

(e) the followers of Mazdak ?

It may be safer, for the time being, to hold back on such intriguing speculation triggered by simple *lapsus linguae* or *lapsus calami* of a copyist. The surmises are still tenuous and there is no adequate proof. Additional data may lead us though, eventually, to new knowledge.

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THE EPIGRAPHIC COIN REFORM OF °ABD AL-MALIK

Introduction

My interest in numismatics began at a young age. An elderly man in our town's local numismatic society introduced me to the joys of coin collecting. His lessons included the identification of mint marks, errors made in the printing process, and the ability to discern particular designs of coins covering certain time periods. The ordinary person might think of coin collecting as a mundane task but I had fun imagining the significant historical events which took place when my coins were minted. Coins should not be viewed as inanimate pieces of metal. Instead, they should be thought of as representatives of the thoughts and aspirations of living peoples who transmitted some of their ideas via the mass production of tiny metal objects. It takes a special skill to accurately interpret the messages of these coins without being hoodwinked by counterfeits. The late Nicholas Lowick, former Curator of Oriental Coins at the British Museum, lists three main points about the proper identification of Islamic coins: "...the accurate reading of inscriptions, the recording of coin hoards and finds, and the relating of numismatic data to the literary sources."¹

I will never forget the excitement of owning a 1925 two-and-one-half dollar (U.S.) gold piece in mint condition. Suddenly, this time period in history became my consuming passion. This gold piece helped me to better understand the political

machinations which had taken place in my own country at that time. Similarly, one wonders how 'Abd al-Malik must have felt when his first gold coins were minted. This new epigraphic coinage was an affront to Byzantine sensibilities. Hodgson reports:

The new coinage in Arabic was doubtless in part a gesture directed against Byzantium, whose gold denarius coins (in Arabic, *dīnār*) had formed the dominant monetary standard in Syria and the *Hijāz*; it was an assertion that Muslim rule was permanent and fully independent....²

'Abd-al-Malik's coinage reform intrigues me because of its uniqueness and creativity. His coinage system was essentially subject to a trial and error process. The final engravings on the Muslim coins were the result of prior experimentation. The Caliph did not develop this system without hard work and failure. The end result was striking indeed.

The use of writing as the only imagery on coins was a daring innovation, which the population nevertheless accepted, showing their confidence in the new power; more than that, it was an iconographic strike of genius, taking advantage of the strong clear lines of the squared-off *Kūfic* form of the Arabic script to produce a design at once highly abstract and very immediately symbolic.³

To have the Muslim populace accept this coinage was of paramount importance to the Caliphate. If the population at large had rejected the coins meant for general circulation, it could have effectively ended 'Abd-al-Malik's bid to confront the Byzantines with his own monetary system. For example, the design of the Susan B. Anthony dollar (U.S.) was so unpopular that it

quickly went out of circulation much to the chagrin of the government. Muslims in Iraq liked this new coinage because it asserted their Muslim identity and their faith in one god.

'Abd al-Malik was no doubt a popular ruler who counted on the support of his people with the introduction of the calligraphic coinage. He was a seasoned veteran of the many ups and downs experienced by the Muslims against the Byzantines. "Ruling twenty years (685-705 A.D.), he was the first Caliph, blessed with a long rule, who had actually been raised in the faith and for whom the long political and religious struggle with Byzantium had been a lifelong experience."⁴ 'Abd al-Malik was determined to assert the Islamic identity of his rule in a number of ways. He instituted Arabic as the official language and built the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem to provide a clear message to his neighbors that Islam was the true religion. The distinctive aniconic coinage system was an integral part of this bold campaign to put forward Muslim beliefs.

'Abd al-Malik's daring attempt to assert Muslim identity and answer the challenge of Byzantine Christianity marked a new era in Islamic history. This was the first time a fairly uniform system of purely Islamic coinage was designed and implemented. I intend to show how this coinage system functioned during the spread of iconoclasm in the Byzantine and Islamic Empires. 'Abd al-Malik's revolutionary coinage design was to have a centuries-

long impact on the future of Islamic coinage. I will also discuss unsolved questions such as: Why did 'Abd al-Malik decide to use an epigraphic model? What are the deep-seated reasons behind the Islamic population's uneasiness towards accepting figural representations on coins and other forms of art? Does the concept of iconoclasm in 'Abd al-Malik's time stem from Jewish or Christian influences? These are the issues to be addressed in this paper.

BYZANTINE COINS AND ICONOCLASM

Byzantine Christianity used the concept of figural representation in its numismatics and other art forms to educate its populace about the Christian faith and to uphold the status quo. It was thought that the people could worship God by learning about the Bible through figural art. In addition, many common people were illiterate at that time and needed to learn about the faith via religious paintings and other types of devotional expression. Eventually, tensions developed concerning the status of images used in Christian art.

When the image had achieved a status perhaps incompatible with the word of Scripture and had clearly wrought a breakdown of the distinction between image and archetype, concerted opposition burst forth in the Byzantine Empire of the eighth and ninth centuries.³

Proponents of iconoclasm used the Old Testament to prove that God was against the use of images in worship. In Exodus,

chapter 20, the Lord God commands the people to not make a "graven image" to be worshipped. The Byzantine Emperor Leo was influenced by this line of thinking. He also knew about the Islamic tendency to shy away from figural images.

In 725 A.D. the Emperor Leo moved against images and initiated a policy of destroying them in the Empire. It appears that his motives were many and partly undefined. That such motives were influenced by religious fear of superstition and abuse is indisputable. Less sure was Leo's sympathy with Eastern heresies which rejected the idea of representation of the deity owing to the iniquity of matter.⁴

This concern continued to be debated until the Council of Nicaea (787) agreed that images could be used to worship God because of Jesus, who represented the physical manifestation of God. It was thought that tribute paid to religious paintings or shrines would help direct people's attention to a worship of the Divine.

It is clear that Byzantine Christianity and Islam were at odds with each other during the Iconoclasm controversy. The Byzantines saw Muslims as worshipping another god foreign to their concept of a deity. Although the Byzantine Emperors and the Muslim Caliphs did exchange letters from time to time about their faith differences, not much cooperation took place. "The overall picture of the relation between Byzantine and Islam is of two worlds which essentially failed to comprehend each other."⁵ Arab invasions of Byzantine territory caused them to always be on the defensive against the Muslims. It was logical for the Byzantine Emperors to view Islam as a heresy because this

supported their political and military efforts to thwart the Muslim advancement. Iconoclasm became an effective tool for persecuting those who appeared to be against Christianity and its figural religious art.

...thus, one must look for the internal and indigenous theological reasons which prompted Byzantine iconoclasm, primarily the inherent Christological character of the question and its progressive application and refinement. It was the political circumstances, the resemblance in the absolute character of their arguments, and the actions taken against the icons as an idol-worship by Jews, Muslims, and Paulicians that prompted the defenders of the icons to identify Byzantine iconoclasts with them, and call them 'Christianocategoroi' ('offenders or accusers of the Christians') and enemies of the Christian state.¹⁰

Byzantine authorities made a concerted effort to launch such attacks against the Muslims - who were threatening their very existence. Europe was about to enter the Dark Ages and Islam was to experience its high point in history. Iconoclasm, in part, was a reaction to the threat of Islam and its followers. "The origin and rise of the controversy (Iconoclasm) must be seen against the meteoric rise of the Muslim power. The golden age of Islam was in truth the darkest age of Europe and Byzantium."¹¹

Unfortunately, the Byzantines had only a cursory knowledge of Islam, at best. Religious symbols were used to emphasize the triumphalist aspects of Christianity over such pagan religions as Islam. The crucifix came to be the foremost symbol of Christianity in the Byzantine Empire. Muslims objected to religious pictures of Christ but abhorred the use of the crucifix in Christianity. No doubt it stood for an alien power which

believed in a false religion. "In its religious and political guises, the crucifix was more objectionable to the Muslims than any picture, and its suppression is encountered in the Umayyad period more often than the destruction of pictures."¹⁰ The cross was a prominent feature of Byzantine coinage, along with portrayals of Christ and the Byzantine monarchs. The Byzantine rulers preserved the image of the crucifix in art work to make their subjects feel a religious allegiance to the State. "Leo (III) gives a special place to the Cross because of the sufferings of the incarnate Word and this remained even later among the Iconoclasts as the controversy developed."¹¹ Although the Iconoclast movement grew in stature, the Byzantines were not against secular art depicting plant life, animals, etc. Their focus was on the religious art of the Empire. But sometimes secular subjects were used to replace holy images.

A good example of this is Constantine V's treatment of the church of the Virgin at Blachernae in Constantinople. In place of the destroyed murals representing the Incarnation, various miracles, the resurrection and pentecost, were painted mosaics of trees, animals, ivy, cranes, crows, peacocks and other secular subjects. This suggests that Byzantine Iconoclasm was inspired by different motives from those which animated Muslim Iconoclasm.¹²

It is generally understood that Islamic art has always forbade the use of living figures in its artistic depictions. But a number of exceptions invalidate this archaic view of Muslim art. Several Caliphs were said to have had massive palace murals depicting human figures and in some cases, forms of wildlife.

"While the early Muslims constructed religious buildings devoid of figures, they built palaces in which figurative art abounded; even under the 'Abbāsids a sculpture of a horseman surmounted the palace in the Round City of Baghdād."¹³

Thus, the study of Byzantine and Islamic numismatics in the eighth and ninth centuries must be done in the context of understanding how iconoclasm influenced both respective empires. 'Abd al-Malik no doubt felt pressured by the Byzantines who were afraid of eminent Muslim invasions. The Byzantines sought to dominate the Muslims through their political ideologies, including the monetary system. But 'Abd al-Malik was not going to put up with this kind of suppression. He was determined to fight it so he took the risk of minting a radically new type of coinage that would display the distinctiveness and pride of Islam and its adherents.

BACKGROUND OF ISLAMIC COINAGE

The Umayyad Caliph 'Abd al-Malik was among "...the first generation of Muslim rulers who had been brought up from childhood in the Muslim faith."¹⁴ This may partially explain his commitment to restructuring the Umayyad government to be more Islamic in nature. He used Arabic instead of Persian and Greek in the financial aspects of the empire and ordered specialists to mark the Qur'ān with vowel punctuation. Islamic gold coinage

with Qur'ānic inscriptions replaced Byzantine coins featuring portrayals of the Emperor.

'Abd al-Malik wanted his Islamic beliefs to be expressed in a certain manner of interpreting the Qur'ān, by using the pious language of Arabic. He designed a coinage system that would be faithful to his version of how Islam should be interpreted and explained this not only to the faithful, but also to the Byzantines who were largely unaware of Islamic practices and beliefs.

The issue of how Islam should be properly portrayed in art work stems back to early sources from the Qur'ān, Muslim chroniclers such as Balādhurī, and the Ḥadīth. 'Abd al-Malik no doubt was familiar with the story about the Prophet Muḥammad winning the battle at Mecca and cleansing the Ka'ba thereafter. The Caliph himself was involved with a battle he led against the Byzantines. The Prophet Muḥammad was quick to rid Mecca of its idols. "The pagan idols of Mekka were destroyed by the Muslims in 8/630, and although the Prophet may have spared a picture of Mary and Jesus in the Ka'ba, he nevertheless destroyed the rest of the numerous images which it had housed before his entry into Mekka."¹⁵ Despite this action by Muḥammad, the Qur'ān is largely silent about the use of figural imagery in Islamic art. The Ḥadīth appear to adopt a more hard-line approach to the use of living forms in Muslim art but even this is subject to debate.

The Ḥadīth compilers offer differing accounts and conclusions about this matter. Some appear to be hostile to the use of figural art and others seem to condone such an activity.

It is clear though that both the Qur'ān and the Ḥadīth condemn the practice of idol worship and forbid them from being used in any type of art form. The Prophet Abraham is used as an example of someone who preached against the dangers of idol worship. The use of idols as done by the Hebrews under Abraham appears to be a key issue in Islamic Iconoclasm. The Prophet was against idol worship because it moved people away from worshipping the one true God. The actual physical appearance of images was of secondary importance to the manner in which the images were used and treated by the devout. This dovetails with Aḥmad Muḥammad 'Īsā's interpretation of how to assess Ḥadīth dealing with this issue.

Anyone examining these ḥadīths - supposing that they are genuine - will find that the Prophet had feared that people might revert to their earlier paganism if representations (ṣuwar) and statues (tamāthil) were permitted. But when he became certain of the firmness of the people's faith, he approved of these representations and did no further concern himself with them.¹⁴

'ABD AL-MALIK'S EPIGRAPHIC COINAGE SYSTEM

The Prophet Muḥammad wanted to make sure that his people only worshipped the one true God. Likewise, 'Abd al-Malik was

concerned that his populace followed the teachings of the Qur'ān. His coinage, replete with Qur'ānic inscriptions, was a message of Islamic solidarity to the Byzantines. The alteration of coinage took place to begin this new emphasis of Islamic unity.

The old distinction between the silver (dirham) areas of the Sassanian empire and the gold (dīnār) areas of Syria, Palestine, and Egypt was maintained but from now on, all Arabic coinage was to be of a standard weight and design, purely epigraphic with an inscription giving the date, the caliph's name and a religious slogan.¹⁷

The Caliph was quick to point out the theological differences between Muslims and their Byzantine counterparts. Muslim epigraphic coinage was designed to refute the notion of the Christian Trinity. It also prominently mentioned Muḥammad as the chosen one to bring religious truth to the people. 'Abd al-Malik's coins proclaimed that: "There is no God, but God, One, Without Associate." The Koranic quotation (9.33) announces that 'Muḥammad is the Apostle of God whom He sent with guidance and the religion of truth (that he may make it victorious over every other religion.)'"¹⁸ In essence, these formulae made it clear that God and the Qur'ān are uncreated. They have existed since the beginning of time. The Caliph's style of coinage was distinctive and successful. It was to be the standard model of Islamic coinage for centuries, save a few exceptions on the outer fringes of the Islamic Empire.

'Abd al-Malik's metal of choice was gold but he did not

limit Islamic coins to this precious commodity.

In each of the metals involved, gold, silver, and copper, the final emergence of a purely epigraphic type was preceded by a series of experimental issues, for the most part very rare and in some cases only known in unique specimens. They represent attempts to devise an iconographical formula which would portray some aspect of Islamic beliefs or institutions without offending the anti-iconic prejudices which were an element in Islam almost from the first.¹⁹

This process was done with Byzantine gold coins which were shipped to the Arabs prior to conquest and thereafter as well. Gradually, the experimentation by 'Abd al-Malik and al-Hajjāj began to move toward a more decisive epigraphic system. "...the pre-conquest gold denarius, silver drachma and copper follis became the Arab dinar, dirham and fils."²⁰

'Abd al-Malik wasted little time in making his mints commence with a concerted effort to create coins for his entire empire.

Most of the gold dinars carry no mint name but were presumably struck at the caliph's mint at Damascus for they carry a fuller form of inscription than do the half- and third-dinars of which some bear the name of the area of their minting, either Ifrikiya (Africa-mint at Kairawan) or al-Andalus (Spain - mint at Cordoba).²¹

Hajjāj, a provincial governor under the Caliph, conducted the coin reform with 'Abd al-Malik. The Caliph oversaw the minting of epigraphic coins and Hajjāj made sure that the novel coinage received full implementation into the Empire's economic system.

The story of the reform of the gold is relatively simple. There were two experimental issues, an undated

one (.c.691) which preserved on the obverse a design of three standing figures - originally Heraclius and his two sons - but with the substitution of a pillar-on-steps (for the cross-on-steps which was the normal reverse type of the Byzantine solidus) [Walker, Arab-Byzantine Coins, p. 18], and a dated one (A.H. 74, 76, 77=A.D. 693/4, 695/6, 696/7, which replaced Heraclius and his sons by the standing figure of the caliph). These were superseded in A.H. 77 by the first purely epigraphical dinars.

The evolution of the silver was more complicated, partly because of the greater number of transitional types and partly because the issue was spread over a large number of mints which interpreted their instructions very freely and in some cases continued to strike Arab-Sasanian coins after their neighbors had abandoned them. Four successive types were struck at Damascus over the years. A.H. 72-79; (1) dirhams of normal Arab-Sasanian design but with the date (A.H. 72, 73, 74) in Cufic instead of Pehlevi characters [Walker, p. 23]; (2) coins with Arab-Sasanian obverses and a 'standing caliph' reverse, struck in A.H. 75 [Walker, p. 25]; (3) a coin with a modified Arab-Sasanian obverse and on the reverse a spear with pennon attached standing in a prayer niche -undated but A.H. 75 or shortly afterwards [Walker, p. 24]; and (4) purely epigraphic dirhams, the earliest dated ones being of A.H. 79.²²

The bronze coins were slower in the making. They featured a standing caliph on the obverse and were not assigned dates. The gold and silver coins received extended circulation throughout the empire but the bronze coins were not widespread.

The Umayyad silver dirhams were patterned after Sassanian coins. They are characteristically wide and slender coins complete with the traditional Islamic introduction to the faithful. "The mint date formula (Bismillah) is the obverse marginal legend and a Koranic question appears around the reverse margin:

Obv. field: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له
'There is no God except Allah alone. He has no partner'

Rev. field: الله احد الله الصمد لم يلد ولم يولد
'Allah is One, Allah is the eternal. He begets neither is He begotten.'

Obv. margin: بِسْمِ اللَّهِ ضَرَبَ هَذَا الدِّرْهَمَ بِمِنتَ بَنِيهِ
'In the name of Allah this dirham was struck at (mint), year(date).'

مُحَمَّدَ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ أَرْسَلَهُ بِالْهُدَى وَدِينِ

Rev. margin: الْحَقُّ يُظْهِرُهُ عَلَى الدِّينِ كُلِّهِ
'Mohammed is the Prophet of Allah whom he sent with guidance and the Religion of Truth that he may make it victorious over every other religion.'

Gold dinars, modeled metrologically on Byzantine solidi, are somewhat thicker than dirhems, with a smaller diameter but a slightly heavier weight of 4.3 grammes. Inscriptions in the obverse and reverse fields are the same as on dirhems but the margins are transposed with the Bismillah placed on the reverse and shortened to give date but not mint.²³

'Abd al-Malik's coinage reform had a significant impact beyond the confines of the Islamic Empire. His gold, silver and copper coins were being processed by an increasingly large number of minting locations. Even some pre-Byzantine mints were revived to carry out the task of printing the new dinars and dirhams. The center of the gold coinage output was in Damascus. The Caliph's policies for acquiring more precious metals for coinage directly affected its European neighbors. His mints were responsible for buying large quantities of metals for processing. "If the mints were buying precious metals on the open market, and doing so on a large scale, the prices they were prepared to offer would have affected the bullion market even beyond the farflung frontiers of the Islamic world."²⁴ This caused European powers

to alter their monetary systems.

This great monetary reform coincides almost exactly in time with two striking changes in the coinage pattern of eastern and western Christendom. In the Byzantine empire it saw the abandonment of the silver coinage which had been revived with such success by Heraclius. In the Germanic Kingdoms it saw the almost equally complete disappearance of the gold coinage which these states had carried over from the Roman Empire and the creation of a new silver coinage in its place. A good case can be made out for linking both these changes with the monetary reform of 'Abd al-Malik.²⁵

DEBATE CONCERNING THE REASONS FOR 'ABD AL-MALIK'S COINAGE REFORM

Walker records the setting for 'Abd al-Malik's Coinage

Reform:

The historical background is confused in both ancient and modern writers, but it would appear in outline to have been this. On the papyri exported to Byzantium from Egypt, then in Muslim hands, the protocols, of official headings written on them to guarantee their authenticity, came to be written not only in Greek but also in Arabic, with phrases proclaiming 'inter alia' that Muhammad was Allah's Apostle and that there was no god except Allah, e.g.

ΟΥΚ ΕΣΤΙ ΘΕΟΣ ΕΙ ΜΗ Ο ΘΕΟΣ ΜΟΝΟΣ
ΜΑΑΜΕΤ ΑΤΤΟΚΤΟΛΟΣ ΘΕΟΥ

لا اله الا الله وحده محمد رسول الله

This displeased the Christians, who threatened to retaliate by placing legends abusing Muhammad on the gold 'solidi' from Byzantium, which constituted the legal currency amongst the Arabs of Egypt. A spirited exchange of letters between the Emperor and the Caliph led to a breach of diplomatic and trade relations, which eventually brought about the striking by the Caliph of his own dinars with orthodox Islamic legends.²⁶

Islam answered the challenge of Byzantium by using its own

familiar medium. The art of writing has always been sacrosanct to Muslims. Using calligraphic script to put Qur'ānic inscriptions on the coins was the most appropriate way of responding to the coinage designed by the Byzantine rulers. 'Abd al-Malik's specific reform movement was: "...a response to the coinage issued by Justinian II between A.D. 692 and 695 which carried the image of Christ on the obverse with the cross behind the head, the emperor carrying a cross on the reverse and the inscriptions 'servus Christi and Rex Regnantium.'"²⁷ King claims that 'Abd al-Malik was motivated by political and ideological reasons to institute his coinage reform. He does not think that it was because of an Islamic aversion to figural imagery in art work.

I think this is a superficial judgement by King. It is true that 'Abd al-Malik was launching an ideological warfare against the Byzantines. But this ideological stance has deeper roots than mere political rebuttal. Islam's strong sense of monotheism is the same as that of Judaism and Christianity. Figural imagery in art was always suspect because it might serve to draw the worshipper away from being devoted to one god. In Barnard, Hodgson notes: "...Islamic, Jewish and Byzantine Iconoclasm had common social roots."²⁸

Grabar has a different interpretation of why Muslims resorted to epigraphic coinage.

It is simpler to argue that the formation of a Muslim attitude toward the arts was the result neither of a

doctrine nor of a precise intellectual or religious difference. It was rather the result of the impact on the Arabs of the prevalent arts. Or, to put it another way, Islam burst onto the stage at the moment when more than at any time before or after, images became more closely related to their prototypes rather than to their beholder, when religious and political factions fought with each other through images, when Christology of the most complex kind penetrated into the public symbols of coins.²⁹

Grabar's point is that Islam was engaged in a battle of images with the Byzantine Empire. But he is neglecting both the significant doctrinal stance of the Muslims and the Jewish influences which permeated Islamic thought. The Muslims had to use Qur'ānic inscriptions on their coinage because their holy Qur'ān was the answer to the Divine Christ of the Byzantines. Grabar is overlooking the precise theological differences between Christians and Muslims that came to a head during the reign of 'Abd al-Malik.

In addition, Grabar fails to note the significant impact of Judaism on Islamic thought. Did Muslims develop their iconoclastic tendencies independent of any Jewish or Christian influences? To the contrary, in fact, several Jewish scholars may have shaped the Islamic attitude toward artistic imagery.

This Jewish influence was doubtless due to the internal effect of Jews who had been converted to Islam, like the famous Yemenite Jew Ka'b al-Ahbār, who was called Rabbi Ka'b on account of his wealth of theological and especially Biblical knowledge. Ka'b entered Jerusalem with Omar, was converted to Islam in 638 A.D., and died in 652 or 654. He is frequently cited as an authority for Hadith, and Abd Allah ibn Abbas, one of the earliest expositors of the Koran, was a pupil of his,

for Hadith, and Abd Allah ibn Abbas, one of the earliest expositors of the Koran, was a pupil of his, likewise Abu Huraira. Another famous Jewish convert was Wahb ibn Munabbih. These two men were the great authorities among the early Muslims on all points of ancient history.³⁰

These men are significant because they received Talmudic training as Jews. The Talmud is explicitly against figural imagery in art. These Jewish scholars brought this line of tradition into Islamic thought and influenced how Muslims expressed their liturgical beliefs in religious art, including coinage.

CONCLUSION

'Abd al-Malik chose to use an epigraphic coinage system for a number of reasons. I agree with Hodgson's assertion that Islam has been uneasy with figural imagery in art since the time of the Prophet Muhammad at Medina. Early Jewish converts to Islam served to support this tendency to avoid depicting humans in painting, coinage and other art works. Grabar correctly identifies the ideological battles which took place between the Muslims and the Byzantines. But he underestimates both the power of the umma to assert itself with epigraphic coinage and the genius of 'Abd al-Malik who chose a style of coinage which completed or even surpassed that of his Byzantine rivals. In addition, 'Abd al-Malik feared the magic or spiritual power associated with the symbolism of the crucifix. He countered the Byzantines by emphasizing Qur'anic citations on his coins. This drastic action proved to have far-reaching consequences.

'Abd al-Malik and Hajjāj bulk less largely in the historical memory of the west than do Muhammad and Charlemagne, but the coinage reform which they carried out in the Islamic empire may well have been of decisive importance in the transition from the world of the Arabian prophet to that of the restorer of the empire in the west.³¹

ENDNOTES

1. Nicholas Lowick, Islamic Coins and Trade in the Medieval World (Hampshire, England: Variorum, 1990), xi. People have not bothered to make forgeries of Oriental coins until just recently. Imitations can oft be determined by the number of errors in the legends of a particular coin. This displays an ignorance of Arabic on the part of the forger. In addition, these coins often show little sign of wear and feature crosses on both sides of the coin, atypical of normal minting procedures.

2. Marshall G.S. Hodgson, The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilization, Volume One: The Classical Age of Islam (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1977), 246.

3. Hodgson, 247.

4. Joseph Gutmann, ed., The Image And The Word: Confrontations in Judaism, Christianity and Islam (Missoula, Montana: Scholars Press for The American Academy of Religion and The Society of Biblical Literature, 1977), 67. Guttmann goes on to state that "...Byzantine emperors in the eighth century continue to promote the use of imperial figural imagery while they oppose the use of religious figural imagery...." (68)

5. John Phillips, The Reformation of Images: Destruction Of Art In England, 1535-1660 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), 13.

6. Phillips, 13, 14.

Phillips says that people in Leo's time were considered to be morally weak. It was thought people would learn more easily about the faith through "signs and images" as opposed to understanding higher spiritual truths. (15)

7. L.W. Barnard, The Graeco-Roman And Oriental Background Of The Iconoclastic Controversy (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1974), 33.

8. Daniel J. Sahas, Icon and Logos: Sources In Eighth-Century Iconoclasm (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), 20-21.

9. Barnard, 11.

The Arabs were held at bay for a while by Leo III, a shrewd military commander, who organized the successful defense of Constantinople against the Muslim invaders.

10. G.D.R. King, "Islam, Iconoclasm, And The Declaration Of Doctrine," Bulliten School of Oriental and African Studies, no. 48, 1985, 267.

11. Barnard, 24.

The author explains that Leo III was unhappy with icons and their adoration in the Greek world.

12. Barnard, 26.

13. King, 277.

Muslims did not prevent Christians from producing and enjoying figurative art of their own. They mainly used calligraphy in their own art work, though.

14. H.A.R. Gibb, ed., The Encyclopedia Of Islam: New Edition, vol. 1, A-B, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1960), 77.

15. King, 268.

The Prophet Muhammad also directed some of his followers to destroy idols located in other parts of Arabia.

16. Ahmad Muhammad 'Isā, "Muslims and Taswir," Trans. from The Journal of Al-Azhar, The Muslim World vol. XLV, 1955, 252.

Mr. 'Isā notes that subsequent commentators distorted the Prophet's thoughts concerning *ṣuwar* and *tamāthil*. They insisted that Muhammad was always strictly against these representations.

17. Hugh Kennedy, The Prophet and the Age of Caliphates: The Islamic Near East from the sixth to the eleventh century (London: Longman, 1986ed.), 99.

18. Oleg Grabar, The Formation of Islamic Art (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973), 94-95.

Grabar explains that numismatic evidence reveals a clear chronology between the end of representational design and epigraphic writing. This is not usually the case when trying to accurately date the age of buildings, etc.

19. Philip Grierson, "The Monetary Reforms of 'Abd al-Malik: Their Metrological Basis And Their Financial Repercussion," Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient, vol. III, 1960, 243-244.

20. G.R. Hawting, The First Dynasty of Islam: The Umayyad Caliphate A.D. 661-750 (London: Croom Helm, 1986), 64-65.

Even though the coinage became epigraphic, Hawting notes the following: "There are vigorous and even beautiful representations of human beings and animals, for example, in the lodges and palaces which the Umayyads built for themselves outside of town." (65)

21.R.A.G. Carson, Coins: Ancient, Mediaeval and Modern (London: Hutchinson of London, 1970ed.), 478.
The gold dinars in the east differed from those struck in the west. The eastern dinars featured a longer inscription than the western versions.

22.Grierson, 244-245.

Grierson elaborates: "Ḥajjāj was in 'Irāq from 694 to his death in 714. The civil wars which filled the first seven years of his governorship were in large measure responsible for the delays and irregularities over the introduction of the epigraphic silver coinage." (244)

23.Michael Mitchiner, The World of Islam (London: Hawkins Publications, 1977), 59.

24.Grierson, 260.

25.Grierson, 261.

26.John Walker, A Catalogue Of The Arab-Byzantine And Post-Reform Umayyad Coins (London: The Trustees of the British Museum, 1956), liv. (Introduction).

Walker elaborates on the Muslim-Christian dispute: "Though there is no evidence that the Byzantines ever put their threat into execution, what we know did happen was that Justinian II actually issued new solidi with his own effigy, standing, holding a cross, on the obverse, and the portrait of Christ on the reverse."

27.King, 275.

28.Barnard, 28.

29.Grabar, 98.

Grabar goes on to explain the following: "The reform of 'Abd al-Malik crystallized and formalized an attitude that had developed in the Muslim community, according to which the prevailing specific use of representations tended to idolatry and no understandable visual system other than that of writing and of inanimate objects could avoid being confused with the alien world of Christians and by later extension of Buddhists or of pagans." Grabar also talks about the "visual weakness of its (Islamic) Arabian past." It is curious to see that many Muslims were able to discern and comprehend Byzantine religious art and its theological implications and yet few Byzantines could read and understand the calligraphic style of Arabic. Perhaps the "weakness" was in the limited scope of Byzantine intellectual knowledge, as opposed to the inferiority of Islamic art.

30.K.A.C. Creswell, "The Lawfulness of Painting in Early Islam," Ars Islamica, vols. 11-14, 1946-1948, 165.

31.Grierson, 264.

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TURCO — SAMOIEDICA

O. Introduction; 1. 'to strive, to aspire'; 2. 'to lie (down)'; 3. 'fat'; 4. 'as, like'; 5. 'sagging ice'; 6. 'thigh'; 7. 'snow-storm'; 8. 'joint'; 9. 'power, craft'; 10. 'mountain (wooded)'; 11. 'single, unmarried'.

O. Introduction

The Turkic-Samoyedic comparisons presented below result from independent etymological research by each of the two authors, followed by mutual cross-checking of the material (the opportunity of the team work has been provided by the Free University Berlin and the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft). Our purpose was to enlarge the collection of etymologies which can be found in the monumental work by A. J. Joki (Joki LSS) and in later contributions to the topic (e.g. Márk Nény 19-20: 243-252; Janhunen MSFOu 158: 123-129; Tenišev MSFOu 158: 235-239; Róna-Tas CIFU-5 III: 377-385; Terent'ev PÈËISN; Helimski JSFOu 81: 54-103; Róna-Tas UL 742-748; Filippova Diss.; Filippova JSFOu 85: 41-70).

In the treatment of the historical and cultural circumstances of the language contacts between Proto-Turkic (and its descendants) and Proto-Samoyedic (and its descendants) the authors follow the conception outlined e.g. in Joki LSS 33ff. and Helimski JSFOu