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ANNEX

DIRHAMS FROM NEW DISCOVERIES IN GDAŃSK

Four dirhams discovered recently in Gdańsk deserve to be described in detail and discussed in terms of their attribution. Their numbers refer to the catalogue of new and reinterpreted finds published in the main paper by B. Paszkiewicz.

III. Targ Sienny



Ryc. 1. Dirham from Targ Sienny (no III: 1 in the catalogue of finds). Photo by P. Milejski.

1. Samanids (?), unknown ruler, end of the ninth century - half of the tenth century

Obv.: leg. O 1: outlines of the last two letters of the first line of the Shahada preserved: $\text{ﻻ} \dots$

leg. O 2: the first two letters of the third word preserved: $\dots \text{ﺯﻩ} \dots$

leg. O 3: blurred traces of single letters,

rim: outer, single line.

Rv.: leg. R 1: a larger part of the word of the first line and the upper parts of the third and fourth letters of the first word of the second verse are preserved: $\text{... / - / - ﻭﻟ... / ﻣﺤﻤﺪ}$

leg. R 2: the second and third word preserved: $\dots \text{ﺭﺳﻮﻝ ﺍﻟﻠﻪ} \dots$

rim: double line, separates the field from the margin legend.

Uneven and largely damaged surface. Small scratches visible. Inscription almost completely worn away and hardly legible. Better preserved on the reverse. Edges uneven, caused by breakage. Fragment of about 1/4 of a coin. Silver, 0.705 g. Excavation 1, layer 5, cat. no. 1792 (fig. 1).

The preserved fragments of the inscriptions do not contain those parts of legends which bear the name of the mint and date of issue. The most characteristic element visible on the reverse side is the letter *hā* (ح), wedge-shaped in its upper part, the second letter in the word محمد, which together with the double line rim separating the field and margin legends resembles the reverse of Emir Ahmad ibn Isma‘īl’s coins (295-301 AH = 907-913 AD), struck in the mint of Andarāba (e.g. in 300 AH, Leimus 1407). As the letter is only partially preserved and we do not know what the lower part of the letter looked like, the fragment cannot be classified as an identified coin.

Ve. Tartaczna



Fig. 2 Al-Saffāh’s or al-Mansūr’s dirham from the Tartaczna excavation (no Ve: 1 in the catalogue of finds). Photo by B. Ceynowa.

1. Abbasids, Abu al-‘Abbas ‘Abd Allāh **al-Saffāh** ibn Muhammad (132-136 AH = 749/50-753/54 AD) or Abū Ja‘far ‘Abd Allāh **al-Mansūr** ibn Muhammad (136-158 AH = 753/54-774/75 AD), al-Kūfa (?), date of minting: 132-139 AH = 749/50-756/57.

Obv.: leg. O 1: the major part of the first line is preserved: - / - / لا اله الا

leg. O 2: the *first four words, the beginning of the fifth and the major part of the last preserved*: بسم الله ضرب هذا الة

rim 1: triple string with an ornament consisting of three circles

rim 2: outer feathery.

Rv.: leg. R 1: the major part of the first line preserved: - / - / محمد

leg. R 2: the first four words, the beginning of the fifth and the end of the last preserved:

محمد رسول الله ارسله با- ركون

rim 1: triple string

rim 2: single string with an ornament consisting of five circles, only two circles preserved – at 1 and 11 o'clock,

rim 3: outer feathery.

1/2 of the coin cut off, perhaps with a sharp tool. The fragment is slightly bent. On Obv. and Rv. obliterations of inscriptions and scratches due to a long time of circulation. Drohiczyn 19, 20, 21 and probably 27, Eshragh 823, Qatar 1384. Silver, 1.109 g, 24×10×0.9 mm, Tartaczna 2, layer 1469, cat. 1339, f. inv. 1564 25.08.2008 (fig. 2).

The fragment, which is more or less evenly cut off half can certainly be attributed to the coinage of the Abbasid dynasty. It represents the oldest type of Abbasid dirhams, struck between 132-145 AH, the time of the first two caliphs of this dynasty – al-Saffāh (132-136 AH = 750-754 AD) and partly al-Mansūr (136-158 AH = 754-775 AD). This earliest type of early-Abbasid dirhams, sometimes referred to in catalogue publications as Type A,¹ had many common features that distinguished it from later coins, on which typological differences gradually increased, depending on the mint and date of issue. In most cases they are anonymous coins, attributed to individual rulers on the basis of their date and distinguishing type.

The permanent elements of the A-type obverse are only legends and their arrangement – a legend in the field consisting of the Shahada, arranged in three lines (leg. 1 O) and a single margin legend, starting with the formula *بِسْمِ اللَّهِ ضَرَبَ هَذَا الدَّرْهَمَ*, followed by the name of the mint and the date of issue (leg. 2 O). Variants are based solely on the look of the ornaments. The oldest ornament, appearing on A-type obverses, consists of a triple (string or line) rim, three identical circles resembling beads, placed at 1, 5 and 9 o'clock and a feathery outer rim. In the study of the hoard from the Drohiczyn area, it was classified by the authors as VII b.² It appears on obverses of type A coins only up to the year 139 AH: on dirhams from al-Kūfa from the years 132-137 AH, on coins from al-Basra it lasts a little longer – up to the year 139 AH, on dirhams from other mints also not longer than up to the year 139 AH. Later, after 139 AH, ornament VII b disappears, replaced by other ornaments.

In the field of the reverse of early A-type dirhams, the Abbasids introduced a new, three-line legend: *مُحَمَّدٌ / رَسُولُ اللَّهِ* (leg. R 1). A triple inner rim (line or string) separates it from the margin legend (leg. R 2). The latter is a quote from the 9th surah of the Quran, which appeared earlier on Umayyad coins. Outside leg. R 2 there is a characteristic ornament, consisting of a single rim (string or line), on which six bead circles are placed at 1, 4, 6, 9 and 11 o'clock. On some coins the circles are slightly shifted in relation to each other, which applies to both the reverse and the obverse, but the overall arrangement remains unchanged. The die is closed by a feathery outer board, just like on the obverse. Except for the old mint

¹ Eshragh 2010, p. 155.

² Czapkiewicz, Kmietowicz 1960, p. 164.

in Dimashq and the African Ifrīqiya mint, where dirhams were struck in a completely different style, this reverse type appears on almost all al-Saffāh's dirhams: those minted in Ardashīr Khurra, al-Basra, Jundī Sābūr, al-Kūfa, Manādhir, Nahr Tīrā, Rāmhurmuz, Suq al-Ahwāz and a rather rare al-Sūs mint. It also continued on some Caliph al-Mansūr's coins, mainly from the mint of Ardashīr Khurra, al-Basra, al-Hāshimiya, Istakhr, Jundī Sābūr, al-Kūfa, Marw or Nīshābūr, appearing increasingly in combination with another type of obverse ornamentation, gradually undergoing minor modifications or disappearing completely.

Although the part of the obverse legend that usually contains the name of the mint and the date of minting has not been preserved on the fragment of the dirham (only the last section of the date, larger part of the final numeral – *hundred* مائة, remains visible), we may attempt at least its partial reconstruction. The authors of the study of the hoard from the Drohiczyn area have already pointed to the considerable variety of ornaments occurring on dirhams, the examination of which could show the distinguishing features of particular mints or years of issue. This would help to identify fragments of dirhams that do not contain the mint name or date of issue or feature highly obliterated inscriptions.³

On the obverse of the discussed fragment, two very characteristic elements of the ornament have been preserved, which, when juxtaposed with the above described reverse type, allowed for classifying this coin as the early Abbasid type A and narrowing its dating to 132-139 AH. It is a triple string rim and partially preserved triple circle ornament, visible at 1 o'clock and partially at 9 o'clock. Part of the ornament, located usually at 5 o'clock, remained on the cut-off, second half of the coin, including the name of the mint and the date of issue. We may therefore be certain that this is the oldest ornament VII b appearing on early Abbasid dirhams.

The range of mints under consideration is not very extensive. They can be roughly divided into mass ones, in this case the central mints of al-Basra and al-Kūfa, in which dirhams were struck by both caliphs, as well as less common ones, already mentioned above, while describing the reverse. The differences between them in terms of the ornament VII b used on the obverse are small and limited to two features – the type of triple ring, which can be linear or stringed, and the exact position of the triple circles-beads in relation to the elements of leg. O 2 – or, in other words, to the so-called shifts. A comparative analysis, based on the numismatic material present in the literature, allows us to find the largest number of features in common with dirhams struck in the al-Kūfa mint. They include a triple string rim, the location of the circles at 1 o'clock in relation to the first word *بِسْمِ* of leg. O 2 (the lowest circle overlaps with the first letter of this word) and the position of the circle at 9 o'clock in relation to the fourth and fifth words *هَذَا الدَّرْهَمِ* of the same legend (the middle circle-bead is above the last letter of the fourth and the first two letters of the fifth word). Such an arrangement of ornaments is the most typical of Caliph

³ Czapkiewicz, Kmietowicz 1960, pp. 10-11.

al-Saffāh’s dirhams coined in the mint in al-Kūfa. It cannot be excluded however, that Caliph al-Mansūr also struck similar dirhams at the beginning of his reign, but no later than 139 AH, as after that date ornament VII b temporarily disappears. However, it certainly could not be the al-Basra mint, as its three-circle ornament is shifted slightly differently from those on the fragment of a dirham from Tartaczna Street. In the catalogue of the hoard from the Drohiczyn area we find similar coins from al-Kūfa: 132 AH (nos. 19 and 20), 133 AH (no. 21) and 136 AH (no. 27), which proves that this coin is relatively common, and has appeared in the earlier finds from Poland. It also appears quite often in various catalogues.⁴



Fig. 3. Al-Mansūr’s dirham from the “Tartaczna” study (no. Ve: 2 in the catalogue).
Photo by B. Ceynowa.

2. Abbasids, Abū Ja‘far ‘Abd Allāh **al-Mansūr** ibn Muhammad (136-158 AH = 753/54-774/75 AD), al-Basra, 146 AH = 763/64 AD or 147 AH = 764/65 AD.

Obv.: leg. 1 (O 1): visible oblong traces of single letters of the second and third lines of the Shahada,

leg. 2 (O 2): preserved completely obliterated fourth word and first three letters of the fifth: ... هذا الد ...

rim 1: hardly visible, line, triple, with traces of an ornament in the form of two dots placed at 9 o’clock,

rim 2: not preserved

Rv.: leg. 1 (R 1): a preserved fragment of the highly obliterated word *Allah* الله in the third line, under which there is a small circle ○,

leg. 2 (R 2): barely visible fragments of completely obliterated single letter,

rim 1: triple line,

rim 2: completely obliterated.

1/2 of the coin cut off, perhaps with a sharp tool and broken into two fragments. The surface is heavily corroded and damaged. The inscriptions are largely obliterated and hardly legible, as if the coin was in circulation for a very long time. Dro-

⁴ For instance Eshragh 2010, no. 823.

hiczyn 34, Eshragh 874, Leimus 44 and 63, Qatar 1429 (in case of variant al-Basra 146 AH) or Czechów 40, Leimus 45 (in case of variant al-Basra 147 AH). Silver, 0,678 g, diameter 23,7 mm; Tartaczna 2; layer 3128, object cat. 3179; cat. 16 088; f. inv. 3907; 10.06.2009 (fig. 3).

Two fragments of a coin, which is a more or less evenly cut off half can also be attributed to the coinage of the Abbasid dynasty. Although the coin is completely worn out and the inscriptions obliterated, its reconstruction and identification is possible. From the general appearance of the coin, *i.e.* from the type of legends and their layouts, type of writing, rims and ornaments, we can deduce that this is the earliest, quite uniform type of Abbasid dirham, common during the reign of the first two caliphs of this dynasty. Dirhams from that period are mostly anonymous. Apart from few exceptions, such as the dirhams from Dimashq mint, which maintained the inscriptions in the typical Umayyad style, the lettering of these coins is also quite uniform. This state of affairs persists until about 145 AH. After that date, the differences between individual mints and the years of issue grow gradually: the mints begin to take on their own style, using characteristic ornaments, single letters, whole words or special marks, which were usually placed in the reverse field. Such a special mark can be found on our coin. It is a small circle, placed below the legend of the reverse field, exactly in the middle, which we know only from dirhams coined in the mint of al-Basra in 146 and 147 AH. We find coins of both issues in Polish finds – the 146 AH dirham appeared in the hoard from the Drohiczyn area (no. 34) and the 147 AH dirham appeared in the hoard from Czechów (no. 40). These are quite common coins, presented in many catalogues, but the older variant, *i.e.* with the date 146 AH, is much more popular. An additional element confirming this identification are two circles preserved on the obverse, exactly at 9 o'clock, which are part of an ornament consisting of three larger, single circles, placed at 11, 3 and 7 o'clock and two smaller circles in the form of points, placed at 1, 5 and 9 o'clock: ○ ○ ◎ ○ ○ ◎ ○ ○ ◎. It is quite an exceptional ornament, well known from the obverses of early Abbasid dirhams struck in the mint of al-Basra, which also appears in combination with a circle below the legend of the reverse field. In the study of the hoard of Arab coins from the Drohiczyn area such an ornament can be found on dirhams struck in this mint in the year 146 AH. In the table with the list of ornaments, it is classified as type XI b.

VII. Klesza Street



Fig. 4. Imitation dirham from Klesza 7 (no. VII.1 in the catalogue). Photo by B. Ceynowa

1. Volga-Bulghars (?), dirham imitation, probably of the Samanid dynasty, ca. mid-10th century.

Obv.: leg. O 1: a mirrored image of the second and third line of the Shahada. The ending with the last two letters ده is preserved in the second line. In the third line, which should normally contain the following passage: لا شريك له , the letter šin (ش) was replaced by two linked letters mim (م) and lām (ل), which produced the phrase مل , while the letter yā (يا) in the initial position and lām (ل) were omitted and the letter kāf (ك) was combined directly with the last letter hā (ه), which resulted in a meaningless phrase: لا ملرکه , additionally inverted;

leg. O A 2: the preserved fragment of the legend consists of Arabic letters: mīm (م), sīn (س) or šin (ش), dāl (د), sīn (س) or šin (ش), mīm (م), sīn (س) or šin (ش), dāl (د), which when combined together form an incomprehensible inscription: مسمسدسمسد . Although the majority of these letters would look the same when reversed, at most they would change the order in relation to each other, the letter dāl (د) was written correctly (it would look different when reversed), which makes us conclude that the inscription, unlike the last two lines in the reverse field, is not reversed;

leg. O 3: similarly to leg. O 2, the preserved part of the legend consists of a combination of the same letters, also written correctly, forming an incomprehensible inscription: سمسمسدسمسد ;

rim: outer, line.

Inscriptions and letters carefully made, well preserved and legible. Only a minor part of leg. O 3 is obliterated. The surface is darkened, slightly porous, with small cavities. Edges uneven.

Rv.: leg. R 1: a mirrored image of the legend of the reverse field is visible. The first two letters of the word li'llah - "for Allāh" الله over the field legend and the first three and a fragment of the fourth letter of the word Muhammad محمد have been preserved. The next line of this legend starts with the article al- (ال) and is

probably followed by the letter ‘*alif* (ل) or *lām* (ل). The third line also begins with letters resembling the article *al-* (ال);

leg. R 2: single letters and fragments of Arabic letters preserved;

rim 1: double line,

rim 2: single line.

The preserved fragments of letters are quite carefully made, in the margin area they are obliterated and poorly legible. The surface is darkened, slightly porous, with small cavities. Edges uneven.

A broken piece, approximately 1/3 of a coin. Copper or base silver, 1.050 g, 23.1 mm (original diameter approx. 27-28 mm). Klesza 7, layer 561, cat. 251, f.inv. 335, 25.11.2008 (fig. 4).

The inverted second and third line of the legend of the obverse field is most often found in imitations of the dirhams of the Iranian Samanid dynasty, which are attributed to the Bulgār and Suwār mints in Volga Bulgaria. There are approximately ten coins of similar type in Leimus’s catalogue, resembling the fragment of dirham imitation from Klesza Street. Apart from coin no. 3397, with the names of the Caliphs al-Mu‘tadid and Emir Isma‘īl ibn Ahmad on the reverse, deformed and with an inverted image, other coins are attributed to Bulgarian imitations, featuring the name of Emir Nasr ibn Ahmad (3499, 3512, 3513, 3520), as well as to an unspecified ruler (3581, 3590, 3591, 3598, 3599, 3660). In terms of the type and style of the writing, the fragment of dirham no. 3581 in this catalogue is closest to the obverse of the Klesza fragment, while a similarly made and reversed third line of the Shahada can be seen on the coin no. 3598.

The carefully made obverse margin legends testify to the technical advancement of the mint, located probably in the vicinity of the Samanid state. Although they are quite well preserved and legible, they remain completely incomprehensible. The closest analogies to the style and arrangement of letters in leg. O 2 can be found on Emir Nasr ibn Ahmad’s dirhams struck in the Afghan mint in Andarāba.⁵

The legend of the reverse field, also reversed, consists of only three lines – not four, like on Samanid coins. The first line is carefully made and there are no mistakes in it. The next line of a standard legend, usually one that says “*the messenger of Allāh*” رسول الله was omitted, and instead we can see the beginning of a line starting with the article *al-*, which should precede a name, probably one of the Abbasid caliphs. It is difficult to say which of the caliphs could have been mentioned, because the third letter (‘*alif* or *lām*) preserved in this line does not match the first letter of the name of any of them. It might have been Caliph al-Rādī (322-329 AH=934-940 AD), provided that the first letter of the name, *rā*’ (ر), was omitted and replaced directly by the second letter, in this case ‘*alif*’ (ا). The last line of this legend should start with the name of one of Samanid emirs. However, the first two letters, resembling the *al-* article, are unlikely to be the beginning of

⁵ www.zeno.ru: #230783.

either of them. In the Leimus catalogue we find imitations of dirhams of Isma‘īl ibn Ahmad and Nasr ibn Ahmad, whose names erroneously began with vertical lines resembling the Arabic article *al-*. These are the previously mentioned coins nos. 3397, 3512 and 3513. The obverse margin legend does not contribute a lot to the task of describing and identifying the coin from Klesza Street, as it consists only of individual letters or their fragments. One of the letters, probably ‘*alif*’ (ل), however, has a characteristic hook-like ending, appearing most frequently on Emir Nasr ibn Ahmad’s dirhams, minted in ash-Shāsh, but also in Afghan mints in Andarāba and Balkh or on imitations of these coins.

In the available literature we do not find a direct analogy to the fragment of dirham from Klesza Street. However, taking into account all the elements mentioned above, the fragment described can be dated roughly to the middle of the 10th century. We can also assume that it was modelled on dirhams of the Samanid Emir Nasr ibn Ahmad (301-331 AH=913-942 AD), struck mainly in the Andarāba and ash-Shāsh mints. It is also possible that part of the coin, especially the field of the reverse, was ineptly copied from an older dirham, probably one of the issues of Emir Isma‘īl ibn Ahmad, but this does not affect the proposed dating.

This identification of the fragment of the dirham from Klesza Street can be supported using the evidence obtained from the Ukrainian finds.⁶ On the forum registered at <http://domongol.org/>, in the ‘Coin identification’ tab, the ‘Kufic dirhams’ sub-tab, on 12 March 2014, the thread ‘Collection of Kyïv imitation dirhams’ was started. It is devoted primarily to imitation Kufic dirhams from the Kyïv area, found mainly using metal detectors. Among many different coins, more or less similar to the fragment of the imitation from Klesza Street, we find an example of an imitation that is very important for our deliberations. Bearing in mind the ephemeral nature of some Internet sources, we will refer to an illustration (fig. 5).



Fig. 5. An imitation dirham found in the Kyïv area, 2.85 g, 27-28 mm.
Photo by anonymous author.

⁶ I was helped to obtain this extremely interesting material by researchers from Ukraine: Yevhen Lemberg, Alexei Golemichow and Sergei Goglov, whom I thank for their assistance and consultations.

It is a completely preserved imitation dirham of the Samanid Emir Nasr ibn Ahmad. Its obverse is very similar to the fragment from Klesza Street. The field legend is almost identical – also inverted, with a similar writing style and arrangement of letters. The only difference is the letter located by the word *lā* (لا). On the imitation from Klesza it is a round mark, resembling the Arabic letter *mīm* (م), on the imitation from the Kyïv area we see a vertical line, in this case most probably part of the letter *šīn* (ش). There is even a greater similarity between the two coins in relation to the first margin legend (leg. O 2). Here we have a practically identical sequence of the same letters, set in the same order and forming a completely incomprehensible inscription. While comparing both legends one can get the impression that not only were they created in the same workshop, but came from under the same craftsman's hand.

We see a bit more differences in the case of the second margin legend (leg. A 3), where, apart from the letters visible on the imitation from Klesza Street there are additional letters – vertical lines ending with a hook, resembling the letters from the Arabic article *al-* (ال), which can be seen, although highly obliterated on the partially preserved margin legend (leg. R2) of the Klesza imitation reverse. The reverses of the two coins show both similarities and differences. The similarities include first of all the inverted field legend (leg. R 1) as well as a fragment of its first line, containing the beginning of the word , made in an almost identical style. Both the letters *mīm* (م) and the characteristic letter *hā* (ح) in the middle, completely vertical, topped with a ball, sharply ended at the bottom, are almost identically executed on both coins. The double line rim, separating both legends of the reverse, is also similar. The differences, although small, are limited to the remaining lines of the field legend. On the fragment of the imitation from Klesza Street, the field legend consists of three lines, the second and third of which start with vertical marks resembling the Arabic article *al-* (ال). On the imitation from the Kyïv area there are four lines altogether, two of which (the second and the third) also start with vertical marks, resembling the article, and contain a distorted version of Caliph al-Rādī's name. On the whole, they are identical, differing only in one mark (the vertical line). In the last (fourth) line, we see a name which, like in the case of the caliph's name, is a heavily distorted and simplified version of the name of the Samanid Emir Nasr ibn Ahmad. The margin legends of the reverse are difficult to compare, because on the fragment the Klesza Street imitation it is considerably obliterated and illegible, and – as has already been mentioned – its hook-ended letters are similar to some of the letters from the second reverse margin legend of the imitation from the Kyïv area.

Based on the distorted names of Caliph al-Rādī and Emir Nasr ibn Ahmad on the reverse, the design of the regular Samanid coin, which the author of the Kyïv imitation used to create the die, can generally be dated to the years of the common reign of the caliph and emir, *i.e.* 322-329 AH = 934-940 AD, so the imitation itself could have been created at about the same time or in slightly later period. The frag-

ment of the dirham imitation from Klesza Street, being a close variety of this coin, may have a similar dating.

ABBREVIATIONS

Czechów = Czapkiewicz *e.a.* 1957.
Drohiczyn = Czapkiewicz, Kmietowicz 1960.
Eshragh = Eshragh 2010.
Leimus = Leimus 2007.
Qatar = al-'Ush 2003.

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ANEKS DIRHEMY Z NOWYCH BADAŃ W GDAŃSKU

(Streszczenie)

Cztery odkryte w ostatnich latach w Gdańsku dirhemy są tu szczegółowo przestudiowane. Ich numery odnoszą się do katalogu nowych i na nowo zinterpretowanych znalezisk w poprzedzającej pracy B. Paszkiewicza.

III. Targ Sienny

1. SAMANIDZI (?), władca nieokreślony, koniec IX – połowa X w.

Zachowane fragmenty napisów nie zawierają nazwa mennicy i daty wybicia. Zachowane elementy charakterystyczne nie dają podstaw do zawężenia atrybucji.

Ve. Tartaczna

1. ABBASYDZI, Abu al-Abbas Abd Allah **As-Saffah** Ibn Muhammad (132-136 AH = 749/50-753/54 AD) lub Abu Dżafar Abd Allah **Al-Mansur** Ibn Muhammad (136-158 AH = 753/54-774/75 AD), al-Kufa (?), lata wybicia: 132-139 AH = 749/50-756/57.

Chociaż na fragmencie dirhema nie zachowała się ta część legendy awersu, która zazwyczaj zawiera nazwę mennicy i datę wybicia, to jednak możemy pokusić się o chociaż częściową rekonstrukcję monety. Na awersie rozpatrywanego fragmentu zachowały się dwa bardzo charakterystyczne elementy ornamentu, które w zestawieniu z typem rewersu pozwoliły zaklasyfikować tę monetę do wczesnoabbasydzkiego typu A i zawęzić jej datowanie do lat 132-139 AH (a w mennicy al-Kufa tylko 132-137 AH). Jest to potrójna obwódka sznureczkowa i częściowo zachowany potrójny ornament kółeczkowy, widoczny na godzinie 1 i częściowo na godzinie 9. Część ornamentu, zwyczajowo znajdująca się na godzinie 5, pozostała na odciętej, drugiej połowie monety. Mamy tu więc z pewnością do czynienia z najstarszym występującym na wczesnoabbasydzkich dirhemach ornamentem VII b.

Analiza porównawcza, bazująca na zgromadzonym w literaturze materiale numizmatycznym, pozwala znaleźć najczęściej cech wspólnych z dirhemami wybitymi w centralnej mennicy al-Kufa. Te cechy to potrójna obwódka sznureczkowa, położenie znajdujących się na godzinie 1 kółeczek w stosunku do pierwszego wyrazu (بسم) leg. A 2 (najniżej położone kółeczko pokrywa się z pierwszą literą tego wyrazu) oraz położenie kółeczek na godzinie 9 w stosunku do czwartego i piątego (هذا الدرهم) wyrazu tej samej legendy (środkowe kółeczko-perełka znajduje się nad ostatnią literą czwartego i pierwszymi dwiema literami piątego wyrazu). Takie rozmieszczenie ornamentów jest najbardziej typowe dla dirhemów kalifa As-Saffaha wybitych w mennicy al-Kufa. Nie można jednak wykluczyć, że i kalif Al-Mansur na początku swojego panowania wybijał podobne dirhemy w tejże mennicy, jednak nie później niż w roku 139 AH. Z pewnością jednak nie wchodzi w grę mennica w al-Basra, której ornament składający się z trzech kółeczek wykazuje trochę inne przesunięcia, niż te zachowane na fragmencie dirhema z ul. Tartacznej.

2. ABBASYDZI, Abu Dżafar Abd Allah **Al-Mansur** Ibn Muhammad (136-158 AH = 753/54-774/75 AD), al-Basra, 146 AH = 763/64 AD lub 147 AH = 764/65 AD.

Chociaż moneta jest prawie zupełnie zniszczona, a napisy całkiem zatarte, to jednak jej rekonstrukcja i identyfikacja jest możliwa. Z rodzaju legend i ich układu, typu pisma, obwódki i ornamentów możemy wywnioskować, że jest to najwcześniejszy, dość jednolity typ abbasydzkiego dirhema, powszechny za panowania dwóch pierwszych kalifów tej dynastii. Małe kółeczko, umieszczone poniżej legendy pola rewersu, dokładnie pośrodku, znamy wyłącznie z dirhemów wybitych w al-Basra w latach 146 i 147 AH. Są to dość powszechne monety, jednak wariant starszy, a więc z datą 146 AH, jest znacznie popularniejszy. Dodatkowym elementem, potwierdzającym identyfikację, są dwa kółeczka na stronie awersu, na godzinie 9, będące częścią ornamentu składającego się z trzech większych, pojedynczych kóelek, które są umieszczone na godzinie 11, 3 i 7 oraz z dwóch mniejszych kóelek w formie punktów, które znajdują się na godzinie 1, 5 i 9: ○○ ⊙ ○○ ⊙ ○○ ⊙. Jest to dość wyjątkowy ornament, dobrze znany z awersów wczesnoabbasydzkich dirhemów wybitych w mennicy al-Basra, który występuje również w parze z kółeczkiem znajdującym się poniżej legendy pola rewersu.

VII. Ulica Klesza

1. BULGARIA KAMSKA (?), imitacja dirhema, prawdopodobnie dynastii Samanidów, ok. połowy X w.

W dostępnej literaturze nie znajdujemy bezpośredniej analogii dla fragmentu dirhema z ul. Kleszej. Fragment można wydatować na ok. połowy X w., natomiast za wzór dla jego powstania uznać dirhemy samanidzkiego emira Nasr ibn Ahmada (301-331 AH=913-942 AD), głównie z mennic Andaraba i asz-Szasz. Nie można też wykluczyć, że część monety, szczególnie pole rewersu, nieudolnie skopiowano ze starszej monety, prawdopodobnie którejś z emisji emira Isma'il ibn Ahmada.

W okolicy Kijowa znaleziono zachowaną w całości imitację dirhema samanidzkiego emira Nasr ibn Ahmada. Jej awers jest bardzo podobny do fragmentu z ul. Kleszej. Legenda pola jest prawie identyczna — również odwrócona, wykonana w analogicznym stylu pisma, ma także zbliżony układ liter. Porównując legendy pola i pierwsze legendy otoku można odnieść wrażenie, że nie tylko powstały w tym samym warsztacie, ale również wyszły spod tej samej ręki. Trochę różnic widzimy w przypadku drugiej legendy otokowej (leg. A 2). Rewersy obu monet wykazują względem siebie zarówno podobieństwa, jak i różnice. Do podobieństw można w pierwszej kolejności zaliczyć odwrotne wykonanie legendy pola (leg. R 1), a także fragment pierwszego jej wiersza, zawierający wykonany w prawie identycznym stylu początek wyrazu *محم*. Zarówno kształt obu liter *mīm* (م), jak i znajdująca się pośrodku, charakterystycznie wykonana litera *hā* (ح), zupełnie pionowa, na górze zwieńczona kulką, ostro zakończona na dole, są na obu monetach prawie identycznie wykonane. Analogiczna jest również podwójna obwódka liniowa, oddzielająca obie legendy rewersu. Niewielkie różnice ograniczają się do pozostałych wierszy legendy pola.

Na podstawie znajdujących się na stronie rewersu zniekształconych imion kalifa Al-Radi i emira Nasr ibn Ahmada, wzór regularnej monety samanidzkiej, z której korzystał autor kijowskiej imitacji przy tworzeniu stempla, można ogólnie wydatować na wspólne lata panowania kalifa i emira, czyli 322-329 AH = 934-940 AD, a zatem sama imitacja mogła powstać w tym samym mniej więcej czasie lub niewiele później. Fragment imitacji dirhema z ulicy Kleszej, będący bliską odmianą tej monety, może mieć podobne datowanie.

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