for several years, until in 1246 A.D. Ogotai's son Kuyuk was elected Khaqan. 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 1394 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 Suyurghatmish and, later, his son Mahmud, who were the remnants of the line of Ogotai, though he does not actually call them Khaqan. It is *سلطان العادل سبورغانتمش خان* *es-sultān el-'ādil Suyūrhātmiš Khān* and *السلطان الأعظم محمود خان* *es-sultān el-a'zam Mahmūd Khān*, and sometimes Timur qualifies even this very modest title with the Turkish word *يارليغي* *yarliḡhī* "by order", implying that they were only "sultan" by his order. Timur calls himself *امير تیمور کورکان* *amīr Tīmūr kūrkan*, kurkan being an old Transoxiane title "Quraqan" meaning "defender".

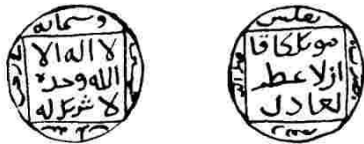


This is a silver coin of Timur with Mahmud. Timur's coins come in many varieties of design, with mint and date usually difficult to make out. The obverse has a square Kalima not unlike that we shall meet among the Mongols of Persia. The four successors are around. The reverse reads:

سلطان محمود یرلغی امیر  
تیمور کورکان  
*sultān Mahmūd yarliḡhī, amīr Tīmūr kūrkan*

The peculiar form of *تیمور* *Tīmūr* is unmistakable. However Timur himself and his successors, the "Timurids", though Mongols, do not belong to the immediate family of Jenghiz Khan, and we pass on to the fourth son, Tului.

Though Tului's appanage at the death of his father only consisted of the homeland tribes of Mongolia, his descendants achieved the greatest glory of any. Mangu, the son of Tului, became Khaqan, ousting the line of Ogotai, in 1251 A.D.



This is a silver coin of 653 A.H., 1255 A.D., minted in Tiflis in the name of Mangu. The Kalima is in the area of the obverse, with the date, including the month – Rejeb – in the margin: *فی رجب سنة ثلاث خمسين وستائة* *fī Rejeb sanat thelāth khamsīn wa sittmi'at*

The reverse reads:

مونککا قان  
ان الاعظم  
لعادل  
*Mūnkkā Qān el-a'zam el-'ādil*

"Mangu, the very great, the Just Qaan".

Around the reverse, in the margin, is *هذا الدرهم ضرب تفرس* *hazā ed-dirhem zarb Tiflis*.

Mangu died in 1257 A.D.; but before he died he had made two very important moves. He had sent one of his brothers, Khubilai, to govern the Mongol provinces in China – Khubilai Khan was to succeed his brother as Khaqan, and to hold a brilliant court at Pekin, 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 "Ilkhanids". The word "Ilkhanid" consists of the two words *ایل خان* "tribe" and *khān*, and Hulagu took this title as being distinctly lower than "Khaqan" – he was only a "tribal chief".

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

	Date	A.H.	A.D.
Hulagu ( <i>Hūlākū</i> )	هولاکو	654	1256
Abaga ( <i>abāqā</i> )	اباقا	663	1265
Ahmad	احمد	680	1281
Arghūn	ارغون	683	1284
Arinchin Turji ( <i>Arīnjīn Tūrjī</i> ) -also known as Gaikhatu	ارینچین تورجی	690	1291
Bā'īdū	بایدو	694	1295
Ghāzān Mahmūd	غازان محمود	694	1295
Ūljārtū	اولجايتو	703	1304
Abū Sa'īd	ابوسعید	716	1316
	until	736	1335

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.

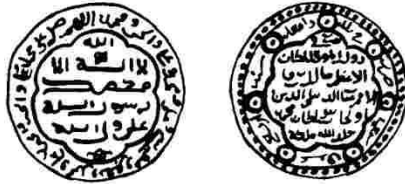
While Mangu is alive, at the beginning of Hulagu's reign, he is recognised by name and has the title *قان الاعظم* *Qān el-a'zam* "the very great Khaqan", with Hulagu himself being just *خان* *khān*. It is interesting to note that right from Hulagu's time the Ilkhanids give the Moslem Kalima on one side of their pieces.

After Mangu's death, when Khubilai is Khaqan, reference is made to his existence with the title *قان الاعظم* *qān el-a'zam* being kept, but the Khaqan is not named. Hulagu steps himself up to *هولاکو ایلخان المعظم* *Hūlākū ilkhān el-mu'azzam* "Hulagu the very great Tribal Khan". After Khubilai's death reference to a Khaqan 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 Atabeg 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 *یدل عظیما* *ūdall 'azīmān* "he glories in great qualities".

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 just his name untitled in Arabic.

Ghazan, and all the later Persian Shi'ite rulers were "twelvers", disallowing the disinheritation of 'Ali, but allowing the rejection of Isma'il; but it is Uljaitu who is the first numismatic Shi'ite.



This is a silver coin of Uljaitu. On the obverse we see the Shi'ite Kalima, with the ending **اللهم صلي على علي وبي الله** 'Alī wal' Allah "Ali is the Friend of Allah"; but here in addition we have all twelve imams round the margin: **اللهم صلي على محمد وعلي والحسن والحسين وعلي ومحمد وجعفر وموسى وعلي ومحمد وعلي والحسن ومحمد**

Allahumma ( a form of invocation of Allah, "O Allah") *sallā 'alā Mohammed wa 'Alī wa el-Hasan wa el-Husain wa 'Alī wa Mohammed wa Ja'afar wa Musā wa 'Alī wa Mohammed wa 'Alī wa el-Hasan wa Mohammed.*  
 "O Allah, bless Mohammed and Ali and Hasan and Husain, etc."

The reverse shows Uljaitu "blossoming out" as regards his secular titles: **ضرب في دولة المولى السلطان الاعظم مالك رقاب الاصم غياث الدنيا والدين اوليا يتو سلطان محمد خلد الله ملكه**  
*zuriba fī daulat el-mowlā es-sultān el-a'zam mālik (not "king", but from the same root, and meaning "owner") riqāb el-umam Ghiyās ed-dunyā wa ed-dīn Uljāitū sultān Mohammed khallad Allah mulkahu.* "Struck in the reign ( a slightly different use of *daulat*, which means "government") of the prince, the very great sultan, owner of the necks of the nations, help (Ghiyās) of the world and of the faith, Uljaitu sultan Mohammed. May Allah perpetuate his reign".

The margin gives mint **ضرب في بلد دامغان** *zuriba fī beled Dāmighān*, "struck in the city of Damighan", and the date – 714 A.H.



The commonest Ilkhanid coins are those of Abu Sa'id, who has a series of different types – inscription in hexagram: inscription in square, etc., of which these are two sample obverses.

The left hand coin has the ordinary Sunni 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 131.

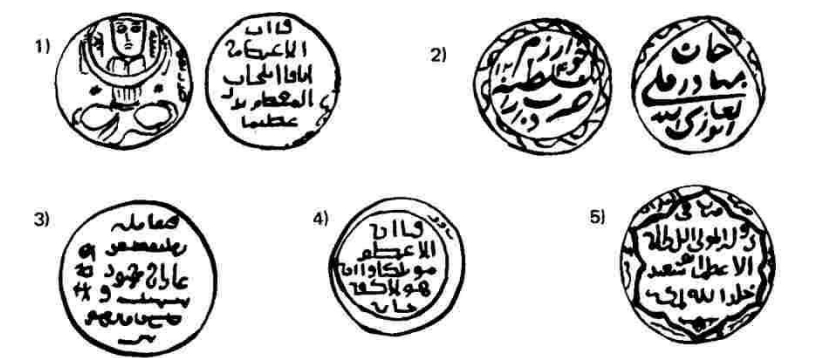
**فسيكفيكم الله وهو السميع العليم**  
*fa-sa-yakfīkahum Allah wa huwa es-samī' el-'alīm.* *Fa-sa-yakfīkahum* has at its root imperfect of the stem **كفى** K-F-Y "to satisfy", "to be enough". To this are added two prefixes and two suffixes. The prefixes are **ف** *fa* "and", and **س** *sa* which makes the verb definitely future. The suffixes are the pronouns **ك** *ka* "you"

and **هم** *hum* "them". The word means, "and he 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:  
**لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله صلى الله عليه**  
*lā ilah illā Allah. Mohammed rasūl Allah, Sallā Allah 'alaihi.*  
 "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



After the death of Abu Sa'īd in 1335 A.D., Persia was split with rival contenders for the throne; with Mohammed, Togha-Timur, Jehan-Timur, Sati Beg, Sulaiman and Nushirwan all striking coins in the 1340's and 1350's with much overlapping. And, quite apart from Ikhanid claimants, the Jelairs gained control of Baghdad and Tabriz: the Muzaffarids, Fars and Isfahan: the Kurjis, Herat: the Serbedarians, Khorasan; and the Turkomans of the Black Sheep, Diyarbekr and Khurdistan.

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 AD 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, **في سنة ٨٤٣** *fi sanat 843* in the centre of the left hand coin.

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

ضرب	zarb
السلطان الاعظم	<i>es-sultān el-a'zam</i>
شاه رخ بهادر خلد الله	<i>Shāh Rukh bahādūr khallad Allah</i>
ملكه و سلطانہ	<i>mulkahu wa sultānahu</i>
هرات ٨٢٩	<i>Herāt 829</i>



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

The **رخ** *Rukh* usually stands out pretty clearly near the centre of the coin as it does here. **بهادر** *bahādūr* is one of those words one ought to learn to pick out in its varying shapes – as here where the **به** *bah* is **به** – 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 epithet, around.

The reverse has, in the centre: **به بود هرات** *bah būd Herāt* – but what *bah būd* means is not certain, probably it means something like "it is good". The rest of the reverse reads:

السلطان الاعظم	<i>es-sultān el-a'zam</i>
حسين	<i>el-ghāzī</i>
سلطانہ	<i>abū</i>
ملكه	<i>bahādūr</i>
خلد الله تعالى	<i>khallad Allah te'ālā</i>
الغازي	<i>Husain</i>
ابو	<i>sultānahu</i>
بهادر	<i>mulkahu</i>

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 'Alī el-Mu'ayyad, 1364-81 A.D., but as often happens when religion becomes all-important there is no mention of the secular ruler on the coin.

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

The reverse has in the centre square **بمدينة استراباد** *bi-medīnat Asterābād* "(struck) in the city of Asterabad"; and around **في شهور سنة خمس و سبعين و سبعمائة** *fi shohūr sanat khams wa seb'īn wa seb'mi'at* "in the months of the year 775 A.H."

Another similar association, also Shi'ite, was founded at Ardabil by a man called Saffi 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 these was 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.



This is a coin of Isma'il from the Kashan mint. The obverse has the Shi'ite Kalima in the centre square; and round this, in the four triangles are the twelve imams in threes, with an 'Ali' in each case written **ع** to form the lines of the triangles. Outside this is a little poem in Arabic, the translation of which is:

Call upon Ali, the manifestor of miracles  
Thou shalt find him a help unto thee in adversities  
All care and grief shall vanish,  
By the holiness, O Ali, O Ali, O Ali.

Part of the three "O Ali's" can be seen at the top right of the coin - in Arabic **يا علي** *yā 'Alī*, written **ع**

The centre of the reverse reads:  
**ضرب كاشان سنة ٩٢٨** *zarb Kāshān sanat 968* and around -  
**السلطان العادل** *es-sultān el-'ādil*  
**الكاملا** *el-kāmil e-* **الهدى** *el-hadī* (spiritual guide)  
**لمظفر** *l-muzaffar* **خان** *Khān*  
**ابو** *abū* **شاه اسمعيل** *Shāh Isma'īl*  
**الصفوي** *es-Safavī*

"The Just, the Perfect Sultan, Father of the victorious, the spiritual guide, Khan, valiant one, Shah Isma'il the Safavi".

With Isma'il and the rise of the Safavids there now enters a new factor into the numismatics of the Persian-influenced part of the world. This is the use of "the Persian Couplet".

The earliest Persian couplet was on a coin of the Indian ruler, Mohammed Kerim, King of Gujarat, 1443-51 A.D.; and the idea was taken up by the Safavid Shah, Isma'il II, 1576-8 A.D., who did not wish the sacred formula of the Kalima, which was on all coins of that time, to fall into the hands of unbelievers, but yet did not want to be thought to be intending to leave the name of Ali off his coins. He thought of a way of solving his difficulties - he put this couplet on the obverse:

"If an Imam there be between the East and West,  
Ali alone, with Ali's house, for us is best".

The couplet idea was then dropped until Abbas II, 1642-67 A.D., revived it - not for use on the obverse instead of the Kalima, but on the reverse as a way of including his own name and title. From this point on, though by no means used on every coin, couplets are very commonly used on Persian coins until the 1790's. They were already being used before this by the Moghul Emperors, e.g. Akbar used them very occasionally and Jahangir very frequently and later they were to be used by several of the rulers of the native states, as well as by the Durranis of Afghanistan.

On the coins these couplets are made more difficult by the way they start in different places: some are 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 - **الله** *Ilah* "God" at the end of the first line rhyming with **شاه** *Shāh* 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, eg. **سكة** *sikkat* "coin" becomes **سكه** *sikkah*.

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**

**شاه** *Shāh* may also be written **شه**. The plural is **شاهان** *shāhān*, which builds up into **شاهانشاه** or **شاهنشاه** *shāhanshāh* "Shah of Shahs" or "Emperor". There is also **بادشاه** *bādshāh* another "Emperor" word.

**سلطان** *sultān* is the plural of **سلاطين** *salātīn*.

**صاحب** *sāhib* lord combines with **قران** *qirān*, which means the favourable astrological conjunction of the planets Venus and Jupiter, to make the title **صاحبقران** *sāhibqirān* "Lord of the favourable conjunction", which was a title first used by Timur. This title can be adjectival **صاحبقراني** *sāhibqirānī* "the sort used by the Lord of the favourable conjunction."

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

"God" may be the Arabic **الله** *Ilah*, or the Persian **خدا** *Khodā* - it is interesting that the Persian "Khodabanda" (Shah, 1578-87 A.D.) has the same meaning as the Arabic "Abdullah" **خدا** *Khodā* meaning "God" and **بنده** *bandah* meaning "slave", "the slave of God". The Arabic **حقي** *Haqq* "truth" may also be used of God.

God's help or "grace" may be one of three words: **فضل** *fazl*; or **تأييد** *ta'īd*; or **توفيق** *tauffiq*. "Help" may also be **نصرت** *nasrat* or **امداد** *imādā*.

"Shadow" is either **سايه** *sāyah* or **ظل** *zill*.

"World" is one of three words again - **جهان** *jehān*, **عالم** *ālam*, or **عيتي** *gītī* which has place in the phrases **عيتي ستان** *gītī satān* "world grasper" or "conqueror", and **عيتي پناه** *gītī panāh* "refuge of the world".

**هفت گشور** *gashūr* means "regions" as used in the phrase **هفت گشور** *haft gashūr* "the seven climates".

The "sun" may be **افتاب** *aftāb* or **مهر** *mīhr* (not to be confused with **مهر** *mōhr* "seal"). **ماه** *māh* is "moon". **شهر** *shehr* "city", a word also meaning "month" in Arabic.



words. **سیم** *sīm* "silver", and **زر** *zar* "gold" are amongst the commonest of

Verbs used are **زد** *zad* "he struck": **هست** *hast* "there is"; and **شد** *shod* "became" or "went".

Prepositions: (the meanings of these have considerable latitude)

**بر** *bar* "over". **از** *az* "from". **در** *dar* "in". **چون** *chūn* "like". Also there is the prepositional prefix **بـ** *be-* "to", "in"

In these couplets nouns are commonly joined together possessively, in which case they have the "ezafe" between them. This is a short vowel *i* between the two nouns concerned, as for instance in **کوه نور** *kūh nūr*, which we pronounce correctly in English as "Koh-i-Nur" (Mountain of Light), putting in the ezafe. As the ezafe is not put in the writing, I intend, for the sake of simplicity, to leave it out.

#### Seven Examples of the Couplet.

1) belonging to the Safavid Shah of Persia, Tahmasp II, 1722-31 A.D.

**بگیتی سکه صاحبقرانی** *be-gītī sikkah sāhibqirānī*  
**زد از توفیق حق طهماسب ثانی** *zad az tawfiq Haqq Tahmāsb Sānī.*

"In the world coin (of the sort used by the Lord of the favourable conjunction) he struck by (lit. "from") the Grace of the True One did Tahmasp the Second."

2) used by Nadir Shah of Persia, 1736-47 A.D.

**سلطان هست بر سلاطین جهان** *sultān hast bar salātīn jehān*  
**شاه شاهان نادر صاحبقران** *shāh shāhān Nādir Sāhibqirān*

"A Sultan there is over sultans of the world, the Shah of Shahs, Nadir, Lord of the favourable conjunction of the planets".

3) one of the many used by the Moghul Emperor, Jahangir, 1605-27 A.D.

**سکه زد در شهر آگره خسرو گیتی پناه** *sikkah zad dar shehr Agrah Khusrū gītī panāh*  
**شاه نورالدین جهانگیر ابن اکبر بادشاه** *Shāh Nūr ed-dīn Jahāngīr ibn Akbar bādshāh.*

"Money he struck in the City of Agrah did the Conqueror, the Refuge of the world, Shah, Light (Nūr) of the faith, Jahangir, son of Akbar, Emperor".

4) used by the Moghul Emperor, Shah 'Alam II, 1759-1806 A.D.

**سکه زد بر هفت کشور سایه فضل اله** *sikkah zad bar haft gashūr sāyah fazl Ilah*  
**حامی دین محمد شاه عالم بادشاه** *hāmī dīn Mohammed Shāh 'Ālam bādshāh.*

"Money he struck through (bar) the seven climes did the shadow of the grace of God, Defender of the Religion of Mohammed, Shah 'Alam, Emperor".

5) One of the three different couplets used by the Durrani, Sulaiman, who had a very short reign of a month or two in 1772 A.D.

**سکه زد بر سیم و زر چون مهر و ماه** *sikkah zad bar sīm wa zar chūn mihr wa māh*  
**سلیمان بادشاه ابن احمد شاه** *Sulaimān bādshāh ibn Ahmad Shah.*

"Coin he struck on silver and gold, like sun and moon, did Sulaiman Emperor, son of Ahmad Shah".

6) used by the Durrani, Mahmud Shah, 1801-1829 A.D.

**سکه بر زر زد بتوفیق اله** *sikkah bar zar zad be-tawfiq Ilah*  
**خسرو گیتی ستان محمود شاه** *Khusrū gītī satān Mahmūd Shāh*

"Coin on gold he struck by (be-) the Grace of God did the Conqueror, world-grasper, Mahmud Shah".

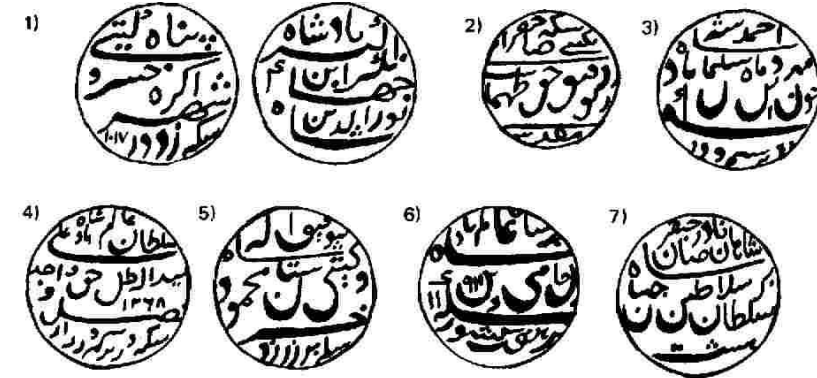
7) used by Wajid 'Ali Shah, Sultan of Awadh, 1847-56 A.D.

**سکه زد بر سیم و زر از فضل و تائید اله** *sikkah zad bar sīm wa zar az fazl wa tā'īd Ilah*  
**ظل حق واجد علی سلطان عالم بادشاه** *zill Haqq Wājīd 'Alī sultān 'ālam bādshāh.*

"Coin he struck on silver and gold by the Grace and Help of God did the Shadow of the True One, Wajid 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.



Vocabulary

نام	nām	name
اثر	aser	mark
انجناب	anjanāb	His Excellency
رسید	rasīd	arrived
خیر	khair	good, the best
تاریخ	tārīkh	history, date, a "chronogram".
جلوس	julūs	lit. sitting. Comes to mean "enthronement".

The Safavid Shahs reigned as follows:

	A.H.	A.D.
Ismā'il I	907	1502
Tahmasp I	930	1524
Ismā'il II	984	1576
Mohammed Khodabandah	985	1578
'Abbas I	995	1587
Safi I	1038	1629
'Abbas II	1052	1642
Sulaiman's first <b>جلوس</b> <i>ju lūs</i>		
in the name <i>Safi II</i>	1077	1667
second <b>جلوس</b> <i>ju lūs</i> as Sulaiman I	1079	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 Huwaiza, where the *lā illā illā Allāh, Mohammed rasūl Allāh* is written around, with *'Alī walī Allāh* 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:

**بگیتی سکه صاحبقرانی** *Be-gīti sikkah Sāhibqirāni*  
**زد از تو فایق حد عماس ثانی** *zad az taufiq Haqq 'Abbās sāni*  
 "In the world the sort 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 **ضرب تبریز** *zarb Tabrīz*.

But often instead of a couplet the Safavids use a Reverse like this of Husain, which reads: **بنده شاه ولایت حسین ضرب ایروان ۱۱۴۲** *bandah Shāh Wilāyat Husain zarb Trivān* (ie Erivan)



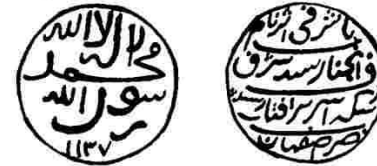
**ولایت** *Wilāyat* is a word close to **ولی**

*walī*, a word which has a wide range of meaning, "friend", "saint", "governor", "guardian"; but in a Shi'ite context it particularly refers to 'Alī as the "friend" of Allah. *Bandah Shāh Wilāyat* translates as "slave of the Lord of Friendship", i.e. of 'Alī; 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 horizontals are formed by the **یت** *yat* of *Wilāyat*, and the **ب** *b* of *zarb*. We see the three crescents they liked to put in the centre of the design — formed by the *-dah* of *bandah* like this  the **ن** *n* of *Husain*, and the final **ن** *n* of *Trivān*.

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 (*qull*) of the Wonderful One (*Nādir*)". Nadir Quli, later to become Nadir Shah, was a brilliant general, and in 1729 A.D. he drove out the Afghans.



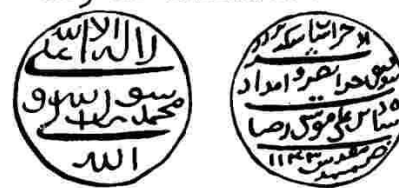
Afghan coins are recognised by the Sunni Kalima which they use instead of the Shi'ite Kalima of the Safavids. This is a gold coin, of the denomination known as an "ashrafi", and Ashraf, the issuer, plays on the similarity of this to his own name in the couplet on the reverse:

**باشرفی اثر نام انجناب رسید** *be-Ashrafī asar nām anjanāb rasīd*  
**شرو ز سکه اشرو بر افتاب رسید** *sharaf 'z sikkah Ashraf bar aftāb rasīd*  
 "Upon the Ashrafi 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 **ضرب اصفهک** *zarb Isfahān*. The horizontals are formed by the **ب** *b* of *anjanāb*, the **فی** *f* of *sharaf*, and the **ب** *b* 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 names 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 Mamun in 819 A.D. and buried at Meshed — whence Meshed was given the epithet **مقدس** *moqadas* "holy". This eighth imam was called Ali, and to distinguish him from the other Alis he had the title **رضا** *rīzā* "the pleasing one".



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:

از خراسان سکه بر زر شد بتوفیق خدا  
*az Khorāsān sikkah bar zar shod be-taufiq Khodā*  
 نصرت و امداد شاه دین علی موسی رضا  
*nasrat wa imdād Shāh dīn 'Alī Musā Rizā*

"From Khorasan coin on gold went, by the Grace of God, by the aid and help of the Shah of Religion *Alī*, (son of) Musa, the Pleasing One".

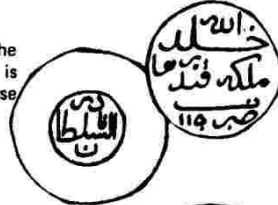
Below the couplet is the mint: ضرب مشهد مقدس *zarb Meshhed moqadas*. The horizontals are the *sh* of *shod*: the *t* of *nasrat*; and the *b* of *zarb*.

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 Shāh Bādshāh Durr-i-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 Kalima, and has an obverse reading: نادر السلطان *Nādir es-sultān*. The reverse has: ضرب قندهار ۱۱۵۰ خلد الله ملكه  
*zarb Qandahār 1150 A.H. khallad Allah mulkahu.*



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-tārīkh al-khair fīmā waqa'*. *fīmā* means "while", and *waqa'* "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 *ح ب ا د* and *د*. To show its origin I write also the Hebrew alphabet, which retains its correct order!

The numerals are.

Hebrew:	א	ב	ג	ד	ה	ו	ז	ח	ט	י
English value:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Arabic letter:	ا	ب	ج	د	هـ	و	ز	ح	ط	ي

Hebrew:	כ	ל	מ	נ	ס	ע	פ	ק	
English:	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100
Arabic:	כ	ל	מ	נ	ס	ע	פ	ק	

Hebrew:	כ	ל	מ	נ	ס	ע	פ	ק	
English:	200	300	400	500	600	700	800	900	1000
Arabic:	כ	ל	מ	נ	ס	ע	פ	ק	

At this point we total up the "tarikh" - الخیر فیما وقع *el-khair fīmā waqa'*

ا ر خ ی ر ف ی م ا و ق ع  
 70 + 100 + 6 + 1 + 40 + 10 + 80 + 200 + 10 + 600 + 30 + 1

This all adds up to 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 1796 A.D. There are a number of Safavids, such as Sulaiman II, 1749-50 and Isma'il III, 1750-56 A.D.; as well as members of the Qajars 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, 1750-79 A.D., is worth noticing.

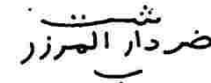
Kerim struck coins in the name of the twelfth Imam - the one who disappeared in about 874 A.D. He calls this Imam *sāhib ez-zemān* "the Lord of the Age"; because this Imam was to arise at the end of the present age, to inaugurate a new age of justice and peace.



The obverse of this gold piece of Kerim has the couplet:  
 شد افتاب و ماه زر و سیم در جهان  
*shod aftāb wa māh zar wa sīm dar jahān*  
 از سکه امام بحق صاحب الزمان  
*az sikkah imām be-haqq sāhib ez-zemān*  
 "Went sun and moon (in form of) gold and silver through the world, thanks to (از) the coin of the Imam in truth, the Lord of the Age".

The horizontals are formed by the *b* of *aftāb* and the *hib* of *sāhib*.

The reverse is particularly interesting as it has an "invocation" at the top *یا کریم* *Karīm* "O Kerim!", which is the only place on the coin where the actual ruler is mentioned. The centre gives the mint *ضرب دار المرز رشت* *zarb dār el-marz Resht* "minting of the abode of the frontier Resht", which is written like this:



Below this is the date ۱۱۹۰ 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 ضرب فلوس تبریز ۱۳۶ zarb fulūs Tabrīz 136 "Copper coin. Striking of Tabriz (I) 136 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.

MINT		EPITHET	
Asterābād	استراباد	abode of the faithful	دار المومنين <i>dār el-mūminīn</i>
Isfahān	اصفهان	abode of the Sultanate	دار السلطنة <i>dār es-sultānat</i>
Īrīvān (Erivan)	ایروان	the lap of happiness	حجور سعد <i>hajūr su'd</i>
Tabrīz	تبریز	abode of the Sultanate	دار السلطنة <i>dār es-sultānat</i>
Khōī	خوي	abode of purity	دار الصفا <i>dār es-safā</i>
Resht	رشت	abode of the frontier	دار المرز <i>dār el-marz</i>
Zenjān	زنجان	abode of happiness	دار السعادة <i>dār es-sa'ādat</i>
Shīrāz	شیراز	abode of learning	دار العلم <i>dār el-'ilm</i>
Tabaristān	طبرستان	abode of the kingdom	دار الملك <i>dar el-mulk</i>
Teherān	طهران	1) abode of the Sultanate	دار السلطنة <i>dār es-sultānat</i>
		2) (later) abode of the Caliphate	دار الخلافة <i>dār el-khilāfat</i>
Qazvīn	قزوین	abode of the Sultanate	دار السلطنة <i>dār es-sultānat</i>
Kāshān	کاشان	abode of the faithful	دار المومنين <i>dār el-mūminīn</i>
Kermān	کرمان	abode of safety	دار الامان <i>dār el-amān</i>
Kermānshahān	کرمانشاهان	abode of the government	دار الدولة <i>dār ed-daulat</i>
Meshhed	مشهد 1) holy	مقدس <i>moqadas</i> : 2) most holy ground	ارض اقدس <i>arz aqdas</i>
Hamadān	همدان	pleasant town	بلدة طيبة <i>baldat tayyibat</i>
Yezd	یزد	abode of piety	دار العبادة <i>dār el-ibādat</i>

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, *dār 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.



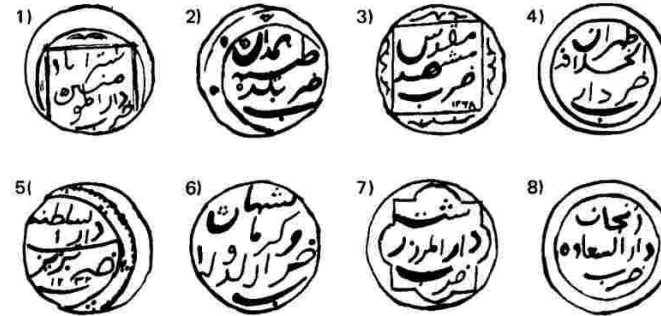
Some, like this gold coin of Kerim Khan from Yezd are not so easy.



At the top is Kerim's invocation يا كريم *yā Kerīm*. The *et-'ibādat* forms the elaborate pattern, with the right hand loop, and *يزد* *Yezd* in the left.

Exercise No. 21

Read the following coins, in each case identifying the mint.



Vocabulary

نبی	nebī	prophet – plural	انبیا	anbiyā	prophets
فخیم	fakhīm	mighty – elative	افخم	afkham	very mighty
رایج	rā'ij	circulating			
قادر	Qādir	the Powerful One, ie God			
حکم	hokam	command			
تا	tā	up to, in order to.			
مانوس	mānūs	associated with			
میبخت	maimanat	prosperity			
چرخ	charkh	wheel, revolution of the heavens.			
خوشید	khūshīd	sun			
حبیب	habīb	friend			
خادم	khādim	servant			
شجاع	shujā'	brave			

Qajar rule 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 1759 Kerim Khan, the Zand, had ousted all rivals – except Shah Rukh in Khorasan, who ruled from Meshed until 1796.

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 *yā Mohammed* over the mint name on his reverses.

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

	A.H.	A.D.	
Fateh 'Alī فتحعلی	1211	1797	-for his first few months he struck coins as Baba Khan
Mohammed	1250	1835	
Nāsir ed-dīn	1264	1848	
Muzaffar ed-dīn	1314	1897	
Mohammed 'Alī	1324	1907	
Ahmad	1327-43	1909-25	

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 "Qājār". 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.

This is the obverse of a silver coin of Fateh Ali. It reads فتحعلی شاه قاجار سلطان ابن السلطان Fateh'alī Shāh Qājār es-sultān ibn es-sultān. Here is the favourite three crescents pattern again, formed of the final *n*'s of the *sultān* and the *n* of *ibn*. Placing the *alefs* inside the crescents is a new, but growing, habit.



Compare this Nasir ed-din obverse: ناصرالدین شاه قاجار سلطان ابن السلطان Nāsir ed-dīn Shāh Qājār es-sultān ibn es-sultān, with *n*'s and *alefs* dropping to the bottom.

Mohammed has a different style. His obverse reads: شاهنشاه انبیا محمد 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 Teheran.

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 Teheran from 1281 A.H., 1846 A.D., and we need to know the numerals in that language.

Note that in Persian final *ه* -h can indicate a final short vowel – as in *se* 'three'.

One	یک	yek	Fourteen	چهارده	chahārdah
Two	دو	dō	Fifteen	پانزده	pānzdah
Three	سه	se	Sixteen	شانزده	shānzdah
Four	چهار	chahār	Seventeen	هفده	hef dah
Five	پنج	panj	Eighteen	هجده	hejdah
Six	شش	shesh	Nineteen	نوزده	nūz dah
Seven	هفت	haft	Twenty	بیست	bīst
Eight	هشت	hasht	Twenty-one	بیست و یک	bīst o yek
Nine	نه	noh	and so on with digits connected to tens by <i>o</i> "and" = the Arabic "wa"		
Ten	ده	dah	Thirty	سی	sī
Eleven	یازده	yāz dah	Forty	چهل	chehel
Twelve	دوازده	davāz dah	Fifty	پنجاه	panjāh
Thirteen	سیزده	sīz dah			

Sixty	شصت	shast	500	پانصد	pānsad
Seventy	هفتاد	haftād	600	ششصد	shesh sad
Eighty	هشتاد	hashtād	700	هفتصد	haft sad
Ninety	نود	navad	800	هشتصد	hasht sad
100	صد	sad	900	نهصد	noh sad
200	دویست	devīst	1000	هزار	hezār
300	سیصد	sīsad	One quarter	ربع	rob'
400	چهارصد	chahārsad	One half	نیم	nīm



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

السلطان الاعظم والحقان الافخم ناصرالدين شاه قاجار  
*es-sultān el-a' zam wa el-khāqān el-afkham Nāsir ed-dīn shāh Qājār*  
 "The very great Sultan and the very mighty Khaqan Nasir ed-din Shah Qajar"

Above the circle in small writing is the mint طهران *Teherān* – the *sh* shaped *ط* and almost disappearing after the *ط* as *ط*.

At the bottom is the denomination *ده تومان dah tōmān* "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: *رایج مملکت ایران ۵۰ دینار* *rāj mamlakat Irān 50 dīnār* "Circulating (coin) of the Kingdom of Iran. 50 Dinars". *Teherān* is at the base of the coin. Note the shape of the Persian 5 as a heart upside down *۵*.



This is a silver coin of the same 1864 issue, with the value below the lion. *دو هزار دینار dō hezār dīnār* "Two Thousand Dinars". We find that although catalogues list "50 Dinars = 1 Shahi: 20 Shahis = 1 Kran: 10 Krans = 1 Toman", the value on the silver is given in Dinars, up to Shah Riza Pahlevi's reform when it became 100 Ryals = 1 Pahlevi.



This 10 Ryals of 1966 A.D. looks very similar to the 1864 coin we have just seen. Here the denomination below the lion is *ده ریال dah riāl* "Ten Ryals". The Reverse reads *محمد رضا شاه پهلوی شاهنشاه ایران* *Mohammed Rizā Shāh Pahlevī Shāhanshāh Irān*. The script on these modern Persian pieces is not easy to read – the style of writing is very cramped – the dynastic name *Pahlevī*, for instance, has the final *ya* written in a way we have not previously seen, and it is over the rest of the word *پهلوی*. The *h* of *Shāhanshāh* is written *ش* but with a tendency to become *س*.

On this coin the date is *۱۳۴۴* 1344: 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: *چلوس ۱۲۶۴ julūs 1264* "enthronement 1264 A.H." and *۱۳۱۱ ضرب zarb 1311* "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 *چلوس آذر ۱۳۰۴ julūs Āzar 1304* "Enthroned in the month of Azar 1304", having the date of the minting, 1306, at the bottom. Around the top we read: *پهلوی شاهنشاه ایران* *Pahlevī Shāhanshāh Irān*.

Afghanistan is numismatically very similar to Persia.

With Ahmad Shah, 1160-86 A.H., 1747-72 A.D., the first Durrani, we go straight into the couplet age. The couplet on the obverse of this coin reads: *حکم شد از قادر بیچون باحمد بادشاه* *hokam shod az Qādir bī-chūn be-Ahmad bādshāh* *سکه زن برسیم و زر از اوج ماهی تا بهماه* *sikkah zan bar sīm wa zar aūj māhī tā be-māh*





The word *بیچون bī-chūn* is *chūn* "like" with the prefix *بی bī* "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 *زن zan* is an infinitive form, "to strike", of which we have met another form *زد zad* "he struck". *اوج aūj* is "height", and *ماهی māhī* "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 ۱۱۸۱ 1181 A.H. is written  
down the left hand of the coin.

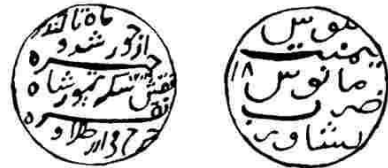
The  forming the third horizontal  
is the  *hi* of *māhī* *māhī*.

از قادر بیچون  
شاه  
با احمد بادشاه  
حکم  
سکه زن بر سیم و زر  
از اوج ما تا بهما

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 ضرب اتک سنه ۲۱ جلوس مایمانت مانوس, "minting of Attock year 21 of his reign, associated with prosperity".

Both Nadir Shah and Ahmad struck a number of coins in "Shahjahanabad", 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. 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 Qandahar, where he built a new city called Ahmadshahi; but on his death in 1772 A.D. a younger son, Sulaiman, used Qandahar as the headquarters of a rebellion against Ahmad's oldest 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:

چرخ یی آرد طلا و نقره از خورشید و ماه  
چرخ یی آرد طلا و نقره از خورشید و ماه  
تا کند بر چهره نقش سکه تیسور شاه  
tā kand bar chahrah naqsh sikkah Taimūr Shāh

This couplet contains a number of new words: *می* *mī* a sign of the "continuous": *آرد* *ārad* from the verb *آوردن* *āvārdan* "to bring"; *طلا* *talā* another word for "gold", and *نقره* *noqrah* "silver"; *کند* *kand* from the verb *کندن* *kandan* "to engrave"; *چهره* *chahrah* "face"; and *نقش* *naqsh* "design". 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 *ماه* *māh* looks *ماه* – the *م* *m* can all but vanish: *ه* *h* is almost always  medially as in *chahrah* *چهره*, which is used as the top horizontal.

The reverse is in the "Indian" style of the previous coin – it was minted in Peshawar;

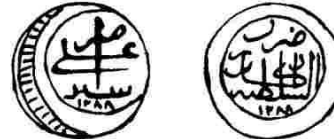
ضرب پشاور ۱۸ جلوس مایمانت مانوس *zarb Peshāwar 18 julūs maimanat mānūs*, "striking of Peshawar (year) 18 of his reign associated with prosperity".

Couplets continue to be used by the Afghans up to the 1840's. Some of these couplets are not yet fully deciphered. The thing about Afghanistan is that there were so very many rulers, particularly in the nineteenth century, and these offer the numismatist excellent opportunities for research. To show what is meant, here is a list of rulers between 1800 and 1900 A.D.

	A.H. Date	A.D. Date	Area of control (if limited)
Shah Zaman	1206-16	1793-1801	
Shah Shuja' el-mulk	1216	1801 (First Reign)	
Mahmud Shah	1216-45	1801-29	At Herat
– in Afghanistan as a whole he had two reigns 1) 1801-1803 2) 1809-1818			
Shah Shuja' el-mulk	1218-24	1803-1809 (second Reign)	
Shah Shuja' el-mulk	1227-8	1812-13	At Peshawar and Kashmir
Shah Shuja' el-mulk	1233	1818	At Peshawar
Qaisar Shah	1218	1803	At Qandahar
Qaisar Shah	1222-3	1807-8	At Kabul and Kashmir
Coins issued in name of the patron saint of Kashmir, Shah Nuru ed-din 1808-13			
Sultan 'Ali	1233	1818	At Kabul – no coins of his are known.
Aiyub Shah	1233-45	1818-29	At Kashmir and Peshawar
Dost Mohammed	1239-55	1823-39 (First Reign)	Kabul and Qandahar
Kamran Shah	1245-58	1829-42	At Herat
Sultan Mohammed	1247-49	1831-33	At Peshawar
Shah Shuja' el-mulk	1255-58	1839-42 (Third Reign)	
Kohandil Khan	1256-67	1840-51 (First Reign)	
Fateh Jung	1258	1842	
Sharpur Shah	1258	1842	
Dost Mohammed	1258-80	1842-63 (Second Reign)	
Kohandil Khan	1273-78	1856-61 (Second Reign)	at Qandahar
Shir 'Ali	1280-83	1863-66 (First Reign)	
Mohammed Afzal	1283	1866	
Mohammed 'Azam	1283-4	1866-7	
Shir 'Ali	1285-96	1868-78	
Yaqub Khan	1296	1878	
Wali Shir 'Ali	1297-8	1879-80	At Qandahar
Wali Mohammed	1297-8	1879-80	At Kabul
'Abd er-Rahman	1298-1319	1880-1901	

Is there any other nineteenth century state so consistently complicated?

After the couplet period inscriptions are very simple.



This is a rupee of Shir Ali, and the obverse has just the name with the plain title "Mir" (or "Amir") which reads upwards *شیر علی امیر* *Shir 'Alī amīr*. The reverse is in the Persian style *ضرب دار السلطنته کابل* *zarb dār es-sultanat Kābul* "minting of the abode of the Sultanate, Kabul".

Herat is also "the abode of the Sultanate", and this is the Reverse of one of Mahmud Shah's very common Herat rupees ضرب دار السلطنة هرات *zarb dār es-sultanat Herāt*, the lower horizontal being formed by the ت of Herāt.



This is another of Mahmud Shah's coins, from the Kashmir mint. Kashmir has the epithet خطه *khittah* "territory", and we read upwards ضرب خطه كشمير سنة ۱۰۰۰ *zarb Khittah Kashmir sanat 10*. Kashmir was lost to the Sikhs in 1819 A.D.



Qandahar on Durrani coins has the name *Ahmadshāhī*, being the name of the capital Ahmad built, which formed a section of the city of Qandahar. This has the epithet اشرف البلاد *ashraf et-bilād* "Noblest of cities". On this coin of Humayun, who was a "pretender" who ruled in Qandahar in 1207 A.H., 1794 A.D. the words are very much split up: ضرب اشرف البلاد احمد شاهي *zarb ashraf et-bilād Ahmadshāhī* 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 room" type.



This is a silver *kran* of this type; but of a very interesting "pretender" the rebel Bacha-i-saqao, "the child of the water carrier", but this is not what he calls himself on his coins! The reverse reads:

حبيب الله امير رسول الله خادم دين  
*Habībullah Amīr rasūl Allāh khādim dīn*

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 1935 A.D. Afghanistan having solar years between 1920 and 1929 and since 1935 A.D. At the top of the obverse is افغانستان *Afghānistān*; but in the centre we go right back to Mediaeval times with the legend:

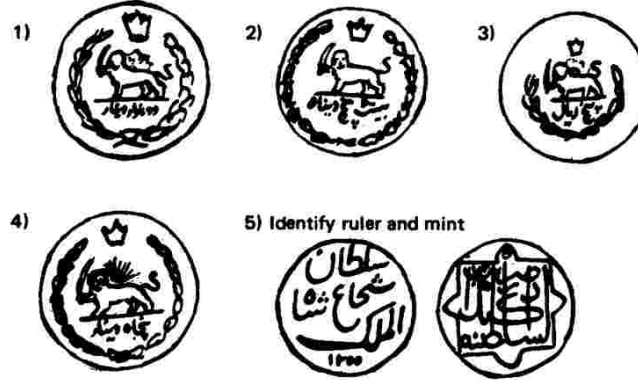
محمد ظاهر شاه متوكل على الله  
*Mohammed Zāhir Shāh mutawakkil 'alā Allāh*

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

The reverse gives the value as 25 پول. *pūl*.

Exercise No. 22.

Read the value on the following coins:





CHAPTER XXIII The Moghuls, and their earlier coins. Persian solar months

Vocabulary

اکبر Akbar	relative of	کبير kebīr	"the Greatest".
الهي ihī	divine		
یافت yāfat	to be found, or available		
روي rūi	face		
زیور ziyūr	(set of) ornaments		
شبهه shabīh	likeness		
شهاب shihāb	flame		
اردو urdū	camp	بیگم bīgam	"begam", a female title of royalty
ظفر zafar	victory		
قرین qarīn	associated with		
سنه سنه احد sanat ahad	First regnal year		

بابر Bāber (the "tiger"), was descended from Timur on his father's side, and from Jenghiz Khan on his mother's. At twelve years old he succeeded to the throne of the small province of Farghanah in Transoxiana, but was driven out by the Shaibanids into Afghanistan. At the age of forty-three, in 1525 A.D., he invaded India; but though he and his son Humayun did at times hold Delhi, it was left to Baber's grandson, Akbar, to build an Empire in India.

Akbar reigned from 1556 A.D., when he was thirteen, to 1605 A.D. During this time he conquered a large part of India, and by his wise toleration he built a lasting Empire despite all the diversities of race and religion. He abolished the Kalima, substituting a very simple formula which all religions could accept. This was **الله اکبر Allah akbar** "God is very great", with the response **جل جلاله jalla jalālahu** "glorified be His glory"; and this formula appears on his "Ilahi coinage", which began in 992 A.H., 1584 A.D.



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 **بصدق ابی بکر bi-sudq Abī Bekr** "by the truth of Abu Bekr"; at the top **بعدل عمر bi-'adl 'Umar** "by the justice of Umar"; at the right **بکبری عثمان bi-hayā 'Uthmān** "by the modesty of Uthman", with the final ya of haya' standing for hamza; and below **بعلم علی bi-'ilm 'Alī** "by the wisdom (knowledge) of Ali".

The reverse reads:

خلد الله تعالى ملكه khallad Allah te'ālā mulkahu 987  
 محمد اکبر بادشاه Mohammed Akbar bādshāh  
 جلال الدين غازي Jalāl ed-dīn ghāzī  
 ضرب دار السلطنة فتحپور zarb dār es-sultanat Fatehpūr

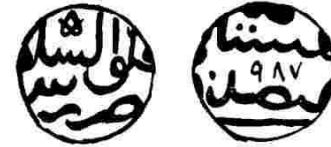
"May Allah on high perpetuate his kingdom, 987. Mohammed Akbar Emperor. Glory of the faith, warrior against the infidels. Minting of the Abode of the Sultanate, Fatehpur (Conquest Town)".

Fatehpur was founded in 1569-71 A.D., and is a very common mint of coins between 986 and 989 A.H., after which it disappears, numismatically speaking. The final **لی** of **te'ālā** is kept until after the **mulkahu** to give the top horizontal.

There is a most interesting coin of this type, with the date **الف** alf "one thousand", ie. 1000 A.H., 1591 A.D. The **الف** alf is written exactly where the 987 was on the previous coin. The mint is **اردو ظفر قرین urdū zafar qarīn** "Camp associated with Victory". 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".



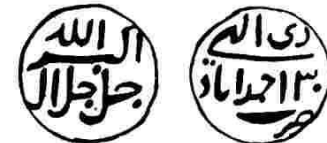
However not all coins of this type are what they seem. This one is dated 988 A.H., 1580 A.D. But it is not a coin at all. It is a copy of an Akbar rupee, probably of the Lahore mint, and is in fact a Moslem "Temple Token". The crudity of the style gives it away — this particular type of 988 A.H. is the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



Akbar has quite a numerous copper coinage, with the date written out in Persian, as well as in the Arabic figures. This is a nice thick copper of the Lahore mint; but the difficulty, as with many Indian coppers, is that only part gets on the flan. The obverse reads: **ضرب فلوس دار السلطنة zarb fulūs dār es-sultanat**, and at that point it stops. This is unfortunate as Ahmadabad, Fatehpur, and Lahore are all **dār es-sultanat**, and it was only by comparison with other coins I was able to be sure this was Lahore.

The reverse has part of

هفت haft  
 هشتاد و hashtād o  
 987  
 نصد و nohsad o  
 سنه sanat



The "ilahi" coins are very interesting, with Akbar's new formula on the obverse **الله اکبر الله اکبر جلال Allah akbar jalla jalāl** "God is very Great, glorified be His Glory". No actual mention is made of Akbar, but he is "alluded to" in the epithet **اکبر akbar**.

The reverse reads **ضرب احمدآباد zarb Ahmadābād**, and above that **دی الہی dai ilahi 30**. Dai is one of the Persian months — and the word **ماه māh** "month" is often included on the coin.

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.

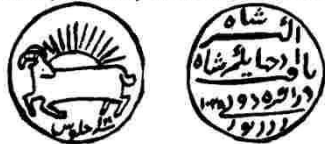
Jahangir, however, retained the Persian solar months, which are:

فروردین Farwardīn	امرداد or مرداد Mardād (or Amardād)	آذر Āzur
اردیبهشت Ardībihist	شهریور Shahrīwar	دی Dai
خرداد Khurdād	مهر Mihr	بهمن Bahman
تیر Tīr	آبان Ābān	اسفندارمز Isfandārmiz

Shah Jahan also used these Persian months, and both he and Jahangir count their regnal 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 the name of the month, the figure of the sign of the zodiac corresponding to the particular month should be stamped. For instance, in the month of Farwardin, 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:

یافت در آگره روی زر زیور یافت در آگره روی زر زیور  
 از جهانگیر شاه شاه اکبر از Jahāngīr Shāh Shāh Akbar

"The face of gold received ornaments at Agrah, from Jahangir Shah (son of) Shah Akbar" The obverse has Aries, the Ram, and below ۱۴ سنه جلوس sanat julūs 14, "Year 14 of reign".

Another interesting feature of Jahangir's coinage is the inclusion on some coins of his wife Nur Jehan ("Light of the world").



This is a rupee reading:

بجکم شاه جهانگیر یافت صد زیور  
 ز نام نور جهان باد شاه بیگم زر  
 be-hokam Shāh Jahāngīr yāfat sad ziyūr  
 'z nām Nūr Jehān bādshāh bīgam zar

"By the command of Shah Jahangir gold (zar, at the end of the second line) found a hundred beauties from (z short for az) the name of Nur Jehan, Empress, Begam". On the coin this is spread over both sides, with date, 1037 A.H., and mint ضرب آگره zarb Agrah below. The top line reads down the obverse, and the lower line down the reverse of the coin.

A story is told about Nur Jehan in connection with the Zodiacal coins, though the facts prove that it has no historical basis. Still it is a charming little story! Nur Jehan 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 شهبه جهانگیر شاه اکبر شاه shahīh Jahāngīr Shāh Akbar Shāh "the likeness of Jahangir Shah (son of) Akbar Shah": and on the right سنه ششتر جلوس sanat shesh julūs "Year six of reign".

The reverse has the lion and sun type with سنه ۱۰۲۰ هجری sanat 1020 Hijrī, "year of the Hegira 1020".

However, these are rare coins! This is his commonest Obverse.

It reads: نور الدین جهانگیر شاه اکبر شاه Nūr ed-dīn Jahāngīr Shāh Akbar Shāh "Light of the faith Jahangir Shah (son of) Akbar Shah. The جها Jahā, which is continued above the to make جهانگیر Jahāngīr, is very distinctive.



The main line of Moghul Emperors is easy to follow:

	A.H. Date	A.D. Date
Akbar	963	1556
Jahangir	1014	1605
Shah Jahan	1037	1628
Aurangzib 'Alamgir	1069	1659
Shah 'Alam Bahadur	1119	1707
Jahandar	1124	1712
Farrukh-Siyar	1124	1713
Mohammed	1131	1719
Ahmad	1161	1748
'Alamgir II	1167	1754
Shah 'Alam II	1173	1759
Mohammed Akbar II	1221	1806
Bahadur Shah II	1253	1837

Bahadur was deposed by the British in 1253 A.H., 1857 A.D., for taking part in the Indian Mutiny. He was sent to Rangoon where he died in 1862.

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



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 **بصدق ابي بكر** *bi-sudq Abī Bekr* **و عدل عمر** *wa 'adl 'Umar **بازرم عثمان** *bi-azrām 'Uthmān* **و علم علي** *wa 'ilm 'Alī*.  
 "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 بادشاه غازی** *Shāh Jahān Bādshāh Ghāzī*. Around, in the margins, **شهاب الدين محمد صاحب قران ثاني ضرب** *shihāb ed-dīn Mohammed sāhib qirān sānī zarb Sūrat*, "Flame of the faith of Mohammed, second lord of the favourable conjunction of the planets (Timur being the first). Minting of Surat".

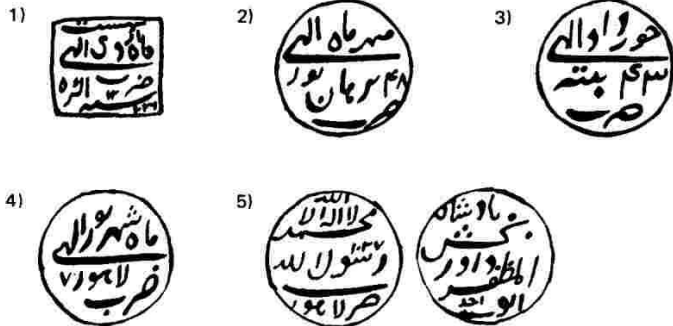
The hardest thing on this type is to pick out the mint name.

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.

- اکبر آباد** *Akbarābād*, the name given to Agrah by Shah Jahan
- برها نپور** *Burhānpūr*
- پتنه** or **پتنه** *Patnah*
- لاهور** *Lāhōr*
- شاه جهان آباد** *Shāh jahānābād*, the name given to **دهلي** *Delhi*.

**Exercise No. 23.**

Extract as much information as possible from the following coins.



**CHAPTER XXIV Later Moghul coins**

**Vocabulary**

<b>منير</b> <i>monīr</i>	shining
<b>محيي</b> <i>muhayyī</i>	preserver
<b>مبارک</b> <i>mubārak</i>	auspicious, fortunate.
<b>افاق</b> <i>afāq</i>	horizons (a plural form)
<b>جاه</b> <i>jāh</i>	dignity
<b>هند</b> <i>Hind</i>	India
<b>برکات</b> <i>barkāt</i>	blessings (a plural form)
<b>وارث</b> <i>wāris</i>	heir
<b>تاج</b> <i>tāj</i>	crown
<b>تخت</b> <i>takht</i>	throne
<b>سراج</b> <i>sirāj</i>	lamp

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 of a reverse of Shah Shuja' reading **محمد شاه شجاع بادشاه غازی** *Mohammed Shāh Shujā' Bādshāh ghāzī*, with a little **احد** *ahad* for the first regnal year.

The right hand coin is a reverse of Murad Bakhsh ("desire fulfilled"), reading: **بادشاه غازی محمد مراد بخشن** *Bādshāh ghāzī Mohammed Murād Bakhsh*.

In 1609 A.H., 1659 A.D., Aurangzib '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.

Aurangzib, after starting with coins in the Shah Jahan style, decided to take the Kalima off – lest the sacred words should trampled 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.

Aurangzib 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 **سنه جلوس ممانت ما نوس** *sanat julūs maimanat mānūs* "year of his reign associated with prosperity". A style we saw copied by the Durrani in India.



On this rupee is the couplet:

سکه زد در جهان چو بدر منیر *sikkah zad dar jehān chō bedr monīr*  
 شاه اورنگزیب عالمگیر *Shāh Aurankzīb 'Ālamgīr*

"Shah Aurangzib Alamgir struck coin in the world like (چو *chō* is a shortened version of *chūn* "like") the shining full moon".

On the coin the horizontals are formed, the upper one by شاه *Shāh* (as is usual), and the lower one by سکه *sikkah* – it is usually either *sikkah* or the final *K* of مبارک *mubārak* "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 *dar jehān* is at the bottom, and in the centre is *zad chō bedr monīr* – as long as it all 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 ضرب سورت *zarb Sūrat*.



This "new" style of coin is much easier to read than the old "Shah Jahan" style. Compare the last coin with this early Aurangzib rupee, of his fourth regnal year. The centre boxes are clear, on the obverse – بادشاه غازی شاه عالمگیر *bādshāh ghāzī Shāh 'Ālamgīr*, and on the reverse – ضرب اکبر آباد *zarb Akbarābād*, Akbarabad being the old Agra renamed, a name very liable to be confused with Allahabad. Compare اکبر آباد *Akbarābād* with الله اباد *Allahābād*.

The obverse margin reads round from the left side: ابو الظفر محیی الدین محمد اورنگزیب *abū ez-zafar muhayyī ed-dīn Mohammed Aurankzīb Bahādūr sanat 1071*. "Father of victory, preserver of the religion of Mohammed, Aurangzib, Valiant one, year 1071 A.H."

The reverse margin reads from the bottom: سنة ۴ جلوسه ماینات مانوس *sanat 4 julūs maimanat mānūs* – the same wording as on his "new" coins.

There are earlier coins with variations, such as "Ālamgīr Aurankzīb" and "julūs maimanat" in the central boxes.

Moving on to the end of Aurangzib'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 Moghul ones!

A'zam's couplet reads:

سکه زد در جهان بدولت و جاه *sikkah zad dar jehān be-daulat wa jāh*  
 بادشاه ممالک اعظم شاه *Bādshāh mamālik A'zam Shāh*

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

Kam Bakhsh's couplet reads:

سکه زد در دکن بر خورشید و ماه *sikkah zad dar Dakkan bar khūrshīd wa māh*  
 بادشاه کام بکاخ دین پناه *Bādshāh Kām Bakhsh dīn panāh*

"Emperor Kam Bakhsh, refuge of the faith, struck coin in the Deccan on sun and moon (ie. on gold and silver)".

From Shah 'Ālam 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 سکه *sikkah* or مبارک *sikkah mubārak* "fortunate money". The reverses are all in the style Aurangzib introduced.

The only real break was the single attempt, in the one year 1168 A.H., 1755 A.D., by the devout Alamgir II to put the Kalima and four successors back on the coinage.

This obverse of Bahadur is typical. Reading from the bottom upwards, سکه مبارک شاه عالم بهادر بادشاه غازی ۱۱۶۳ *sikkah mubārak Shāh 'Ālam Bahādūr Bādshāh Ghāzī 1123 A.H.* – the *k* of *mubarak* forming the lowest horizontal.



After Bahadur comes Jahandar ("world-owner") in 1124 A.H., 1712 A.D. One of his two couplets reads:

سکه زد در افاق چون مهر و ماه *sikkah zad dar afaq chūn mihr wa māh*  
 ابو الفتح غازی جهاندار شاه *abū el-fateh ghāzī Jahāndār Shāh*

"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:

سکه زد از فضل حق بر سیم و زر *sikkah zad az fazl Haqq bar sīm wa zar*  
 بادشاه بحر و بر فرخ سیر *bādshāh bahr wa barr Farrukh-Siyar*

"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:

سکه زد بهند هزاران برکات *sikkah zad be-Hind hezārān barkāt*  
 شاهنشاه بحر و بر رفیع الدرجات *shāhānshāh bahr wa barr Rafī' ed-darajāt*

"Emperor of sea and land Rafi' ed-darajat struck coin in India with thousands of blessings".

سکه زد در جهان بفضل کریم *sikkah zad dar jehān be-fazl Karīm*  
 شاهان شاه محمد ابراهیم *shāhānshāh Mohammed Ibrāhīm*

"The Emperor Mohammed Ibrahim struck coin in the world by the grace of the Generous One".



Shah Jahan II used the more normal form without a couplet. ۱۱۳۱ sikkah mubārah *sikkah mubārah* *Shāh Jahān bādshāh ghāzī 1131 A.H.*, with horizontals formed by the *ک* of *mubārah* and the final *ya* of *ghāzī*.

There was to be another pretender, Shah Jahan III, coming between 'Alamgir II and Shah 'Alam II, striking coins in 1173 and 1174 A.H. 1759 and 1760 A.D., and the only way to distinguish him from Shah Jahan II is the date.

This obverse is the normal one for this period. Here are three exactly similar coins.



The first, dated 1151 A.H. is of Mohammed, the unfortunate Emperor who suffered Nadir Shah's invasion.

The centre one is of Ahmad, dated to his first year, 1161 A.H., the only difference here being the *بهادر bahādur* below the top line.

The right hand coin is dated 1171 A.H., and belongs to Alamgir II.

Nadir Shah's invasion shook the Empire to the core, and it began to crack up. The final blow came in 1764 A.D. when Shah Alam II was ill-advised enough to attack the British in Bengal. He was utterly defeated, and by the Treaty of Allahabad the British East India Company in 1765 annexed Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa, allowing the Emperor to retain the province of Allahabad and the district of Korah, and giving him a yearly subsidy of money. In Delhi Shah 'Alam, a mere puppet, suffered much. In 1788 he was blinded and a man called Mohammed Bidar-Bakht put on the throne, though he was only on it for a very short time. Shah 'Alam was rescued by the Marathas and kept by them as a prisoner in Delhi, until in 1803 A.D. the British under Lord Lake entered Delhi crushing the power of the Marathas.

Mohammed Bidar-Bakht issued coins with this couplet:

سکه زد بزر وارث ناج و تخت *sikkah zad be-zar wāris tāj wa takht*  
 شاه جهان محمد بیدار بخت *shāh jahān Mohammed Bīdār-Bakht*

"Shah of the world Mohammed Bidar-Bakht, heir of crown and throne, struck coin on gold".

Shah 'Alam II himself commonly used two couplets. One we have already seen in Chapter Twenty; the other reads:

سکه زد صاحب قرانی ز تائید اله *sikkah zad sāhibqirānī 'z tā'īd ilah*  
 حاجی دین محمد شاه عالم بادشاه *Hājī dīn Mohammed Shāh 'Ālam bādshāh*

"The defender of the faith of Mohammed, Shah 'Alam Emperor struck coin appropriate to a Lord of the fortunate conjunction of the planets by the grace of God".



This is written on the coin like this: The lower horizontal is the final *نی -nī* of *sāhibqirānī*.

اله محمد شاه عالم بادشاه  
 زد ز تائید حاجی دین  
 سکه صاحب قرانی

Mohammed Akbar II's rupees look like this: It reads محمد اکبر شاه بادشاه *Mohammed Akbar Shāh Bādshāh ghāzī sāhibqirānī sikkah mubārah* "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 *u* vowel sign as here, over the *m* of *mubārah*. The umbrella mintmark is the symbol of sovereignty.



Bahadur II's coinage has the legend (reading from the bottom up): ابوالمظفر سراج الدین: محمد بهادر شاه بادشاه غازی ۱۲۵۷ *Abū el-muzaffar sirāj ed-dīn Mohammed Bahādur Shāh bādshāh ghāzī 1257* "the father of the victorious, lamp of the faith of Mohammed, Bahadur Shah, Emperor, soldier against the infidel. 1257 A.H."



Exercise No. 24

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

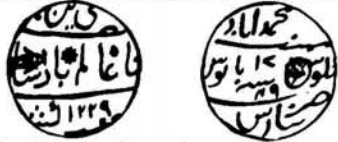
- 1)
- 2)
- 3)
- 4)
- 5)
- 6)
- 7)

Vocabulary

سواي sawāi	one and a quarter, above average, superior.
نظام الملک nizām el-mulk	"the discipline of the kingdom" — a title.
فرخنده farkhandah	auspicious, happy.
بنیاد bunyād	foundation
شمشیر shamshīr	swordman
خاص khās	special
خیل khīl	army, cavalry.
سنا senā	leader
بیت bait	house

The reverse of these late Moghul coins is almost always the same formula *sanat julūs maimanat mānūs*. The mint name is sometimes at the top and sometimes at the bottom. If it gets on the flan at all it is usually comparatively easy to read. The difficulty is that names change, Dakka is known as "Jahangirnagar": Patnah, as "Azimabad"; and Farrukhabad, keeping its old name as well as its new name, becomes "Ahmadnager Farrukhabad". Delhi is "Shahjahanabad" with the honorific *dār el-khilāfat* added.

However this type of reverse formula and the Moghul Emperor's name do not ensure that we are dealing with a Moghul 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 Moghul 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 climes, 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 سایه *sāyah* "shadow". It includes a date, 1229 A.H.

The reverse has the normal formula with محمدآباد *Mohammedābād* at the top, and بنارس *Benāres* at the bottom. It has two regnal years, 17 and 49.

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 Moghul 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 as such rather than to a ruler. The two regnal dates 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 "Moghul" 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 ضرب سورت *zarb Sūrat* 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 "jhar", on the reverse is the mint mark that would at least indicate Jaipur if one could not read the mint name — and these native state coins are usually very crudely inscribed. The legend is actually a perfectly normal one of Shah 'Alam II, reading upwards on the obverse: سکه مبارک باد شاه غازي شاه *sikkah mubārak bādshāh ghāzī Shāh 'Ālam bahādur*; and on the reverse having the mint سواي جی پور *Sawāi Jīpūr* "Superior Jaipur". Sawai was the title given by Mohammed Shāh to Jai Singh II who in 1728 A.D. laid the foundations of Jaipur, a new capital for the province he governed. Jai Singh was considered "superior in knowledge and authority to his fellows".

Jaipur acknowledged the ruler of India even after the Mutiny had put an end to the last Moghul. This Jaipur coin has the name of Queen Victoria — spelled with a *t* which is one of the extra letters Hindustani has in its alphabet *ٽ* or *ط*, which medially is *ضرب سواي جی پور* *zarb Sawāi Jīpūr* 1870 *bi-'ahd* ("by permission of") *malikah mu'azzamah sultanat Anglistān Victoria* "Striking of Sawai Jaipur by permission of the very great queen of the Empire (*sultanat*) of England, Victoria".



Very similar are these two obverses of coins of Kutch. The left hand one reads upwards: کویتا و کتورا *Kūitā w Kūtorā* *zarb Bhūj* 1870 *Qwīn Victōriā malikah mo'azzamah* "striking of Bhuj Nagar (the capital of Kutch), 1870 A.D. Queen (the Arabic attempts to spell the English word "Queen") Victoria, the very great Queen".

The right hand coin was minted after 1877 A.D. when Queen Victoria became Empress of India, and reads: قیصر ہند *Qaysar Hind* *zarb Bhūj* 1883 *Qaysar Hind Victōriā*, "Qaisar-i-Hind" being the title "Emperor of India". The *یا* *-ā* of *Victōriā* 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:



ضرب بیت السلطن لکھنؤ ملک اودہ اختر نگر سنہ ۵ جلوس میمنت مانوس

zarb bait es-sultanat Lakhnau mulk Awadah

Akhtarnagar sanat julūs 5 maimanat mānūs "Minting of the house of the Sultanate, Lucknow of the kingdom of Awadh Akhtarnagar (this is an "extra" epithet derived from akhtar "star") Year 5 of his reign associated with prosperity".



The Hyderabad legends are interesting. These have the name, not of the Moghul Emperor, but of the founder of their state, Asaph Jah. This man was a distinguished officer of Aurangzib's army who later in 1713 A.D. was appointed governor of the Deccan. He received the title "Nizam el-mulk" from the reigning Moghul, but broke away from the Empire in Mohammed's reign. This is a 4 Anna coin of 1362 A.H., 1943 A.D., of a ruler called 'Usman 'Ali Khan, 1911-48 A.D.; but the only indication of the reigning Nizam is his initial letter ع inside the gateway. At the top, between the minarets, is written as one word, with سنہ ۹۲ sanat 92 above — all the Hyderabad coins have this date, but I am not sure what it refers to. To the left is شمشیر بہادر bahādur "valiant", and to the right نظام الملک nizām el-mulk; with the date 1362 at the bottom.

The reverse, starting at about ten o'clock reads:

ضرب فرخندہ بنیاد حیدرآباد سنہ جلوس ۳۳ میمنت مانوس

zarb farkhandah bunyād Haiderābād sanat julūs 33 maimanat mānūs "Minting of Hyderabad, of happy foundation, year 33 of his reign associated with prosperity".



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 م m, the initial of the reigning Nizam, Mahbub 'Ali Khan II, 1868-1911 A.D. The obverse reads:

اصو جاہ Asaf Jāh 92  
نظام الملک م بہادر Nizām el-mulk M bahādur  
سکہ ۱۳۰۰ sikkah 1300

And the reverse:

جلوس میمنت julūs maimanat  
مانوس فرخندہ بنیاد mānūs farkhandah bunyād  
ضرب حیدرآباد zarb Haiderābād



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 م M of "Mahbub 'Ali" to the left of

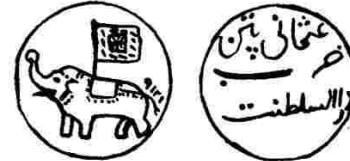
الملك el-mulk on the obverse.

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 "Shamshūr Bahādur", "Valiant Swordsman". In 1731 the then Gaikwar, Pilaji, received the additional title of "Senā Khās Khīl", "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:

سکہ مبارک sikkah mubārak  
خاص خیل Khās Khīl  
سنہ senā  
شمشیر shamshūr  
بہادر bahādur



The reigning Gaikwar usually named on the reverse of the coin in the Nagari script.



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 Paise which is an "Usmani", he named similarly, but later he changed to the names of the heavenly bodies. The Double Paise then becomes a "Mushtari" the name of the planet Jupiter; the paise a "Zohra" after Venus; the half paise a "Bahram" after Mars; the quarter an "Aktar", "a star"; and the eighth a "Qutb", the Pole Star.

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

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

It reads:

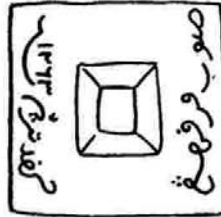
عثمانی پتن 'Usmānī Pattan  
ضرب zarb  
دار السلطنت dār es-sultanat





كفتخ or كفتخ *kepīng* a classifying word "bits", "slabs", "pieces".  
 نكري *negrī*, also كراجان *karājān* state.

Even these later coins are not always helpful with regards to place of origin. This uniface tin piece reads just **قاضي الملك العادل ١٢٢٢** *qazīr malik el-'ādil 1222*, "tin of the Just King, 1222 A.H. (1807 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: **١٢٢٣** *sarab fi Pahang kapada tārikk sanat 1263* "struck (sarab being a form of zuriba) in Pahang. Dated the year, year 1263". *Tārikk* is the Arab word we met when dealing with "chronograms", and it is an extra word for "year" here. Notice the rather peculiar form of some of the letters – the *r* of *sarab* has developed a loop that makes it more like a *w*: the *k* of *kapada* has a curly top.



The Malaya-Indonesia region has for very much of its history been a colony of some foreign power. First there were Chinese and Siamese, then came the Portuguese, then the Dutch (who took Malacca from the Portuguese in 1641 A.D.), then the British at the end of the eighteenth century and beginning of the nineteenth.

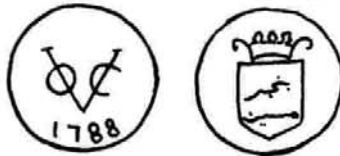


This is perhaps the commonest Malayan coin, minted under British control. The obverse reads **تانه ملايو ١٢٤٧** *tānah Malayū* "the land of the Malays", and the reverse, **سات كفتخ ١٢٤٧** *sat keping 1247* "I one keping 1247 A.H."

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 **جزيرة** *jezīrah* "island" across the centre, and above and below **پرنس ابوليس** *prins ab-wils*, transliterating the English "Prince of Wales" into Arabic script.



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 **نكري اچه** *negrī Aceh*, "the State of Aceh", is really the same as Achin in Sumatra, and that Sumatra may be "Pulū 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 **بجر صسين** *Banjermasin*, 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 *negrī* – **ترومن** *Tarūmon*, **سبك** *Sīak*, **دي** *Dillī*, **منغابو** *Menangkābū*.

From Malaya, with many states like **فيرق** *Pīraq* (Perak) and **سلاغور** *Selāngōr* and others, I show one of Trengganu, reading **كراجان ترنگانو سنة ١٣٢٥** *karājān Trenggānū sanat 1325*. In the margin it has the three letters **ز ع** and **ع**. These are the initial letters 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 **پاهانغ كومپاني** *Pāhang Kūmpānī* "Pahang (spelled differently from the last Pahang coin we saw) Company".



We must be familiar with the names of denominations. **رنگيت** *ringgīt* means "dollar", and **دويت** is "Dōīt"; but most interesting are the values on the Dutch colonial coins. This is a 2½ Cent coin of 1902, but the Arabic reads **سفر امقت قوله روڤيه** *sa-per-ampat pūloh rūpiyah* "One divided by forty of a Rupee", and although the European gives values in Gulden and Cents, the Arabic gives values in Rupees, tenths of a Rupee, and Hundredths of a Rupee.



Exercise No. 26

Interpret these coins:

- 1)
- 2)
- 3)
- 4)
- 5)
- 6)

Answers

Exercise No. 1.

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 88, 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) *Tūnis* 2) *Kābul* 3) *Bāghdād* 4) *Qandahār* 5) *Marrākes*  
6) *Herāt* 7) *Lahūr* 8) *Teherān*.

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) *ghirsh wāhid* One piastre 2) Five paras 3) Five fils  
4) Two tenths of a piastre 5) *milān* Two mils  
6) *ghirshān* Two piastres 7) *kham* Five milliemes.  
8) *'ashr frankāt* Ten francs 9) *arba'ghurūsh* Four piastres.  
10) *nisf min 'ushur el-qirsh* Half from the tenth of the piastre, ie 1/20th piastre.  
11) *millimān wa nisf* Two milliemes and a half.  
12) 23 fils.

Exercise No. 5.

1) Mohammed 2) 'Alī 3) Isma'īl 4) Fārūq (King Farouk)  
5) Faisal 6) Husain 7) Fūād 8) 'Abd er-Rāhman  
9) Yūsuf bin Ayyūb 10) Mahmud II — reading *sultān Mahmūd khān*  
11) Mustafa III — reading *sultān Mustafā khān 'azz nasrahu*  
12) Mīr 'Abd er-Rāhman, Mir of Afghanistan 1880-1901 A.D.

Exercise No. 6.

1) *el-mamlakat el-Lībīyat* "the Libyan kingdom"  
2) *Fūād el-auwal malik Misr* "Fuad the First, King of Egypt"  
3) *Husain Kāmil sultān Misr*, "Sultan of Egypt".  
4) *el-Hasan eth-thānī el-mamlakat el-Maghribīyat* "Hasan the Second, the Moroccan kingdom".  
5) *el-mamlakat el-Urdunīyat el-Hāshemīyat* "the Hashemite kingdom of the Jordan".  
6) *Idrīs el-auwal malik Lībya* "Idris the First, King of Libya".

Exercise No. 7.

1) *Jomhūrīyat Tūrkiyah* "Turkish Republic" 2) *Qirsh wāhid* "One piastre": *el-jomhūrīyat el-Lubnānīyat* "Lebanese Republic". 3) 5 milliemes: *Jomhūrīyat es-Sūdān* "Republic of the Sudan". 4) *el-jomhūrīyat es-Sūrīyat* "The Syrian Republic". 5) *el-jomhūrīyat el-'Irāqīyat* "The Iraqi Republic". 6) reading from the bottom upwards: *Faisal bin Turkī Sultān Musqat wa 'Omān*. 7) obv. *es-sikkat el-Mohammedīyat esh-Sherīfat: zuriba bi-Bārīz, ed-daulat el-Maghribīyat* "coin of the Mohammedan Sherifate: minted in Paris. The Moroccan Government." Rev. *ed-daulat el-Maghribīyat: es-sikkat el-mohammedīyat esh-sherīfat 'ām 1372. 200 frank.* "The Moroccan Government: coin of the Mohammedan Sherifate, year 1372: 200 Francs".

Exercise No. 8.

1) *Jayy* 2) *Medīnat Balkh* 3) *Karanj* 4) *el-Basrat* 5) *Tabaristān* 6) *Dimishq* 7) *Wasit* 8) *Herāt* 9) *Medīnat Samarqand* 10) *Medīnat es-Salām*.

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) *Zuriba hazā ed-dirhem bi-1-Kūfat sanat ihdā wa mī'at*. 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-Armīniyat* — 167 A.H. 5) — *bi-'l-Basrat* — 200 A.H. 6) — *bi-Kermān* — 102 A.H.

Exercise No. 11.

1) Damascus mint. 100 A.H. = 719 A.D. Reign of 'Umar II  
2) *Medīnat Balkh*. 182 A.H. = 799 A.D. Hārūn er-Rashīd.  
3) Samarqand. 197 A.H. = 813 A.D. Reign of Amīn or Māmūn.

Exercise No. 12.

1) Muktafī 902-8 A.D. 2) Qāhir 932-4 A.D. 3) Muntasir 861-2 A.D. 4) Mustazī 1170-1180 A.D.  
5) Amīn 809-813 A.D. 6) Mutawakkil 847-861 A.D. 7) Mu'tazz 866-869 A.D. 8) Qā'im 1031-1075 A.D. 9) Rāzī 934-940 A.D. 10) Muktafī 902-908 A.D. Notice the shape of the tail of the ya.

Exercise No. 13.

1) Buwaiyid. 'Imād ed-daulat abū el-Hasan, Caliph Mutī'a.  
2) Ahmad ibn Tūlūn, Caliph Mu'tamid.  
3) Samanid, Isma'īl bin Ahmad, Caliph Mu'tazid.  
4) The obv. of number 1. Mo'izz ed-daulat. *Medīnat es-Salām* 336 A.H.  
5) Aghlabid. Ziyādat Allah I. No mint. 209 A.H.

Exercise No. 14.

1) Qā'im, 934-945 A.D. It reads — *el-amīr el-Qā'im billah, Mohammed rasūl Allah. amīr el-mūminīn*  
2) Hākim 996–1020 A.D. Area. *el-Hākim b'amr Allah amīr el-mūminīn*. Bismillah: *bismillah zuriba hazā ed-dīnar بصلية bi-Siqillīyat sanat kham wa tis'in wa thelathmi'at*. Mint = Sicily (Palermo). 395 A.H.  
3) Amr, 1101-1130 A.D. Centre: *el-imām el-Mansūr*. Inner circle: *abū Alī el-Amr bi-ahkām Allah amīr el-mūminīn*. Outer circle: *bismillah er-Rahman er-Rahīm zuriba hazā ed-dīnar bi-Misr sanat khamsmi'at*. Cairo mint 500 A.H.  
4) 'Āzid, 1160-1171 A.D. Centre: *el-imām 'Abdullah*. Inner circle: *abū Mohammed el-'Āzid li-dīn Allah amīr el-mūminīn*. Outer circle: *bismillah er-Rahman er-Rahīm zuriba hazā ed-dīnar bi-Misr sanat sittīn wa khamsmi'at*. Cairo mint, 560 A.H.  
5) Saladin, recognising the Caliph Ahmad Nasir. Centre: *el-imām Ahmad*. Inner circle: *Lā ilāh illā Allah abū el-'Abbās en-Nāsir li-dīn Allah*. Outer circle: *bismillah er-Rahman er-Rahīm zuriba hazā ed-dīnar بالاسكندرية bi-'l-Iskanderīyat sanat thelath wa temānīn wa khamsmi'at*. Alexandria mint, 583 A.H.

6)	ام	الاه	el-imām
	ر	مع	Ma'add
	تنصر	المص	el-Mustansir (1035–1094 A.D.)
	له	بال	billah
	ر	امير	amīr
	منين	المو	el-mūminīn

Exercise No. 15

- 1) Taghlaq Shah I, 1320-24 A.D. Obv. *es-sultān el-ghāzī Ghīyās ed-dunyā wa ed-dīn*. Rev. *abū el-muzaffar Taghlaq Shāh es-sultān* 722 A.H.
- 2) Ibrahim, 1295 A.D. Obv. *es-sultān el-a'zam rukn* ("pillar") *ed-dunyā wa ed-dīn abū el-muzaffar Ibrāhīm Shāh es-sultān bin* – (Rev.) *es-sultān el-a'zam Jalāl ed-dunyā wa ed-dīn Fīrōz Shāh nāsir amīr el-mūminīn*.
- 3) Mahmud Shah I, 1246-65 A.D. Obv. *fī 'ahd* (in the time of) *el-imām el-Must'asim amīr el-mūminīn*. Rev. *es-sultān el-a'zam nāsir ed-dunyā wa ed-dīn abū el-muzaffar Mahmūd ibn es-sultān*.
- 4) Kai-Qubad 1287-90. Obv. *el-imām el-Must'asim amīr el-mūminīn*. Rev. *es-sultān el-a'zam Mo'izz ed-dunyā wa ed-dīn abū el-muzaffar Kai-Qubād es-sultān*.

Exercise No. 16.

- 1) Malwa: Mahmud Shah II, reading *Mahmūd Shāh el-Khijī bin Nāsir Shāh*.
- 2) Jaunpur: *Husain Shāh (bin) Mahmūd Shāh (biq) Ibrāhīm Shāh*. Dated 865 A.H.
- 3) Delhi: Buhlol Lodi, reading *el-mutawakkil 'alā er-Rahman Buhlōl Shāh Sultān*
- 4) Gujarat: Muzaffar Shah II – *es-sultān bin* (the position of this word above *Muzaffar* makes it ambiguous) *Mahmūd Shāh Muzaffar Shāh* 920.
- 5) Bengal: Daud. *Dāūd Shāh bin Sulaimān Shāh Kararānī khallad Allah mulkahu wa sultānahu*.
- 6) Kashmir: Haidar Shah. The Rev. reads *sultān el-a'zam Haidar Shāh*. 874AH. The Obverse reads 874 – top right, bottom left, top left, bottom right.

Exercise No. 17.

- 1) el-Kāmil Mohammed: reading – *el-malik el-Kāmil nāsir ed-dunyā wa ed-dīn Mohammed bin Abū Bekr*. Margin: *bismillah zuriba bi-Dimishq sanat sitt 'ashrat wa sittmī'at*. 616A.H.
- 2) el-'Adil Saif ed-dīn Abū Bekr, of the Damascus mint. Reading: *ed-dīn el-malik el-'ādil Abū Bekr bin Ayyūb Saif*.
- 3) el-Ashraf Sha'abān, reading: *zarb Tar* – – *el-malik el-ashraf* – – *ābulus*. Tarabulus = Tripoli (Syria).
- 4) el-Mansūr Salāh ed-dīn Mohammed, son of Muzaffar Hajjī, son of en-nāsir Mohammed. Cairo mint, 764 A.H. The date is written with the *arba'* at the top left, the *wa sittīn wa seb'mī'at* at the base. It reads – *zuriba bi-'l-Qāhirat sanat arba' es-sultān el-malik el-mansūr Salāh ed-dunyā wa ed-dīn el-malik el-Muzaffar Hajjī bin el-malik en-nāsir wa sittīn wa seb'mī'at*.

Exercise No. 18.

- 1) Seljuks of Rum. Kai-Qubād I. Obv. margin: *zuriba hazā ed-dirhem bi-Qūnyat*. Area: *es-sultān el-mu'azzam 'Alā ed-dunyā wa ed-dīn abū el-fateh Kai-Qubād bin Kai-Khusrū*. Rev. margin: – to left and right: the date 617 AH – above and below: *amīr el-mūminīn*. Area: *el-imām en-nāsir li-dīn Allah* (plus ornaments!) – the Caliph Nasir.
- 2) Urtauqids of Maridin. Nāsir ed-dīn Urtauq Arslān. Oby. *bi-Māridīn (sanat) tis' wa tis'īn khams (mī'at)*, 599 A.H. Rev. area: (the Caliph and the overlord) *en-nāsir li-dīn Allah amīr*

*el-mūminīn el-malik el-'Adil \*Abū Bekr malik Diārbekr*. At the top is *bin Ayyūb* which must go with the name of the Ayyubid el-'Adil. The rest of the margin is: *Nāsir ed-dīn Urtauq Arslān*. \* (el-'Adil saif ed-din 1196-1218 A.D.)

- 3) Urtauqids of Maridin. Qutb ed-dīn 'l Ghāzī II. Obv. *seb' wa seb'īn khamsmī'at*. 577 A.H. Rev. area: *en-Nāsir ed-dīn* (very unusual for the Caliph to be "ed-dīn") *amīr el-mūminīn hazā ed-dirhem mel'ūn man yughīruhu*. margin starting at top: *Qutb ed-dīn bin Nejm ed-dīn bin Hosām ed-dīn*.
- 4) Urtauqids of Maridin. Hosām ed-dīn Timurtāsh. Area: *el-malik el-'ālim el-'ādil Hosām ed-dīn*. Margin, starting at right: *Timurtāsh bin 'l Ghāzī bin Urtauq*.
- 5) Urtauqids of Maridin. Hosām ed-dīn Yūluq Arslān. Obv. *Hosām ed-dīn Yūluq bin 'l Ghāzī*. Rev. area: *el-malik en-nāsir Salāh ed-dunyā wa ed-dīn bin Ayyūb* – this is Saladin, who is put as overlord. Margin: *zuriba sanat ihdā temānīn wa khamsmī'at*. 581 A.H.

Exercise No. 19.

- 1) Ilkanid Abāgā. Copper of Mosul. Obv. in crescent, *sanat thelāth*. On right *zuriba bi-Mausil*. Rev. *Qān el-'azam. Abāgā 'l-khān el-mo'azzam yudall 'azīman* (he glories in great qualities)
- 2) Allah Qulī, Khan of Khiva (Khwarism). Obv. (from bottom) *zarb dār es-sultanat Khwārizm* 1247 A.H. Rev. *Khān Bahādūr Qulī Allah abū l-ghāzī*.
- 3) The Ilkhanid Ghāzān Mahmūd. Four lines of Mongol, with three? Tibetan characters at the left. The third line down is the Arabic, reading – *Ghāzān Mahmūd*.
- 4) Hulagu, with name of Khaqan Mangu. *Qān el-'azam Mūnkkā Qān Hūlākū Khān*.
- 5) Abu Sa'id. Margin reads: *zarb el-Bārān* 726 A.H. Area: *zuriba fī daulat el-maulā es-sultān el-'azam Abū Sa'id. Khallad Allah mulkahu*.

Exercise No. 20.

- 1) Couplet No. 3. Jahangir. Obv.

پناه گیتی	Rev.	باد شاه
اگره خسرو		اکبر
شهر		جهانگیر ابن
سکه زد در		نور الدین
		شاه

(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 *Sāhibqirānī*; lower line by the *ب* in *zarb moqadas Meshhed* "minting of Holy Meshed", which is at the bottom of the coin. It reads:

بگیتی طا حفران  
زد فیو حق طهما

- 3) Couplet No. 5.


Sulaiman. Three "crescents" formed by *ث* n of *chūn*; *ث* n of *ibn*; *ث* n of *Sulaimān*. Two horizontal lines formed by *ش* sh of *shāh*, and by *س* s of *sikkah*. Reads:

احمد شاه  
مهر و ماه سلیما باد  
چون ابن ن  
سکه  
زد بر سیم و زر

- 4) Couplet No. 7.  
Wajid 'Ali. Reads fairly clearly from the bottom upwards.
- 5) Couplet No. 6.  
Mahmud Shah. Bottom line first: then top line; then the centre – خسرو *Khusrū*  
forms the lower horizontal, written
- 6) Couplet No. 4  
Shah 'Alam II. Written like this:

اله محمد شاه عالم باد  
شاه  
سايه فضل حاي دين  
زد بر هفت کشور

The horizontals are formed by *Shāh* and *sikkah*. Some of the writing at the right hand side is off the coin. Note the date 1194, 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 *jehān* below the rest of the word. The *h* of *shāhān* 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) *dār el-mūminīn Asterābād*. 2) *balḍat tayyibat Hamadān*. 3) *Meshhed moqadas*. 4) *dār el-khilāfat Teherān*. 5) *dār es-sultanat Tabrīz*. 6) *dār ed-daulat Kermānshahān*. 7) *dār el-marz Resht*. 8) *dār es-s'ādat Zenjān*.

#### Exercise No. 22.

- 1) *dō hezār dīnār* = 2000 dinars = 2 Krans. 2) *bīst o panj dīnār* = 25 dinars 3) *panj dīnār* = 5 Dinars 4) *panjāh dīnār* = 50 Dinars. 5) Sultān Shujā' Shāh el-mulk 1255 A.H., 1839 A.D. *Zarb dār es-sultanat Kābul*.

#### Exercise No. 23

- 1) *Ardībihist māh ilahī, Zarb Agrah 1026 A.H. Regnal Year 12*.  
2) *Mihr māh ilahī, Zarb Burhānpūr*. Ilahi year 48 – Akbar's reign.  
3) *Khūrdād ilahī 43* (Akbar's reign). *Zarb Patnah*.  
4) *Shahrīwar māh ilahī, Zarb Lahōr*. Regnal year 7.  
5) Obv. Kalima. *Zarb Lahōr*. 1037 A.H. Rev. – from the bottom – *sanat ahad abū el-muzaffar Dāwar Bakhsh bādshāh*.

#### Exercise No. 24.

- 1) Rafi' ed-darajat 2) Jahandar 3) Ibrahim 4) Farrukh-Siyar 5) Bidar-Bakht 6) A'zam Shah 7) Kam Bakhsh

#### Exercise No. 25.

- 1) Arcot (East India Co.) 2) 'Azimabad, Patnah. 3) Murshidabad (E. India Co.) 4) Jahangirnagar, Dakka. 5) Ahmadnagar Farrukhabad. 6) Shahjahanabad *dār el-khilāfat*, Delhi.

#### Exercise No. 26.

- 1) *negrī Pīraq* "State of Perak".  
2) *pūlū Pīnang* "Island of Penang"  
3) *ampat keping* four kepings"  
4) *pūlū Percha* "Island of Sumatra"  
5) *tiga keping* "three kepings"  
6) *sa-per duwa pūloh rūpiyah* "one divided by twenty of a Rupee" = 5 cents.

VOCABULARY

آبان	abān	a Persian month
ابن	ibn	son
ابو	abū (acc. أباً abā; gen. أبي abī)	father
آثر	aser	mark
اثنتان	ithnān and اثنتين ithnatain	two.
اثنتي عشرة	ithnatai 'ashrat	twelve
احد	ahad and احدى ihdā	one
احدى عشرة	ihdā 'ashrat	eleven
اختر	aktar	star
اخيرة	ekhirat	hereafter
آذر	āzur	a Persian month
اربع	arba'	four
اربعين	arba'īn	forty
ارد	ārad	brings
اردو	urdū	camp
اردي بهست	ardībihist	a Persian month
ارسله	arsalahu	he despatched him
ارض	arz	ground, land
از	az	from
ازرم	azram	modesty
اسفندارمز	isfandārmiz	a Persian month
اسم	ism	name
اشرف	ashraf	very noble
اطاع	atā'a	obeyed.
اعظم	a'zam	very mighty
افاق	afāq	horizons
افتاب	aftāb	the sun
افخم	afkham	very mighty
افضل	afzal	very superior
اقدس	aqdas	very holy
اكبر	akbar	very great
ال	el-	the
الا	illā	except
الف	alf	a thousand
اللهم	allahumma	Oh Allah!
اله	ilah	god
الهي	ilahī	divine
امام	imām	religious teacher. Used of the Caliph.
امان	amān	safety
امداد	imdād	help
امر	amr	command

امرداد	amardād (also called Mardād)	a Persian month
امشقت	ampat	four
امة	ummat (pl. امة umam)	nation
امير	amīr (pl. امرا umarā)	leader, commander.
امين	amīn	trusty one
انجتاب	anjānāb	his excellency
اوج	auj	height
اول	auwal	first
ايران	Irān	Iran, Persia
ايل	īl	tribe
ب	be-	to, in (a Persian prefix)
ب	bi-	in (an Arabic prefix)
بادشاه	bādshāh	emperor
بالله	billah	in Allah (contraction of bi-Allah)
بامر الله	b'amr Allah (contraction of bi-amr)	by the command of Allah
بحر	bahr	sea
بدر	bedr	full moon
بر	1) barr land	2) bar over
بركات	barkāt	blessings
بسم الله	bismillah	in the name of Allah
بعد	ba'd	after
بلد	beled (pl. بلاد bilād)	city
بلدة	baldat	town
بن	bin	son of
بند	bandah	slave
بنك	bank	bank
بنیاد	bunyād	foundation
به بود	bah būd	it is good (probable meaning)
بهادر	bahādur	valiant
بهمن	bahman	a Persian month
بيت	bait	house
بيچون	bī-chūn	there is none like
بيست	bīst	twenty
پاره	pārah	para. A Turkish coin.
پناه	panāh	refuge
پنج	panj	five
پنجاه	panjāh	fifty
تا	tā	up to, in order to.
تاج	tāj	crown
تاریخ	tārīkh	history, date, year. A chronogram

تأيد	tā'id	grace
تانه ملايو	tānah Malāyū	the land of the Malays.
تخت	takht	throne
تسج	tis'	nine
تسعين	tis'in	ninety
تساوي	tisāwī	equal
تعالی	te'ālā	or high
تغه	tengah	half
تنكة	tankat	tanka. An Indian coin.
توفيق	taufīq	grace, help to prosper in life.
تومان	tōmān	a Persian gold coin.
تير	tīr	a Persian month
تيمك	tiga	three
ثاني	thānī (or sānī)	second
ثلث	thelath	three
ثلثين	thelathīn	thirty
ثمان	themān	eight
ثمانين	themānīn	eighty
ثمن	thumn	an eighth
جاه	jāh	dignity
جزائر	Jezā'ir	Algiers
جزيرة	jezīrah	island
جل	jalla	glorified
جلال	jalāl	glory
جمهورية	jomhūriyat	republic
جهان	jehān	world
جلوس	julūs	enthronement, reign.
چرخ	charkh	wheel
چهار	chahār	four
چهره	chahrah	face
چهل	chehel	forty
چون	chūn (or چو chō)	like
حامي	hāmī	defender
حبيب	habīb	friend
حجور	hajūr	lap (ie when a person sits down)
حریت	hurriyat	freedom
حضرت	hazrat	honourable
حفظ	hafiza	guard, protect
حق	haqq	truth

حکم	hokam (pl احکام ahkam)	commandment, order
حکومت	hokūmat	government
حليم	halīm	gracious, gentle
حياء	hayā'	modesty
خادم	khādīm	servant
خاص	khās	special
خامس	khāmis	fifth
خدا	khodā	God
خسر	khesira	suffered defeat
خسرو	khusrū	conqueror
خطه	khittah	territory
خلافة	khilāfat	the Caliphate
خلد	khallad	prolong for ever, perpetuate.
خلدت	khulidat	last for ever.
خليفة	khalfat	Caliph
خمس	khams	five
خمسين	khamsīn	fifty
خورداد	khūrdād	a Persian month
خورشيد	khūshīd	sun
خير	khair	best
خيال	khāl	army, cavalry
دار	dār	home, abode
در	1) dar in	2) durr pearl
درهم	dirhem (pl. درهم darāhim)	Arabic coin
دعا	da'ā	pray, summon
دنیا	dunyā	world. This present world as opposed to "the Hereafter".
ده	dah	ten
دو	dō	two
دو or دوا	duwa	two
دوازده	davāzdah	twelve
دولة	daulat	state, government
دويست	devīst	two hundred
دوبين	dōbīn	a copper coin
دي	dai	a Persian month
ديمقراطية	dimiqrātiyat	democratic
دين	dīn	faith, religion
دينار or دينار	dīnar	an Arabic coin
رايح or رايح	rā'ij	circulating

رب	rabb	lord, master
ربع	rubu' or rob	quarter
رجب	rejab	An Arbaic month
رحمن	rahman	merciful!
رحيم	rahīm	compassionate
رسول	rasūl	messenger
رسيد	rasīd	arrived
رضا	rizā	pleasing
رنگين	ringgīt	dollar
رقبة	raqabat (pl	neck
رکن	riqāb) rukn	pillar
روزگار	rōzgār	reign
روفي	ra'ūf	benevolent
روقيه	rūpiyah	Rupee
روي	rūī	face
زد	zad (infinitive زان zan)	struck, minted.
زر	zar	gold
زمان	zeman	the age
زمن	or زمان	
زور	ziyūr	set or ornaments
ساتو	sātū	one
سايه	sāyah	shadow
سبع	seb'	seven
سبعين	seb'īn	seventy
سنت	sitt	six
ستين	sittīn	sixty
سراج	sirāj	lamp
سعادة	sa'adat	happiness
سعد	su'd	happiness
سعيد	sa'īd	fortunate, happy
سقرامفن	sa-per-ampat	a quarter
سقرقوله	sa-per-pūloh	a tenth
سكندر	sikander	Alexander
سكة	sikkat and سكه sikkah	coin
سلطان	sultān (pl. سلاطين salātīn)	sultan
سلطاني	sultānī	of sultan rank
سلطنة	sultanat	sultanate
سميع	samī'	the one who hears
سنا	senā	leader
سنة	sanat	year
سه	se	three

سواي	sawāī	superior
سي	sī	thirty
سيد	sayid	lord, a descendent of the Prophet
سيزده	sīzdah	thirteen
سيصد	sīsad	three hundred
سيق	saif	sword
سيم	sīm	silver
شاه or شاه	Shāh (pl شاهان shāhān)	Shah
شاهنشاه or شاهانشاه	Shāhanshāh	Shah of Shahs, emperor.
شاه ولايت	Shāh wilāyat	a title of 'Ali, "the Lord of Friendship".
شبيه	shabīh	likeness
شجاع	shujā'	brave
شجر	shejer	tree
شند	shod	became, went
شرف	sharaf	nobility
شرق	sharq	East
شريف	sherīf	noble. A title of the ruler of Morocco.
شريفه	sherīfat	the Sherifate – the rulers of Morocco.
شريك	sherīk	partner
شش	shesh	six
شصت	shast	sixty
شعبية	sha'bīyat	popular.
شمشير	shamshīr	swordsman
شهاب	shihāb	flame
شهر	shehr (pl. شهر shohūr)	1) month 2) city
شهر بور	shahrīwar	a Persian month
صاحب	sahib	lord
صاحب قران	sāhib qirān	lord of the favourable conjunction of the planets
صاحبقراني	sāhib qirānī	the type used by a Sahib qiran
صالح	sālih	morally good
صد	sad	hundred
صدق	sudq	truth
صديق	sadīq	faithful witness
صرب	sarab	minted
صفا	saḫā	purity
صلاح	salāh	honour
صلى	sallā	bless
صمد	samad	eternal

ضرب	1) <i>zurība</i> minted	2) <i>zarb</i> minting of
طرابلس	<i>tarābelus</i>	Tripoli
طلا	<i>talā</i>	gold
طيبة	<i>tayyibat</i>	pleasant, good.
ظاهر	<i>zāhir</i>	apparent, made manifest
ظفر	<i>zafar</i>	victory
ظل	<i>zill</i>	shadow
عادل	<i>'ādil</i>	just
عالم	<i>'ālam</i> (pl. عالمين <i>'ālamīn</i> )	world=
عالم	<i>'ālim</i>	wise=
عام	<i>'ām</i>	year=
عبادة	<i>'ibādāt</i>	piety, worship
عبد	<i>'abd</i> (pl. عباد <i>'ibād</i> )	slave, worshipping=
عدالت	<i>'adālet</i>	justice
عدل	<i>'adl</i>	justice
عز	<i>'azz</i>	may it be glorious
عشر	<i>'ashr</i> and عَشْرَة <i>'ashrat</i>	ten
عشر	<i>'ushur</i>	a tenth
عشرين	<i>'ishrīn</i>	twenty
علم	<i>'ilm</i>	wisdom
علي	<i>'alā</i>	upon, towards
عليم	<i>'alīm</i>	the one who knows
عليه	<i>'alaihi</i>	towards him
عمالة	<i>'umālat</i>	province=
عهد	<i>'ahd</i>	1) time 2) agreement
عهدة	<i>'uhadat</i>	trust
غازي	<i>ghāzī</i>	one who fights against infidels
غالب	<i>ghālb</i>	triumphant
غرب	<i>gharb</i>	West
غرش	<i>ghirsh</i> (pl. غروشن <i>ghurūsh</i> )	piastre
غلب	<i>ghalaba</i>	he conquered
غياث	<i>ghiyās</i>	help
غير	<i>ghair</i>	other than
ف	<i>fa</i>	and
فاروق	<i>fārūq</i>	discriminator between right and wrong
فتح	<i>fateh</i>	conquest
فرح	<i>fariha</i>	rejoiced

فرخنده	<i>farkhāndah</i>	auspicious, happy
فروردین	<i>farwardīn</i>	a Persian month
فرنگ	<i>frank</i>	franc
فريد	<i>farīd</i>	unique one
فسيكفيكهم	<i>fa-sa-yakfīkahum</i>	and will suffice to protect you against them.
فضل	<i>fazl</i>	grace
فضة	<i>fizzat</i>	silver=
فلس	<i>fil</i> (pl. فلوس <i>falūs</i> )	a copper coin
فلن	<i>fa-lan</i>	and not (in a future sense) <sup>1)</sup>
فلوس	<i>falūs</i>	a copper coin
في	<i>fī</i>	in
فيما	<i>fīmā</i>	while
قادر	<i>qādir</i>	The Powerful One
قبل	<i>qabīl</i>	before, in front of
قد	<i>qad</i>	a sign of the past tense
قرش	<i>qirsh</i> (pl. قروش <i>qurūsh</i> )	piastre=
قرين	<i>qarīn</i>	an associate
قزير	<i>qazīr</i>	tin
قطب	<i>qutb</i>	the pole star
قطعة	<i>qit'at</i>	piece <sup>2)</sup>
قيصر	<i>qaisar</i>	emperor
قوة	<i>quwwat</i>	strength
قوله	<i>pūloh</i>	ten
قولو	<i>pulū</i>	island
كامل	<i>kāmil</i>	perfect
كبير	<i>kebīr</i>	large
كراجان	<i>karājān</i>	state
كره	<i>kariha</i>	dislike
كرم	<i>kefīm</i>	generous, noble
كفو	<i>kufū</i>	equal
كفد	<i>kapada</i>	dated
كفخ	<i>kefīng</i>	piece. A copper coin.
كل	<i>koll</i>	all, every
كند	<i>kand</i>	engrave
كنية	<i>kunyat</i>	name of relationship
كورتان	<i>kūrkān</i>	a title of Timur – "defender".
كومقاني	<i>kūmpānī</i>	Company
كوبين	<i>kwīn</i>	Queen



گشور <i>gashūr</i>	regions
گیتی <i>gīti</i>	world
گیتی سنان <i>gītī saṭān</i>	world-grasper, conqueror
ل <i>li-</i>	to, in order to (a prefix)
لا <i>lā</i>	there is not
لطیف <i>latīf</i>	pure, fine
لقب <i>laqab</i>	a name of honour.
لله <i>li-'llah</i> (contraction for <i>li-Allah</i> )	to Allah, of Allah.
لم <i>lem</i>	not
له <i>lahu</i>	to him
لیظہرہ <i>li-yuzhirahu</i>	in order that he might make it bright
مائة or مئة <i>mi'at</i>	hundred
مالك <i>mālik</i>	owner
مانوس <i>mānūs</i>	associated with
ماه <i>māh</i>	moon, month
ماہی <i>māhī</i>	fish
مبارک <i>mubārak</i>	auspicious
متحدہ <i>muttahiḍah</i>	united
متوکل <i>mutawakkil</i>	trusting in
مجاہد <i>mujāhid</i>	soldier in the holy war ( <i>jihād</i> )
محر و سة <i>mahrūsāt</i>	citadel
محمی <i>muhayyī</i>	preserver
مدینة <i>medīnat</i>	city
مرداد <i>marḍād</i>	a Persian month (the same as <i>amardad</i> )
مرز <i>marz</i>	frontier
مرسلین <i>mursalīn</i>	messengers
مرتضی <i>murtazā</i>	pleasing to God
مرکزی <i>markazī</i>	central
مساوات <i>musāvāt</i>	equality
مشرکون <i>mushrikūn</i>	those who give God partners
مصر <i>misr</i>	Egypt
مظفر <i>muzaffar</i>	victorious
مئین <i>mi'atāin</i>	two hundred
معظم <i>mu'azzam</i> (and <b>معظمہ</b> <i>mu'azzamah</i> )	very great
مغرب <i>maghrib</i>	the West, Morocco
مقبول <i>maqbul</i>	accepted
مل <i>mil</i>	a copper coin
ملتی <i>multajī</i>	one who seeks protection
ملعون <i>mal'ūn</i>	being cursed (passive participle)
ملنے <i>mullat</i>	the state

میلیم <i>millīm</i>	millieme
ملک 1) <i>malik</i>	king
ملکہ 1) <i>malikah</i>	queen
ملکہ 2) <i>mulkahu</i>	his kingdom, his reign
مملکت or مملکت <i>mamlakat</i> (pl <b>ممالک</b> <i>mamālik</i> )	kingdom
مملوک <i>mamlūk</i>	owned, a slave
من 1) <i>min</i>	from
منصور <i>maṣṣūr</i>	2) <i>man</i> who Conqueror
مہدی <i>Mahdī</i>	he who guided aright, the Mahdī.
مہر 1) <i>muh</i>	seal
مولی <i>maulā</i>	2) <i>mih</i> the sun prince
مومنین <i>mūminīn</i>	believers, the faithful.
می <i>mī</i>	particle giving sense of continuity.
میمیت <i>maimanat</i>	prosperity
نا <i>-nā</i>	our (a suffix)
ناصر <i>nāsir</i>	defender
نام <i>nām</i>	name
نبی <i>nebī</i> (pl <b>انبیاء</b> <i>anbiyā</i> )	prophet
نصر <i>nasr</i>	help, victory
نصرہ <i>nasrahu</i>	his victory
نصرت <i>nasrat</i>	help
نصف <i>nisf</i>	half
نظام الملک <i>nizām el-mulk</i>	title of the ruler of Hyderabad
نقرہ <i>noqrah</i>	silver
نقش <i>naqsh</i>	design
نگری <i>negrī</i>	state
نہ <i>noh</i>	nine
نہصد <i>nohsad</i>	nine-hundred
نود <i>navad</i>	ninety
نور <i>nūr</i>	light
نیم <i>nīm</i>	half
ہو or ہی <i>-hu or -hi</i>	him, his (a suffix).
ہجری <i>hijrī</i>	the Hegira, Mohammed's flight from Mecca in 622 A.D.
ہدی 1) <i>hudā</i>	religious guidance
ہدی 2) <i>hadī</i>	a spiritual guide
ہذا <i>hazā</i> (feminine <b>ہذہ</b> <i>hazihi</i> )	this
ہزار <i>hezār</i> (pl <b>ہزاران</b> <i>hezārān</i> )	thousand
ہست <i>hast</i>	there is
ہشت <i>hasht</i>	eight
ہشتاد <i>hashtād</i>	eighty

هفت haft  
هفتاد haftād  
هند Hind  
هو huwa

و wa or o  
واثق wāthiq (or wāsiq)  
واحد wāhid  
وارث wāris  
واحدة wāhdahu  
وزير wazīr  
وصيين wasiyyīn  
وقع waqa'  
ولو walau  
ولي walī

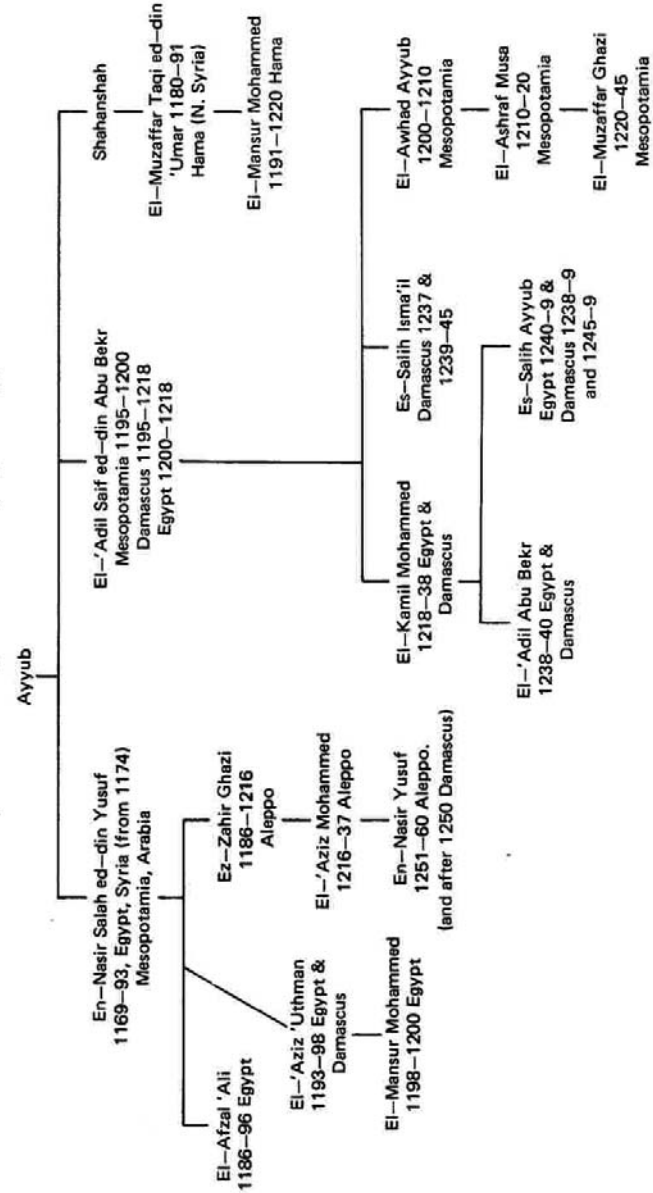
يا qā  
يأزده yāzdah  
يأفد yāfat  
يبتغ yabtaghi  
يبدل عظيمان yudall 'azīmān  
يرتضي yarlighī  
يغيره yughīrahū  
يقبل yuqbala  
يكن yek  
يكن yakun  
يلد valid  
ييمين yamīn  
يولد yūlad  
يوما'izin yauma'izin

seven  
seventy  
India  
he  
  
and  
trusting  
one  
heir  
alone  
vizier, prime minister  
executors of a will  
happens  
although  
friend, saint, governor, guardian,

O  
eleven  
to be found, available  
he desires  
he glories in great qualities  
by order  
changes it  
be accepted  
one  
there is  
he begets  
right hand  
he is begotten  
on that day

APPENDICES

Genealogical table showing the numismatically important Ayyubids



## THE GHAZNAVIDS

Alptegin 962–9  
Ishak 969–76  
Sebektegin 976–97  
Isma'il 997–8  
Mahmud 998–1030  
Mohammed 1030  
Mas'ud I 1030–40  
Mohammed (restored) 1040  
Modud 1041–8  
Mas'ud II 1048  
'Ali 1048  
'Abd er-Rashid 1048–52  
Tughril 1052  
Ferukhzad 1052–9  
Ibrahim 1059–99  
Mas'ud III 1099–1114  
Shirzad 1114–15  
Arslan 1115–18  
Bahram 1118–52  
Khusru Shah 1152–60  
Khusru Malik 1160–87

## THE SAMANIDS

Nasr 875–892  
Isma'il 892–907  
Ahmed 907–913  
Nasr II 913–942  
Nuh I 942–954  
Abdul Malik I 954–961  
Mansur I 961–976  
Nuh II 976–997  
Mansur II 997–999  
Abdul Malik II 999

## ERRATA:

p. 126, centre: the *sanat* 92 that appears on all Hyderabad coins represents the name 'Mohammed'. Mohammed is written with the letters M H M D, and these, by the Abjad system (pp. 102–3), add up to 92.  
p. 132, Exercise No. 1., the answer to 5) is 1288 A.H. = 1871 A.D.

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