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ABBREVIATIONS

- AJC** Y. Meshorer. *Ancient Jewish Coinage*. Dix Hills, NY 1982
- AJN** *American Journal of Numismatics*
- BMC** e.g., BMC Arab.: G.F. Hill. *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Arabia, Mesopotamia, and Persia*. London 1922
- BMCO** e.g., BMCO 1: S. Lane-Poole. *The Coins of the Eastern Khaleefehs in the British Museum. Catalogue of the Oriental Coins in the British Museum* 1. London 1875
- CH** *Coin Hoards*
- CHL** Y. Meshorer, G. Bijovsky and W. Fischer-Bossert. *Coins of the Holy Land: The Abraham and Marian Sofaer Collection at the American Numismatic Society and the Israel Museum*. Ed. by D. Hendin and A. Meadows. New York 2013
- CIL** *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*
- CNP** e.g., L. Kadman. *The Coins of Akko Ptolemais* (Corpus Nummorum Palaestinensium IV). Jerusalem 1961
- CPE I** C.C. Lorber. *Coins of the Ptolemaic Empire*. Part I: *Ptolemy I through Ptolemy IV*, I, *Precious Metal*, and II, *Bronze*. New York 2018
- CRE** e.g., H. Mattingly. *The Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum I. Augustus to Vitellius*. London 1923
- DOC** e.g., P. Grierson. *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection* 3. *Leo III to Nicephorus III 717–1081*. Washington, D.C. 1973
- EH I** T. Faucher, A. Meadows and C. Lorber eds. *Egyptian Hoards I: The Ptolemies* (Bibliothèque d'Étude 168). Cairo 2017.
- IEJ** *Israel Exploration Journal*
- IGCH** M. Thompson, O. Mørkholm and C.M. Kraay. *An Inventory of Greek Coin Hoards*. New York 1973
- INJ** *Israel Numismatic Journal*
- INR** *Israel Numismatic Research*
- LA** *Studium Biblicum Franciscanum Liber Annuus*
- LRBC** e.g., P.V. Hill and J.P.C. Kent. Part 1: The Bronze Coinage of the House of Constantine, A.D. 324–46. In *Late Roman Bronze Coinage (A.D. 324–498)*. London 1965. Pp. 4–40
- MIB** e.g., W. Hahn. *Von Anastasius I. bis Justinianus I (491–565)*. *Moneta Imperii Byzantini* 1. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften Philosophisch-Historische Klasse Denkschriften 109. Veröffentlichungen der Numismatischen Kommission 1. Vienna 1973
- MIBE** W. Hahn. *Money of the Incipient Byzantine Empire (Anastasius I–Justinian I, 491–565)* (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte der Universität Wien 6). Vienna 2000
- MIBEC** W. Hahn and M. Metlich. *Money of the Incipient Byzantine Empire Continued (Justin II—Revolt of the Heraclii, 565–610)*. (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte der Universität Wien 13). Vienna 2009
- MN** American Numismatic Society Museum Notes
- NC** Numismatic Chronicle
- NCirc.** *Numismatic Circular*
- NNM** *Numismatic Notes and Monographs*
- RIC** e.g., C.H.V. Sutherland. *The Roman Imperial Coinage* I. *From 31 BC to AD 69*. London 1984
- RN** *Revue Numismatique*
- RPC** e.g., A. Burnett, M. Amandry and I. Carradice. *From Vespasian to Domitian (AD 69–96)*. *Roman Provincial Coinage* 2. London 1999
- RRC** M.H. Crawford. *Roman Republican Coinage*. Cambridge 1974
- SC** e.g., A. Houghton and C. Lorber. *Seleucid Coins. A Comprehensive Catalogue; Seleucus I through Antiochus III VI: Introduction, Maps and Catalogue*. New York-Lancaster, Pa.–London 2002
- SICA** e.g., S. Album and T. Goodwin. *Sylloge of Islamic Coins in the Ashmolean 1: The Pre-Reform Coinage of the Early Islamic Period*. Oxford 2002
- SNAT** e.g., L. Ilisch. *Sylloge Nummorum Arabicorum Tübingen–Palästina IVa Bilād aš-Šām* I. Tübingen 1993
- SNG** *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum* (with suffix as necessary, e.g. *SNG Cop.*)
- SNR** *Schweizerische Numismatische Rundschau*
- TINC** *Transactions of the International Numismatic Congress*
- TJC** Y. Meshorer. *A Treasury of Jewish Coins from the Persian Period to Bar Kokhba*. Jerusalem-Nyack 2001

A Note on the Arab-Byzantine *Dodecanummium* Struck in the Name of ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn Marwān

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Abstract

It is argued that the reverse of the *dodecanummium* attributed to ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn Marwān, governor of Egypt from 685 to 705 CE, because of the Greek legend ABAZ in the exergue, conceals the full legend AB AZ IB MAP, abbreviating his name in such a way as to place the attribution of the type to him beyond any doubt. In light of this, it seems preferable also to read the legend MACA on the reverse of another Arab-Byzantine *dodecanummium* in abbreviation of the name of Māslama ibn Mukhallād ibn Samīt, governor of Egypt from 669 to 682.

The mint at Alexandria in Egypt seems to have continued striking *dodecanummia*, 12-*nummi* pieces, until the final Byzantine evacuation of that city, and abandonment of Egypt as a whole, in September 642 CE.¹ In fact, it seems to have struck three different types of *dodecanummia* during the last year of Byzantine control, that is, during the first year of the reign of Constans II (641–668).² The earliest of these depicts the facing bust of Constans II with *globus cruciger* on the obverse and a cross above a letter M between the Greek numeral equivalents I and B (IB=12) on the reverse (*MIB* 3:141, No. 188; Fig. 1), a second depicts a single standing emperor with long cross in one hand and *globus cruciger* in the other on the obverse and a cross-on-globe between the numbers I and B and a pellet to either side of these on the reverse (*MIB* 3:141, No. 189), while a third copies the type just noted except that there are no pellets flanking the I and B on the reverse (*MIB* 3:141, No. 190).³ All include the mintmark ΑΛΞ in abbreviation of the name of Alexandria in the exergue on the reverse. However, the striking of *dodecanummia* did not end with the Byzantine abandonment of Egypt.

1 For a recent summary of the Muslim conquest of Egypt, see Hoyland 2015:68–76.

2 For recent analyses of the different types of *dodecanummia* struck under Heraclius and Constans II, see Goodwin 2015a; Woods 2018.

3 See Goodwin 2015a:33–34 pointing out, in addition to the absence of the pellets on the reverse, that *MIB* 3:141, No. 190 is also of much cruder style than *MIB* 3:141, No. 189.



Fig. 1. *Dodecanummium* of Constans II (7.84 g, 20 mm, *MIB* 3:141, No. 188; CNG 288, October 10, 2012, Lot 573)

Domaszewicz and Bates (2002) divided the *dodecanummia* struck under Muslim rule into three main types (AI, AII, AIII), whereas Goodwin (2015b) divided them into six types (Types I–VI) through the identification and inclusion of three much rarer types. Of the three main types, one is simply a crude copy of the type struck under Constans II with a standing figure on the obverse and a cross-on-globe between the numbers I and B on the reverse (Domaszewicz and Bates AI=Goodwin Type I=*MIB* 3:142, No. X37). It depicts no new legend. However, the other two main types do contain new, apparently meaningful legends. One features a facing bust on the obverse and a large letter M between the Greek numbers I and B above the Greek legend ABAZ followed by an abbreviation marker in the exergue on the reverse (Domaszewicz and Bates AII=Goodwin Type II=*MIB* 3:142, No. X35; Fig. 2a). The other depicts a standing figure on the obverse and a cross-on-globe between the numeral equivalents I and B above the legend MACA usually followed by an abbreviation marker in the exergue on the reverse (Domaszewicz and Bates AIII=Goodwin Type III=*MIB* 3:142, No. X36; Fig. 2b).



Fig. 2a. ABAZ type *dodecanummium* (6.00 g, 17 mm, *MIB* 3:142, No. X35; private coll.); b. MACA type *dodecanummium* (7.18 g; *MIB* 3:142, No. X36; ANS 1954.126.1).

Since both new legends replace the former mintmark $\Lambda\Lambda\epsilon\zeta$, an obvious conclusion is that one or both also abbreviate a place-name. Insofar as the legend MACA is concerned, while there has been some disagreement as to its precise reading, whether it reads MACP or MACA, it is now generally agreed that it probably abbreviates the transliteration into Greek of the Arabic term *miṣr* ‘fort’ in reference to Fustāt, the new capital of Egypt, where the full term had probably read MACAP.⁴ As for

4 Kubitschek (1897:195) read the legend as $\text{MAC}\Delta$ and interpreted it in reference to Magdalon in Palestine. Bacharach and Awad (1981:51–52) were the first to read the legend as MACP and interpret it as a transliteration of Arabic term *miṣr*. Domaszewicz

the legend ABAZ, Domaszewicz and Bates (2002:97) followed a long tradition in dismissing it as “merely a blundered form of ΑΛΕΞ”. In contrast, Metlich and Schindel (2004:14) suggested that it abbreviates the first name of ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn Marwān, the son of Caliph Marwān I (684–685) and brother of Caliph ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān (685–705), who served as the governor of Egypt from 685 to 705.⁵ They were duly cautious, claiming that they “tentatively suggest” this idea and that it is “highly hypothetical”, but the idea has since won broad acceptance.⁶ The purpose of this note is to place their attribution of the ABAZ type *dodecanummiu*m to ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn Marwān beyond a reasonable doubt. The attribution is based on evidence that had previously been overlooked partly because of its unconventional nature and partly because of the generally poor condition of most surviving specimens of this type.

One should begin by noting that the ABAZ type includes a small letter A above the large letter M between the Greek numbers I and B on the reverse (see Fig. 3a–b). Domaszewicz and Bates (2002:97) noted that this may be a mintmark, but did not speculate further as to what exactly it may stand for if it is a mintmark. The fact that they emphasized that it does not appear below, between the legs of the M, suggests that they implicitly contrasted it to the *officina* number on Byzantine *folles* normally located between the legs of the denomination M, but the point of this contrast is not immediately clear. Alternatively, since this type seems to be modeled upon the *dodecanummiu*m of Constans II with reverse depicting a cross above the letter M between the Greek numbers I and B, Metlich and Schindel (2004:13) suggested that this letter A was added for no more reason than “to fill the empty space above” when the cross was removed as part of the dechristianization of the Byzantine model.

and Bates (2002:97–98) follow them. Yet when it is properly visible, the fourth letter of the legend is clearly A rather than P. Metlich and Schindel (2004:13) claimed that some examples display the full legend MACAP. However, as Goodwin (2015b:209) suggested, the fifth element visible in these cases is an abbreviation marker rather than a P. It should be noted that the governor ‘Abd al-‘Azīz founded a new town, Ḥulwān, about 20 km south of Fuṣṭāṭ in about AH 70 (689/90 CE) and seems to have made it his new capital. See Bruning 2018:18–19.

- 5 The name is rendered Ἀβδελαζίζ in contemporaneous Greek papyri. See, e.g., Bell 1910:87, 274, 345, 360. For a survey of the political history of Umayyad Egypt, including the succession of governors, see Kennedy 1998.
- 6 Foss (2008:103) referred approvingly to this “ingenious solution”. Similarly, Goodwin (2015b:208) claimed that this interpretation was “much more plausible” than any attempt to read ABAZ as a mint name. Sabatier (1862:44) interpreted ABAZ in reference to one of the settlements entitled Oasis in Egypt on the basis that Stephanus of Byzantium lists Αὔασις as an alternative spelling of Ὀασις.

Yet one wonders why those responsible did not simply make the letter **M** a little larger instead. Other scholars simply avoided comment.⁷ Nevertheless, a third possibility also deserves brief mention. The mint at Alexandria had first begun to use a reverse type depicting the letter **M** between the Greek numbers **I** and **B** late in the reign of Heraclius (610–641), and one rare variant depicted a small cross rising from a letter **A** set above the letter **M** (*MIB* 3:115, No. 208; Fig. 3c). Hence the small **A** above the **M** of the *ABAZ* type may derive from this type of Heraclius rather than the type of Constans II. However, it is equally possible this similarity may be no more than a coincidence.



Fig. 3a. Reverse of *ABAZ* type *dodecanummium* (7.48 g, 17 mm, *MIB* 3:142, No. X35; P.S. Pavlou (VC); b. reverse of *ABAZ* type *dodecanummium* (7.80 g, *MIB* 3:142, No. X35; private coll.); c. reverse of a *dodecanummium* of Heraclius (7.80 g, 18 mm, *MIB* 3:115, No. 208; Zeus Numismatics 8, June 6, 2020, Lot 743)

The situation becomes more interesting when one realizes that the letter **M** conceals another letter also within the upright on its left side, the Greek letter **P**, although this seems to have passed unnoticed heretofore. In some cases, the top of the left-side upright displays a right-facing semi-circle (Fig. 4a–b). In other cases, however, the top of the upright seems to display a full circle rather than a semicircle (see Fig. 3a–b above). Nevertheless, there is no reason to doubt that a letter **P** was intended here also, since this was in fact how this letter was included in Byzantine monograms of the sixth and seventh centuries, when a circle could sometimes serve both as an omicron **O** and the top of the letter **P**.⁸ Alternatively, the dies depicting a small circle rather than a semicircle atop the upright may simply be poor copies of the original design. Hence the apparent letter **M** is not a simple letter **M** but a monogram that contains at least three letters — **A**, **M**, **P** and possibly also a fourth letter **I** (Fig. 4c). To be more precise, it is a typical block monogram, that is, a monogram built around a central letter, **M** in this case, and the dominant form of Byzantine monogram from the fifth to the early seventh centuries. At that time

⁷ Awad (1972:115) vaguely acknowledged only that “a letter or monogram” sometimes occurs above the **M**. Foss (2008:103–104) did not mention the occurrence of anything above the **M**, while Goodwin (2015b:208) acknowledged that the letter **A** occurred above the letter **M** in the caption to his illustration of this type, but did not comment upon its significance in his main text.

⁸ See Martindale (1992:1556–1573) for monogram Nos. 2, 114, 194, 223A, 245, 324.

it was replaced by the so-called ‘cross monogram’, a monogram built around a cross, as the dominant form instead.⁹ Unfortunately, however, the poor state of preservation of most specimens of the ABAZ type, combined with the fact that the dies are often larger than the flans so that the top of the design is missing, has prevented the easy recognition of this fact.



Fig. 4a. Reverse of ABAZ type *dodecanummium* (7.48 g, 17 mm, MIB 3:142, No. X35; NSB 5, April 25, 2021, Lot 1037); b. reverse of ABAZ type *dodecanummium* (7.63 g, 10 mm, MIB 3:142, No. X35; ANS 1984.100.26); c. sketch of complete monogram seldom visible in full on a single specimen

So what is the significance of this monogram? Three possibilities suggest themselves. One possibility, bearing in mind that the exergue seems to preserve an abbreviation of the name of the governor, ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, is that this monogram may abbreviate the Greek term ἀμῖρᾱς ‘governor’. However, the term used to describe the governor of Egypt at this period, as revealed by near contemporary papyri, was actually σύμβουλος, not ἀμῖρᾱς, so this does not seem a strong possibility.¹⁰

A second possibility is that these letters may abbreviate the same Greek term MACAP as is apparently found abbreviated to MACA in the exergue of that other type of Arab-Byzantine *dodecanummia*. Three main arguments may be adduced in support of this interpretation. The first is that it solves the problem posed by the apparent absence of a mintmark on the ABAZ type. The second is that it brings these two types of Arab-Byzantine *dodecanummia* with meaningful new legends into greater consistency with one another, both displaying an abbreviation of the same mintmark on their reverse. Finally, the third argument in support of this interpretation is that the presentation of a mintmark in the form of a monogram would have a clear parallel within the greater Arab-Byzantine series of coins. Schulze (2013) divided the *folles* struck at classical Antarados (modern Tartūs) in Syria during the so-called Imperial Image phase of coinage c. 670–690 into three classes where the traditional denomination M on the reverses of Classes 2 and 3 has been transformed into a monogram containing the name of Antarados in the

⁹ The lead seals struck in large numbers by Byzantine government officials are the best source for Byzantine monograms. For a survey of the use of monograms on these seals during the early and middle Byzantine periods, see Seibt 2016.

¹⁰ For an analysis of the origin and significance of these terms in early Umayyad Egypt, see Morelli 2010. The term ἀμῖρᾱς was used for lesser officials such as pagarchs.

genitive case (ΑΝΤΑΡΑΔΔ) (Fig. 5a–b).¹¹ In this case, the P is contained within the upright on the left side of the denomination M where the combined form of the omicron and upsilon sits atop the upright so that the circle of its lower half acts as the head of the P once more. However, there is also a strong argument against reading the monogram of the ABAZ type as an abbreviation of MACAP — the noticeable absence of the letter sigma C from within it, unless this letter is assumed to be contained in reverse form within the head of the P, which seems highly unlikely.

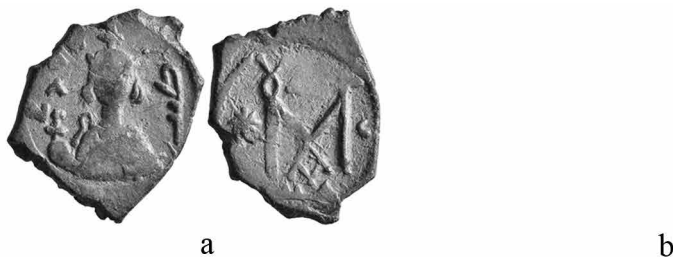


Fig. 5a. Arab-Byzantine *follis* of Antarados (Tartūs) (4.78 g, 23 mm; Leu 16, May 23, 2021, Lot 4259); b. sketch of complete monogram

The third possibility is that this monogram may abbreviate the name of Caliph Marwān in Greek, Μαρουάμ in literary sources, but Μαρουάβ in contemporaneous papyri.¹² In this sense, the monogram may have been used either because Marwān was the caliph when this particular type was first struck or in reference to the filiation of ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, the fact that he was the son of Marwān. On the first point, one notes that the Byzantines had a long history of placing a monogram of the imperial name upon the copper coinage, particularly upon the lower denominations, dating as far back as the fifth century (Garipzanov 2017). Furthermore, the imperial monogram continued to be prominently displayed on many Byzantine *folles* of the seventh century. Hence it is not unthinkable that ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, or some lesser official, may have decided to place a monogram of the caliph’s name upon the coinage in imitation of the Byzantine practice. However, it seems rather unlikely that ‘Abd al-‘Azīz began striking this new type of *dodecanummium* during the few months

11 The coins of Class 1 divide the mintmark to either side of the denomination M, depicting the letters ANT descending to its left and APX descending to the right, in much the same manner as the mintmark is depicted on the main Arab-Byzantine types also from Emesa and Heliopolis. The difference is that the Δ of the name is depicted below the dip of the M, where the *officina* number would traditionally appear on a Byzantine *follis*, and is attached to the same. Furthermore, the initial A of ANT seems to have been expected to be read twice to form the full name. Hence the mintmark on coins of Class 1 has advanced part way to being integrated with the denomination M to form a monogram.

12 See, e.g., the Aphrodito papyri published by Bell (1910).

following his appointment as governor while his father remained alive as caliph. As for the second point, the few Arab-Byzantine coins of this period that display the names of various Arab officials do not include their filiations, so that it seems unlikely that ‘Abd al-‘Azīz would have insisted that a monogram of his father’s name be included on this type simply to denote his filiation. It may be argued instead that the designer of this type was inspired to transform the M into a monogram in abbreviation of the name of Marwān by his reading of the accompanying denomination mark IB as if it abbreviated IBIN, a transliteration of the Arabic *ibn* ‘son’.¹³ This coincidence of the presence on the Byzantine model for this new coin of a mark IB, which could be read as an abbreviation of IBIN, in conjunction with a letter M, which could be read as an abbreviation of the name MAPOVAN, seems to have proven irresistible to our anonymous designer. Indeed, one could even argue that the main features above the exergue — the clever reference to an IB(IN) MAP(OVAN) — may have been intended to serve a double function, referencing the caliph himself, ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān (685–705), another son of Marwān, first, and his younger brother, the governor ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, second.

On the whole, of the three possible interpretations of the monogram outlined above, the strongest seems to be the last. If true, it means that the ABAZ type does not display a mintmark. One can understand why those in charge of the numerous mints striking Arab-Byzantine types in the greater Syrian region during the late seventh century may have felt compelled to use mintmarks in order to distinguish their product from that of many other mints in the region. However, no such argument applies in contemporary Egypt where there was much less activity, perhaps just the one official mint.

Another feature of the ABAZ type that has not received the attention that it perhaps deserves is the presence of a single letter beneath the star to the right of the bust on the obverse. This letter may be an *alpha* Α, a letter that is probably a *gamma* Γ (Fig. 6a), an *eta* Ε (Fig. 6b), a letter that has been described as a *nu* Ν, but which may well be a *zeta* Ζ (Fig. 6c), or a letter that has been described as a *phi* Φ, but may well be a *theta* Θ (Fig. 6d).¹⁴ One possibility is that these are Greek

13 Greek sources normally translate rather than merely transliterate the term *ibn* in an Arabic name, if they include it at all, rendering it as ὁ υἱός. However, exceptions occur. So, for example, Theophanes Confessor (d. 818) refers to ‘Amir ibn Dubāra as Ἰβινδάρρα (Chron. 425:2), to ‘Umar ibn Hubayra as Ἰβινουβηρᾶ (Chron. 425:3), to ‘Isa ibn Mūsā as Ἰβινμουσέ (Chron. 425:19) and to ‘Abdallāh ibn ‘Alī as Ἀβδελᾶς Ἰβιναλίμ (Chron. 439:8).

14 Goodwin (2015b:208) published a photograph of a specimen with Α beneath the star. I have seen an enlarged photograph of the coin and can confirm that this letter is Α. Domaszewicz and Bates (2002:97) described only a letter Α beneath the star. Metlich and Schindel (2004:13) recognize the occurrence of what they describe as Ε and Ν beneath the star. Foss (2008:103) notes the existence of what he describes as the letters Ε, Ν, Ρ and Φ beneath the star. No one offers any explanation as to what these letters

numerals where A=1, Γ=3, €=5, Z=7 and Θ=9, and the obvious suggestion is that they represent dates, probably indiction years rather than the regnal years of the caliph to judge by the evidence of contemporaneous papyri.¹⁵ If A denotes the first indiction year, then it could refer to 657/8, 672/3, 687/8, or 702/3. Similarly, if Θ denotes the ninth indiction year, it could refer to 665/6, 680/1, 695/6, and 710/1. So these coins seem to have been struck during one of the periods 657–666, 672–681, 687–696, or 702–711.

If the attribution of this type to ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn Marwān is correct, however, this date range must also fall within his period of rule, 685–705. Thus, these coins must have been struck between 687 and 696. On the other hand, if these letters should be read as A, Γ, €, N and Φ rather than as A, Γ, €, Z and Θ, they cannot be dates because as numbers, N=50 and Φ=500. If they are not dates, however, it is not clear what function they may have served.



Fig. 6a. Obverse of ABAZ type depicting Γ (9.33 g, 20 mm; *MIB* 3:142, No. X35; private coll.); b. obverse of ABAZ type depicting € (7.16 g, 18 mm; *MIB* 3:142, No. X35; P.S. Pavlou (VC); c. obverse of ABAZ type depicting Z (?) (6.58 g, 17 mm; *MIB* 3:142, No. X35; London Ancient Coins (VC); d. obverse of ABAZ type depicting Θ (?) (6.71 g, 16 mm; *MIB* 3:142, No. X35; ANS 1972.45.7)

Most Byzantine *folles*, or fractions thereof, had traditionally borne a date, usually the regnal year of the emperor denoted in Roman numerals on the reverse, but *dodecanummia* never bore a date. Furthermore, Arab-Byzantine coins from the greater Syrian region did not display meaningful dates before the striking of Standing Caliph dinars with Islamic dates starting in AH 74 (693/4). There were, however, some exceptions to the general rule that Byzantine *folles* were dated by regnal years in Roman numerals on the reverse. For example, the mint at Syracuse struck a *follis* dated to the eleventh indiction year under Constans II in a year that can only be identifiable as 652/3, where this date was denoted in Greek numerals immediately to the right of the standing emperor on the obverse (*MIB* 3:144, No. 208). More importantly, the mint at Carthage had traditionally struck *solidi* with the indiction year in the form of Greek numerals at the end of the obverse legend,

or their numerical equivalents mean.

¹⁵ If one accepts both that these are numerals and that they represent dates, then there seems to a pattern according to which coins are struck every two years. However, the significance of such a pattern remains unclear.

that is, to the lower right of the imperial bust, exactly where the apparent date occurs in the case of the ABAZ type *dodecanummium*, although this practice stopped with the death of Heraclius in 641 (Grierson 1950). Therefore, it is possible that the decision to date this *dodecanummium* by means of a Greek numeral inserted to the right of the bust on the obverse may have been influenced by the manner in which Carthage had traditionally dated its *solidi*.

Some commentary is also necessary here concerning what Goodwin (2015b:210) identified as the Type IV *dodecanummium* struck under Muslim rule in Egypt (Fig. 7). He knew of only four examples of this type, making Type IV much rarer than the first three types. However, one must question whether Type IV really deserves to be recognized as a separate type. If one ignores minor stylistic differences, the obverse depicts the same facing bust — with a palm branch upon a globe to the left and a star to the right — as appears upon the ABAZ type *dodecanummium*. The main differences are found on the reverse. First, the reverse of the Type IV depicts the legend ABN in the exergue rather than ABAZ, although the letter A strongly resembles a rhomboid shaped omicron O rather than a proper A. Second, although both reverses depict a large letter M between the I and B, the M on the reverse of the Type IV includes an extra shape — Λ — near the top between its uprights so that the overall effect is of a diamond shape between two uprights. However, both differences are explicable. It is clear that ABN is a corruption of ABAZ where the second A has been misread as an N. Furthermore, the extra shape — Λ — between the uprights of the M on the reverse on the Type IV seems to represent a crude copy of the A originally set just above the M in the case of the ABAZ type. It is clear, therefore, that Goodwin’s Type IV is a crude copy of his Type II, the ABAZ type.



Fig. 7. Arab-Byzantine *dodecanummium*, ABN type (private coll., 7.06 g)

Finally, confirmation that the ABAZ type *dodecanummium* should be attributed to ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn Marwān as governor of Egypt during the period 685–705 forces one to also reexamine the significance of the legend on the MACA type *dodecanummium*. What, if anything, is the significance of the fact that the ABAZ type includes the name of the governor in the exergue on the reverse, while the MACA type includes what appears to be a place-name there instead? How can one be sure that MACA abbreviates a Greek transliteration of the Arabic *miṣr*? If one investigates the possibility instead that the legend MACA may abbreviate the name of a governor in the manner of the ABAZ type, one at first seemingly reaches dead end, in that no seventh-century governor of Egypt bore a name beginning Masa-.

The nearest possibility seems to be Māslama ibn Mukḥallād ibn Samīt, governor from 669 to 682 (Kennedy 1998:69–70). However, one needs to remember here that Byzantine sources transliterate the name Māslama as Μασσαλμας (Masalmas), so that the legend MACA may indeed abbreviate the name of Maslama in Greek.¹⁶ On the whole, therefore, it seems likely that the MACA and ABAZ types of *dodecanummium* both preserve abbreviations in Greek of the name of the governor who struck them, Māslama ibn Mukḥallād ibn Samīt and ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn Marwān respectively.

In conclusion, the ABAZ type *dodecanummium* preserves an abbreviation of the first name of ‘Abd al-‘Azīz in the exergue, and an abbreviation of his filiation, and that of his brother, Caliph ‘Abd al-Malik, hidden in the main design of the reverse. However, the fact that it presents the name of the brothers’ father Marwān in the form of a monogram and indulges in a clever play upon the denomination mark to abbreviate the Arabic *ibn* also precludes easy recognition of what is occurring here. Recognition of these features for what they are now confirms the suggestion of Metlich and Schindel that this type should be attributed to ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn Marwān. Furthermore, the fact that different issues of this type bear what seem to be identifiable as a range of indiction dates from 687/9 to 695/6 reinforces this identification.

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¹⁶ Byzantine literary sources do not mention Māslama ibn Mukḥallād ibn Samīt, but they mention Māslama ibn ‘Abd al-Malik on numerous occasions because of his role in the Muslim campaigns culminating in the second Muslim Arab siege of Constantinople in 717/8, always spelling his name Masalmas.

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