

X.

ON THE COINS OF THE MUWAHHIDS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

It is seldom, even in the field of Oriental Numismatics, that one finds a series of coins so untouched as those of the Muwahhid Khalifehs of Marocco, the Almohades of what may be called the Spanish Crusades.

Fraehn, who has generally published all one's discoveries, is in this case completely thrown into the background by Delgado (in Gaillard's *Mon. Esp.* Garcia de la Torre Collection) and Castiglioni (*Mon. Cuf. dell' I. R. Mus. di Milano*): but Delgado unfortunately limits himself to the bare registration of inscriptions; and Castiglioni, on the other hand, admits a superfluous amount of historical comment. Adler's *Collectio Nova* contains a very good account of four coins of the dynasty.

The following is a list of coins now published by me which have been published before:—

Dīnārs.

'Abd-El-Mu-min, no. 1. (Delgado.)

Yūsuf I., no. 3. (Fraehn, *Rec.*; Castiglioni, incorrectly; and Delgado.)

El-Murtaḍā, no. 1. (Delgado.)

Some of the Dirhems.

The rest are, to my knowledge, inedited.

[In weighing I have used the French system; and, in measuring, English inches and tenths of inches.]

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE MUWAHHIDS.

The name *Muwahhid*¹ signifies *One who says that God is One, a Unitarian*. Why El-Mahdī gave the name *El-Muwahhidūn* (vulg. *El-Muwahhidīn*) to his followers has, I believe, never been discussed. And yet it is surely a strange anomaly that a Mohammadan sect should take the name of Unitarians, when it is the fundamental doctrine of El-Islām that there is one God without associate. I think, however, that the name may easily be explained by a reference to the tenets of the sect to which El-Mahdī belonged: this was the Ash'ariyeh, with the opinions of which he was thoroughly imbued.² He was consequently a vigorous supporter of the allegorical method of interpreting the Kur-ān.³ We find him constantly attacking the over-orthodox Sunnīs⁴ of El-Maghrib⁵ on the subject of their anthropomorphic interpretations. In their opposition to anthropomorphism the Ash'aris agreed with the Moātezilīs, and in the section on the latter in Esh-Shahrastānī's *Kitāb el-Milel wa-n-Noḥal* (trans. by Dr. Th. Haarbrücker) we find this sentence:⁶ 'Sie erklären die allegorische Deutung der Korānverse, in welchen solche Vergleichen' [als Richtung, Ort, Gestalt, Körper, u. s. w.] 'vorkommen, für nothwendig, und nennen diese Art und Weise des Verfahrens das *Einheitsbekenntniss*.' In this word *Einheits-*

¹ *مُوَحِّد* is the act. participial noun of *وَحَّدَ*, 2nd conj. of *وَحَدَ*.

² Ibn-Khaldūn, *Histoire des Berbères*, tr. by De Slane, vol. ii. p. 164.

³ Cf. Esh-Schahrastānī, *Religionspartheien und Philosophen-Schulen* (*Kitāb el-Milel wa-n-Noḥal*), trans. by Dr. Th. Haarbrücker, (2 vols. Halle, 1850-1,) vol. i. pp. 104, 109, etc.; Sale, *Korān*, Prel. Disc. p. 127, etc.

⁴ Esh-Schahrastānī, vol. i. p. 96.

⁵ Ibn Khaldūn, vol. ii. p. 164.

⁶ Esh-Schahrastānī, vol. i. p. 43.

bekenntniss (in the original Arabic⁷ التَّوْحِيد *Et-tāwḥīd*) we have the explanation of the name El-Muwaḥḥidūn. El-Mahdī, and the rest of the Ash'arīs, as well as the Moātezilīs, considered anthropomorphism to be inconsistent with the belief in the Unity of God; and therefore the Maghrabī reformers took the name of Unitarians, to distinguish themselves from the old school of El-Maghrib, whom the former regarded as quasi-polytheists.⁸

Abū-'Abd-Allāh Moḥammad Ibn-'Abd-Allāh-Tūmart, the Imām of the Muwaḥḥids, was born in the latter half of the fifth century of the Hijreh. He belonged to the Hergha tribe, a branch of the Masmūda, and, like all Muslim reformers of eminence, was a descendant of 'Alī, the son-in-law of the Prophet. Stimulated by an augury, variously recorded, Moḥammad Ibn-Tūmart, after travelling in Spain and Egypt, and visiting Mekkeh and Baghdād, determined to conquer El-Maghrib, then under the rule of the dynasty of Yūsuf Ibn-Tāshifīn, and to secure the sovereignty for the Masmūda. He began by writing several religious treatises, such as the *Tāwḥīd*. He next instituted systematic polemico-theological discussions with the Maghrabī Doctors, generally coming out victorious. During these religious campaigns he met with 'Abd-El-Mu-min, the future founder of the Muwaḥḥid dynasty. After more wandering, and after presenting himself at Marrākush, at the court of 'Alī Ibn-Yūsuf the Murābiṭ sovereign, Ibn-Tūmart summoned together the tribe of the Masmūda; and when the chiefs had sworn the oath of fealty to him, he took the name of *El-Mahdī*,⁹ and gave

⁷ *Ed.* Cureton, pt. i. p. 30, l. 16.

⁸ After I had written this I found that Ibn-Khaldūn (vol. ii. p. 173) had come to the same conclusion.

⁹ *El-Mahdī* means *The Directed* (pass. participial n. of هَدَى). The Mohammadan idea of the Mahdī has an exact parallel in the Jewish idea of the Messiah. The Mahdī was expected to make

that of *El-Muwahhidūn* to his adherents. In 522 (1128) El-Mahdī died, leaving 'Abd-El-Mu-min chief of the Muwahhids.

EL-MUWAHHIDĪN.¹⁰

1128	522	Death of El-Mahdī.
1130	524	'Abd-El-Mu-min succeeds.
1163	558	Abū-Yaakūb Yūsuf Ibn-'Abd-El-Mu-min.
1184	580	Abū-Yūsuf Yaakūb El-Manşūr Ibn-Yūsuf.
1199	595	Moḥammad En-Nāşir Ibn-El-Manşūr.
1214	611	Abū-Yaakūb Yūsuf El-Mustanşir Ibn-En-Nāşir.
1224	620	'Abd-El-Wāhid El-Makhlūa Ibn-'Abd-El-Mu-min.
"	621	Abū-Moḥammad 'Abd-Allāh El-'Adil Ibn-El-Manşūr.
1227	624	Yaḥyā Ibn-En-Nāşir.
1229	626	Abu-l-'Olā Idrīs El-Ma-mūn Ibn-El-Manşūr.
1232	630	'Abd-El-Wāhid Er-Rashīd Ibn-El-Ma-mūn.
1242	640	Abū-l-Ḥasan 'Alī Es-Sa'id El-Moataḍid Ibn-El-Ma-mūn.
1248	646	Abū-Hafş 'Omar El-Murtaḍā Ibn-Abī-Ibrahīm-Ishāk Ibn-Yūsuf Ibn-'Abd-El-Mu-min.
1266	665	Abu-l-'Olā Abū-Debbūs El-Wāthik Ibn-Abi-'Abd-Allāh-Moḥammad Ibn-Abī-Hafş Ibn-'Abd-El-Mu-min.
1269	667	Conquered by the Benī-Merīn.

Fearing dissensions, 'Abd-El-Mu-min and the other chief disciples concealed the death of the Mahdī for about three years under the pretence of illness, and in the meanwhile directed all their efforts towards strengthening and consolidating the sect. In 524 they announced the death of their master, and also the designation by him of 'Abd-El-Mu-min as successor in the chief authority.

The new leader occupied himself with various successful expeditions until 534 (1139-40), when he began his seven-years-campaign of conquest. His troops were daily augmented by deserters from the Murābiṭs, and there seemed every prospect of a speedy conquest of El-Maghrib. In 539 (1144-5) he annihilated the army of the Murābiṭ

the religion of El-Islām triumph over all others, and to establish justice throughout the world.

¹⁰ This table is taken from De Slane's Intr. to his Trans. of Ibn-Khaldūn, with very few alterations. Except in a discussion on the meaning of the word, I have thought it advisable to use the relative case Muwahhidīn, which in Modern Arabic is employed in the stead of the subjective case Muwahhidūn; the use of the latter form being generally deprecated as pedantic.

Tāshifīn Ibn-'Alī, and captured Wahrān (Oran) and Tilimsān. In 540 Fās was taken, and Sebteh (Ceuta) sent a deputation of submission. After seizing Aghmāt and Selā (Salee), 'Abd-El-Mu-min laid siege to Marrākush (Marocco), which, after a seven-months-siege (541), fell, and with it the dynasty of the Murābiṭs in the person of Ishāk Ibn-'Alī Ibn-Yūsuf Ibn-Tāshifīn. By the capture in 543 of Sijilmāseh and Miḡnāseh (Mequinez) the Muwaḥḥids became masters of the whole of El-Maghrib (Marocco and part of Algiers).

In the midst of his African conquests 'Abd-El-Mu-min had not forgotten Spain. An expedition was sent there in 540 (1145-6); and Xeres, Mertola, Niebla, Siloes, Beja, and Badajoz, were speedily added to the dominions of the Unitarians; Seville was taken in 541; and Cordova joined the rest in the following year.

Marocco and Spain being subdued, 'Abd-El-Mu-min turned his thoughts towards Afrikiyeh (the country lying between Egypt and Bejāyeh in Algiers); and he determined to attack it. In 547 he took Bejāyeh and Kusan-tīniyeh (Constantina); and, soon after, his son 'Abd-Allāh defeated the Arabs of Afrikiyeh and received their submission, about half the province being thus acquired. Disturbances in other parts of his dominions prevented 'Abd-El-Mu-min from following up this success at once; but in 553 (1158) he returned to the attack, and succeeded in conquering the more eastern parts of Afrikiyeh, then under the rule of Roger II. of Sicily: El-Mahdiyyeh, Tūnis, and Ṭarābulus (Tripoli), now formed part of the empire, which stretched from Egypt to the Atlantic and from Marocco to Cordova. 'Abd-El-Mu-min's attention was next directed again towards Spain, where his son Yūsuf was hard pressed by Alfonso VIII. of Castile. After

relieving his son he returned to Africa, and began to make preparations for a renewal of the 'Holy War.' It was when setting out in 558 (1163) for this last expedition that the great leader of the Muwahhids was visited by 'the terminator of delights and the separator of companions.'

I have sketched the conquest of the various countries that united to form the extensive empire of the Muwahhids; and I shall now mention a few of the leading events that happened in the reigns of 'Abd-El-Mu-min's successors.

The main subject of interest is the Holy War, or the continual and absorbing struggle between the Christian Kings of Castile and of Aragon and the Mohammadan Khalifehs of Marrākush for the possession of Andalusia,—a struggle which, long after the subversion of this dynasty, ended in the complete overthrow of the Muslim power in Spain. We have also to notice frequent insurrections in Africa, especially the conquest of Afrikiyeh attempted, and almost attained, by Ibn-Ghaniyeh. With respect to the orthodoxy of the Khalifehs, we find a remarkable exception in the case of El-Ma-mūn, who suppressed the name of El-Mahdī in the Khutbeh and Sikkeh, (or prayer and coinage,) and restored the dirhems to their original circular shape: his tolerance extended to allowing the Christians to build a church in Marrākush, and even to ring the bells. Er-Rashīd, the son and successor of this liberal Khalifeh, seems to have followed in his father's steps; for Adler (*Coll. Nov.* xc. A.) publishes a silver coin with the name Er-Rashīd substituted for El-Mahdī. Probably Es-Sa'id followed the example of his father and brother. But the coins prove that El-Murtadā and El-Wāthik restored the repudiated name of the Imām of the dynasty to the gold coins; for we cannot but conclude that El-Ma-mūn omitted the name of El-Mahdī from the gold

as well as the silver coins, although Ibn-El-Kātib (ap. Casiri ap. Adler) mentions the omission in the dirhems only.

The fall of the Muwaḥhids was clearly foreshadowed by two significant facts, the multitude of pretenders to the throne, and the growing importance of the tribe of the Benī-Merīn. These mountaineers had long been slowly advancing and gradually increasing in power, until finally, having pursued and killed El-Wāthik, they entered Marrākush in 668 (1269-70).

ON THE COINAGE OF THE MUWAḤHIDS.

The coinage of this dynasty, as represented in the British Museum, exhibits many peculiarities.

Gold. Form *circular*. The area is always square, defined by single, double, or triple, lines. The coin is struck of such a size that the circumference almost touches the angles of the inscribed square. Four segments of a circle are thus formed between the square and the circumscribed circle, and in these segments various words which compose the marginal inscription are distributed. In transcribing the coins I have always indicated by spaces the division of the marginal inscription into four parts. The field abounds in points, some diacritical, and some not. When the points are diacritical, intentionally or accidentally, I have noted them separately. Instances will be observed of diacritical points inverted, put above instead of below a letter, or contrariwise. There are usually three dots in each of the four segments, one at each end and one in the middle, independent of the diacritical points. The appropriation of a particular area or margin to a particular part of the inscriptions is also noteworthy. The area of the obverse is always reserved for religious sentences, including the profession of faith (لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله), and generally a reference to the Mahdī, and the special motto of the

Muwahhids (الحمد لله وحده), adopted for official purposes by Yūsuf I. in 561. The area of the reverse is always appropriated to the name and titles of 'Abd-El-Mu-min, with sometimes a clause on the Mahdī. The margin of the reverse is occupied by the name of the reigning Khalīfeh, and that of the obverse by the name of his predecessor, (or a sentence from the K̄ur-ān,) save in the cases of El-Murtaḍā and El-Wāthik, who reversed this by putting their own names on the obverse margin and that of Yūsuf on the reverse margin.

Silver. Form *square*. Inscriptions in area only. Field covered with points and fleurons. Mint-place sometimes below the ordinary inscription of the obverse.

Copper. None known.

EL-MUWAHHIDĪN.

A. DĪNĀRS.

'ABD-EL-MU-MIN.

1

1. (Pl. VI. 1.)

I. A.

لا إله إلا

الله محمد

رسول الله

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم صلى الله على محمد وآله الطيبين
الطاهرين M.

II. A.

المهدي إمام

الأمّة القائم

بأمر الله

أبو محمد عبد المؤمن بن علي أمير المؤمنين
الحمد لله رب العالمين M.

D. 75 W. 2.3

Diacritical points.

I. M. علي .

II. A. الأمة—إلقام .

M. الموس بن ; it is doubtful to which ن the point belongs ;

المومنين—العالمين

2.

2

Similar to (1).

Diacritical points.

D. '8 W. 2'3

I. M. علي—طمين .

II. M. الموس بن المومنين .

The only difficulty that meets us on this coin is the name *El-Kāim bi-amri-llāh*. The supposition, maintained by some writers, that this name must be referred to the 'Abbāsī Khalīfeh *El-Kāim* is scarcely countenanced by the facts that the Muwaḥḥids and the Abbāsīs were the representatives of hostile sects, the former being Shī'īs and the latter Sunnīs; and also that *El-Kāim* had been dead half-a-century when 'Abd-El-Mu-min was circulating his coinage. I think there is not the least doubt that this name was a title of 'Abd-El-Mu-min: for, except on his own coins, it always, throughout the series of dīnārs of this dynasty, precedes his name; and even on his own coins the case is the same, if we suppose the marginal inscription to be a continuation of that in the area.

The conjectural reading of Castiglioni (*Monete Cufiche dell' I. R. Museo di Milano*, CCXLIV), المهدي امام (بن) الائمة, *El-Mahdi Imam (figlio) di Imami*,¹¹ is more ingenious than

¹¹ Sig. Castiglioni adds the following remark as a vindication of his singular reading.—“*Mahdi* è insignito del titolo di figlio

sound, for no coin that I have seen will bear any other reading than المهدى إمام الأمة, which gives the thoroughly intelligible meaning of *El-Mahdī is the leader of the people-of-the-religion*¹² (the religion of Islām).

The reading الطيبين on I. M. is, I believe, entirely original. Soret reads, but doubtfully, الكبير; and Delgado الطاهر. I cannot, of course, state positively that الطيبين should be the reading on the coins to which these Numismatists refer: but I can affirm positively that الطيبين is most distinctly visible on the coins in the British Museum; and in confirmation of my reading I may state that this epithet is commonly applied to the Prophet's kinsfolk.

ABŪ-YAAKŪB YŪSUF I.

3

1.

I. A.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
لا إله إلا الله
محمد رسول الله
المهدى إمام الأمة

أمير المؤمنين أبويعقوب بن الخلفاء الراشدين M.

di *Imami*, ed in fatti questo impostore si spacciava per discendente da *Aly* e da *Hassan* di lui figlio, primo e secondo *Imam* degli Sciiti."

¹² 'The people of a [particular] religion: (Akh, S:) a people to whom an apostle is sent, (M, K.) unbelievers and believers; such being called his أمة: (M:) any people called after a prophet are said to be his أمة: (Lith, T:) the followers of the prophet:' Lane's *Lexicon*, voce أمة.

II. A. القائم بأمر الله
الخليفة أبو محمد
عبد المؤمن بن علي
أمير المؤمنين

أمير المؤمنين أبو يعقوب يوسف بن أمير المؤمنين M.

Diacritical points.

D. '85 W. 2'33

I. M. الخلا الراشد.

II. A. القائم—عبد—علي—المؤمنين.

II. M. يوسف.

2.

4

Similar to (1).

Diacritical points.

D. '8 W. 2'33

I. M. الخلا.

II. M. القائم—أمير المؤمنين.

3. (Pl. VI. 2.)

5

I. A. Similar to (1).

واللهم إله واحد لا إله إلا هو الرحمن الرحيم M.

(Kur. ii. 158.)

II. Similar to (1).

Diacritical points, &c.

D. '82 W. 2'3

I. A. محمد.

II. A. القائم—عبد المؤمن بن—علي.

ABŪ-YŪSUF YAĀKŪB EL-MANSŪR.

6

1.

I. A.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
والحمد لله وحده
لا إله إلا الله
محمد رسول الله
المهدي إمام الأمة

M.

واللهم إله واحد لا إله إلا هو الرحمن الرحيم
وما يكن من نعمة فمن الله وما توفيقى إلا بالله

II. A.

القائم بأمر الله الخليفة
أبو محمد عبد المؤمن بن
علي أمير المؤمنين
أمير المؤمنين أبو يعقوب
يوسف بن أمير المؤمنين

أمير المؤمنين أبو يوسف يعقوب بن أمير المؤمنين
بن أمير المؤمنين

Diacritical points.

D. 1'1 W. 4'58

I. A. بسم

M. فمن—توفيقى

II. A. عبد—بن—أمير المؤمنين—يعقوب—يوسف

M. يوسف

2.

7

Similar; var. **بى** commences l. 3 of II. A. instead of ending l. 2.

Diacritical points.

D. 1'1 W. 4'46

II. A. المومنين^a—المومنين^b

M. المومنين—يعقوب—المومنين—المومنين

3. (Pl. VI. 3).

8

Similar to (2).

Diacritical points.

D. 1'1 W. 4'63

I. M. نعمة

II. A. الحلبة—المومن—المومنين—امير—يعقوب—المومنين

M. اميرالمومنين ابو يوسف يعقوب—المومنين—المومنين

4.

9

Similar to (2).

Diacritical points, &c.

I. A. محمد

II. A. القام—عبد المومن—علقي اميرالمومنين

M. امير—يوسف

D. '8 W. 2'3

5.

10

Similar to (2).

Diacritical points, &c.

I. A. محمد

II. A. القام—الخلبة—عبد المومن بن علقي اميرالمومنين

M. يعقوب يوسف بن

D. '85 W. 2'2

The marginal inscription on the first side is very remarkable : I am not aware that it occurs on any other coin in this form, though the first half is well known on coins of this dynasty and others of North Africa. and Spain.

وَالْهَكُمُ إِلَهٌ وَاحِدٌ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ الرَّحْمَنُ الرَّحِيمُ
وَمَا يَكُنْ مِنْ نِعْمَةٍ فَمِنْ اللَّهِ وَمَا تَوْفِيقِي إِلَّا بِاللَّهِ

And your god is one god ; there is no god but He, the Compassionate, the Merciful :

And what there is of benefit is from God ; and my direction is not but by God.

ABŪ-YAĀKŪB YŪSUF II. EL-MUSTAṢSIR.

11

1.

I. A.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
وَالْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ وَحْدَهُ
لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ
مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ
المهدي إمام الأمة

أمير المؤمنين أبو عبد الله محمد ابن الخلفان الراشدين M.

II. A.

المهدي إمام الأمة
القائم بأمر الله
الخليفة الإمام
أبو محمد عبد المؤمن
بن علي أمير المؤمنين

أمير المؤمنين أبو يعقوب يوسف ابن الخليفة M.

D. 1'25 W. 4'63

Diacritical points.

I. A. الرحيم—رسول

M. امير المؤمنين—عبد

II. A. الفاتم—ابن—امير المؤمنين

M. امير المؤمنين—نوبيب

2. (Pl. VI. 4.)

12

I. A. Similar to (1).

M. أمير المؤمنين أبو عبد الله محمد ابن الخليفة الراشدين

II. A. Similar to (1).

M. أمير المؤمنين أبو يعقوب يوسف ابن المنصور ابن الخليفة

Diacritical points.

D. 1'25 W. 4'63

None; but a five-rayed star over الأمة

There can be no question about the attribution of the second of these two coins, on account of the occurrence of Yūsuf Ibn-El-Manṣūr (apparently meaning grandson of El-Manṣūr) on the margin of the reverse. But the former of the two at first sight might equally well be a coin of En-Nāṣir. The following argument, however, considered in connection with the resemblance between the two coins induces me to decide in favour of Yūsuf II. If the coin were struck by Abū-'Abd-Allāh Moḥammad En-Nāṣir, I. M. would refer to him and II. M. to his grandfather Yūsuf I.: this would create an anomaly; for both the preceding and the following Khalīfeh put his own name on II. M. This anomaly is done away with if we suppose the coin to have been struck by Yūsuf II., II. M. thus referring to himself and I. M. to his father En-Nāṣir.

The fact, however, that Yūsuf is called 'son of the Khalīfeh' seems to point in the other direction; for الخليفة is the title of 'Abd El-Mu-min alone.

ABŪ-HAFS 'OMAR EL-MURTADĀ EL-MU-MIN BILLĀH.

13

1. (Pl. VI. 5.)

I. A. بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
 صلى الله على محمد وآله
 والحمد لله وحده
 لا إله إلا الله
 محمد رسول الله
 مدينة سبتة

M. أمير المؤمنين المؤمن بالله المرتضى أبو حفص
 ابن الأمير الظاهر أبي إبراهيم بن الخليفة

II. A. المهدي إمام الأمة
 القائم بأمر الله
 الخليفة الإمام
 أبو محمد عبد المؤمن
 ابن علي أمير المؤمنين

M. أمير المؤمنين أبو يعقوب يوسف ابن الخليفة

Diacritical points.

D. 1'15 W. 4'68

I. M.—أمير—المؤمن—المرتضى—ابن الأمير الظاهر—أبو هم—
 الحلبي

II. A. القائم—عبد المؤمن—المؤمنين

M. أمير—يوسف—الحلي

2.

14

Similar to (1); var. I. A. مدينة under محمد, and سبة under الله.

Diacritical points.

D. 1'15 W. 4'63

I. M. المومنين المومنين

II. A. المومنين

M. امير-يعقوب-يوسف-ابن الخليفة

3.

15

Similar to (1); var. I. A. مدينة under محمد, and سبة under الله.

Diacritical points.

D. 1'15 W. 4'63

I. M. المرضي

II. M. يوسف

4.

16

Similar to (1); var. no mint-place.

D. 1'15 W. 1'63

Diacritical points.

I. M. المرضي

II. A. الفاي-الخليفة-عبد المومنين ابن-امير المومنين

M. امير المومنين ابو يعقوب يوسف ابن الخليفة

5.

17

Similar to (1); var. no mint-place.

Diacritical points.

D. 1'2 W. 4'63

I. A. بسم-الرحيم

M. المومنين المومنين-المرتضى-ابن-ابراهيم-الحليقيس

II. M. يعقوب يوسف

I am inclined to think that the Yūsuf whose name appears on II. M. is Yūsuf I., because El-Murtadā was his grandson; whereas Yūsuf II., though he preceded El-Murtadā, was of a lower generation than he.

ABU-L-'OLĀ EL-WĀTHIQ BI-LLĀH.

18

1. (Pl. VI. 6.)

I. A.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
صلى الله على محمد وآله
والحمد لله وحده
لا إله إلا الله
محمد رسول الله

M. أمير المؤمنين الواثق بالله أبو العلى ابن
سيد أبي عبد الله بن سيد أبي حفص بن الخليفة

II. A.

المهدي إمام الأمة
القائم بأمر الله
الخليفة الإمام
أبو محمد عبد المؤمن
ابن علي أمير المؤمنين

M. أمير المؤمنين أبو يعقوب يوسف ابن الخليفة

Diacritical points.

D. 1'2 W. 4'6

I. A. بسم

II. M. يعقوب—يوسف—الخليفة

Here again we find Yūsuf on II. M., and in this case the coin is not struck by a grandson. I conclude, therefore, that El-Wāthik, whose short reign was fully occupied with the all-important endeavour to keep on the throne, altered the obverse of his predecessor's coinage, but did not change the die for the reverse.

B. DIRHEMS.

- I. لا إله إلا الله
الأمر كله لله
لا قوة إلا بالله
- II. الله ربنا
محمد رسولنا
المهدي إمامنا

The inscriptions, on both sides, are enclosed by straight lines forming square; and the coin is cut to the same figure. No marginal inscriptions. Average weight, 1'45. Average length of side of square, '59.

Of this type of coin there are twenty-six specimens in the British Museum. Seven of these have legible mint-places; viz.:

Tilimsān	2 (Pl. VI. 7.)	19-20
Tūnis	2 (Pl. VI. 8.)	21-22
Bejāyeh	1	23
Sebteh	1	24
Fās	1	25

and four have illegible mint-places. The position of the mint-place is always at the bottom of I., either altogether

below the words **بِالله** ; or separated, and placed part under **ل** and part under **الله** (see Pl. VI. 8).

30-44 The remaining specimens differ every one from every other by reason of the ever-varying positions and forms of certain dots and fleurons (Pl. VI. 9).

There can be no reasonable doubt that these square coins were issued by one or more of the Sovereigns of the Muwahhids. The following passage from Ibn Khaldūn¹³ is interesting in its bearing on the square form of the coins.

‘L’Imam, ayant quitté les Hintata, se dirigea vers Aîguîlîn, dans le pays des Hergha, et s’arrêta au milieu de sa tribu. Il y arriva l’an 515 (1121-2). Ayant alors bâti un *rabta* pour s’y livrer à la dévotion, il attira auprès de lui une foule d’étudiants et de gens de différentes tribus, auxquels il enseigna son *Morchida* et son *Tauhid*, rédigés en langue berbère. Le nombre de ses partisans s’accrut tellement que Malek-Ibn-Woheib, président du corps des savants qui assistaient aux réunions de l’émir Ali-Ibn-Youçof, recommença ses dénonciations. Jouissant d’une certaine réputation comme augure et astrologue, il ne manqua pas d’indisposer son patron contre le Mehdi, et, comme les devins avaient prédit qu’un roi de race berbère devait nécessairement paraître en Maghreb et changer la forme de la monnaie aussitôt qu’il y aurait une conjonction des deux planètes supérieures, ce prince s’attendait déjà à quelques malheurs. “Protège l’empire contre cet aventurier, lui disait Ibn-Woheib; c’est assurément l’homme de la conjonction et du dirhem carré; celui dont il est question dans ces méchants vers en patois qui courent maintenant de bouche en bouche.

Mets-lui les fers aux pieds; ou bien, un jour,
Il te fera entendre un tambour!

¹³ *Histoire des Berbères*, vol. ii. p. 168.

J'ai la conviction que c'est lui qui est l'homme au dirhem carré." "

I am completely at a loss to decide to what prince of the dynasty these square coins should be assigned. At first I inclined to the opinion that they were struck by El-Mahdī himself. But my attention was directed by Señ. Camarino to the fact that the mint-places whose names are found on the coins were not conquered by the Muwahhids till after the death of El-Mahdī. Señ. Camarino's opinion is that the coins were struck by the whole series of Muwahhid Khalīfahs. I think this view highly probable, and the slight differences of these coins inter se by dots and fleurons favours it. Still, as all the mint-places found on the square Muwahhid dirhems in the British Museum Collection were conquered in the time of 'Abd El-Mu-min, it is quite possible that all of them were struck by him or in his time. The passage I have quoted from Ibn-Khaldūn would make one think that some of the dirhems were struck by 'Abd-El-Mu-min himself in order to fulfil the prediction; but on the other hand Adler (*Coll. Nov.* LXXXIX. A.) publishes a square dirhem with these inscriptions:

I. الحمد لله
رب
العالمين

II. ابو محمد عبد
المومن بن علي
امير المؤمنين

If this coin was really issued by 'Abd-El-Mu-min (and the fact that the inscriptions, put together, are identical with M. II. of the dīnārs of this Khalīfeh (see p. 154), puts this, in my opinion, beyond a doubt) it is difficult to conceive why he should have issued a different type of coin on which his name is not mentioned. Adler has also published (ibid. xc. A.) a *circular* dirhem of Er-Rasheed, tenth of the line; the circular form is explained by the orthodoxy of El-Ma-mūn (see p. 152).

There still remain, however, several important Khalī-fehs whose names we find on no dirhems. These dubious dirhems may have been struck by them.

I must now leave the square coins, with their origin as much in obscurity at the end of my remarks as at the beginning, except for these few negative results.

- (1) It is impossible that those of them that have mints should have been struck by El-Mahdī.
- (2) From the first fact, and also (as Adler remarks) from the early death of El-Mahdī, it is very unlikely that he struck even the unminted dirhems.
- (3) It is impossible that they should have been struck by El-Ma-mūn or Er-Rashīd.
- (4) 'Abd-El-Mu-min having struck dirhems with his own name on them, it is improbable that he struck others without his name.

STANLEY E. LANE POOLE.

BRITISH MUSEUM, *March* 20, 1873.

Bust was a city between Sijistān, Ghazneh, and Herāt : it now exists, but in ruins.¹⁴ I believe this mint is as yet unknown, and my opinion is confirmed by that of Señ. Camarino, whose wide acquaintance with Oriental Numismatics gives it great weight.

El-Leyth Ibn-'Alī must have been a son of 'Alī the brother of Yaakūb and 'Omar the sons of Leyth : and the date exactly agrees with the hypothesis.¹⁵

STANLEY E. LANE POOLE.

BRITISH MUSEUM, *March* 26, 1873.

¹⁴ *Marāṣid El-Iṭṭilā'* ; and Barbier de Meynard, *Dict. de la Perse*.

¹⁵ See Price's *Retr. of Mah. Hist.* vol. ii. pp. 229-234.