

IX. ARCHITECTURE

Introduction to Omani Military Architecture of the Sixteenth, Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries
by Enrico d'Errico 291

Şuḥāri Houses
by M. Kervran, C. Le Cour-Grandmaison, M. Soubeyran and A. Vialatte de Pemille 307

X. NATURAL SCIENCES

The Mammal Fauna of Oman with special reference to Conservation and the Oman Flora and Fauna Surveys
by David L. Harrison 317

Interdependence, Independence and Rural Development in Oman: the Experience of the 'Khābūra Development Project'
by R. Dutton 329

The Sināw Hoard of Early Islamic Silver Coins

N. Lowick

In September 1979 an earthenware pot containing over 900 silver coins and coin fragments was uncovered during building work on a gravel terrace by a water course at Sayh al-Tahshit, 1 km west of the village of Sināw, near al-Muḍaybī in the Oman interior. The pot (Pl. 1), which is of the common green-glazed type usually referred to as 'Sasanian-Islamic', had been buried at a depth of about 0.30 m in a pit 0.70–0.80 m in diameter dug into the slightly compacted gravel and sand subsoil. Lining the bottom of the pit were four or five river pebbles. The pot as submitted to the authorities in a broken state, and it is uncertain how many coins it originally contained. Four hundred and thirty-four were reported to the Department of Antiquities, and a further 370 were handed to Dr P. Costa during his visit to inspect the site of the find shortly afterwards. The original total cannot, in any event, greatly have exceeded the number now preserved, for the coins when replaced in the pot filled it as far as the base of the neck (Pl. 2).

A number of the coins were at once recognised as Sasanian and early Islamic. A report was duly submitted to the Ministry of National Heritage and Culture, and it was then arranged that the hoard should be loaned for six months to the British Museum for conservation and study. Many of the coins were heavily coated with a black oxide encrustation and some were stuck together. They had, apparently, been deposited in stacks or rolls, for their edges were more heavily encrusted than their central areas, which were often clean and legible. Because their long sojourn underground had caused many of the

coins to turn crystalline and brittle, it was judged unwise to resort to chemical treatment if the necessary details of ruler, mint and date were already legible. All the coins were separated, and 258 (231 coins and 27 fragments) were soaked in a formic acid solution to remove masking chlorides. As a result, virtually all the coins could be assigned to a dynastic class, and most could be precisely identified.

The present total of 948 includes some 350 chipped and fragmentary pieces, as well as a few coins reconstructed from fragments. The presence of so many fragments is due to the decay of the metal structure of the coins, which has caused many to snap or crumble. Certain of the reconstructed coins (those with old fractures) apparently broke while still in the pot, others while being removed from it or during cleaning. A few pieces, however, were definitely fragments at the time of their burial. These are pieces which could not be matched with others to form complete coins and which, mostly, have one or more straight edges produced by cutting with shears. Their implications are considered below, together with those of the clipped coins in the hoard.

DATE AND HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF THE HOARD

The earliest coin in the hoard is a Sasanian drachm of Hormizd IV (578–90 AD) struck in his twelfth regnal year, the latest an 'Abbāsīd dirham of Caliph al-Mu'taṣim dated 226 AH/840–1 AD. The hoard may be presumed to have been buried or

abandoned by its owner in this year or shortly after. It should be noticed, however, that there is but one coin of year 226 and only one of the previous year, these issues falling in a period when (judging by other ninth century hoards) relatively few coins were minted. The exact date of the deposit is thus not so clear-cut as it would have been had the hoard contained many coins of the final year represented.

Apart from the pot, which may have been of some considerable age when used as a container for the coins, there is no archaeological context which might serve to throw light on the hoard. Evidently its owner was concerned to select a hiding place some distance from human habitation where, as he believed, it would be safe from discovery. The location of the find is of particular interest. Sināw was, until the beginning of this century, a large oasis capable of supporting a population of several thousands. In the ninth century it belonged to the territories of the Ibāḍī Imams who had established their capital at Nizwā, only some 75 miles to the north-west. Sināw at this time was important enough to boast a *Wālī* responsible for the desert borderlands of south-east Oman and Mahrah lands beyond.¹ Tax payments from these areas took the form of camels and other livestock. It is possible, however, that the administrative status of Sināw attracted money from coastal areas where the use of coin was more normal owing to Oman's far-reaching commercial contacts. Alternatively, a merchant settling at Sināw may have brought with him a stock of coin accumulated during his travels.

By 226/840, when the final coins were added to the hoard, the Imams were no longer answerable to the 'Abbāsids, having (c. 190 AH) defeated an army sent by al-Rashīd to exact their submission. The Imam Ghassān b. 'Abdullāh (192-207 AH) is remembered for having been the first to construct warships with which he put an end to the depredations of Indian pirates on the Oman coast. The stabilisation of trade which resulted from this success probably enhanced the flow of coin into Oman and may have led to the increased use of coin as a medium of exchange inside the country. The final date in the hoard fixes its

burial in the reign of the Imam 'Abd al-Malik b. Ḥamīd (207-26 AH) or of his successor al-Muhannā b. Jayfar (226-37 AH). The former is described in the *Kashf al-Ghummah* as a just ruler, at whose accession Oman entered a period of prosperity.² His eighteen year reign seems to have been uneventful, although the chronicle hints at unrest toward the end. The Imam having become old and infirm, the population requested an eminent shaykh, Mūsa b. 'Alī, to administer the country in his stead - whereupon the unrest was allayed.³ It is possible that fear of revolution, or actual disturbance, may have prompted those with capital in the form of coin to conceal it at this time.

OTHER HOARDS

The hoard is the first of its period reported from Oman, and only the second to have come to light anywhere in the Arabian peninsula. Many ninth century hoards of Islamic coins are extant, but most were unearched in European Russia, Scandinavia, Poland and other parts of eastern Europe. They testify to the flourishing trade between the Muslim world and the Swedes, Bulgars, Khazars and other peoples living beyond the northern fringes of the Caliphate - a trade to which Islam contributed above all silver, while the north supplied slaves, furs and raw materials in demand in the Middle East. Closest in date to the Sināw hoard is the one discovered in 1966 at Dobrino in Byelorussia.⁴ This was deposited in or after 227 AH/841-2 AD, and contains 527 coins, 503 of them 'Abbāsīd. Another Russian hoard, discovered in 1961 at Lesogurt on the Cheptsā river, has also been dated to 841-2 AD, but has not yet been published in detail.⁵ This consists of 139 coins (only 22 of them whole), of which 103 are 'Abbāsīd. A further Russian hoard, from Iagoshury in Viatka province, discovered in 1867, dates from 842-3 AD.⁶ It comprised a silver bar and 1500 dirhams, 1004 of them 'Abbāsīd. Of the hoards which predate the Sināw hoard, the one from Kochtel, Estonia, buried in or after 223/837-8, contained 470 coins including 407 'Abbāsīd.⁷ The Devitsa hoard from a tributary of the Don river in southern Russia, discovered in

1939, dates from the same year and includes 206 'Abbāsīd coins as well as many imitations of 'Abbāsīd type.⁸ These hoards afford some basis for comparison with the Sināw hoard as far as their composition is concerned, although as they were buried beyond the confines of the Caliphate the circumstances under which they were put together and their status as coin at the time of their concealment may have been very different.

From the territories of the Caliphate itself there are regrettably few hoards on record, the usual practice in the Middle East until recently being to melt down old coins for conversion into jewellery or bullion. Such hoards as have been reported are, for the most part, somewhat earlier than the Sināw hoard and none dates from the reign of al-Mu'taṣim or his successor. A hoard of over 9000 Sasanian, Umayyad, 'Abbāsīd and other coins, buried c. 205/820, was uncovered by Koldewey during his excavations at Babylon in 1900; but until now only the Sasanian portion of the hoard has been published.⁹ The hoard from Umm Ḥajara, Syria, discovered in 1970, comprises 409 coins (including 179 'Abbāsīd) and was deposited c. 193 AH/808-9 AD.¹⁰ The hoard from Denizbaci in south-east Turkey, discovered in 1937, dates from about five years earlier and includes 2529 coins of Islamic type, 1968 of them 'Abbāsīd.¹¹ A number of lesser hoards, comprising between 10 and 148 coins and ranging in date from 771 to 807 AD, have been reported from parts of Transcaucasia now incorporated in the USSR.¹² Finally, a group of 42 silver coins, 28 of them 'Abbāsīd, was discovered in 1966 at al-Khobar in eastern Saudi Arabia: this dates from 168/784-5, half a century before the Sināw hoard, and is the only other recorded 'Abbāsīd silver hoard of Arabian provenance.¹³

DYNASTIC COMPOSITION

Table 1 is a break-down of the hoard by dynastic and other conventional classes, together with the percentage of the total which each class represents, and its chronological span.

Included in the total for the 'Abbāsīds are four

coins with the name of the Ṭāhirid governor Ṭalḥa (nos 733, 766-8) and a number of other early ninth century coins struck at Ṭāhirid controlled mints. As the Ṭāhirids were loyal subjects of the 'Abbāsīd Caliphs, to whom they sent regular tribute, it has been thought unnecessary to segregate their issues as some scholars have done.

The wide spectrum of dynasties, surprising from a modern standpoint, is typical of Islamic silver hoards of the later eighth and ninth centuries. These characteristically comprise a large majority of 'Abbāsīd coins (almost always more than 50% of the entire hoard); a modest number of coins of contemporary dynasties in north Africa - the Idrīsids, the Aghlabids and the governors of Tudgha; and in varying proportions, depending on different factors including the age of the hoard, coins of Sasanian, Arab-Sasanian and Umayyad type. Coins of the Umayyads of Spain occur but rarely, almost always in hoards which also contain Idrīsīd issues. No Sulaymānīd coin has hitherto been observed in a hoard, whether because none has occurred or because the Sulaymānīds have been confounded with their kinsmen the Idrīsīds. Khārījite coins also have not been noticed as a separate class (although the governors of Tudgha have on occasion been referred to as Khārījite Imams).

TABLE 1

	No.	%	Period
Sasanian	6	0.63	Hormīzd IV - Khusrau II 589-623 AD
Arab-Sasanian	2	0.21	41-8(?) AH/661-79 AD
Umayyad	328	34.70	79-131 AH/698-749 AD
'Abbāsīd	597	62.97	132-226 AH/750-841 AD
Spanish			
Umayyad	1	0.10	154 AH/770 AD
Idrīsīd	5	0.52	174-216 AH/790-831 AD
Sulaymānīd	1	0.10	222 AH/836 AD
Governors of			
Tudgha	3	0.31	175-176 AH/791-792 792 AD
Uncertain			
Khārījite	2	0.21	undated
Imitations	2	0.21	AH '93', '217'

It has long been apparent, from hoards found and recorded in Europe, that the silver dirham of Umayyad and early 'Abbāsīd times enjoyed

virtually unlimited circulation thanks to its high silver content and to the impetus given to trade by the unification of vast areas of the Middle East beneath the sway of the Caliphs of Damascus and Baghdad. The movement of gold and silver coins was not then, as it was increasingly to be later on, inhibited by political frontiers, and their substantial uniformity of weight and fineness enabled them to pass practically without any prejudice in whatever part of the Islamic world they were struck. Hence the presence in so many hoards from both the Middle East and Europe of coins minted by the Umayyads of Spain, the Idrīsids and other non-'Abbāsīd authorities as well as by the 'Abbāsīds themselves at their north African mints, Ifrīqīya (Qayrawān), al-'Abbāsīya and al-Mubāraka. These coins evidently followed the main caravan route eastward through Egypt and Syria to Iraq and Iran, whence some were exported to the non-Muslim peoples living to the north. To some extent the movement of silver may have been determined by economic demand in the east. In the reign of al-Mahdī, for instance, coin production appears to have declined in the central and eastern provinces, while the mint of al-'Abbāsīya became prolific, perhaps rivalling Baghdad in output. In the early part of al-Rashīd's reign dirham production dropped even more dramatically in Iraq and the adjacent regions whereas the Moroccan mint of Tudgha – by then outside Caliphal control – was briefly very active, almost certainly coining more silver than Baghdad.

The pre-'Abbāsīd components of the hoard are worth examining in detail. The eight Sasanian and Arab-Sasanian coins represent only 0.84% of the hoard – a low percentage by the standard of, say, the Umm Ḥajara hoard of 193/808–9, in which the Sasanian and Arab-Sasanian components together account for 51% of the total. However the percentage is normal by the standard of those hoards buried after 197/812, in which these elements together usually account for less than 10% of the total. Neither the Kochtel hoard of 223/837–8 nor the Dobrino hoard of 227/841–2 contains any coins of Sasanian or Arab-Sasanian type. Apparently these coins had by the second quarter of the ninth century largely disappeared

from circulation in the Middle East, and few were available for hoarding. The six Sasanian coins include three of Hamadān, by no means the most frequently encountered Sasanian mint. Two of these are dated to the twenty-eighth regnal year of Khusrau II and are heavily clipped, as is a third Khusrau II coin of the Arrajān(?) mint. The three weigh approximately the same, 1.8–1.9 g. It seems unlikely that these coins, linked as they are in several ways, were in independent circulation until the time the final coins were added to the hoard. They may represent the remnants of some much more earlier accumulation, formed some time in the seventh century and put away as a bullion reserve shortly after 'Abd al-Malik's reform of the coinage in 77/696, when figured coins began to be replaced by dirhams of epigraphic type.

The Umayyad component – 328 coins or over one third of the whole hoard – is unusually large. There is no reason in principle why Umayyad coins should not have continued to circulate in the 'Abbāsīd period. Their weight and fineness matched those of the best 'Abbāsīd dirhams whilst their legends, naming Allah and his Prophet but not the Umayyad Caliph, must have been unexceptionable from both the religious and the political standpoint. A good many hoards of the late eighth and early ninth century do, in fact, contain a modest number of Umayyad coins. The evidence of the Transcaucasian hoards suggests that, in this area at least, Umayyad coins outnumbered 'Abbāsīd until the 780s.¹⁴ After this time it is rather unusual for the Umayyad element in a hoard to exceed 10%, the highest proportions hitherto observed being 21% (in the Norrgårda hoard of 842–3) and 19% (in the Iagoshury hoard of the same date). In the Kochtel and Dobrino hoards, which date to within five years of the Sināw hoard, the Umayyad elements amount to respectively 2% and 4% of the total. The Sināw hoard is thus anomalous in the number of Umayyad coins it contains. Two explanations suggest themselves. The first is that the currency of Oman in the ninth century included a larger number of pre-'Abbāsīd coins than did the currency of the central Islamic lands. This could be either because fiscal control aimed at the exclu-

sion of obsolete types was less rigorous (if it existed at all); or simply, because it took longer for the newer coin types to reach Oman and replace the old in circulation. The other possible explanation is that the older portion of the hoard, including most of the Umayyad pieces, was put together before the ninth century, in late Umayyad or very early 'Abbāsīd times. This theory gains plausibility from the fact that the Umayyad coins are on the whole not perceptibly more worn than the later issues, while a number are distinctly fresh in appearance. This would hardly be the case if they had continued to circulate for half a century or more after the end of the Umayyad period. The question of the extent to which Umayyad coins did in fact continue in use in 'Abbāsīd times takes us beyond the scope of this report. Further well-documented hoard evidence from the Middle East will be needed before a balanced evaluation of the whole problem can be attempted.

The coins of Spanish and North African dynasties – the Umayyads of Spain, the Idrīsids, the Sulaymānids and the Governors (Imams?) of Tudgha – together account for a mere 1.03% of the hoard. This is less than in most hoards of the late eighth and early ninth centuries, in which the Idrīsīd component alone is often greater, in one instance amounting to 17% and in two instances to 10% of the find.¹⁵ Oman's remoteness from the countries of the further Maghrib is one possible factor in the low percentage of Idrīsīd and related issues, though it should be noted that the number of 'Abbāsīd north African coins is no lower than usual. Another factor is the date of the hoard. In not one of the hoards dateable to within twenty years of the Sināw hoard does the percentage of coins of independent Spanish and north African dynasties rise above 5%. The Dobrino and the Iagoshury hoards, which date to within a year or two of the Sināw hoard, contain none. The reason is perhaps that less silver was being minted in the Maghrib at this time, while such silver as had been exported earlier to the east had mostly been melted down or recoined.

The attribution of the two Khārījite coins and of the two imitations is discussed in the Catalogue (see nos 943–6).

THE MINTS: REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION

Table 2 shows the distribution of the coins by region and Figure 1 is a map. Under each region heading, the mints are entered in order of their importance in terms of the number of coins contributed by each to the hoard.

TABLE 2

Region/Mint	Umayyad	'Abbāsīd	Other	Total
SPAIN				
al-Andalus	3		1	4
N. AFRICA				
al-'Abbāsīya		30		30
Ifrīqīya	3	11		14
Tudgha			5	5
Tilimsān			2	2
al-Mubāraka	2	1		3
al-'Alīya			1	1
Walīla			1	1
EGYPT				
Miṣr		8		8
SYRIA				
Dimiṣḥq	41	4		45
IRAQ AND TRANSCAUCASIA				
Madīnat al-Salām		191		191
Wasīt	177			177
al-Baṣra	13	28		41
al-Kūfa		18		18
Armīniya	3	2		5
al-Jazīra (Ctesiphon)	4		1	5
Ḥarrān	1			1
al-Sāmiya	1			1
Maysān	1			1
Arrān		1		1
Ma'dīn Bājunays		1		1
Qaṣr al-Salām		1		1
al-Rāfiqa		1		1
al-Hāshimīya		1		1
ARABIA				
al-Yamāma		1		1
IRAN				
al-Muḥammadiya		59		59
Zaranj		24		24
Balkh	1	20		21
Marw	9	12		21
Iṣbahān		18		18
Nisābūr		10		10
Ḥarāt		9		9
al-Rayy	3	5		8
Dārābjird	5		2	7
Kirmān	4	3		7
Iṣṭakhr	7			7
Sābūr	7			7

burial spots. The two Russian hoards were probably drawn from the coin stock of the central Islamic provinces – Iraq and western Iran – and almost certainly reached Russia by a route passing northwards through Transcaucasia. The later portion of the Sināw hoard, on the other hand, would appear to represent substantially an import from the easternmost part of the Caliphate. It may have come from or via the province of Sīstān, the capital of which, Zaranj, contributes 24 coins to the hoard – more than any other Iranian mint save al-Muḥammadiya.

To be quite sure of the correctness of this conclusion, it would be necessary to know the composition of the coin stock of eastern Iran, an area from which no hoards of early ‘Abbāsīd date have yet been recorded. It is not clear, for instance, to what extent if at all coins of Egypt circulated in the easternmost provinces. The presence in the hoard of eight coins of Miṣr (*i.e.* Fuṣṭāṭ) dated between 213 and 219 AH, may indicate that a portion of it did not come from Iran but travelled more directly from the west via the Arabian Gulf or the Red Sea.

The sprinkling of Spanish and North African issues is, as noted already, a standard feature of early ‘Abbāsīd hoards. Of interest, however, is the relative paucity of such coins in those finds dating to within a few years of the Sināw hoard. In the Dobrino hoard the Spanish/North African element represents a mere 0.2% of all the coins. In the Kochtel hoard it represents 2.1%. The slightly higher proportion in the Sināw hoard (6.3%), if significant at all, may be a further pointer to its being composed in part of a batch of coins imported more or less directly from the Maghrib.

The presence of but one coin of an Arabian mint – al-Yamāma – is unsurprising when viewed in the context of other finds. There was in early ‘Abbāsīd times only one mint in the peninsula which struck coin on a regular basis – Ṣan‘ā capital of the Yemen. Two other mints are attested for silver – al-Yamāma, otherwise Ḥajar in eastern Arabia (coins dated 165–9 AH) and Makka (a single issue of 201 AH). Ṣan‘ā is well represented in the Babylon hoard, but its coins are in general scarce, as are those of the other two

Arabian mints. Neither the Kochtel nor the Dobrino hoard features any Arabian issue.

It should be noted that, besides the al-Yamāma piece, there are two coins without mint name which may have been struck in Arabia. These are the two Khārījite minims (nos 943–4) which, if they belong to the Ibādī Imams of Oman, constitute the one truly local feature of the hoard.

CHRONOLOGY

The chronological distribution of the coins bearing legible dates is shown by the graph (Fig. 2): the Hijra dates are plotted on the horizontal axis and the number of specimens of each year on the vertical axis. If the eight Sasanian and Arab-Sasanian coins are included, the issues span 251 years; without them, they span 148 years. The extremely wide range of dates is typical of eighth and ninth century dirham hoards, as is the uneven chronological spread of the coins. The Swedish scholar Sture Bolin was among the first to draw attention to the fact that in dirham hoards from Scandinavia and Russia the proportion of coins of the same date is remarkably constant.¹⁷ Graphs compiled by him from these hoards show peaks and troughs in much the same places and hoards buried at different periods exhibit similar profiles insofar as they overlap chronologically. Almost all hoards buried before the last quarter of the ninth century contain a high proportion of coins dating from the final years of al-Manṣūr (*c.* 150–8 AH/767–74 AD), from the reign of al-Mahdī (158–69 AH/774–85 AD) and from the period extending from the second decade of al-Rashīd’s reign to the early years of al-Ma’mūn’s sole reign (*c.* 180–206 AH/796–821 AD). It is proper to conclude that these were years of peak coin production in the Caliphate. By contrast few hoards contain many coins of al-Ma’mūn’s later years or of al-Mu’taṣim, and it is to be inferred that there was a marked fall-off in mint activity at this time. Significant variations from this general pattern are assumed to have to do with the way in which particular hoards were formed and the routes by which they were conveyed to their burial spots.

The overall significance of the unusually large

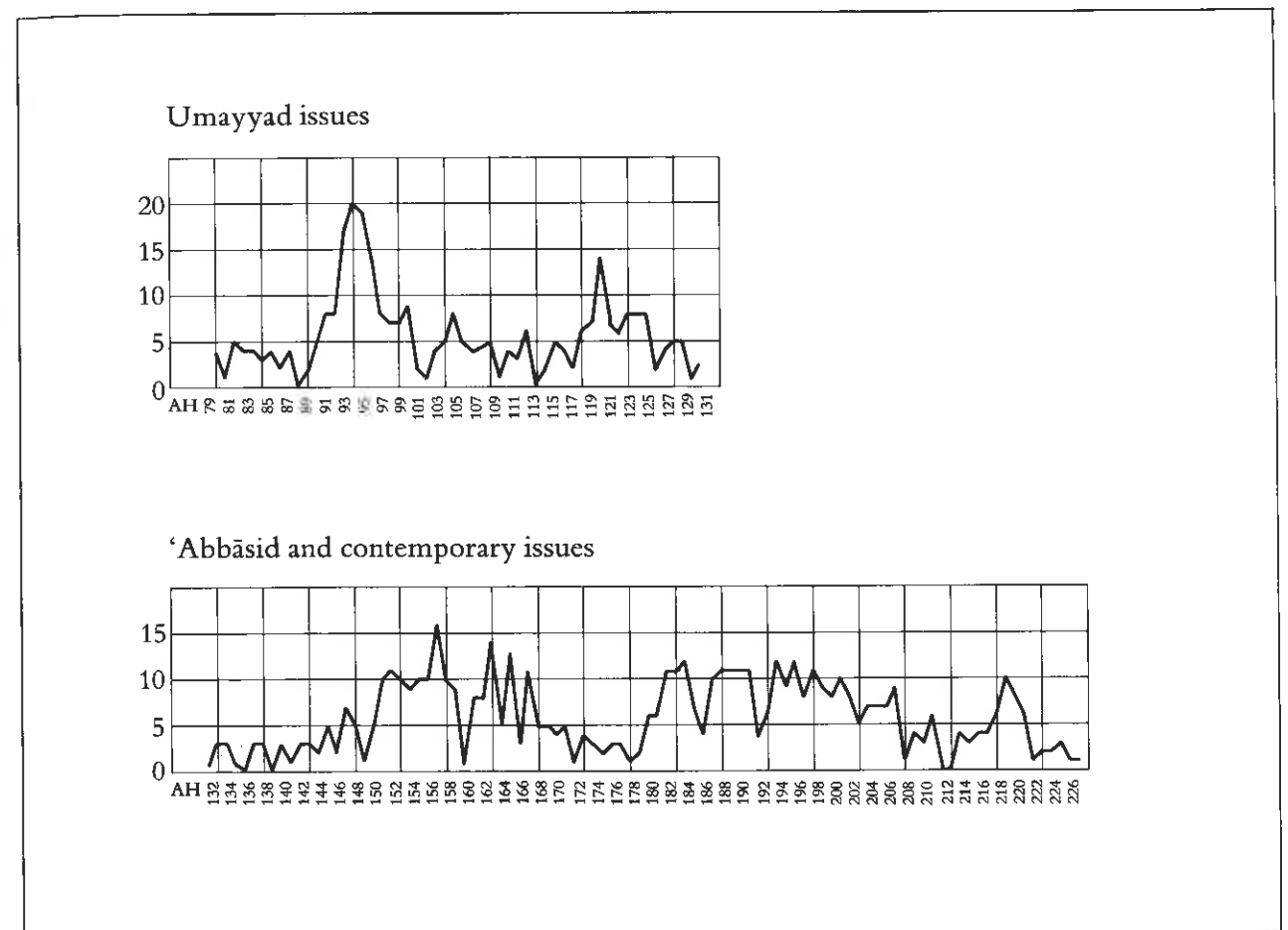


FIGURE 2. Sināw hoard: chronological distribution of the coins.

Umayyad element has already been discussed (see dynastic composition). There is unfortunately no detailed publication of a ninth century containing sufficient Umayyad coins for a useful year-by-year comparison to be undertaken. However the Damascus hoard, almost certainly deposited in 131 AH/748–9 AD, is worth comparing with the Sināw hoard despite its much earlier date.¹⁸ Both hoards are richest in coins of the period 90–100 AH (Sināw hoard 122 = 37.1% of the Umayyad element, Damascus hoard 303 = 12.7%) and 120–6 AH (Sināw 58 = 17.6%, Damascus 1106 = 46.5%). The Damascus hoard, however, has a far higher percentage of coins of the latter period, whereas the Sināw hoard is stronger in coins of the earlier period (indeed it contains more coins of 93, 94 and 95 AH than of any other year). Both hoards clearly reflect what may be assumed to be

periods of peak production under the Umayyads, the differences in the proportions probably representing differences in the ways the two groups of coins were accumulated. Turning to the corresponding troughs, we notice that in the Sināw hoard there are three years for which no coins are found – 88, 108 and 114 AH. The first two years are very sparsely represented in the Damascus hoard, while the third falls in a period of what was evidently increasing but still only moderate production. Thus allowing for their very different sizes (the Damascus hoard contains more than seven times as many Umayyad coins) the two hoards are broadly similar in respect of their Umayyad components.

Table 4 is a decade-by-decade comparison of the Sināw hoard with two hoards of the same period each containing a sizeable ‘Abbāsīd

TABLE 4

AH	Sināw Hoard		Kochtel Hoard		Dobrinno Hoard	
	No. of coins	%	No. of coins	%	No. of coins	%
79-80	5	0.5	—	—	—	—
81-90	33	3.5	—	—	—	—
91-100	117	12.3	1	0.2	—	—
101-110	35	3.7	—	—	—	—
111-120	39	4.1	2	0.4	—	—
121-130	67	7.0	8	1.7	23	4.3
131-140	18	1.9	22	4.7	27	5.1
141-150	43	4.5	37	7.9	40	9.6
151-160	91	9.6	58	12.3	57	10.8
161-170	71	7.4	67	14.3	70	13.3
171-180	28	2.9	33	7.0	27	5.1
181-190	98	10.3	120	25.5	126	23.9
191-200	89	9.4	75	16.0	92	17.4
201-210	56	5.9	40	8.5	41	7.8
211-220	43	4.5	5	1.1	7	1.3
221-230	9	0.9	2	0.4	3	0.6

element – the Kochtel and the Dobrinno hoards (407 and 503 ‘Abbāsīd coins respectively).

Allowing for differences in the percentage column arising from the presence in the Sināw hoard of an abnormally large Umayyad element, the hoards exhibit a broad similarity in their chronological distribution. In all three, the highest percentages occur in the two twenty-year periods 151-70 and 181-200, a phenomenon consistent with what has been observed in other hoards of the early ‘Abbāsīd period. However, in the Sināw hoard there are fewer coins of the 160s than of the 150s, whereas in the other two hoards coins of the 160s are the more numerous. There are also proportionately fewer coins of the 160s and 180s in the Sināw hoard than in the other two. As far as the 160s are concerned, the difference is due mainly to a deficiency of coins of the Iraq mints (Sināw 32 = 3.4%, Kochtel 42 = 8.9%, Dobrinno 56 = 10.6%). The coins of north African mints, by contrast, stand out in this decade (29 specimens), whereas there are hardly any in the European hoards (one and three specimens respectively). The Sināw hoard is in this respect similar to the Umm Ḥajara hoard from Syria, which for the period in question is even weaker in Iraq coins and stronger in north African issues. Unless a process of selection was involved in the formation of the hoards, it would seem that this portion of the Sināw hoard was drawn from a different coin stock from the corresponding por-

tions of the other two. If the latter represent the coin stock of Iraq, then the Sināw hoard may – as far as the 160s are concerned – represent that of some area further to the west, perhaps Syria.

The decade 211-20 is rather more heavily represented in the Sināw hoard than in either of the two European hoards. This is due to the presence in the former of a strong Transoxiane and east Iranian element not found in the other two hoards. The significance of this element has already been discussed (see Mints; regional distribution).

CLIPPED COINS AND CUT FRAGMENTS

The surreptitious removal of metal from a coin by cutting round its edge with shears was common in the Caliphate as in other parts of the world prior to the introduction of milled coinage, despite heavy theoretical penalties (beating and cutting off the hand). In the Sināw hoard there are 36 coins which show clear evidence of having been clipped: 3 Sasanian (nos 2, 3 and 6), 24 Umayyad (nos 12, 25, 28, 29, 31, 44, 64, 90, 109, 115, 118, 142, 143, 157, 158, 168, 169, 181, 195, 207, 235, 239, 245 and 246), 8 ‘Abbāsīd (nos 355, 376, 387, 396, 587, 673, 690 and 862), and one Idrīsīd (no. 936). The high proportion of clipped coins in the Sasanian and Umayyad elements is from one point of view natural, since the longer a coin remained in use the greater its chances of being cut down or otherwise mutilated. At the same time, there were factors which aggravated these chances. Sasanian coins current in Islamic times lacked the religious sanction accorded to their Islamic counterparts and, perhaps more importantly, were about a gram heavier. Those in the Sināw hoard have all been reduced to 1.8-1.9 gram, and may have circulated as half dirhams in the pre-reform period, when Islamic coins were being minted to the Sasanian weight standard of 3.8-4.0 grams. Umayyad coins were susceptible to clipping because they were struck on broad flans which often extended well beyond the marginal legend. In the year 123 AH the flan size of dirhams struck at Wāsiṭ, the chief Umayyad mint at this period, was reduced although the weight

remained the same. This doubtless encouraged the cutting down of earlier coins and, indeed, all but two of the clipped Umayyad pieces predate 123 (the latest is dated 129). Of particular interest is the al-Andalus dirham of 121 AH (no. 25). Here the perpetrator of the clipping succeeded in removing a section from the edge of the coin but then gave up in the attempt (perhaps because his shears were too blunt), leaving the coin with a buckled rim.

The notion that the coins singled out for clipping were generally of obsolete types should probably be discarded. There would be little point in removing metal from a coin which had ceased to be negotiable save at bullion value. There are, moreover, eight clipped ‘Abbāsīd coins in the hoard which were certainly still current at the time of its burial. Unlike the Sasanian and Umayyad coins, most of these are reduced by having a segment cut from one side. They thus differ from the cut fragments only inasmuch as they represent more rather than less than half a dirham. It is possible that these pieces circulated in the Ibāḍī territories and, being in the names of the unpopular ‘Abbāsīd Caliphs, commanded less respect there than elsewhere. Two coins have had roughly one third of their area clipped away, another about a quarter. But it must be regarded as very doubtful whether any of the clipped coins were intended to circulate as precise subdivisions of the dirham.

If the incomplete pieces just described are excluded from consideration there remain only six intentional fragments in the hoard: two Umayyad (nos 220, 320) and four ‘Abbāsīd (nos 381, 652, 700, 904). Three of these, cut diametrically in half may have been intended to pass as half dirhams in areas where there was a shortage of copper coin. Another, roughly a third of a dirham in weight and irregular in shape, may have been used merely to make up a certain weight of silver in a bullion transaction.

PIERCED COINS

There are fourteen pierced coins in the hoard: one Arab-Sasanian (no 7), eight Umayyad (nos 107,

152, 167, 170, 237, 245, 247, 299) and five ‘Abbāsīd (nos 446, 518, 618, 690, 786). The object of piercing was to enable a coin to be sewn to a garment or worn as a pendant, for the hole was always punched near the edge of the coin. Coins of Sasanian and Arab-Sasanian type were probably more likely than post-reform coins to be selected as ornaments, since they bore figure designs. The high proportion of Umayyad coins is interesting: at least one (no. 107, dated 131 AH) was probably pierced in ‘Abbāsīd times, when it may have lost any premium it originally enjoyed as coin and have been current as bullion only. The piercing of the ‘Abbāsīd coins is less easily accounted for. On the one hand, they may have commanded less respect in Ibāḍī territories than in the central Islamic lands (but pierced coins also occur in, for instance, the Susa hoard of c. 265 AH, where the latest pierced piece was only ten years old at the time of the hoard's burial);¹⁹ on the other, there must have been a constant demand for silver to be used as jewellery, a demand not sufficiently supplied by bullion and out-of-date coin. The pierced coins in the Sināw hoard were all of some age at the time of its burial, the latest being dated 199 AH.

METROLOGY

Owing to the poor state of preservation of the coins, no metrological analysis of the hoard has been attempted. Weights have for the most part been recorded only of such coins as are preserved entire and unencrusted. The weights of the Umayyad coins (which might be expected to show the most consistency) seldom attain the legal standard of 2.97 grams and usually fall below 2.8 grams. This is no doubt partly ascribable to wear and to the decay of the metal, which is frequently crystalline. But it may also reflect the fact that, as a recent study has showed, the earlier post-reform coins are as a rule lighter than the standard weight, averaging slightly over 2.8 grams.²⁰ The ‘Abbāsīd coins more often reach, or even exceed, the official standard, but they too include many pieces which are appreciably underweight.

CONCLUSION

The hoard was unearthed at a former administrative centre of the Ibāḍī Imamate. It was buried (or the last coins were added to it) in 226 AH/840-1 AD, and its abandonment may have been connected with disturbances towards the end of the reign of the Imam 'Abd al-Malik b. Ḥamīd. To what extent the coins were current in Oman before their concealment is not clear. They may represent the long-time savings of a local inhabitant, or they may have been the property of a merchant or traveller who had but recently arrived in the country. It is, however, highly probable that not all the coins were removed from circulation at the same moment. The Umayyad element in particular is uncharacteristically large and seems to represent an accumulation of late Umayyad or very early 'Abbāsīd times. The Sasanian coins, which are curiously interrelated, may have been put away even earlier. Like the Umm Ḥajara and other finds of the early 'Abbāsīd period containing many Sasanian, Arab-Sasanian and Umayyad coins, the Sināw hoard probably served as a reserve of capital, drawn upon from time to time for transactions requiring the payment of a certain quantity of silver. Such hoards may have been the rule rather than the exception in times when there were no banks, savings bonds or bills of credit.

How the coins arrived in Oman is hard to judge, although the composition of the hoard gives us some clues. The latest coins (those of al-Ma'mūn and al-Mu'taṣim) seem substantially to represent an import from the easternmost part of the Caliphate, probably south-east Iran. However it is unlikely that all the coins reached Oman by this route. The presence of many north African coins, notably of the 160's AH, suggests that part of the hoard was drawn from the currency of the western regions, perhaps Syria, from which it was imported to Oman via either the Arabian Gulf or the Red Sea. The Umayyad element, in which Iraqi and Syrian issues constitute the overwhelming majority, may have come from the same direction. The hoard is thus seen to be an amalgamation of several coin groups, drawn from the circulating stock of different

regions and imported at different times. Finally a few coins of Arabian mintage (the al-Yamāma dirham and the two Khārījite minims) may have been added, together with a few cut fragments, from the currency of the area in which the hoard was concealed. These inferences are, however, merely tentative and it is to be hoped that the discovery of further hoards in this part of Arabia will make possible a more critical evaluation of the Sināw find.

NOTES

¹ J. C. Wilkinson, *Water and Tribal Settlement in South-East Arabia*, 1977, p. 195 (citing al-Sālimī, *Tuhfat al-a'yān bi-sīrat ahl 'Umān*, Cairo 1380/1961, i, p. 153). I am indebted to Dr Wilkinson for this reference. See also Sa'il b. Razīq, *History of the Imāms and Sayyids of 'Omān*, trans. G. P. Badger, Hakluyt Society 1871, pp. 16-17.

² *wa s̄arat 'Umān yauma'idhin khayr dārin. Kashf al-ghummah*, ed. Sirhān b. Sa'id al-Azkawī, 1980, p. 48.

³ *History of the Imāms and Sayyids of 'Omān*, p. 15.

⁴ V. N. Riabtzovich, 'Dva monetno-veshchevikh klada ix v. iz Vitebskoy oblasti', *Numizmatika i Epigrafika* V, 1965, pp. 121-60.

⁵ V. V. Kropotkin, 'Novye nakhodki sasanidskikh i kuficheskikh monet v Vostochnoi Evrope', *Numizmatika i Epigrafika* IX, 1971, p. 88, no. 124.

⁶ R. R. Vasmer, 'Klad kuficheskikh monet, naidennyi v Novgorode v. 1920 g.', *Izvestia Gosudarstvennoi Akademii istorii material' noi kultury* 4, 1975, p. 264. Listed and discussed by Thomas S. Noonan, 'Ninth Century Dirham Hoards from European Russia: a Preliminary Analysis' (paper presented at the Sixth Oxford Symposium on Coinage and Monetary History: Coinage in the Northern Lands, c. 800-1100; Oxford January 9th-11th, 1981). I am indebted to Prof. Noonan for making his working copy of this paper available to me.

⁷ W. Anderson and R. Vasmer, *Der Chalifenmünzfund von Kochtel*. Dorpat 1926.

⁸ A. A. Bykov, 'Devitskii klad kuficheskikh monet', *Tezisy dokladov nauchnoi sessii Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha*, Leningrad 1967, pp. 66-9; also in *Trudy Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha (Numizmatika* 4) 12, 1971, pp. 26-36, and *Vostochnye istochniki po istorii narodov Iugo-Vostochnoi i Tsentral' noi Evropy* 3, 1974, pp. 26-71. The hoard is listed in full by T. S. Noonan, 'A ninth century dirham hoard from Devitsa in southern Russia', *American Numismatic Society Museum on Notes* 27, 1982, pp. 185-209.

⁹ H. Simon, *Die sāsānidischen Münzen des Fundes von Babylon*, *Acta Iranica (Textes et Mémoires* V), *Varia* 1976, Leiden 1977, pp. 149-337.

¹⁰ Muhammad Abu 'l-Faraj Al-'Ush, *Kunz Umm Ḥajarah al-fidḍi*. Damascus 1972.

¹¹ Ibrahim Artuk, *Denizbati Definesi*, Ankara 1966.

¹² Thomas S. Noonan, 'When and How Dirhams First Reached Russia; a Numismatic Critique of the Pirenne Theory', *Cahiers du monde russe et soviétique*, XXI, 3-4, 1980, pp. 401-69 (lists and discusses hoards originally published by

E. A. Pakhomov, *Monetnye klady Azerbaidzhana i drugikh respublik, kraev i oblastei Kavasa I-IX*, Baku, 1926-66).

¹³ R. W. Morris, 'An Eighth Century Hoard from Eastern Saudi Arabia', typescript in the British Museum and the American Numismatic Society, New York. Discussed by T. S. Noonan, *op. cit.* note 12.

¹⁴ Noonan, 'How and When Dirhams First Reached Russia', pp. 413-5, Table IV.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 409.

¹⁶ Since the above was written I have received from Professor Noonan the manuscript of his article on the Devitsa hoard (see note 6 above). His complete listing of the hoard reveals that it contains, for the period 193-226, many more coins of Samarqand and other mints in Transoxiana than of mints located in the more westerly regions. The hoard is also exceptional in that coins of al-Mu'taṣim are more numerous than those of earlier Caliphs, amounting to almost a third of the 'Abbāsīd element (sixty-one coins).

¹⁷ P. H. Sawyer, *The Age of the Vikings*, 1975 ed., p. 103; figs 17-18 (graphs of ninth century Scandinavian and Russian hoards, reproduced from Bolin's *Mynt och Myntfund*).

¹⁸ M. Abu 'l-Faraj Al-'Ush, *The Silver Hoard of Damascus*, Damascus 1972.

¹⁹ G. C. Miles, 'A Ninth Century Hoard of Dirhams Found at Susa', *Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique en Iran*, T. XXXVII, 1960, pp. 69-145; p. 139 on pierced coins.

²⁰ M. R. Broome, 'Early Post-Reform Dirhams of 'Abd al-Malik', *Seaby's Coin and Medal Bulletin*, December 1980, pp. 374-7.

²¹ Rika Gyselen, *Trésors monétaires d'époque sasanide tardive. Problèmes d'identifications des ateliers monétaires*. Thèse de III^e cycle. Université de Paris III, 1979. See also *idem*, 'Ateliers monétaires et cachets officiels sasanides', *Studia Iranica* 8/2, 1979, pp. 189-212; and R. Curiel et R. Gyselen, 'Une collection de monnaies de cuivre sasanides tardives et arabo-sasanides', *Studia Iranica* 10/1, 1981, pp. 57-8.

CATALOGUE

Coins have not been described in full where a simple catalogue reference will suffice. References are as far as possible to the exact variety, as defined by legends (including mint, date, and additional words above or beneath the area inscriptions), annulet combinations and the circles surrounding the obverse and reverse areas. BMC references have been checked by first-hand examination of the coins in the British Museum collection.

Coins which are incomplete, encrusted or corroded have been noted as such and their weights (except in the case of clipped coins and cut fragments) have been omitted. If less than the full diameter of the coin has been preserved, the coin has been measured at its widest point and a plus sign inserted after the measurement.

An asterisk indicates that the coin is illustrated (Plates 3-8).

SASANIAN

Hormizd IV (578-90 AD)

- 1* Drachm. Mint signature 'HM (*i.e.* Hamadan), regnal year 12. Crowned bust of Hormizd facing r. Inscription in Pahlavi r. 'WHLMZD, 1. P(ZWN). *Border*: serrate circle with three star-and-crescent symbols around. *Reverse*: fire altar flanked by attendants. Pahlavi inscription r. 'HM, 1. DW'CDH (*i.e.* 12). *Border*: double (or triple) serrate circle. Incomplete (broken, perhaps clipped). Diam. 25 mm.

Unpublished (?) but cf Paruck no. 434; Göbl 1954, Tabelle 10; Göbl 1968, nos 201-2.

The double (triple?) serrate circle on the reverse distinguishes this piece from the catalogued specimens and is evidently very unusual. A specimen of the same mint and date in the British Museum shows only one circle. Double circles had previously been adopted under Kavād I (484-531 AD) on drachms minted between his 33rd and 43rd year. Since the present issue dates from the last year of Hormizd IV's reign and coins of his successor Khusrau II regularly feature a triple circle on the reverse, it may be that the change in pattern occurred prior to Hormizd's death in 590. It is strange, however, that the change is not attested simultaneously on the metropolitan issues of Ctesiphon.

Khusrau II (590-628 AD)

- 2-3* Drachm. Mint signature 'HM (*i.e.* Hamadān, regnal year 28. Crowned bust of Khusrau facing r. Pahlavi inscr. r. HWSLWY, 1. PZWT. *Border*: triple serrate circle (outer ring missing). *Reverse*: fire altar flanked by attendants. Inscr. r. 'HM, 1. HSHTWYST (*i.e.* 28). Both specimens heavily clipped. Diam. 22, 23 mm, 1.89, 1.81 g.

Paruck no. 451; Göbl 1954, Tabelle 11; Göbl 1968, no. 211.

- 4 Drachm. mint signature D' (*i.e.* Dārābjird), regnal year 31 or 33. As above but *rev.* inscr. r. D' 1. Y'CSYH or SCSYH (*i.e.* 31 or 33). Diam. 27 mm, 2.66 g.

Paruck no. 451; Göbl 1954, Tabelle 11; Göbl 1968, no. 211.

- 5 Drachm. Mint signature WH (for Weh Ardashīr, *i.e.* Ctesiphon?), regnal year 3. Similar to nos 2-4 but narrower bust and crown. *Rev.* inscr. r. WH, 1. TLTY (*i.e.* 3). Incomplete, two fragments (old breaks). Diam. 30.5 mm.

Cf Paruck no. 448; Göbl 1954, Tabelle 11 (*sub* NH); Göbl 1968, no. 208.

- 6* Drachm. Mint signature WYHC (for Veh-az-Āmid-Kavād *i.e.* Arrajān?),²¹ regnal year 10. Type as above but *rev.* inscr. r. WYHC, 1. 'SHR' (*i.e.* 10). Clipped. Diam. 23 mm, 1.94 g.

Paruck no. 448; Göbl 1954, Tabelle 11 (*sub* NIHC); Göbl 1968, no. 208.

ARAB-SASANIAN

Anonymous issues of the Arab governors

7* Drachm. Mint signature D' (i.e. Darābjird), year 30. Normal obverse type of Khusrau II, but with Kufic legend *bismillāh* in lower obverse margin. Reverse: fire altar flanked by attendants. Pahlavi legend r. D', 1. SYH (i.e. 30). Pierced, chipped. Diam. 25 mm, 2.34 g.

Walker 1941, no. 14.

The date may be read in terms of either the Yezdegird Era (i.e. 41 AH/661 AD) or the Post-Yezdegird Era (i.e. 62 AH/681 AD). The former makes better sense, since from 41 AH/661 AD onward the coins of Dārābjird generally show the names of Arab governors.

8* Drachm. Mint signature SK (i.e. Sakastān), year 48. As above, but obverse legend *bismillāh rabbī* and reverse r. SK, 1. HSH TCHL (i.e. 48). Diam 29 mm, 3.22 g.

Walker 1941, no. 27.

The date in this case is to be interpreted in terms of either the Yezdegird Era (i.e. 60 AH/679 AD) or the Hijra Era (668 AD). A Hijra date has more in its favour, since governors' names appear regularly on the coins of Sakastan from 56 AH/675 AD onward.

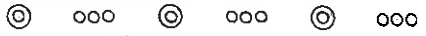


UMAYYAD

Number	Mint	AH	Diameter (mm)	Weight (g)	Reference, Remarks
9	Ardashīr Khurra	91	25	2.58	Walker 1956, no. 259.
10	Ardashīr Khurra	97	27	2.58	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 263.
11	Arminīya	95	27	2.54	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 264a.
12	Arminīya	98	23+	1.59	Lavoix no. 373; Walker 1956, p. 110. Clipped.
13	Arminīya	101	27	2.83	Nützel no. 470; Walker 1956, p. 110. Chipped.
14-15	Iṣṭakhr	91	25	2.74, 2.70	Walker 1956, no. 270. No. 14 chipped.
16	Iṣṭakhr	95	24	2.20	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 274. Chipped.
17	Iṣṭakhr	96	26	2.70	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 275. Chipped.
18-19	Iṣṭakhr	98	25.5	2.62, 2.64	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 277.
20	Iṣṭakhr	102	25.5	2.42	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. P.58a. Chipped.
21	Ifriqiya	101	27	—	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. P.59. Incomplete (two fragments).
22	Ifriqiya	103	25	—	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 280. Chipped.
23	Ifriqiya	113	26	—	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 285. Incomplete (two fragments).
24	al-Andalus	117	28	—	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. Lis. 3. Chipped.
25*	al-Andalus	121	25.5	—	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. ANS 21. Buckled, margin partly clipped away.
26	al-Andalus	(1)×8	16+	—	Small fragment.
27-29	al-Baṣra	81	23+ - 26	—	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 301. Nos 28-29 clipped.
30*	al-Baṣra	81	26.5	2.79	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 301 (var.). Point beneath <i>wāw</i> of <i>wa thamānīna</i> .
31	al-Baṣra	82	22+	—	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 303. Clipped.
32	al-Baṣra	82	25.5	2.69	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 304.
33	al-Baṣra	82	22+	—	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 302(?). Fragment.
34-36	al-Baṣra	100	26-26.5	2.58 av.	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 305.
37-39	al-Baṣra	100	24.5-25.5	—	Chipped and broken specimens.
40	Balkh	128	26.5	2.84	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 308.
41	al-Taymara	94	27	—	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 312. Chipped.
42	al-Jazīra	128	26	—	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 316. Broken, chipped.
43	al-Jazīra	129	26	—	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 317. Chipped.
44	al-Jazīra	129	21+	—	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 317. Clipped down to obverse inner circle.
45	al-Jazīra	130	25	2.69	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 318 (var.).
46	Jayy	79	28	—	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 325. Broken.
47	Jayy	79	26	—	As above; incomplete.
48	Jayy	90	25.5	—	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 329. Incomplete.
49	Jayy	94	26	2.58	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 333.
50*	Ḥarrān	87	27	2.63	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. I.5.
51	Darābjird	93	25	—	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 342.
52-53	Darābjird	94	27	2.74	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 343.
54	Darābjird	(9)4	23	—	As above; fragment.
55	Darābjird	95	26	2.76	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 344.

Number	Mint	AH	Diameter (mm)	Weight (g)	Reference, Remarks
56	Dimishq	79	26	2.75	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 352.
57	Dimishq	82	26	2.58	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 355.
58-60	Dimishq	83	24-26	2.60 av.	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 356.
61-63	Dimishq	84	23-25	2.33 av.	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 358.
64	Dimishq	86	20.5+	1.36	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 360. Clipped.
65	Dimishq	87	26	2.33	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 361.
66	Dimishq	87	25	—	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 361. Two fragments.
67	Dimishq	89	24	2.02	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 364.
68	Dimishq	91	22+	—	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 367. Fragment.
69	Dimishq	92	26	—	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 368. Fragment.
70	Dimishq	95	26	2.34	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 371.
71	Dimishq	96	28	2.59	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 372.
72	Dimishq	96	—	—	As above. Two fragments.
73	Dimishq	97	27	—	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 374. Four fragments.
74	Dimishq	98	27	3.04	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 375.
75	Dimishq	99	25	2.30	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 376.
76-78	Dimishq	100	26.5-27.5	2.73 av.	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 377.
79	Dimishq	105	26.5	2.66	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 382.
80-81	Dimishq	106	26	2.62, 2.84	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 383 (var.).
82	Dimishq	107	27	2.65	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 384.
83-84	Dimishq	111	27	2.85, 2.78	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 388a.
85	Dimishq	113	26.5	2.79	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 390.
86*	Dimishq	116	25	2.51	<i>Ibid.</i> , p.150 (citing Ties. no. 2748); Damascus hoard no. 135.
87	Dimishq	121	27	2.96	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 396. Encrusted.
88	Dimishq	122	26.5	2.47	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 398. Incomplete.
89	Dimishq	123	27	—	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 399. Three fragments (old breaks).
90	Dimishq	125	21+	1.34	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 400. Clipped.
91	Dimishq	126	25.5	2.71	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. P.79.
92	Dimishq	12x	26.5	—	Fragment.
93	Dimishq	12x	24	—	Incomplete; four fragments.
94	Dimishq	130	25	2.63	Walker 1956—No Damascus dirham of this date appears to have been published. Strangely, there is no specimen in the Damascus hoard, which contained no less than 62 dirhams of Dimishq dated 131. Specimens of 128 and 129 are similarly rare (two of 128 in the Damascus hoard, none of 129—but one of the latter date has since been observed in a private collection).
95	Dimishq	1xx	26	—	Incomplete (two fragments, old breaks).
96	Dimishq	xx7	26	—	Incomplete (two fragments).
97	al-Rayy	93	27	2.77	Walker 1956, no. 409. Incomplete.
98*	al-Rayy	96	27	—	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. Kh. 7. Incomplete.
99	al-Rayy	98	26.5	2.62	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 412.
100*	Sābūr	80	26.5	—	<i>Ibid.</i> , p.156 (citing Johnston Sale Catalogue, 1906).
101	Sābūr	91	24	—	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 414. Incomplete.
102	Sābūr	92	26	2.60	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 415.
103	Sābūr	93	25	2.55	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 417.
104	Sābūr	96	25.5	2.59	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 421.
105	Sābūr	96	26	2.04	As above; encrusted.
106	Sābūr	?	20+	—	Fragment.
107*	al-Sāmīya	131	24	2.82	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 425. Pierced, encrusted.
108	Sijistān	92	26	—	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 427. Incomplete (two fragments).
109*	Surraq	98	22.5+	1.93	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 434. Clipped.
110	al-Sūs	90	24.5	2.61	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 436.
111	al-Sūs	94	26	—	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 437. Broken.
112	Sūq al-Ahwāz	91	26	—	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 440. Incomplete.
113	Sūq al-Ahwāz	94	26	2.78	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 442.
114	Sūq al-Ahwāz	95	26	2.73	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. P.90 (p. 166).

Number	Mint	AH	Diameter (mm)	Weight (g)	Reference, Remarks
115	Sūq al-Ahwāz	96	26	—	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 444. Clipped.
116	Kirmān	92	27	2.56	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 457.
117	Kirmān	93	26	2.77	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 458.
118	Kirmān	94	24+	2.34	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. P.93. Clipped.
119	Kirmān	97	22+	—	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 461. Incomplete.
120	Māh-al-Baṣra	79	27.5	2.76	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. Th. 11 (p. 175).
121*	Māh-al-Baṣra	83	24.5+	—	Unpublished date for this mint. Chipped.
122	Māhī	93	27.5	—	Walker 1956 no. 475. Incomplete.
123	Māhī	94	25	—	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 475a. Incomplete.
124	Māhī	95	26.5	2.63	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 476.
125	Māhī	97	24.5	2.21	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 480. Chipped.
126	Māhī	98	26	2.77	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. P.95 (p. 177).
127*	al-Mubāraka	109	26	2.23	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 483 (but no point on obv.).
128	al-Mubāraka	109	27.5	2.81	As above. Encrusted.
129	Marw	90	28	—	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 490. Incomplete (two fragments).
130	Marw	92	27.5	—	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 492. Incomplete (two fragments).
131-132	Marw	93	26.5, 27	2.70, 2.75	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 493.
133-134	Marw	95	27.5, 25.5	2.71, 2.41	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 494. No. 133 pierced.
135	Marw	95	27	—	As above. Incomplete.
136	Marw	9x	—	—	Incomplete, two fragments (broken during cleaning).
137	Marw	?	15+	—	Fragment.
138*	Maysān	96	25	—	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 510.
139	Nahr Tira	90	25	—	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 511. Chipped.
140-141	Wāsiṭ	85	28	2.73, 2.56	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 523.
142-143	Wāsiṭ	85	24+	1.96, 2.18	As above. Both clipped.
144	Wāsiṭ	86	27.5	2.77	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 528.
145	Wāsiṭ	87	28	2.76	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 529.
146	Wāsiṭ	89	26	—	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 531. Incomplete.
147	Wāsiṭ	90	25	2.59	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 532.
148	Wāsiṭ	91	27	2.78	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 533.
149-151	Wāsiṭ	92	26.5-27.5	2.69 av.	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 535.
152-156	Wāsiṭ	93	26, 28	2.69 av.	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 536 (no. 152 pierced).
157-158	Wāsiṭ	93	22, 24+	1.92, 1.83	As above. Clipped.
159-161	Wāsiṭ	93	26	—	Broken and incomplete specimens.
162-167	Wāsiṭ	94	25-26	2.47 av.	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 538. No. 167 pierced.
168-169	Wāsiṭ	94	21.5-23	1.85, 1.68	As above, clipped.
170	Wāsiṭ	94	25	2.38	As above. Pierced, broken (two fragments).
171-172	Wāsiṭ	94	24, 26	—	Incomplete.
173-180	Wāsiṭ	95	25.5-27	2.63 av.	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 540.
181	Wāsiṭ	95	24+	2.17	As above. Clipped.
182-183	Wāsiṭ	95	26, 27	—	As above. Incomplete specimens.
184-188	Wāsiṭ	96	25.5-27	2.71 av.	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 541.
189	Wāsiṭ	96	25+	—	Fragment.
190-192	Wāsiṭ	97	26	2.67 av.	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 543.
193	Wāsiṭ	97	24	—	As above. Incomplete.
194-194a	Wāsiṭ	99	27, 26	2.75, 2.78	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 544.
195	Wāsiṭ	99	23+	—	Clipped.
196-197	Wāsiṭ	99	23+	—	Fragment.
198	Wāsiṭ	9x	27.5	—	Incomplete (two fragments).
199	Wāsiṭ	?	27	—	Incomplete.
200	Wāsiṭ	103	27	2.81	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 546.
201-202	Wāsiṭ	103	25, 23+	—	Incomplete and broken specimens; 202 probably clipped.
203-206	Wāsiṭ	104	26-26.5	2.79 av.	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 547.
207	Wāsiṭ	104	26	—	Incomplete.
208-211	Wāsiṭ	105	24.5-26	2.69 av.	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 548.
212-213	Wāsiṭ	105	26-27	—	As above. Encrusted.
214	Wāsiṭ	105	26	—	Incomplete (two fragments).

Number	Mint	AH	Diameter (mm)	Weight (g)	Reference, Remarks
215-217	Wāsiṭ	106	26	2.65 av.	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 552.
218-219	Wāsiṭ	107	26-27	—	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 554. Both encrusted.
220*	Wāsiṭ	107	25+	1.27	Cut fragment (almost half a dirham). Buckled.
221-222	Wāsiṭ	109	27, 28	2.64, 2.84	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 557.
223	Wāsiṭ	109	28	—	As above. Incomplete.
224	Wāsiṭ	110	24	—	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 558. Incomplete.
225-226	Wāsiṭ	111	26, 24.5	2.41, 1.90	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 559.
227-228	Wāsiṭ	112	26.5, 27.5	2.54, 2.80	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 560.
229	Wāsiṭ	112	27	—	As above. Incomplete.
230	Wāsiṭ	113	26	2.76	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 561.
231-233	Wāsiṭ	113	26-27.5	—	Incomplete and encrusted, no. 233 pierced.
234	Wāsiṭ	115	28	2.78	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 564.
235	Wāsiṭ	115	25	2.11	As above. Clipped (?).
236	Wāsiṭ	116	26	2.40	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 565.
237-238	Wāsiṭ	116	28-28.5	—	Incomplete and encrusted, no. 237 pierced.
239	Wāsiṭ	116	24+	1.97	Clipped.
240-241	Wāsiṭ	117	27, 28	2.51, 2.62	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 567.
242	Wāsiṭ	117	28	—	As above. Chipped, encrusted.
243	Wāsiṭ	118	28	2.63	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 568.
244	Wāsiṭ	118	28	—	As above. Incomplete.
245-246	Wāsiṭ	119	25-26	2.13, 2.18	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 569. Both clipped, no. 245 pierced.
247-250	Wāsiṭ	119	25-28	—	Incomplete, no. 247 pierced.
251-253	Wāsiṭ	120	26-27.5	2.66 av.	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 570.
254-256	Wāsiṭ	120	24.5-25.5	—	As above. Incomplete. encrusted.
257	Wāsiṭ	120	24+	—	Incomplete (two fragments).
258-265	Wāsiṭ	121	25-27	2.75 av.	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 571.
266-269	Wāsiṭ	121	25-27	—	As above. Incomplete.
270-273	Wāsiṭ	122	24.5-26	2.88 av.	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 573.
274-275	Wāsiṭ	122	25, 25.5	—	As above. Incomplete.
276-279	Wāsiṭ	123	25-26	2.80 av.	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 574.
280*	Wāsiṭ	123	25	2.37	As above, but pearl circles round obverse and reverse areas.
281-284	Wāsiṭ	124	25-26	2.74 av.	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 576.
285-288	Wāsiṭ	124	25-26	—	As above. Encrusted and incomplete specimens.
289-293	Wāsiṭ	125	23.5-25	2.70 av.	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 577.
294-295	Wāsiṭ	125	25	—	As above. Encrusted and incomplete specimens.
296	Wāsiṭ	126	24	2.89	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 578.
297-299	Wāsiṭ	126	24, 25	—	Incomplete specimens; no. 299 pierced (?).
300	Wāsiṭ	126	25	2.71	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 581.
301-302	Wāsiṭ	126	24, 24.5+	—	Incomplete specimens.
303-304	Wāsiṭ	127	24.5-25.5	2.87, 2.74	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 582 (var. no. point on obverse).
305	Wāsiṭ	128	25	2.87	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 583.
306	Wāsiṭ	128	24	—	As above. Incomplete.
307*	Wāsiṭ	129	25	2.89	Walker 1956 —. Bates & De Shazo 1974, p. 114. (var. with 7 annulets in obverse margin).
308-309	Wāsiṭ	129	23, 24.5	2.84, 2.73	Walker 1956, no. 584.
310-311	Wāsiṭ	130	24, 25	2.93, 2.84	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 585.
312	Wāsiṭ	130	23.5	—	As above. Incomplete.
313-315	Wāsiṭ	missing	12+, 16+ 18+	—	Fragments.
316	?	91	15+	—	Fragment.
317	?	96	27	—	Incomplete.
318	?	99	26	—	Fragment.
319	?	9x	25	—	Fragment.
320	?	12x	23	—	Cut fragment, approx. one third of a dirham.
321	?	1xx	27	—	Incomplete (two fragments).
322-336	?	?	—	—	Small fragments.

Number	Mint	AH	Diameter (mm)	Weight (g)	Reference, Remarks
‘ABBĀSID					
<i>Al-Saffāh (132–6 AH/749–54 AD)</i>					
337	al-Bašra	134	25	2.91	BMC no. 3 ^a ; Nützel no. 607.
338–339	al-Bašra	136	25.5	2.90, 2.82	BMC no. 32; Nützel no. 610.
340	al-Bašra	136	25	—	As above. Incomplete.
341–342	al-Kūfa	132	24, 25	2.93, 2.86	BMC no. 5; Nützel no. 612.
343	al-Kūfa	132	24	—	As above. Incomplete.
344	al-Kūfa	133	24	2.85	BMC no. 7; Nützel no. 614.
345–346	al-Kūfa	133	24	—	As above. Incomplete.
347	al-Kūfa	136	25	2.69	BMC no. 9; Nützel no. 617.
<i>Al-Manšūr (136–58 AH/754–75 AD)</i>					
348*	Arminīya	150	26.5	2.81	As BMC no. 29 but no crescent below reverse legend. E. Pakhomov <i>Moneti Azerbaydzhana</i> , 1959, p. 66.
349*	Ifrīqīya	146	24.5	2.39	Obv. Triple circle, annulets:  Rev. Triple circle,  beneath formula (as Czechow, no. 38: Arminyah, 145 AH). Denizbaci no. 209.
350	al-Bašra	140	25	—	BMC no. 36; Nützel no. 655.
351	al-Bašra	141	26	—	BMC no. 37; Nützel no. 656.
352	al-Bašra	142	26	2.72	BMC no. 38; Nützel no. 657.
353	al-Bašra	142	24	—	As above. Incomplete.
354	al-Bašra	143	27	2.71	BMC no. 39; Nützel no. 658.
355	al-Bašra	143	25	—	As above; rough quarter segment clipped away.
356	al-Bašra	144	27	2.72	BMC no. 40; Nützel no. 659.
357–360	al-Bašra	144	25–27	—	As above; incomplete specimens.
361	al-Bašra	145	25	2.82	BMC no. 41; Lavoix no. 625; Nützel no. 661 (var.).
362	al-Bašra	144 or 145	25	—	Unit of date missing but type as BMC nos 40–41 (years 144–5).
363*	al-Bašra	146	25	—	As BMC no. 42, but annulet beneath reverse formula very indistinct. Unit of date written  (= sitt (6) altered from thalāth (3) ?).
<p>Altered dates are uncommon in the ‘Abbāsīd series. However there is no other plausible explanation for the spelling of the unit, which in its present form seems intended as the word <i>sitt</i>, ‘six’. Since the issues of 143 and 146 are alike in pattern there is no way of telling for certain whether the obverse is from a die of 146 with the unit mistakenly engraved as a three and then altered, or from a die of 143 brought up to date. The reuse of an old die would not be surprising in view of later mint practice under, for instance, the Sāmānids. It is possible, too, that there was a shortage of dies at the Bašra mint following the unsuccessful rebellion of the ‘Alids Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm b. ‘Abdullāh in 145, when the ‘Abbāsīd series was temporarily interrupted (for a dirham of Ibrāhīm, minted at al-Bašra in 145, see Lowick in <i>Revue Numismatique</i> 1980, pp. 218–24).</p>					
364–365	al-Bašra	147	24	2.78, 2.62	BMC no. 44; Lavoix no. 628.
366	al-Bašra	147	25	2.88	BMC no. 45; Nützel no. 666.
367*	Junday Sābūr	137	25	2.84	Obv. annulets ○○○○○○; triple circle both sides (as Lavoix no. 631: Junday Sābūr, 138 H). Unpublished date for this mint.
368	Junday Sābūr	137	25	—	As above; incomplete.
369	al-Rayy	146	26	—	BMC no. 46; Nützel nos 669–70. Encrusted.
370–371	al-Rayy	147	26, 25	2.65, 2.92	BMC no. 47; Nützel no. 671.
372	al-Rayy	148	25	2.65	BMC no. 48; Nützel no. 672.
373	al-Rayy	?	25	—	Fragment showing name of al-Mahdī b. amīr al-mu‘minīn (<i>i.e.</i> post 145 AH).
374	al-Kūfa	137	24	—	BMC no. 57 ^k ; Nützel no. 677.

Number	Mint	AH	Diameter (mm)	Weight (g)	Reference, Remarks
375–376	al-Kūfa	139	26, 21+	—	BMC no. 58; Nützel no. 679.
377	al-Kūfa	141	24	—	BMC no. 61; Nützel no. 681. Incomplete.
378–380	al-Kūfa	146	24.5–25	—	BMC no. 65 ^a ; Nützel no. 687.
381	al-Kūfa	?	25	1.50	Cut fragment, roughly half a dirham.
382	al-Kūfa	?	25	—	Incomplete.
383–384	al-Kūfa	?	24+	—	Fragments.
385–386	al-Muḥammadiya	149	26, 25	2.74, 2.78	BMC no. 50; Nützel no. 692.
387	al-Muḥammadiya	149	19.5+	1.46	As above; clipped.
388–390	al-Muḥammadiya	150	25–26	2.83 av.	BMC no. 51; Nützel nos 696–700.
391	al-Muḥammadiya	150	25	—	As above; incomplete.
392–393	al-Muḥammadiya	151	26.5, 26	2.85, 2.85	BMC no. 52; Nützel nos 701–2.
394	al-Muḥammadiya	151	24	—	As above. Incomplete.
395	al-Muḥammadiya	152	27.5	2.90	BMC no. 53; Nützel nos 703–4.
396	al-Muḥammadiya	154	24.5+	2.49	Lavoix no. 657. Clipped (?).
397	al-Muḥammadiya	155	27	2.61	BMC no. 56; Nützel no. 710 (var.).
398–399	al-Muḥammadiya	155	26, 27	—	As above. Incomplete and encrusted pieces.
400	al-Muḥammadiya	155	24.5+	—	As above. Fragment.
401	al-Muḥammadiya	(154–8)	26+	—	Fragment.
402–403	Madīnat al-Salām	149	25, 24+	—	BMC no. 69; Nützel no. 713.
404–408	Madīnat al-Salām	150	25–26	2.80 av.	BMC no. 70; Nützel nos 714–5.
409–410	Madīnat al-Salām	151	24, 25	2.24, 2.81	BMC no. 71; Nützel nos 716–7.
411–415	Madīnat al-Salām	151	24.5–26.5	—	Incomplete and encrusted specimens.
416–421	Madīnat al-Salām	152	24.5–25	2.86 av.	BMC no. 72; Nützel nos 718–20.
422–427	Madīnat al-Salām	153	24–25	2.79 av.	BMC no. 73; Nützel nos 721–2.
428–429	Madīnat al-Salām	153	24, 24.5	—	As above; incomplete.
430–435	Madīnat al-Salām	154	25–26	2.77 av.	BMC no. 74; Nützel nos 723–8.
436	Madīnat al-Salām	154	25.5	—	As above; encrusted.
437–440	Madīnat al-Salām	155	25–26	2.88	BMC no. 75; Nützel nos 729–37.
441–442	Madīnat al-Salām	155	25	—	Incomplete.
443–452	Madīnat al-Salām	156	25–26	2.81 av.	BMC no. 76; Nützel nos 738–44. No. 446 pierced.
453–458	Madīnat al-Salām	156	25.26	—	As above; incomplete.
459–465	Madīnat al-Salām	157	24.5–26	2.85 av.	BMC no. 77; Nützel nos 748–53.
466	Madīnat al-Salām	157	26	—	As above; incomplete.
467	Madīnat al-Salām	157	26	2.78	BMC no. 78; Nützel nos 745–7.
468	Madīnat al-Salām	157	24+	—	As above; incomplete.
469–473	Madīnat al-Salām	158	24–25.5	2.82 av.	BMC no. 79; Nützel nos 759–61.
474–476	Madīnat al-Salām	158	25–26	—	Incomplete and encrusted specimens.
477	Madīnat al-Salām	missing	—	—	Fragment.
478*	al-Hāshimīya	139	26	2.71	Ties. no. 701; p. 15, no. 33. Incomplete, encrusted. Coins of al-Hāshimīya dated 139 would appear to be scarcer than those of 138. Tiesenhausen lists one firmly attested specimen, and one other has been observed in private hands. Each side shows a triple circle, that on the obverse being surrounded by three (?) annulets with central pellets.
479	mint uncertain (perhaps al-Muḥammadiya)	141	25	—	Fragment, encrusted.
480	missing	142	11+	—	Fragment.
481	missing	151	22+	—	Fragment.
482	missing	152	23.5+	1.25	Fragment (roughly half a dirham).
483	missing	15x	25	—	Fragment.
484	missing	—	—	—	Small fragment.
<i>Al-Mahdī (158–69 AH/775–85 AD)</i>					
485	Arminīya	168	26	—	BMC no. 92; Nützel nos 789–90. Incomplete, encrusted.
486	Ifrīqīya	166	25	—	Obv. triple circle, annulets. Lavoix no. 695. Incomplete.

Number	Mint	AH	Diameter (mm)	Weight (g)	Reference, Remarks
487*	Ifriqiya	166	25	—	Unpublished (?). Obv. double circle, annulets ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ Rev. single circle; ☆ ○ above, Yazid below <i>Muhammad rasul Allah</i> as rev. of BMC no. 112 (al-'Abbasiya 166). Encrusted, incomplete As above, but obverse six (?) annulets, and ○ ☆ above reverse. Incomplete.
488*	Ifriqiya	167	225	—	BMC no. 93 (obv. triple, rev. single circle). Incomplete.
489	Ifriqiya	167	24.5	—	Unpublished. Obv. single circle, annulets, ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ Rev. double circle, ○ ○ ○ above, Yazid below. The mint name is almost effaced. It may be not Ifriqiya but Tudgha, which is attested as an 'Abbāsid mint (with governor Yazid) from 163 (Kochtel hoard no. 59) or 164 AH (Ties. no. 959). The silver appears much alloyed.
491-492	al-Baṣra	161	24, 25	2.76, 2.89	BMC no. 96; Nützel nos 802-3.
493	al-Baṣra	161	20	—	Same; incomplete.
494	al-Baṣra	162	25.5	2.71	BMC no. 96 ^a ; Nützel no. 804.
495-496	Madīna Jayy	162	27, 25	3.00, 2.71	BMC no. 101; Nützel nos 807-9.
497 ¹	al-'Abbāsiya	158	26	—	BMC no. 103 (double circle on both sides). Encrusted.
498	al-'Abbāsiya	162	26	3.13	BMC no. 105 (Obv. double, rev. single circle); Nützel no. 817 (var.).
499*	al-'Abbāsiya	164	25.5	2.90	As BMC no. 108 (see below) but triple instead of double circle on obv.
500-501	al-'Abbāsiya	164	26, 25.5	2.74, 2.65	BMC no. 108 (Obv. double, rev. single circle).
502-504	al-'Abbāsiya	164	24.26	—	As above but double instead of single circle on rev. Encrusted, chipped.
505*	al-'Abbāsiya	161, 162 or 164	25	2.64	As BMC no. 105 (al-'Abbāsiya 162—see no. 498 above) but single circle both sides and date: <i>a (sic) wa sittina wa mi'ah</i> .
506	al-'Abbāsiya	165	22.5	—	BMC no. 110 (double circle on both sides); Nützel nos 821-2.
507-509	al-'Abbāsiya	166	24.5, 25	2.68 av.	BMC no. 111a (circles as above); Nützel nos 823-4.
510-511	al-'Abbāsiya	166	23.5+, 25	—	Same; chipped.
512	al-'Abbāsiya	163 or 166	22	—	Same; chipped.
513	al-'Abbāsiya	163 or 166	24.5	—	Same; incomplete.
514	al-'Abbāsiya	163 or 166	22	—	Obv. annulets, circles illegible, Rev. pearl circle, <i>bakh</i> above formula. Cf. BMC no. 107 (al-'Abbāsiya, 164). Chipped, worn.
515	al-'Abbāsiya	167	26.5	3.26	BMC no. 113 (double circle both sides). Nützel no. 829.
516	al-'Abbāsiya	168	25	—	Single circle both sides, annulets obscure. Cf. <i>Umm</i> <i>Ḥajarah</i> no. 335; Ties no. 1042. Encrusted.
517	al-'Abbāsiya	169	25	—	BMC no. 316 (Obv. double circle; rev. pearl circle).
518	al-'Abbāsiya	(166?)	24	—	Obv. worn. Rev. pearl circle, * * * <i>bakh</i> above, <i>Yazid</i> below Cf. Nützel no. 827, <i>Umm Ḥajarah</i> no. 330, (both al-'Abbāsiya, 166). Incomplete (cut), pierced.
519	Qaṣr al-Salām	168	24	2.40	BMC no. 132 ^b (wrongly read as Madīnat al-Salām); Nützel no. 833.
520	Kirmān	166	24	2.88	Lavoix no. 716 (Obverse double, reverse single circle). Encrusted.
521	Kirmān	168	24	—	Nützel no. 838. Encrusted.

¹possibly to be classed under al-Manṣūr.

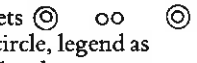
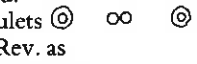
Number	Mint	AH	Diameter (mm)	Weight (g)	Reference, Remarks
522	Kirmān	169	22+	—	Nützel no. 839. Chipped.
523	al-Muḥammadiya	160	25	—	Lavoix no. 718 (Obv. triple, rev. single circle); <i>NHR</i> no. 60B. Incomplete.
524	al-Muḥammadiya	161	23	2.70	BMC no. 117; Nützel no. 842. <i>NHR</i> no. 61A.
525	al-Muḥammadiya	161	—	—	As above; encrusted.
526	al-Muḥammadiya	166	25	—	BMC no. 119; Nützel nos 847-8; <i>NHR</i> no. 66A.
527-528	al-Muḥammadiya	166	25	—	As above; incomplete.
529-530	al-Muḥammadiya	167	25, 24	3.03, 2.79	BMC no. 120; Nützel nos 849-50; <i>NHR</i> no. 67A.
531	Madīnat al-Salām	159	26	2.76	BMC no. 122; Nützel nos 856-7.
532-534	Madīnat al-Salām	160	26-27	2.82 av.	BMC no. 123; Nützel no. 858.
535-537	Madīnat al-Salām	160	25-27.5	—	As above; encrusted and incomplete specimens.
538*	Madīnat al-Salām	160	26	—	As above but * * * above rev. area. Unpublished.
539	Madīnat al-Salām	161	24.5	2.76	BMC no. 125; Nützel nos 866-85.
540-541	Madīnat al-Salām	161	25, 25.5	—	As above. Encrusted and incomplete specimens.
542-547	Madīnat al-Salām	162	23.5-25	2.84 av.	BMC no. 126; Nützel nos 876-88.
548-551	Madīnat al-Salām	162	23-24	—	As above. Encrusted and incomplete specimens.
552	Madīnat al-Salām	163	23	—	BMC no. 128 (Obv. double, rev. single circle).
553	Madīnat al-Salām	163	24	2.88	BMC no. 129 (double circle both sides); Nützel nos 893-6 (? circles different).
554-555	Madīnat al-Salām	163	23+	—	As above; chipped specimens.
556-557	Madīnat al-Salām	164	24, 22	2.89, 2.63	BMC no. 130; Nützel nos 898-901.
558-561	Madīnat al-Salām	164	23-24.5	—	As above; incomplete.
562	Madīnat al-Salām	165	24	—	Nützel nos 902-3; Lavoix no. 732.
563	Madīnat al-Salām	165	24	—	Incomplete (two fragments).
564*	al-Yamāma	168	23.5	—	Obv. Double circle, annulets ○○ ○○ ○○ ○○ ○○ Rev. double circle, legends as <i>Khed</i> . 394. Chipped.
565	missing	15x	28	—	Fragment.
<i>Al-Hādī (169-70 AH/785-6 AD)</i>					
566*	Ifriqiya	169	25	—	Obv. triple circle, annulets ◎ ◎ ◎ ◎ ◎ ◎ Rev. single circle, area legend: <i>al-khalīfa Mūsa/mimmā amara bihi</i> <i>Harūn/walī 'ahd al-muslimīn</i> . Cf. <i>Denizbaci</i> no. 346 (var.); <i>Sumer</i> 1964, p. 279. Chipped. Of the five or six varieties of this mint and date that in the <i>Denizbaci</i> hoard comes closest to the above, having the same reverse legend with the addition of a pellet underneath. The obverse circles and annulets may also be different.
567*	Ifriqiya	170	24	2.64	Mint misspelt <i>د ل ل ل ل</i> Otherwise as Nützel. no. 917, Lavoix no. 739. The coin is probably <i>not</i> an imitation, despite its blundered mint signature.
568 ¹	al-'Abbāsiya	169	26	—	BMC no. 136 (Obv. double circle, rev. single pearl circle). Encrusted.
569	al-Muḥammadiya	170	25	2.84	Nützel no. 923; <i>NHR</i> no. 70A.
570	Madīnat al-Salām	170	23	—	Nützel no. 925.
<i>Al-Rashīd (170-93 AH/786-809 AD)</i>					
571	Arrān	(193)	23+	—	Obv. double circle, annulets obscure. Rev. Single circle, legend as Ties 1549 (al-'Abbās above, <i>ibn</i> <i>Zuḥār</i> below). Fragment.
572*	Ifriqiya	175	25	2.47	BMC no. 162 (Obv. triple, rev. single circle) but pellets: <i>'bi-Ifriqiya, bakh-bakh, Naṣr</i> . Cf. <i>Denizbaci</i> no. 394 (same?).

¹may belong to al-Mahdi's reign.

Number	Mint	AH	Diameter (mm)	Weight (g)	Reference, Remarks
573	Ifriqiya	176	25	2.38	BMC no. 163 (circles as above).
574	Ifriqiya	17x	24	2.46	As above, but pearl circle round rev. circle.
575*	al-Bašra	183	23	—	Obv. triple circle, annulets. . . . OO Rev. as BMC no. 168 but double pearl circle, <i>Ja'far</i> beneath legend. Cf. NC 1921, p. 319 ('like BMC no. 168 but with جعفر beneath rev. area'). Chipped.
576	Madīna Balkh	182	25	—	BMC no. 170; Nützel nos 983-4.
577	Madīna Balkh	184	25	—	BMC no. 170 (Obv. double, rev. single circle); cf. Nützel no. 991 (var. obv. triple circle?). Encrusted.
578-579	Madīna Balkh	185	24, 25	—	BMC no. 170 ^c (circles as above).
580-581	Madīna Balkh	186	24, 25	2.82, 2.78	BMC no. 172 (circles as above); Nützel nos 997-9.
582-583	Madīna Balkh	186	24	—	As above. Chipped.
584-585	Madīna Balkh	187	25, 26	2.86, 2.90	Nützel no. 1002 (? annulets ⊙ ... ⊙ ... ⊙ ...)
586	Madīna Balkh	187	26.5	2.54	Nützel no. 1003.
587	Madīna Balkh	(188?)	25	2.24	Clipped (roughly two-thirds of a dirham). Nützel nos 1004-7.
588-589	Madīna Balkh	189	26.5	2.87, 2.78	BMC no. 175; Nützel nos 1010-11.
590-591	Madīna Balkh	189	27, 25.5	—	As above; encrusted and incomplete specimens.
592*	Madīna Jurjān	187	25	—	Obv. double circle, annulets obscure Rev. double circle, area as BMC no. 199 but nothing above, and خ: below. Cf. Ties no. 1417, NZ 1922 p. 6, note. Chipped.
593	al-Rāfiqa	189	26	—	Lavoix no. 790 (Obv. triple, rev. double circle). Encrusted, incomplete.
594	Madīna Zaranj	179	26	2.76	Nützel no. 1020.
595*	Madīna Zaranj	181	25	—	Tornberg, no. 170. Obv. triple circle, annulets oo oo oo oo oo o. Rev. as Nützel no. 1020 (yr. 179) but nothing above, and جعفر below.
596*	Madīna Zaranj	182	26.5	—	Obv. double pearl circle, four annulet pairs. Rev. Single circle. As BMC no. 177 but Yazīd below. Nützel no. 1024.
597	Madīna Zaranj	183	25	—	BMC no. 177; Nützel no. 1026.
598	Madīna Zaranj	183	24.5	—	As above; incomplete.
599	Madīna Zaranj	184	25	—	Nützel no. 1027; incomplete.
600	Madīna Zaranj	185	25	—	BMC no. 178; Nützel no. 1030. Encrusted.
601	Madīna Zaranj	186	26.5	3.78	Lavoix no. 799; Nützel nos 1031-2.
602	Madīna Zaranj	187	26	—	Nützel no. 1034. Chipped.
603-604	Madīna Zaranj	188	26.5, 27	—	Nützel nos 1035-6. Chipped.
605-606	Madīna Zaranj	189	26.5, 27	—	BMC no. 179 ^b (Obv. triple, rev. single circle). Chipped.
607	Madīna Zaranj	190	27	2.93	Nützel no. 1038.
608	Madīna Zaranj	190	26+	—	As above. Chipped.
609-610*	Madīna Zaranj	192	26.5	2.94, 2.90	Obv. triple circle, annulets oo oo oo oo oo o. Rev. as Nützel no. 1038 but <i>bakh</i> beneath. Unpublished? Cf. Ties. 1521.
611-612	Madīna Samarqand	193	22, 24	2.41, 2.97	BMC no. 181 (Obv. double, rev. single circle); Nützel nos 1047-50.
613*	Ṭabaristān	192	22.5	2.47	Tornberg p. 60, no. 229.
614	al-'Abbāsīya	171	25	—	BMC no. 184; Nützel no. 1060-1.
615-618	al-'Abbāsīya	172	24-25	—	BMC no. 187; Nützel no. 1065.
619-620	al-'Abbāsīya	173	—	—	Nützel nos 1067-9. Chipped.
621	al-Mubāraka(?)	183	24.5	—	Obv. double circle, annulets unclear. Rev. double circle, <i>Muhammad rasūl/Allāh nabī/rahma</i> . Cf. BMC no. 187. Chipped. worn. The mint is unfortunately unclear. if correctly read as al-Mubāraka, the combination of mint and year would appear to be hitherto unrecorded. The reverse legend occurs at Ifriqiya from 175 to 183, at

Number	Mint	AH	Diameter (mm)	Weight (g)	Reference, Remarks
622	al-Muḥammadiya	170	24.5	—	Tudgha from 178 to 183 and at al-Mubāraka from 176 to 180. It is not attested for the issues of al-'Abbāsīya.
623*	al-Muḥammadiya	173	25	2.74	BMC no. 188; Nützel nos 1073-4. Chipped. 'Mule'. Obv. as BMC no. 193 (al-Muḥammadiya, 173). Rev. as BMC no. 90 (mint uncertain, in the name of al-Mahdī).
624	al-Muḥammadiya	175	24	2.72	The coin has every appearance of being an official issue, not an imitation. The reverse die must therefore have been at least four years old when the coin was struck. Possibly, as in the case of the al-Bašra 146 dirham with the altered date (no. 363), the explanation lies in a temporary shortage of dies. Instances of muling in the early 'Abbāsīd period are uncommon (for two examples, of Middle East provenance, see <i>Coin Hoards</i> III, 1977, no. 261: a dirham of Madīnat al-Salām, 157 AH with reverse of Zaranj, 181 AH, and one of Madīnat al-Salām, 182 AH with reverse of the same mint, 194 AH).
625	al-Muḥammadiya	175	25	2.92	As BMC no. 195 (Obv. triple, rev. single plain circle) but Yazīd below, and no pellet beneath <i>ḡuriba</i> . NHR no. 75B.
626*	al-Muḥammadiya	178	24	2.65	As above but circles pearl, not plain. Obv. double circle, annulets oo oo oo oo o. Rev. single circle. Legends as NHR no. 79A.
627	al-Muḥammadiya	175	26.5	—	Nützel nos 1087-9; NHR no. 81C. Chipped.
628*	al-Muḥammadiya	180	26	2.91	As above but mint misspelt الهسسه
629	al-Muḥammadiya	181	26	—	BMC no. 197; Nützel nos 1090-2. NHR no. 82A.
630-632	al-Muḥammadiya	181	24-25.5	—	As above, incomplete specimens.
633-634	al-Muḥammadiya	182	27, 26	—	Nützel nos 1094-4; NHR no. 83A. Encrusted.
635-636	al-Muḥammadiya	182	26, 26.5	3.12, 2.95	Nützel no. 1096; NHR no. 83B.
637	al-Muḥammadiya	182	26	—	Obv. triple circle, five annulets. Rev. single circle Cf. NHR 83D (citing Tornberg no. 174; different circles, annulets).
638-639	al-Muḥammadiya	183	25, 25.5	2.67, 2.92	Nützel nos 1102-4; BMC no. 199; NHR no. 84A.
640	al-Muḥammadiya	183	25	—	As above; incomplete.
641	al-Muḥammadiya	183	26	2.87	Nützel nos 1098-1101; BMC no. 198 ^a ; NHR no. 84C.
642	al-Muḥammadiya	183	25	—	As above; incomplete.
643-644	al-Muḥammadiya	184	26, 27	2.93, 2.91	As Nützel nos 1105-08 but Obv. double instead of triple circle; BMC no. 200; NHR no. 85A.
645-647	al-Muḥammadiya	184	25, 26	—	As above. Encrusted and incomplete specimens.
648-649	al-Muḥammadiya	186	25	—	Nützel no. 1112-5; BMC no. 203; NHR no. 85A (wrongly citing Nützel no. 1111).
650	al-Muḥammadiya	186	23+	—	As above; incomplete.
651*	al-Muḥammadiya	187	26	—	Obv. double circle, six annulets. Rev. pearl circle, type as NHR no. 88C (citing Ties no. 1411). Nützel no. 1121 (not in NHR - but seems to be this variety). Double circle both sides, annulets: ⊙ o ⊙ o ⊙ NHR no. 88E(?). Chipped, roughly two-thirds of a dirham.
652	al-Muḥammadiya	187	23+	—	BMC no. 204; Nützel nos 1122-25; NHR no. 89D.
653	al-Muḥammadiya	188	25	2.58	As above; chipped.
654	al-Muḥammadiya	188	24	—	BMC no. 206; Nützel nos 1126-8; NHR no. 90E.
655-656	al-Muḥammadiya	189	24	2.67, 2.82	BMC no. 207; Nützel nos. 1131-6; NHR no. 91B.
657	al-Muḥammadiya	190	23	2.87	BMC no. 209; Nützel nos 1139-42; NHR no. 93A.
658	al-Muḥammadiya	192	23	2.92	Circles, annulets obscure. Rev. uncertain. Incomplete.
659	al-Muḥammadiya	193	21+	—	Obv. double, rev. single circle. Annulets obscure. Cf. BMC no. 204.
660	al-Muḥammadiya	(186-193)	23	—	BMC no. 210 ^b ; Nützel no. 1145.
661	Madīnat al-Salām	170	24.5	—	Obv. triple circle, 5 annulets. Rev. as BMC no. 210 ^b (year 170). Ties no. 1182.
662*	Madīnat al-Salām	174	26	2.85	Obv. triple pearl circle, three double annulets. Rev. as BMC no. 211 (year 175) but <i>Ja'far</i> below. Cf. Fahmy no. 1863 (same obv., different rev.).
663*	Madīnat al-Salām	177	26.5	2.87	

Number	Mint	AH	Diameter (mm)	Weight (g)	Reference, Remarks
664*	Madīnat al-Salām	178	23.5	2.78	Obv. double circle, annulets oo oo oo oo Rev. single circle, type as BMC no. 189 (al-Muḥammadiya, year 171, with <i>Mubāarak</i>). Cf. <i>Sumer</i> , 1965, pp. 202-3 (Mad. al-Salām, years 173, 175).
665-669	Madīnat al-Salām	179	23-26	—	BMC no. 212 (Obv. triple circle Rev. double circle). Encrusted and incomplete specimens.
670-672	Madīnat al-Salām	180	25.5	2.51 av.	BMC no. 213 (double circle both sides).
673	Madīnat al-Salām	180	23	2.24	As above. Chipped.
674-675	Madīnat al-Salām	181	24, 25	2.83, 2.45	BMC no. 214; Nützel nos 1159-61.
676-679	Madīnat al-Salām	181	25-26	—	As above; encrusted and incomplete specimens.
680-681	Madīnat al-Salām	182	26, 26.5	2.90, 2.78	BMC no. 215; Nützel no. 1165-6.
682	Madīnat al-Salām	182	25	—	As above. Chipped.
683	Madīnat al-Salām	182	16+	—	As above. Fragment.
684	Madīnat al-Salām	183	26	2.89	BMC no. 216; Nützel nos 1169-71.
685-686	Madīnat al-Salām	186	26, 25	2.89, 2.90	BMC no. 219; Nützel nos 1179-81.
687-689	Madīnat al-Salām	187	23.5-24	2.95 av.	BMC no. 220; Nützel nos 1182-7.
690	Madīnat al-Salām	187	22	2.76	As above. Pierced, segment clipped away.
691-692	Madīnat al-Salām	188	25, 25.5	2.86, 22.86	BMC no. 221; Nützel nos 1188-92.
693-696	Madīnat al-Salām	188	23-24.5	—	As above. Chipped.
697	Madīnat al-Salām	189	24	2.89	BMC no. 222; Nützel nos 1193-7.
698	Madīnat al-Salām	189	26	—	As above. Chipped.
699	Madīnat al-Salām	190	21	2.98	BMC no. 223; Nützel nos 1198-1205.
700	Madīnat al-Salām	190	22	—	As above. Cut half fragment. Encrusted.
701	Madīnat al-Salām	191	21	2.89	BMC no. 224; Nützel nos 1198-1205.
702-703	Madīnat al-Salām	191	21-22	—	As above. Encrusted and incomplete specimens.
704	Madīnat al-Salām	192	21	2.85	BMC no. 225; Nützel nos 1212-19.
705	Madīnat al-Salām	192	25	—	As above. Encrusted.
706-707	Madīnat al-Salām	193	21, 22	2.94, 2.85	BMC no. 226; Nützel nos 1220-6.
708*	Ma'din Bājūnays	191	25	—	Lavoix no. 846 (Obv. double pearl, rev. single pearl circle). Encrusted.
709-711	Ma'din al-Shāsh	190	25-26.5	2.94 av.	BMC no. 228; Nützel nos 1230-7.
712	Ma'din al-Shāsh	190	25	2.64	As above but rev. <i>l-naṣr</i> instead of <i>al-naṣr</i> . <i>Stora Vellinge</i> no. 478.
713*	Ma'din al-Shāsh	190	25	2.37	Obv. as above. Rev. as Lavoix no. 787 (Balkh, year 190 in the name of 'Alī b. 'Īsa as <i>mawla amīr al-mu'minīn</i>). Unpublished (?).
714	Ma'din al-Shāsh	190	26.5	—	Corroded: rev. illegible.
715-716	Harāt	193	24, 23	2.92, 2.99	<i>Stora Vellinge</i> no. 282; Ties, no. 1541.
717	mint effaced (Ifriqiya?) al-'Abbāsiya?)	17x	25	2.81	Obv. triple circle, 6 annulets Rev. single circle, legend as BMC no. 162 (Ifriqiya, year 175).
718	mint effaced	183(?)	26	—	Obv. obscure. Rev. (in pearl circle): similar to above. Worn, chipped.
719-720	mint missing	18x	26.25	—	Fragments, corroded.
<i>Al-Amīn (193-8 AH/809-13 AD)</i>					
721	Madīnat al-Salām	193	21	—	BMC no. 240; Nützel nos 1280-3. Chipped, corroded.
722	Madīnat al-Salām	194	22	2.92	BMC no. 241; Nützel nos 1284-6.
723-724	Madīnat al-Salām	195	24, 25	2.91, 2.97	BMC no. 243; Nützel nos 1288-90.
725-726	Madīnat al-Salām	195	24, 25	—	As above; chipped.
727-729	Madīnat al-Salām	196	24, 25	2.92 av.	BMC no. 244; Nützel nos 1291-3.
730	Madīnat al-Salām	196	24	2.62	BMC no. 244 ^a , Lavoix no. 685. (Obv. double circle, annulets oo oo oo oo Rev. single circle).
731	Madīnat al-Salām	198	23	2.82	Obv. double pearl circle, annulets oo oo oo oo Rev. single circle (?), legend as Ties. 1622.
732	(Madīnat al-Salām)	19x	24+	—	As BMC no. 243; incomplete.

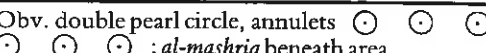
Number	Mint	AH	Diameter (mm)	Weight (g)	Reference, Remarks
<i>Al-Ma'mūn (as walī 'ahd, 193-5 AH/808-10 AD; as Caliph in the East, 195-8 AH/810-13 AD; as sole Caliph, 198-218 AH/813-33 AD)</i>					
733* ¹	Abarshahr	210	26.5	—	Tornberg p. 131, no. 8.
734-735	Madīnat Iṣbahān	197	22, 23	2.89, 2.88	BMC no. 275; Nützel nos 1321-2. (Obv. double serrate circle, rev. single serrate circle). Points on no. 734 only: <i>صباها صرب</i>
736-737	Madīnat Iṣbahān	197	22, 22.5	2.31, 2.67	BMC no. 275 (circles as above), but rev. points <i>هزتمه</i> Cf. Nützel nos 1323-4 (same?).
738	Madīnat Iṣbahān	199	24	—	BMC no. 276 ^a (circles as above).
239-240	Madīnat Iṣbahān	200	24.5, 25	2.91, 2.87	BMC no. 277; Nützel nos 1335-8.
741*	Madīnat Iṣbahān	204	26	2.87	As Lavoix no. 904 (pearl circle both sides) but with Rev. <i>ع</i> below.
742*	Madīnat Iṣbahān	205	26.5	2.96	As Lavoix no. 904 but Rev. <i>س</i> below.
743	Madīnat Iṣbahān	205	25	—	BMC no. 278 ^d (circles as above); Nützel no. 1346(?). Encrusted.
744	Madīnat Iṣbahān	205	26	—	As above. Encrusted.
745	Madīnat Iṣbahān	207	24	—	BMC no. 279 ² (single circle both sides). Encrusted.
746	Madīnat Iṣbahān	208	23+	—	<i>Stora Vellinge</i> no. 649. Corroded fragments.
747	Madīnat Iṣbahān	209	25	2.96	RIC no. 260 (Obv. single pearl, rev. triple plain circle, six double annulets (as on no. 566). NC 1919, p. 235.
748	Madīnat Iṣbahān	210	23.5	—	BMC no. 280 (Obv. single, rev. double circle). Chipped.
749*	Madīna Bukhārā	193	24	—	As Nützel no. 1247(?) (Annulets not described; were oo oo oo oo). Chipped.
750-751	Madīna Bukhārā	194	24, 25	—	BMC no. 235 ^a (Obv. double, rev. single circle). Corroded.
752*	al-Baṣra	198	24	—	Obv. double pearl circle, annulets  Rev. single circle, legend as BMC no. 282. (Balkh, year 186) Tornberg 272a. An uncatalogued dirham of al-Baṣra 199, in the British Museum, differs from this piece only in respect of its date and the presence of a double circle around the reverse area.
753*	al-Baṣra	200	25	2.91	As above but Rev. <i>ع</i> below.
754	Madīna Balkh	194	25	2.73	<i>Stora Vellinge</i> no. 615 (var. of Tornberg no. 255).
755	Madīna Balkh	194	25	—	As above. Encrusted.
756	Madīna Balkh	194	23	2.82	Nützel no. 1258.
757	Madīna Balkh	195(?) (or 185)	25	2.88	Obv. double circle, annulets Rev. single circle, legend as BMC no. 170 ^c Madīna Balkh, year 185). Encrusted.
758-759	Dimishq	213	2.61, 2.35	—	Lavoix no. 909 (circles obv. single, rev. double).
760	Dimishq	213	25	—	As above; chipped.
761	Dimishq	214	26	2.63	Nützel no. 1354.
762	Madīna Zaranj	196	25	—	Tornberg p. 70, no. 265. Chipped.
763*	Madīna Zaranj	202	26	2.82	Obv. double serrate circle, annulets  below. Rev. as Tornberg p. 77, no. 299 (Zaranj, year 201).
764-765	Madīna Zaranj	205	25	—	RIC no. 259. Chipped.
766*	Madīna Zaranj	209 ¹	24.5	2.78	As Tornberg p. 130, no. 5, but plain circle round rev. area.
767*	Madīna Zaranj	210 ¹	28	2.82	Obv. outer margin separated by pearl circle from inner margin: Qur'an xxx, 3-4. Rev. double circle round area. <i>lillāh/Muḥammad/rasūl/Allāh/Talḥa</i> . Unpublished, type as NHR nos 111A, 112A (al-Muḥammadiya, 209-10 AH).

¹in the name of Talḥa the Tāhirid.


Number	Mint	AH	Diameter (mm)	Weight (g)	Reference, Remarks
768*	Madīna Zaranj	210 ¹	27	2.85	As above but rev. <i>bakh</i> below.
769	Madīna Samarqand	193	22	2.55	Nützel no. 1264.
770	Madīna Samarqand	194	24	2.87	As Nützel no. 1267 (with same misspellings in mint and date).
771	Madīna Samarqand	195	24.5	2.79	BMC no. 283 (double circle both sides).
772-773	Madīna Samarqand	195	24, 24.5	2.75, 2.79	Nützel nos 1272-4.
774	Madīna Samarqand	195	25	3.11	<i>Kochtel</i> no. 163; as Nützel no. 1356, but obv. $\cdot \dot{\text{C}}$ above, \ominus below. Rev. $\cdot \text{C}$ beneath <i>lillāh</i> , \ominus beneath <i>al-Faḍl</i> .
775*	Madīna Samarqand	195	24.5	—	Obv. double circle, annulets $\circ \circ \circ \circ \circ \circ$ Rev. as no. 774. Unpublished. Chipped.
776	Madīna Samarqand	196	24	2.39	BMC no. 284 (double circle both sides); Nützel nos 1357-8. Segment clipped from edge.
777	Madīna Samarqand	196	24	—	Nützel nos. 1360-1. Chipped.
778	Madīna Samarqand	197	23	—	BMC no. 285; Nützel nos 1362-3. Chipped.
779	Madīna Samarqand	197	25	2.79	As Nützel no. 1364, but rev. double circle round area.
780*	Madīna Samarqand	197	24	2.43	Obv. double circle, annulets $\circ \circ \circ \circ \circ \circ \circ \circ \circ \circ$ Rev. as Nützel nos 1362-3. <i>Stora Vellinge</i> nos 707-8.
781	Madīna Samarqand	197	25	—	As above. Encrusted.
782	Madīna Samarqand	197	24	2.54	<i>Czechow</i> no. 337; circles, annulets as above, rev. as Nützel nos 1357-8.
783	Madīna Samarqand	198	25	3.21	Nützel nos 1365-7.
784	Madīna Samarqand	198	25	2.65	Nützel no. 1368.
785	Madīna Samarqand	198	24	—	Encrusted fragment: roughly half a dirham.
786-788	Madīna Samarqand	199	25-27	2.66 av.	BMC no. 287; Nützel nos 1369-70. No. 786 pierced.
789-790	Madīna Samarqand	199	25-26	—	As above. Encrusted.
791-793	Madīna Samarqand	200	25-26	—	BMC no. 287 ² ; Nützel nos 1371-2. Incomplete.
793 ^a	Madīna Samarqand	200	25	3.02	As above.
794	Madīna Samarqand	201	26.5	2.96	BMC no. 288; Nützel no. 1374-8.
795-796	Madīna Samarqand	201	24+, 25	—	As above. Chipped.
797-798	Madīna Samarqand	201	25.5, 26.5	2.91, 3.41(!)	As above, but obv. double plain instead of double pearl circle.
799-800	Madīna Samarqand	202	25.5, 26.5	2.79, 3.01	BMC no. 289 (single pearl circle both sides).
801	Madīna Samarqand	202	25.5	—	As above. Incomplete.
802-803	Samarqand	203	26, 26.5	—	Tornberg p. 78, no. 304. Chipped.
804	Samarqand	203	26.5	2.36	BMC no. 289 ^a (pearl circle both sides).
805-806	Samarqand	203	26	—	As above. Incomplete and encrusted specimens.
807	Samarqand	204	25	2.83	BMC no. 289 ^b ; Nützel no. 1381.
808	Samarqand	204	25	3.01	As above but no point above <i>lillāh</i> .
809*	Samarqand	206	26	3.39	Obv. triple serrate circle, 6 annulets. Rev. single circle, legend as BMC no. 289 ^b but $\dot{\text{C}}$ below. Unpublished (?).
810	Samarqand	208 ¹	25	—	Tornberg p. 129, no. 4. Chipped.
811	Samarqand	210 ¹	26	—	Obv. plain circle between inner and outer margin. Rev. pearl circle, legend as BMC no. 239 ^m .
812-813	Samarqand	217	26.5	—	BMC no. 289 ^o (obv. plain, rev. pearl circle). Chipped, encrusted.
814-816	Samarqand	218 ²	25-26.5	3.03 av.	BMC no. 289 ^p (circles as above). Weakly struck, buckled.
817-818	Samarqand	218 ²	25-26.5	—	As above. Chipped.
819	al-Shāsh	217(?)	25+	—	NC 1919, p. 195. Weakly struck, chipped.
820	al-Shāsh	218 ²	26	—	BMC no. 308 (plain circle both sides). Chipped.
821	al-Muḥammadiya	196	24	2.79	Nützel no. 1388 (but date correctly written); NHR no. 97A.
822	al-Muḥammadiya	197	18+	—	Nützel nos 1389-90; NHR no. 98C. Fragment.
823	al-Muḥammadiya	198	25	2.94	BMC no. 289 ^v (Obv. double, rev. single circle). NHR no. 99A.

¹in the name of Ṭalḥa the Ṭāhirid. ²may belong to al-Mu'ṭasim's reign.

Number	Mint	AH	Diameter (mm)	Weight (g)	Reference, Remarks
824-825	al-Muḥammadiya	201	24, 25	2.15(!) 2.70	BMC no. 289 ² ; (Nützel nos 1392, 1393; NHR no. 102A.
826*	al-Muḥammadiya	205	25	2.82	Double serrate circle both sides, annulets: $\circ \circ \circ \circ \circ \circ \circ \circ$. NHR no. 106C (Ties. 1774).
827	al-Muḥammadiya	208	25	2.92	Tornberg p. 129 no. 2; NHR no. 110A.
828	al-Muḥammadiya	210 ¹	25	—	Tornberg pp. 130-1, no. 7; NHR no. 112A. Encrusted.
829-831	al-Muḥammadiya	218 ²	25-26	2.94 av.	BMC no. 290 ^m ; Tornberg p. 132 no. 15; NHR no. 113A.
832	Madīnat al-Salām	198	23	2.89	BMC no. 291; Nützel nos 1397-8.
833-834	Madīnat al-Salām	198	24	—	As above. Encrusted.
835	Madīnat al-Salām	199	25	2.89	BMC no. 292; Nützel no. 1400.
836	Madīnat al-Salām	199	25	—	As above. Chipped.
837-838	Madīnat al-Salām	200	24.5	—	BMC no. 292 ^a ; Nützel no. 1401.
839	Madīnat al-Salām	203	25	3.00	Tornberg p. 78 no. 302; BMC no. 294.
840	Madīnat al-Salām	203	25	—	BMC no. 294 ^a ; Nützel no. 1405.
841-842	Madīnat al-Salām	204	25	25.5	BMC no. 295 ^a ; Nützel no. 1406 var. (rev. single circle).
843-844	Madīnat al-Salām	204	25.5	2.92, 2.99	BMC no. 295 ^b ; Nützel no. 1408.
845	Madīnat al-Salām	205	26	3.09	BMC no. 296; Nützel no. 1409 ² . Chipped.
846	Madīnat al-Salām	206	26	2.93	BMC no. 297; Tornberg no. 315.
847	Madīnat al-Salām	208	26	2.95	Nützel no. 1411.
848	Madīnat al-Salām	218	27	2.50	Nützel no. 1415. Incomplete, roughly three quarters of a dirham.
849*	Madīna Marw	195	25	2.65	Obv. double pearl circle, annulets $\circ \circ \circ \circ \circ \circ$. Rev. in pearl circle: as BMC no. 283 (Samarqand, 195H). Unpublished. Coins with the same reverse legend were struck in 195 at Bukhārā, Balkh, Samarqand, Nisābūr and Harāt. Ties. No. 1611 (Marw 195) differs from the above in naming al-Ma'mun as <i>amīr</i> not <i>Imām</i> , and as <i>walī 'ahd</i> .
850-851*	Marw	214	26.5, 27	2.98, 2.91	Type as BMC no. 298 ^w (Marw, 217, with double marginal legend on obv., and double circle on rev.). Unpublished.
852-853	Marw	215	26.5	2.87, 2.81	<i>Stora Vellinge</i> no. 681. Type as above.
854	Marw	216	26	—	Tornberg P. 131, nos 12. Encrusted.
855-856	Marw	216	26.5, 24+	—	As above. Incomplete specimen and fragment.
857-858	Marw	217	26	—	BMC no. 298 ^w (Obv. single circle between margins, rev. double circle).
859	Marw	?	26	2.95	As above. Very weakly struck. Obv. double
860*	Miṣr	213	23	—	pearl circle, annulets $\odot \cdot \odot \cdot \odot \cdot \odot \cdot$
861*-862	Miṣr	215	26	2.98, 2.44	Rev. double circle, legend <i>lillāh/Muḥammad/rasūl/Allāh/ع</i> Unpublished.
863	Miṣr	21x	27	—	<i>Czechow</i> no. 367; Ties no. 1825. Segment clipped from edge of no. 862.
864	Madīna Nisābūr	193	22	2.89	As above. Incomplete.
865-866*	Madīna Nisābūr	194	24, 24.5	—	BMC no. 245 (Obv. double pearl circle, rev. single pearl circle).
867	Madīna Nisābūr	195	24.5	2.93	As Tornberg p. 64, no. 245, <i>Stora Vellinge</i> no. 698. Incomplete.
868*	Madīna Nisābūr	195	24.5	—	Lavoix no. 867 (Obv. triple pearl circle, rev. single pearl circle).
869	Madīna Nisābūr	197	24.5	—	Obv. double pearl circle annulets $\circ \circ \circ \circ \circ \circ$.
870	Madīna Nisābūr	19x	24+	—	Rev. single pearl circle, legend as BMC no. 283 (Samarqand, AH 195). See <i>Kochtel</i> no. 161, note (on Er. 638a). Chipped.
871	Madīna Nisābūr	200	24.5	—	Nützel no. 1419.
					As no. 868. Chipped.
					As Tornberg p. 76, no. 293, but obv. double pearl circle. Chipped.

Number	Mint	AH	Diameter (mm)	Weight (g)	Reference, Remarks
872*	Madīna Nisābūr	201	25.5	2.93	Obv. double pearl circle, annulets  ; <i>al-mashriq</i> beneath area. Rev. pearl circle, legend as BMC no. 282 (Balkh, 196H). As Ties. 1724 (?).
873	Madīna Nisābūr	202	24.5	2.88	As above, but annulets o o o o o. Ties. 2837 (?).
874-876	Madīna Harāt	206	25.5-27	—	BMC no. 301 (pearl circle both sides). Chipped.
877*	Madīna Harāt	206	27.5	2.60	As above, but obv. plain circle round area.
878-880	Madīna Harāt	206	25-26	—	As above, but plain circle both sides. Nützel nos 1420-8. Incomplete.
881	Mint missing	(19(4-5))	24	—	In the name of al-Ma'mūn as <i>imām</i> and <i>walī'ahd</i> . Annulets, etc. obscure. Chipped, encrusted.
<i>Al-Mu'tasim (218-27 AH/833-42 AD)¹</i>					
882	Iṣbahān	222	27.5	—	BMC no. 307 ¹ . Chipped.
883*	Iṣbahān	223	26.5	2.94	<i>Czechow</i> no. 410.
884	Iṣbahān	223	27	—	As above. Encrusted.
885	Samarqand	219	27	3.11	NC no. 1921, p. 332.
886	Samarqand	221	26	—	<i>Stora Velinge</i> no. 786. Incomplete.
887	Samarqand	22x	26	2.86	As above. Incomplete.
888	Samarqand	?	25	2.88	Weakly struck. Buckled.
889	al-Shāsh	219	27	—	Tornberg p. 132, no. 20. Incomplete.
890	al-Shāsh	220	27	2.77	Tornberg p. 133, no. 23.
891-892	al-Shāsh	220	27	—	As above. Encrusted.
893	Fārs	219	28	2.78	Tornberg p. 132, no. 19a.
894	Madīnat al-Salām	219	26	2.81	Tornberg p. 83, no. 330.
895	Madīnat al-Salām	220	27	2.99	Tornberg p. 83, no. 332.
896	Madīnat al-Salām	220	27	—	As above. Chipped.
897	Madīnat al-Salām	224	27.5	—	BMC no. 310 ¹ ; Tornberg p. 84, no. 338. Encrusted.
898*	Madīnat al-Salām	226	25	2.97	BMC no. 311 ^b .
899	Marw	219	26	—	Tornberg p. 132, no. 19. Incomplete.
900-901	Miṣr	219	26	2.85, 2.94	Tornberg p. 83, no. 331.
902	Miṣr	219	26	—	As above. Chipped.
903	Miṣr	missing	26	—	Very weakly struck and incomplete.
904*	?	21(8-9)	18+	0.75	Cut fragment (one quarter) of a dirham.
905	?	220	26	2.68	Weakly struck, buckled.
906	?	224	26	—	Incomplete.
907	?	224	25	2.96	Weakly struck.
908	?	225	25+	—	Fragment, roughly one half of a dirham.
909	?	2xx	27.5	2.89	Very weakly struck.
<i>Caliph Undetermined (al-Ma'mūn or al-Mu'tasim)</i>					
910	al-Shāsh	missing	26	2.49	Very weakly struck, as coins of al-Mu'tasim but no name visible.
911	al-Shāsh	missing	26	2.91	As above.
912-913	illegible	missing	27	2.80, 2.97	As above; almost blank.
<i>Uncertain 'Abbāsīd</i>					
914-932	?	?	—	—	Nineteen small fragments.
UMAYYADS OF SPAIN					
<i>Abd al-Rahmān I (138-72 AH/756-88 AD)</i>					
933*	al-Andalus	154	28	—	Miles, <i>Umayyads of Spain</i> , no. 45. Encrusted, chipped.

¹all coins have a double circle around the reverse area.

Number	Mint	AH	Diameter (mm)	Weight (g)	Reference, Remarks
IDRĪSĪD					
<i>Idrīs I b. 'Abdullāh (172-5 AH/791-828 AD)</i>					
934*	Madīna Tudgha	174	26	—	As Eustache, <i>Corpus des Dirhams Idrisites</i> , no. 36, but no point in obverse field. Chipped.
<i>Idrīs II (175-213 AH/791-828 AD)</i>					
935*	Tudgha	176	25.5	2.36	As Eustache, <i>Corpus</i> , no. 58, but obv. <i>al-Hārith</i> (not <i>Khalaf</i>) above.
936*	Madīna Tilimsān	209	20+	—	New date for this mint. As Eustache, <i>Corpus</i> , no. 78 (Tilimsān, 207 AH) but no 'Alī' beneath obverse and  to left and <i>hā</i> to right of 'Alī' beneath reverse. Clipped (?), corroded.
937	Walīla	183	26.5	—	Eustache, <i>Corpus</i> no. 403. Incomplete, encrusted.
<i>Muḥammad b. Idrīs II (213-? AH/828-? AD)</i>					
938*	al-'Alīya	216	24	—	Eustache, <i>Corpus</i> no. 152. Chipped, corroded.
SULAYMĀNĪD					
<i>Muḥammad b. Sulaymān (231-? AH/828-? AD)</i>					
939*	Tilimsān	222	22	2.09	Unpublished date for this mint. Type as Eustache, <i>Corpus</i> no. 1 (p. 287). Corroded.
Sulaymān b. 'Abdullāh, a brother of Idrīs I, is thought to have established himself at Tilimsān at about the same time that Idrīs was proclaimed in Morocco. His son Muḥammad was recognised as the Idrīsīd viceroy in Tilimsān. His coins which are dated between 213 and 227 AH, suggest that he regarded himself as a fully independent ruler, unlike his predecessor who issued no coins in his own name (see no. 936 above for a coin of Idrīs II from Tilimsān).					
GOVERNORS OF TUDGHA					
<i>Khalaf b. al-Muḍa (c. 175-6 AH/791-2 AD)</i>					
940*	Tudgha	176	26	—	Eustache, <i>Corpus</i> p. 24, no. 294. Corroded.
941	Tudgha	17x	25	—	As above. Incomplete, corroded.
942	Tudgha	?	19+	—	As above. Incomplete, corroded.
KHĀRIJĪTE					
<i>Undetermined, perhaps Ibādī Imams of Oman</i>					
943*	no mint	no date	10	0.29	Unpublished. Corroded. Obv. لا حكا [م] الا [له] بخ ?
Around: beaded circle. Rev. عميد رسول الله					
944*	no mint	no date	9.5	0.36	Around: beaded circle. Unpublished. Incomplete. Obv. As above, but annulet visible above legend. Edge missing. Rev. As above, but annulet beneath legend.

Number	Mint	AH	Diameter (mm)	Weight (g)	Reference, Remarks
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The attribution of these tiny coins presents difficulties. That they are Khārijite issues is beyond doubt, since they carry the formula *lā hukma illā lillāh* ('there is no judgment save that of God' or, more idiomatically, 'let God decide'), said to have been adopted as a slogan by the dissidents of 'Alī's party on the battlefield of Šiffin, in 37 AH/652 AD. The phrase occurs on the Sasanian-style dirhams of the anti-Caliph al-Qaṭarī b. al-Fujā'ah struck at Iranian mints between 69 and 78 AH (Walker, 1941, pp. 112-3), on post-reform dirhams of the Umayyad rebel al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays al-Shaybānī minted at al-Kūfā in 128/745, and on an analogous dirham issue of Tanbūk (?) dated 133/751 (G. Rotter, 'The coinage of the revolutionaries in the late Umayyad period', *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes* 23, 1978, pp. 176-8, 185-6). In the 'Abbāsīd period Khārijism as a political force had spent itself in the heartlands of the Caliphate, but as a religious movement it gathered strength and led to the setting up of independent principalities in several outlying areas of the Islamic world: in north Africa, where it was championed by the Rustamids of Tāhart; in eastern Arabia, where the Ibāḍī Imamate of Nizwā was founded in 177/793; and in southern Afghanistan, where about 181/797 the Khārijite Ḥamza b. 'Abdullāh established himself at Gardīz. Khārijism also claimed popular support in Morocco, where the propagation of a strongly Khārijite-influenced religion by the Barghawāṭa Berbers led to the creation of the Šālīḥid kingdom of al-Nākūr.

The two coins unfortunately lack both mint and date, while their style provides no clue to their place of striking, being merely typical of Islamic issues as a whole in the early 'Abbāsīd period. A date post c. 150 AH may, however, be postulated on epigraphic grounds. No other examples of the type appear to have been published, any hitherto occurring in hoards having perhaps escaped attention or been discarded as fragments owing to their small size and irregular shape. Of the various governments which may have been responsible for their issue, that of the Rustamids deserves prime consideration because of its crucial role in the history of Khārijism. It is curious that the numerous hoards of the early 'Abbāsīd period which feature coins of north African dynasties should include none so far attributed to the Rustamids. If the latter did strike coins (and it is possible that they refrained from doing so on religious grounds) one might have expected their issues to conform in pattern to those of other north African states. Tāhart lay at the northern end of one of the principal trans-Saharan caravan routes, and no doubt handled a good deal of precious metal, whether silver dirhams of the 'Abbāsīds, Idrīsīds and other dynasties, or gold in uncoined form traded up from south of the Sahara. Any coins minted at Tāhart are likely to have been similar in size and weight to those of other parts of the Maghrib. No minims of north African attribution are, however, so far attested.

The two Khārijite pieces are, but for their inscriptions, very like those of the Arab amirs of Sind (Habbārīds), which are of much the same size and weight, are without mint or date, and often display annulets or crescents above and below their legends. Any coins minted by the Khārijite principality of Gardīz may well have been modelled on those of neighbouring Sind; however it must be pointed out that the silver series of Sind appears on the present evidence to have had its inception no earlier than the late third/ninth century and probably not before the beginning of the fourth/tenth century. Unless, therefore, the Khārijite coins are very much later than the other coins in the hoard, they cannot have been based on those of Sind. Rather, the converse must be postulated. If the Khārijite coins did originate in Afghanistan, their presence in the hoard would be no more surprising than that of the east Iranian and Transoxian issues. They could have been imported into Oman at the same time and by the same route.

There remains the possibility that the two little coins were actually struck in Oman. The Ibāḍī Imamate was well established by the beginning of the third century AH, following its victory over the army sent by al-Rashīd. Thereafter the interior of the country was to enjoy virtually complete autonomy, even when Šuḥār and the coast were obliged (as under the Būyīds) to acknowledge foreign suzerainty. Any of the Imams may, in principle, have exercised the right to strike coin. If the Ibāḍī coins were not larger, this may have been due to a local shortage of precious metal, which must all have been imported. The dirhams of Šan'ā, the chief mint in the peninsula at this period, are also in general smaller and lighter than those of other 'Abbāsīd provinces. Finally, and most importantly, such tiny coins as those under discussion are not likely to have circulated widely outside the area in which they were struck and whose particular needs they were designed to serve. This, taken in conjunction with the fact that they have not been observed elsewhere, may be thought to favour an Omani attribution.

IMITATIONS

945*	'Wāsiṭ'	'93'	26	2.23	Chipped, corroded. Weakly struck or struck from cast dies. Type as that of Umayyad post-reform dirhams but Rev. * above. ⚡ (= A?) below.
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The coin belongs to a class of imitations one specimen of which (from an early 'Abbāsīd hoard was acquired in 1977 by the British Museum, and at least four examples of which (from different sources) are in the collection of the American Numismatic Society, New York. They show the mint name Wāsiṭ and seem to be dated either 93 or 95 AH. They also have in common a weak, cast appearance, low weight (undipped specimens weight between 2.3 and 2.7 grams) and minor orthographic irregularities such as an abnormally short *bā* in *ḍuriba* and *yā* missing from *tis'ina*. Their outstanding features, however, are a star above the reverse and, on this and two specimens in the ANS,

Number	Mint	AH	Diameter (mm)	Weight (g)	Reference, Remarks
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apparently a letter A below the reverse legend (on the ANS coins the letter is written A, whereas on the present specimen it has the Greek form, common on late Roman and Byzantine gold coins). There is a related dirham imitation, showing the mint name Sūq al-Ahwāz and dated 90 AH, which exhibits several of the features mentioned above (low weight, 2.46 grams, short *bā* in *ḍuriba*, star above reverse legend) but lacks the letter A (Walker, *Catalogue of Arab-Byzantine and Post-Reform Umayyad Coins*, no. 439). It seems likely that, despite their ostensible place of mintage, the Wāsiṭ imitations were produced in the western part of the Caliphate by a moneyer familiar with the Greco-Roman alphabet. It is possible that the A stands for Africa, a mint name encountered on Arab-Byzantine dinars of the period 85-98 AH. The date of manufacture of the imitations must be regarded as uncertain, although it certainly falls within the Umayyad period, probably prior to 123 AH, when the flan size of the Wāsiṭ dirhams was reduced.

946*	'Madīnat al-Salām'	'217'	26	2.77	Chipped. Obv. Outer circle serrate, inner circle double; six small annulets. Usual legend in field, margin: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بمدينة السلام سنة سبعة عشر ومئتين
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Rev. Outer circle serrate, inner circle plain.

العدل
محمد
رسول
الله
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margin: Qur. IX, v. 33.

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Number	Mint	AH	Diameter (mm)	Weight (g)	Reference, Remarks
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The attribution of these tiny coins presents difficulties. That they are Khārijite issues is beyond doubt, since they carry the formula *lā hukma illā lillāh* ('there is no judgment save that of God' or, more idiomatically, 'let God decide'), said to have been adopted as a slogan by the dissidents of 'Alī's party on the battlefield of Šiffin, in 37 AH/652 AD. The phrase occurs on the Sasanian-style dirhams of the anti-Caliph al-Qaṭarī b. al-Fujā'ah struck at Iranian mints between 69 and 78 AH (Walker, 1941, pp. 112-3), on post-reform dirhams of the Umayyad rebel al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays al-Shaybānī minted at al-Kūfa in 128/745, and on an analogous dirham issue of Tanbūk (?) dated 133/751 (G. Rotter, 'The coinage of the revolutionaries in the late Umayyad period', *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes* 23, 1978, pp. 176-8, 185-6). In the 'Abbāsīd period Khārijism as a political force had spent itself in the heartlands of the Caliphate, but as a religious movement it gathered strength and led to the setting up of independent principalities in several outlying areas of the Islamic world: in north Africa, where it was championed by the Rustamids of Tāhart; in eastern Arabia, where the Ibāḍī Imamate of Nizwā was founded in 177/793; and in southern Afghanistan, where about 181/797 the Khārijite Ḥamza b. 'Abdullāh established himself at Gardīz. Khārijism also claimed popular support in Morocco, where the propagation of a strongly Khārijite-influenced religion by the Barghawāṭa Berbers led to the creation of the Šālīhid kingdom of al-Nākūr.

The two coins unfortunately lack both mint and date, while their style provides no clue to their place of striking, being merely typical of Islamic issues as a whole in the early 'Abbāsīd period. A date post c. 150 AH may, however, be postulated on epigraphic grounds. No other examples of the type appear to have been published, any hitherto occurring in hoards having perhaps escaped attention or been discarded as fragments owing to their small size and irregular shape. Of the various governments which may have been responsible for their issue, that of the Rustamids deserves prime consideration because of its crucial role in the history of Khārijism. It is curious that the numerous hoards of the early 'Abbāsīd period which feature coins of north African dynasties should include none so far attributed to the Rustamids. If the latter did strike coins (and it is possible that they refrained from doing so on religious grounds) one might have expected their issues to conform in pattern to those of other north African states. Tāhart lay at the northern end of one of the principal trans-Saharan caravan routes, and no doubt handled a good deal of precious metal, whether silver dirhams of the 'Abbāsīds, Idrisids and other dynasties, or gold in uncoined form traded up from south of the Sahara. Any coins minted at Tāhart are likely to have been similar in size and weight to those of other parts of the Maghrib. No minims of north African attribution are, however, so far attested.

The two Khārijite pieces are, but for their inscriptions, very like those of the Arab amirs of Sind (Habbārīds), which are of much the same size and weight, are without mint or date, and often display annulets or crescents above and below their legends. Any coins minted by the Khārijite principality of Gardīz may well have been modelled on those of neighbouring Sind; however it must be pointed out that the silver series of Sind appears on the present evidence to have had its inception no earlier than the late third/ninth century and probably not before the beginning of the fourth/tenth century. Unless, therefore, the Khārijite coins are very much later than the other coins in the hoard, they cannot have been based on those of Sind. Rather, the converse must be postulated. If the Khārijite coins did originate in Afghanistan, their presence in the hoard would be no more surprising than that of the east Iranian and Transoxian issues. They could have been imported into Oman at the same time and by the same route.

There remains the possibility that the two little coins were actually struck in Oman. The Ibāḍī Imamate was well established by the beginning of the third century AH, following its victory over the army sent by al-Rashīd. Thereafter the interior of the country was to enjoy virtually complete autonomy, even when Šuḥār and the coast were obliged (as under the Būyids) to acknowledge foreign suzerainty. Any of the Imams may, in principle, have exercised the right to strike coin. If the Ibāḍī coins were not larger, this may have been due to a local shortage of precious metal, which must all have been imported. The dirhams of Šan'ā, the chief mint in the peninsula at this period, are also in general smaller and lighter than those of other 'Abbāsīd provinces. Finally, and most importantly, such tiny coins as those under discussion are not likely to have circulated widely outside the area in which they were struck and whose particular needs they were designed to serve. This, taken in conjunction with the fact that they have not been observed elsewhere, may be thought to favour an Omani attribution.

IMITATIONS

Number	Mint	AH	Diameter (mm)	Weight (g)	Reference, Remarks
945*	'Wāsiṭ'	'93'	26	2.23	Chipped, corroded. Weakly struck or struck from cast dies. Type as that of Umayyad post-reform dirhams but Rev. * above. ♂ (= A?) below.

The coin belongs to a class of imitations one specimen of which (from an early 'Abbāsīd hoard was acquired in 1977 by the British Museum, and at least four examples of which (from different sources) are in the collection of the American Numismatic Society, New York. They show the mint name Wāsiṭ and seem to be dated either 93 or 95 AH. They also have in common a weak, cast appearance, low weight (unchipped specimens weight between 2.3 and 2.7 grams) and minor orthographic irregularities such as an abnormally short *bā* in *ḍuriba* and *yā* missing from *tis'īna*. Their outstanding features, however, are a star above the reverse and, on this and two specimens in the ANS,

Number	Mint	AH	Diameter (mm)	Weight (g)	Reference, Remarks
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apparently a letter A below the reverse legend (on the ANS coins the letter is written A, whereas on the present specimen it has the Greek form, common on late Roman and Byzantine gold coins). There is a related dirham imitation, showing the mint name Sūq al-Ahwāz and dated 90 AH, which exhibits several of the features mentioned above (low weight, 2.46 grams, short *bā* in *ḍuriba*, star above reverse legend) but lacks the letter A (Walker, *Catalogue of Arab-Byzantine and Post-Reform Umayyad Coins*, no. 439). It seems likely that, despite their ostensible place of mintage, the Wāsiṭ imitations were produced in the western part of the Caliphate by a moneyer familiar with the Greco-Roman alphabet. It is possible that the A stands for Africa, a mint name encountered on Arab-Byzantine dinars of the period 85-98 AH. The date of manufacture of the imitations must be regarded as uncertain, although it certainly falls within the Umayyad period, probably prior to 123 AH, when the flan size of the Wāsiṭ dirhams was reduced.

946*	'Madīnat al-Salām'	'217'	26	2.77	Chipped. Obv. Outer circle serrate, inner circle double; six small annulets. Usual legend in field, margin: بِسْمِ اللَّهِ ضَرَبَ هَذَا الدَّرْهَمَ بِمَدِينَةِ السَّلَامِ سَنَةَ سَبْعَةِ عَشْرٍ وَمِائَتَيْنِ
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Rev. Outer circle serrate, inner circle plain.

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رسول
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margin: Qur. IX, v. 33.

Although ostensibly struck at Baghdad, this imitation is North African in style, moreover its reverse type does not correspond to that of any known Madīnat al-Salām issue. Zambaur (*Die Münzprägungen des Islams*, 1968, p. 234) ascribes one coin to a Madīnat al-Salām south of Nefzawa (mentioned by Idrīsī), but it is more likely that the mint signature on both this and the present piece was simply copied from the dirhams of Baghdad. Another type of 'Madīnat al-Salām' dirham imitation, dated 169, is even more distinctly African, having a small palm branch next to the word *bakh* above the reverse legend. The formula *al-'adl lillāh* ('Justice belongs to God') is not found on any 'Abbāsīd issue, but occurs on certain anonymous dirhams of Wazaqqūr and Ijarhān in Morocco dated 223-30 (Eustache, pp. 308, 310-1). Eustache assigns these plausibly to the Mu'tazilites, who were influential in the Maghrib and whose principal tenets (*uṣūl*) included that of the justice ('*adl*) of God. Of particular relevance to the attribution of our imitations is the spelling of the word '*ashar* of the date with an initial *alif*. This form is found on Sulaymānīd dirhams of Tilimsān dated 217 and 227 (Eustache, p. 287), and early 'Abbāsīd glass weights of eighteen kharrūbahs (A. H. Morton, *Catalogue of Umayyad and 'Abbāsīd Glass Weights in the British Museum* (forthcoming), nos 37-9). Morton comments: 'the spelling of the '*ashar* of eighteen with an initial *alif* is abnormal. As Miles (1958, referring to Grohmann 1955, p. 105) has pointed out, the *alif* sometimes occurs in numbers in the teens in early papyri while according to Fahmi it resembles the modern pronunciation of Upper Egypt. Both comments point to its being a dialect form rather than a misspelling'.

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PLATE 1. *Sināw hoard: the jar after restoration.*

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PLATE 2. *Sināw hoard: jar with coins replaced inside it.*

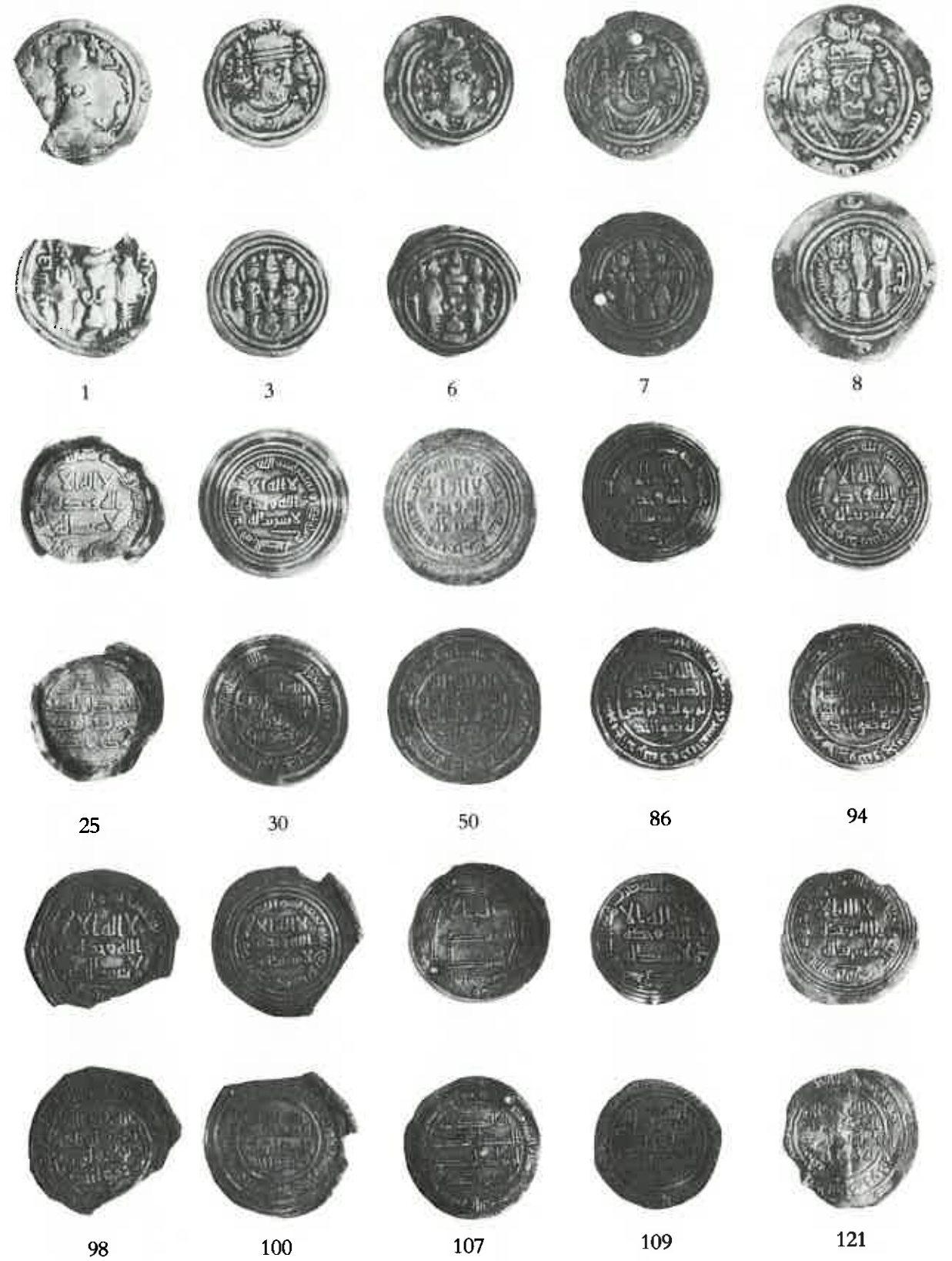


PLATE 3. *Sināw hoard.*

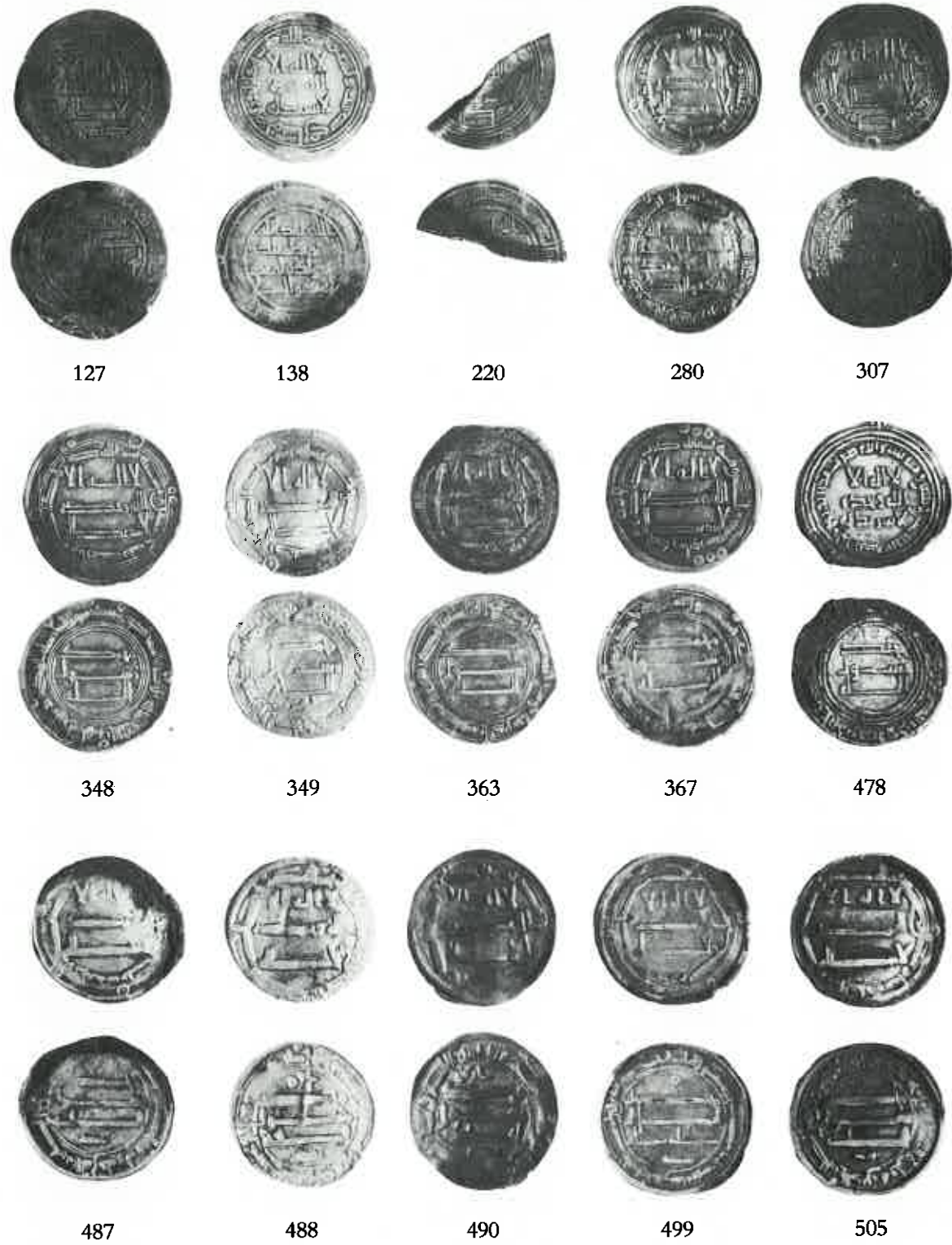


PLATE 4. *Sināw hoard.*

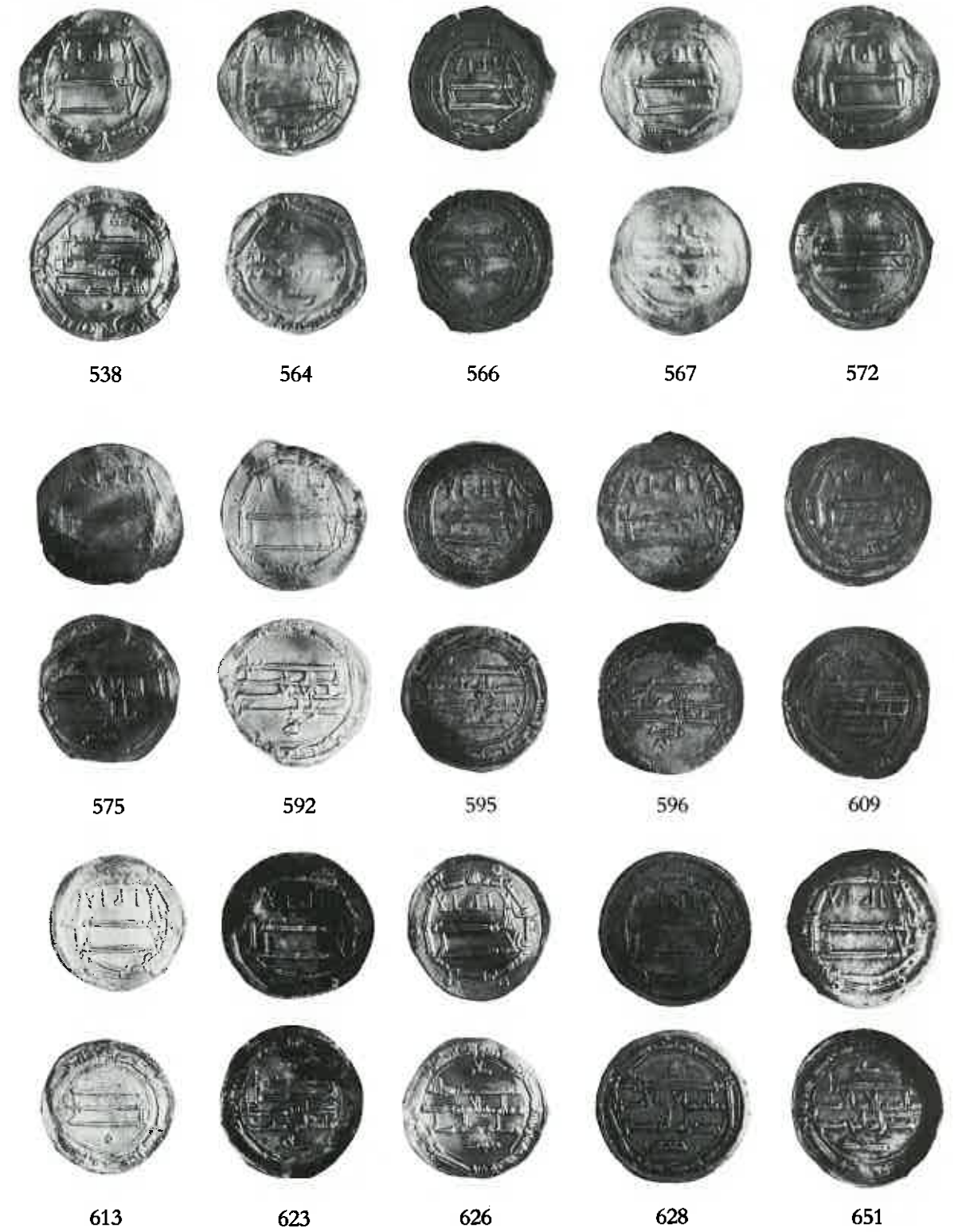


PLATE 5. *Sināw hoard.*



PLATE 6. *Sināw hoard.*

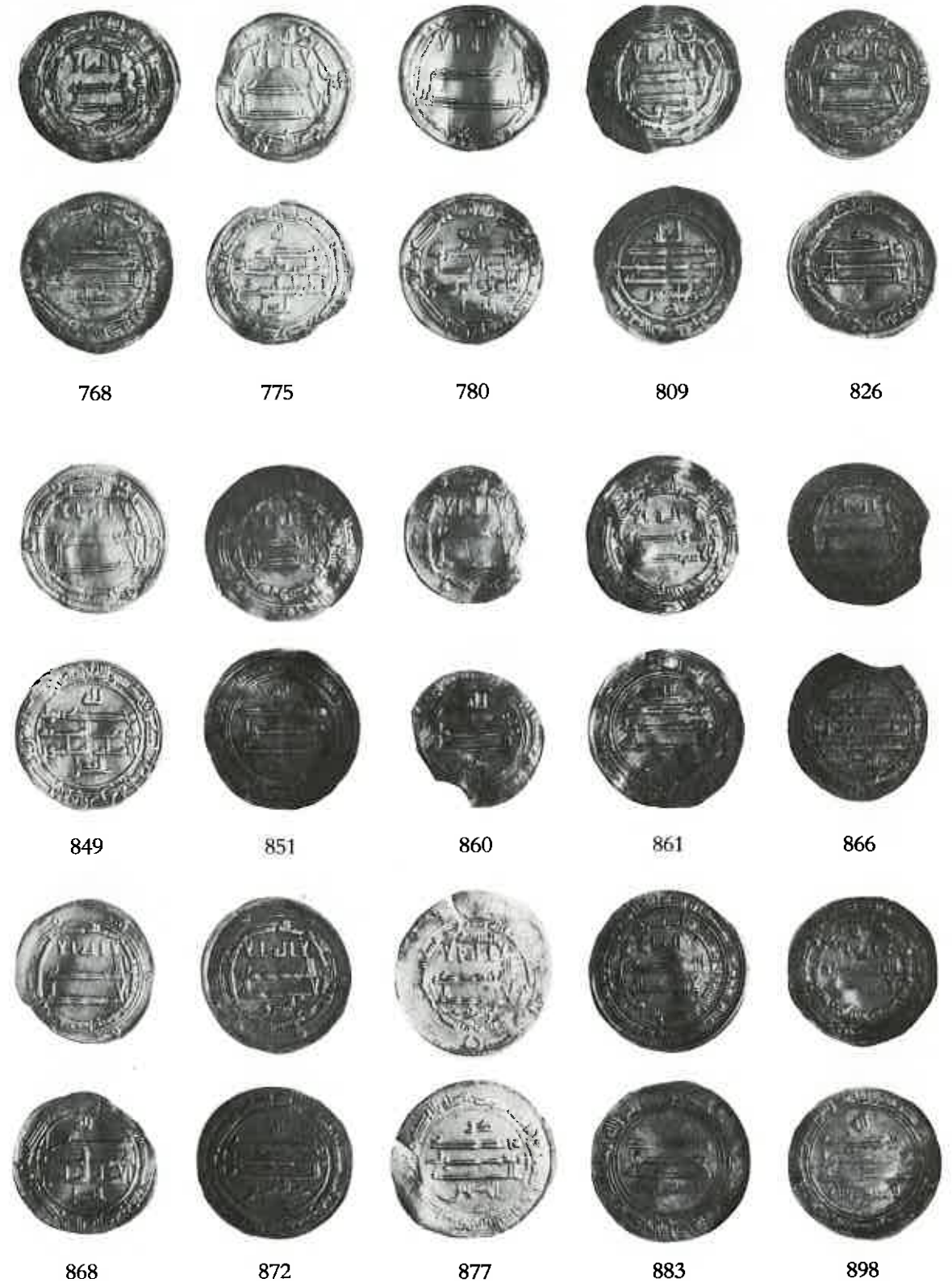


PLATE 7. *Sināw hoard.*

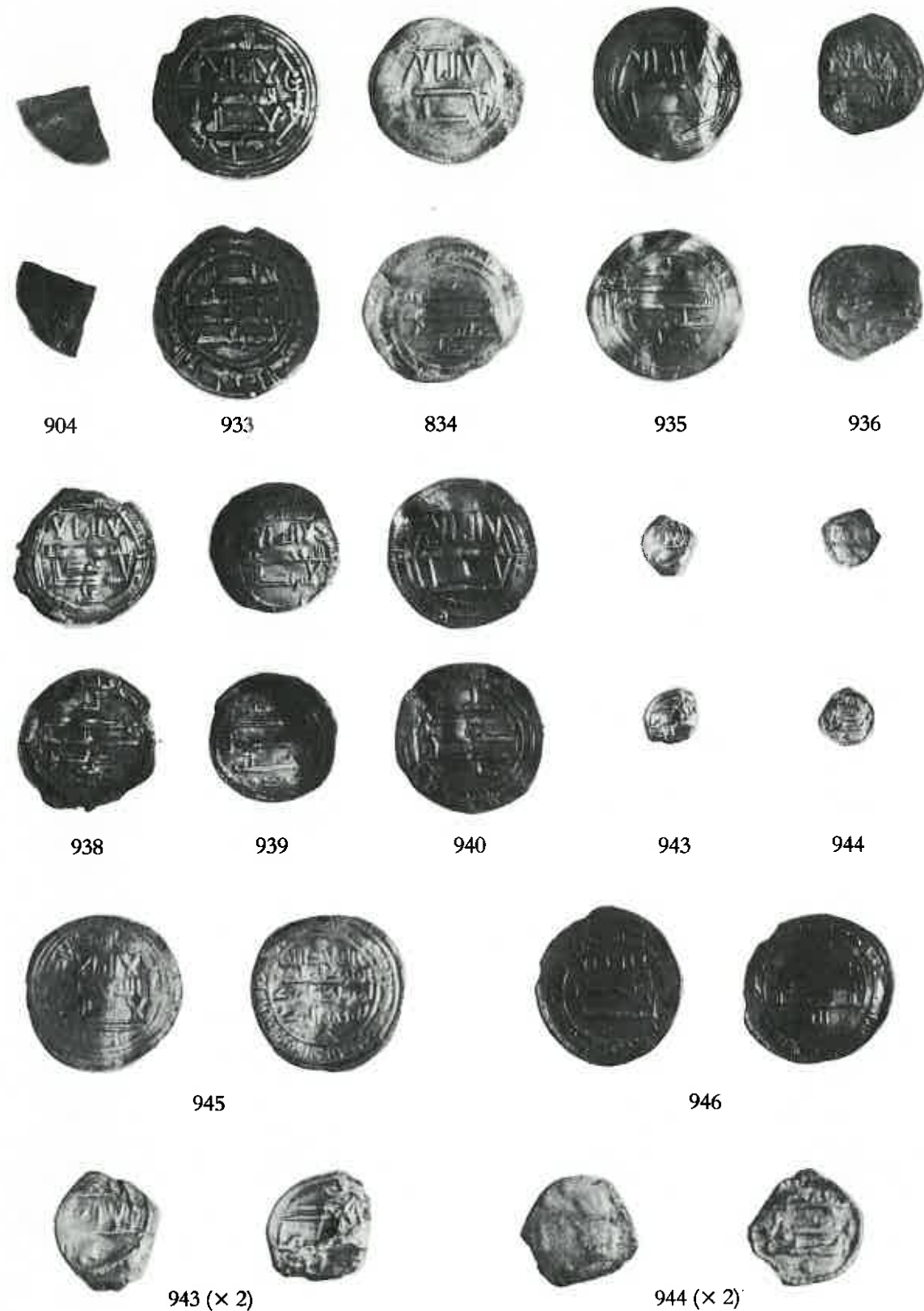


PLATE 8. *Sināw hoard.*

Arms Manufacture and the Arms Trade in South-Eastern Arabia in the Early Muslim Period

David Nicolle

*"The people of Bābil, al-Baḥrayn and 'Umān make a thousand hauberks every year, as do the people of Yaman, which all pay as a tax comparable to the tax they similarly pay with swords."*¹

The present paper was prompted by this enigmatic passage in al-Hamdānī's work on southern Arabia, known as *Al-Iklīl*. The reliability of this source can hardly be doubted, as its author, Ḥasan ibn Aḥmad al-Hamdānī (c. 893 AD–c. 945 AD), was a native of Yemen who wrote with authority on all regions of the Arabian Peninsula in various works.²

Nevertheless, certain important problems arise from this single quotation. What type of armours were those manufactured in Oman, Baḥrayn, Lower Iraq and Yemen in the early 10th century? What were they made of? How might their construction relate to the known metal and other resources of these regions, or to the wealth of iron and other basic materials that passed through as items of international trade? Some iron seems to have been mined in the northern and the southern Ḥijāz,³ but the only other indigenous resources, other than those that would be used to decorate arms and armour, were the leather of Yemen and other regions, and the copper of Oman. Despite contemporary documentary evidence, which gives greater

prominence to the copper mines of other Muslim regions,⁴ recent archaeological evidence suggests that Omani copper production in the early Muslim era was far more important than previously realized.⁵

Copper could, of course, have been used in the manufacture of bronze armour and weaponry. Unfortunately we lack enough documentary or archaeological evidence to confirm or deny that it was, in fact, so used. The evidence that is available remains circumstantial, although I believe it points towards a continued use of bronze weaponry in the early Muslim era.

Archaeological evidence for the continued use of bronze equipment in those areas that were to become the Muslim heartlands may be significant, even if one disregards the tendency for bronze to survive longer than iron in many soil conditions. Such evidence suggests that the persistence of bronze arms and armour was more characteristic and more long-lasting in parts of the Middle East than it was in Dark Age Europe or Central Asia. It further suggests that this situation was seen in some regions of the Middle East, such as the Fertile Crescent, but not in others. This should not, of course, be surprising, given the differing mineral and other resources of each province.

The most dramatic specimens of late bronze