



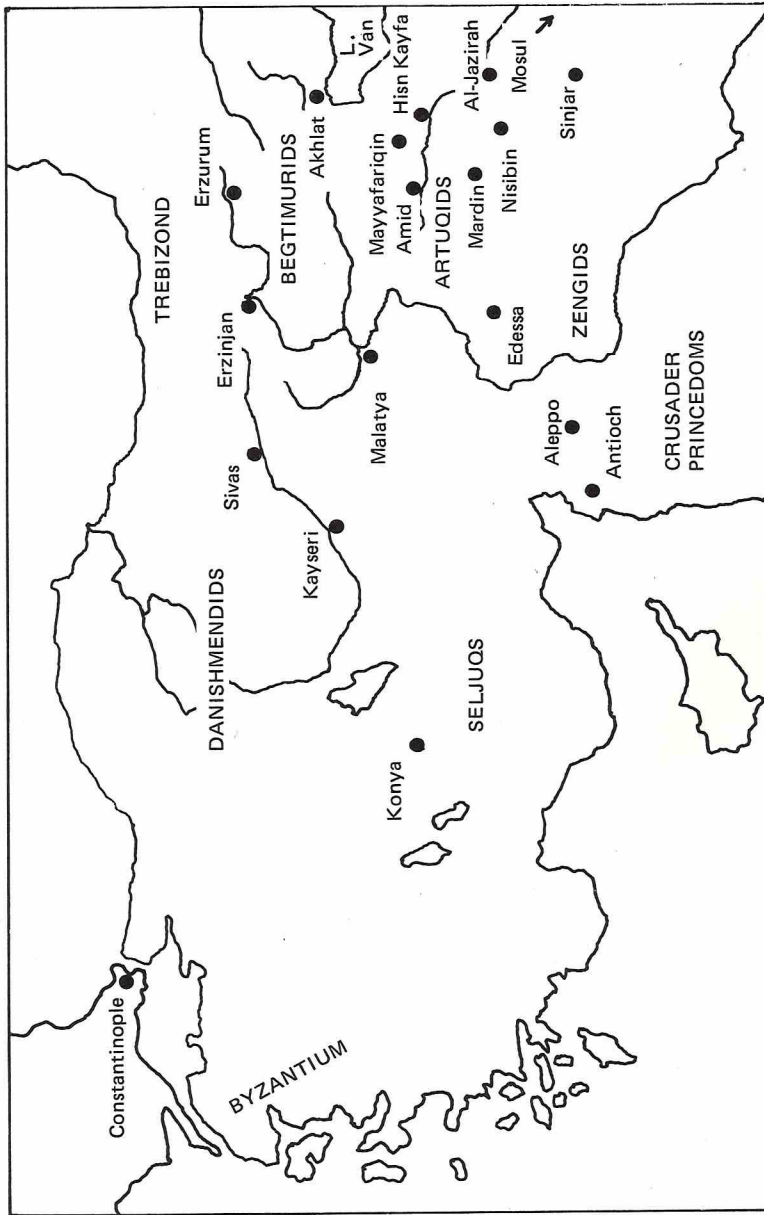
The MARDIN HOARD

ISLAMIC COUNTERMARKS ON BYZANTINE FOLLES

N M Lowick - S Bendall - P D Whitting

A H Baldwin + Sons Ltd

MAP OF ANATOLIA IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY SHOWING PRINCIPAL MINT TOWNS



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N. M. LOWICK
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A. H. BALDWIN & SONS LTD.

1977

PREFACE

This booklet deals with a coin hoard of which neither the provenance nor the date of finding is known for certain. Both can be guessed with some confidence however. Internally the coins themselves suggest a provenance in the same area as do other indications. The hoard is therefore called throughout, *The 'Mardin' Hoard*, with the quotation marks indicating that the place is an assumption, not a known fact. The town of Mardin is about 50 miles south of Diyar Bakr (Amid on the map p. 2) in south-east Anatolia. The precise place of the find may prove to be different, but the area indicated by it is almost certainly correct.

The hoard was a large one of some 13,500 copper pieces mainly in far from good condition and covered with a deposit making them at first hard to read at all accurately. It involved a good deal of work of different kinds and most of this was done by the authors. But the most important part was the deciphering and study of the roughly 2,200 countermarked pieces. This was the assignment of N. M. Lowick of the Department of Coins and Medals in the British Museum, and Part III—The Countermarks—is entirely his work. The other parts are the combined work of all the authors.

Although the 'Mardin' hoard is by far the largest of its kind to have come to light, a comprehensive study of countermarked folles could not have been undertaken without reference to much other material in museum collections and in private hands. The authors wish to thank the many persons who have generously placed this material at their disposal and who have provided information and photographs: M. Raoul Curriel of the Bibliothèque Nationale; Dr. Michael Bates of the American Numismatic Society; Mr. Ray Hebert of the Smithsonian Institution; Mr. Henry Weller; Mr. Lutz Ilisch; Mr. Marcel Burstein; Mr. John Slocum; Mr. Ian Roper; Dr. Michael Metcalf; Mme. Cecile Morrisson; and Prof. Dickran Kouymjian. Finally, acknowledgment is also due to the late Dr. George Miles, whose interest in countermarked folles antedated that of the authors and who kindly supplied information from the file he had built up on this series.

The hoard was purchased commercially by the firm of A. H. Baldwin and Sons, the Directors of which deserve the thanks of numismatists for buying a not very attractive group of coins and for allowing, in the most generous way, facilities for their study. The authors also wish to thank the Directors for their help in publishing this booklet, and particularly A. H. E. Baldwin for his photography and willing assistance at all stages of the work.

P.D.W.

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PART I

THE 'MARDIN' HOARD

1. Recent discoveries of countermarked folles.

Islamic countermarks on Byzantine folles have, until recently, been little noted for the simple reason that so few of them were known and those few not always clear enough to be read with certainty. Suddenly as a result of hoards discovered in the third quarter of this century, all probably in or near eastern Anatolia, countermarked Byzantine copper coins began to appear in hundreds and even thousands. More coins have enabled studies to be more fruitful and more exact.

2. Publications with these countermarked coins included.

So far the publications about these countermarked Byzantine coins have thus been few and it may be convenient to list them at once—

T. I. Abramishvili, *Sakarthvelos sakhelmtsipho muzeumis bizantiuri monetebi. (A Catalogue of the Byzantine coins in the Georgian State Museum)*, Tiflis, 1965, nos. 362,387,394,396,402,426,434,435.

I. & C. Artuk, *Istanbul arkeoloji müzeleri teşhirdeki islâmî sikkeler kataloğu, Cilt-I*, Istanbul, 1971, nos. 1312-1316.

B. Butak, *Resimli Türk paralari na ek*, Istanbul, 1948, no. 142.

S. Erel, *Nâdir birkaç sikke, Sayı-3*, Istanbul, 1970, no. 58.

P. Grierson, *Catalogue of the Byzantine coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and the Whittemore Collection*, III, 1973, pp. 97/8, 679,684,687, 693,702,703,820 (7 coins).

R. J. Hebert, "Concerning tenth to twelfth century Byzantine folles", in Spink's *Numismatic Circular*, Vol. LXXXII, 1974 no. 3 (March) pp. 94/6, 4 (April), pp. 140/1, 5 (May), pp. 189/90.

J. Karabacek, "Über muhammedanische Vicariatsmünzen und Kupferdrachmen" in *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, Bd. 1, 1869, pp. 265-300 (5 coins).

S. Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum*, Vol. III, 1877, no. 691.

G. C. Miles, "Some Islamic coins in the Berne Historical Museum", in *Die Schweizerische Numismatische Rundschau*, Vol. XLV, 1966, pp. 131-42 (4 coins).

J. Sabatier, *Description générale des monnaies byzantines, Paris, 1862, Pl. XLVIII*, no. 8, LII, no. 19.

Iconographie d'une collection choisie de cinq mille médailles romaines, byzantines et celtiberiennes, St. Petersburg, 1847, Pl. byz. suppl. XII, 2 and XXIII. 4-7, 29, 30 (7 coins).

H. Weller, "Turkic Countermarks" in Spink's *Numismatic Circular*, Vol. LXXXIII, 1975, no. 12 (December), pp. 475-77.

W. Wroth, *Catalogue of the Imperial Byzantine Coins in the British Museum*, Vol. II, London, 1908, p. 504, no. 27 (Pl. LIX, 10).

Of the above, the articles by Hebert and Weller are the only ones subsequent to the new finds, which deal with the problem comprehensively. As these use a classification of countermarks different from each other and both different from and less comprehensive than the one used in these pages, a concordance will be found in Table A on page 10. N. M. Lowick has been responsible for the classification of 28 countermarks used here, based on over 2200 countermarked coins in the 'Mardin' hoard alone and on other coins which he has either handled or seen in reproductions.

3. Collections and Groups of countermarked pieces.

Although the 'Mardin' hoard certainly looks very like the one published by Weller, it is differently patinated and of different origin. Weller saw his hoard in 1972 in Istanbul, consisting of some 2000 coins allegedly found near Diyarbakir: he selected 140 pieces mostly bearing countermarks and his article in the *Numismatic Circular* is based on these and on his observation of the whole group. There were five Islamic coins in it, though there is doubt as to their having been found with the hoard: two of these Islamic pieces were attributable to the mid 14th century. There was also a countermarked coin of Alexius I with a standing figure of the Emperor (attributed by Henny to Thessalonica before 1092), a scarce type of which several were found in the 'Mardin' hoard. Weller commented on countermarked pieces being lighter than the usual weight, but this is hardly borne out by those in the 'Mardin' or in the Smithsonian coins. He suggests that the countermarking was for validation of Byzantine coins circulating in the areas in eastern Anatolia where the Turkish tribes had settled after their breakthrough in the late 11th century and subsequently.

The Smithsonian Institution coins which were described by Hebert, also in the *Numismatic Circular*, were acquired in 1971 and numbered 187 Byzantine pieces, all but nine of them with Islamic countermarks. They were much worn and extended from Anonymous Bronze Type A to Type K, with 'signed' pieces of rulers from Constantine X to Alexius I. Hebert gives statistical data concerning reigns and types related to specific countermarks, the weight spread of the coins within each type and the percentage of countermarks found on coins of each reign: he also gives a description of each coin with its weight and diameter. The pieces of Alexius I would appear from the description to be of post-reform period, but the reference is not clear. These Smithsonian coins seem to be from the same hoard as the one G. C. Miles noted as in the hands of a dealer at Buffalo (U.S.A.), and there are plaster casts of some of them in the American Numismatic Society's museum. There was no known provenance for this hoard.

Table A. Concordance of Countermark Classifications.

N. M. LOWICK	R. J. HEBERT	H. WELLER		
1	9	P	'Atabeg'	see page 32
2			'Ahmad'	" — 33
3	4		'Jamal'	" — 33
4			'Jamal al-din Mahmud'	" — 33
5	14		'dhimam'	" — 34
6		Z	'Sa d'	" — 34
7	4	U	'Sayf'	" — 35
8		S/T	"	" — 35
9	2	O	'Shams'	" — 36
10	8	Y	'adl'	" — 37
11	8	Y	"	" — 37
12	6	M/N	'adl' Izz'	" — 37
13	7	K/L	'Izz'	" — 38
14	10		'Imad'	" — 39
15			'Fakhr'	" — 39
16	1	A-H	'lillah'	" — 40
17	1	A-H	"	" — 41
18	13	I/J	(?)	" — 41
19	5	V/W	'Mahmud'	" — 42
20			'Malik al-Umara'	" — 42
21	3	Q/R	'Najm'	" — 43
22			"	" — 43
23		X	'Badr'	" — 43
24			'dal', 'lam', 'alif'	" — 44
25			'sin', 'lam', 'alif'	" — 45
26			Zengid tamgha	" — 45
27	11		Armenian letter 'gim'	" — 45
28			?	" — 46

12 (not illustrated
or described)

Another group of countermarked folles was acquired by John Slocum in Tabriz and fifty of them he presented to the American Numismatic Society in 1967. This hoard totalled 294 Byzantine copper pieces and was said to have been found near Ahar in Azarbaijan. Mr. Slocum also saw a hoard of over 1200 coins, of which some had countermarks, in the hands of a cattle dealer at Agri near the Turkish border with Iran in 1970.

A few other groups have been noted. Marcel Burstein acquired 38 countermarked coins in Istanbul recently from a mixed lot including Greek imperials and Artuqid pictorial coppers; and in 1968 the Bibliothèque Nationale acquired 17 Byzantine copper pieces of which 13 had countermarks, from a Teheran bazaar—perhaps an Iranian find. The museum at Van is reported by Lutz Ilisch to have a dozen countermarked pieces from a hoard of 106 coins found there.

Isolated coins or very small groups of countermarked pieces are recorded from various parts of Iran and Turkey, but none from Iraq or Syria, and only a single specimen is recorded as being acquired in the Lebanon (1965). One countermarked piece illustrated by Sabatier in 1862 is of a pre-reform signed copper of Alexius I and the other is an Anonymous Follis Type G.

In his *Dumbarton Oaks Catalogue* (Vol. III) of 1973 Philip Grierson referred to countermarks as being 'common on folles of the 11th century, which the Seljuks and their successors found circulating in those parts of Asia Minor and Syria which they overran' and concludes that a 'general study of the whole series is highly desirable'.

4. Islamic countermarks and the 'Mardin' hoard.

Countermarking is not a startling phenomenon on coins of the Islamic world. At different times it has in fact been common, as under the Umayyad Governors in Iran in the 7th Century, in Moghul India and under the Timurid dynasty in Iran in the 15th century. In the 'Mardin' hoard, some 19% of the Byzantine coppers which composed it, were countermarked—2204 pieces in all. It will be seen in Part III that many of these pieces have more than one countermark and occasionally the countermarks are overstruck one on another, so that some kind of sequence can be worked out. All the countermarks are uniface. Some pieces bear several marks from the same mint while others have them from different mints, but all in a comparatively small area. The multiple countermarks have a large part to play in Lowick's arguments as to the assignment of mints. Tables will be found later showing the pieces countermarked twice, thrice, four and even five times, on what coins they occur and how they are distributed by mints.

There seems to have been no rule in applying the countermarks, such as the intentional obliteration of the head of Jesus or of the Virgin, which would have been in any event unlikely. They appear anywhere on the obverse or the reverse, apparently just as the coins came to the countermarker's hand. Hebert found a 'distinct preference' for the obverse as in two out of three of the Smithsonian coins, the obverse was chosen: in the much larger 'Mardin' hoard the application appears to be altogether haphazard with one proviso. One random check on 100 coins with the No 9 countermark 'Shams' produced the result—

	<i>cmk on obv. cmk on rev.</i>	
Christ or Virgin effigy/Emperor types	20	23
" /Inscription types	43	14

Thus where 'inscription' reverses were involved the countermarker seems to have had a preference for the 'head' side, while in the case of 'double-headed' types he was indifferent as to which side he affixed his countermark.

All the 28 countermarks listed on pages 30 to 46 appear in the 'Mardin' hoard and this includes all that have, up to now, been identified, though some have been differently read as the Concordance (Table A) shows. Generally speaking the dies have been carefully cut and the letters, if not worn by usage or obscured by accretions, are clearly defined. They are sometimes in kufic and sometimes in naskhi script, with the same ruler sometimes using both. Craftsmen clearly had individual ways of cutting the dies and variations of letter forms must be expected. Occasionally the craftsman made a mistake with the result that the inscription appears in reverse (see, e.g. Pl. IV, 12).

5. Details of the 'Mardin' hoard.

The hoard was purchased in Munich by Messrs. A. H. Baldwin at the end of 1972; a part, which may have contained as many coins again, had been sold previously in the same city. Some coins from this part were purchased later and the appearance of the coins and the deposit on them as well as the types and countermarks involved were exactly the same as those in the 'main' hoard. The whole hoard seems to have been found a few years before in south-east Asia Minor but no precise provenance was available. The part bought by Baldwins numbered something over 13,000 pieces of which some had been discarded—or had broken up—in the cleaning processes as being unrecognisable pieces of metal. Of the 12,994 coins examined by the authors, 228 had to be returned as 'unattributable'. The coins were in a much worn state, with a few exceptions which included a pre-reform follis of Alexius I (BM. Cat. Type 11). In a number of cases the countermarks were readable when the coins themselves were not. All the

coins were of copper and all were Byzantine with the exception of three Islamic ones. The last of the Byzantine pieces was the single post-reform piece, a tetarteron, of Alexius I (period 1092-1118) and the Islamic pieces were all datable to 1122-1228. Although the Byzantine pieces stretch back to Anastasius I, there were only 146 attributable coins prior to the beginning of the Anonymous Folles Type A under John Tsimiskes (969-976) and at the other end the 14 years of Nicephorus III and Alexius I (to 1092) account for 3869 coins. Table B on p. 15 shows the distribution by reigns* of all the coins in the hoard, including separately the 2204 countermarked pieces.

The coins which appeared to have countermarks were cleaned with special care to make the most of the countermarks, while the others were subjected to a general wash which cleared the green/blue surface deposit effectively, but occasionally more details might have emerged with more cleaning. This would have meant endangering some of the thinner coins, a few of which disintegrated in the course of the first cleaning wash. A few more countermarks were found after the general cleaning and most of the types and some of the undertypes emerged clearly in spite of considerable wear in usage. It seemed remarkable for instance that nearly 40 varieties of Anonymous Folles Type A were identified with reasonable precision.

6. Major Problems

As with all hoards, the problems of when the coins were concealed and for what reason remain the crucial ones and in the case of the 'Mardin' hoard they have proved extremely difficult to resolve. There is no real break between the Byzantine pieces ending with the reign of Alexius I—although effectively at 1092 rather than 1118—and the Islamic pieces of which the earliest is of the Artuqid prince Timurtash of Mardin, 1122 to 1152. The mint and date of this piece are not legible, but the coin is clearly of the so-called 'head of Julian' type issued at Mardin in 1148/9 (see *Revue Numismatique* XVI, 1974). The later of the two Seljuq pieces is that of Rukn ad-din Jahan Shah of Erzurum and dated 1227/8. The deposits on these coins, with the third Islamic one as well, show them to be of a piece with the others in the 'Mardin' hoard, from which they were indistinguishable until looked at in

*The most recent assessment of the dating of the anonymous Folles is by P. Grierson in DO III.ii. Abandoning division by reigns he assigns Class A1 to 970-c.976: A2 to c.976-c.1030/35: B to c.1030/35-1042: C to 1042-c.1050: D to c.1050-c.1060: E to c.1060: F to c.1060-c.1065: G to c.1065-c.1070: H to c.1070-c.1075: I to c.1075-c.1080: J to c.1080-c.1085: K to c.1085-c.1092: L to c.1080: M to c.1080: N to c.1075.

detail separately. Like the majority of the Byzantine coins, the three Islamic ones were much worn and must have been in use for some time. This would indicate that the hoard was made not earlier than the second half of the 13th century. We have to ask whether Byzantine copper circulated as currency in the area for two centuries or more after the Seljuq victory at Manzikert in 1071 from which, in this area, the Byzantines never made a real recovery. During these two centuries the Crusaders held precarious sway in a part of it and issued coins of their own from Edessa, no doubt using Byzantine ones as well. To the south the kingdom of Cilician Armenia had a well developed coinage of its own and would neither have the wish nor the need to use Byzantine copper. The Artuqids, Zengids and other Turkish rulers also issued a wide variety of copper 'dirhams' of which the 'head of Julian' piece in the hoard is the only diminutive representative. These 'absentees' from the hoard need to be taken into account.

The heavy concentration of Byzantine coins from the 14 years ending in the reform of the coinage in all metals by Alexius I in 1092 makes it look as if the Byzantine recoinage was in some way connected with the composition of the 'Mardin' hoard. The single post-1092 piece of Alexius I could be classed with the Islamic pieces as chance strays which were unintentionally included. But where so many pieces of the Alexius period and others going right back to the 6th century were given countermarks, one must ask why the large majority all through the series were not so validated in Turkish times. The hoard clearly did not stop being accumulated just after the reign of Alexius I. In particular the Anonymous Bronze Type K pieces show heavy wear, besides hurried striking and overstriking. It could be that at some stage even the countermarked pieces were invalidated as currency and put aside for their metal value. Was 'Mardin' possibly a bullion hoard of copper, added to and perhaps even taken from, as the exigencies of the moment demanded? Or possibly were the hoards—'Mardin' and others like it—either the loot of Mongol armies or concealed to elude them? The fact of at least three large hoards having been already discovered in the same area and with the same basic composition would indicate some pressure of the same kind, causing them all to be made.

The capture of Baghdad by Hulagu's Mongols in 1258 is a key date in the history of this area, but already in 1243 the Mongol defeat of the Seljuqs at Köse Dāgh (due south of Trebizond) had signalled the decline of the Seljuq empire and its smaller Turkish tribal satellites like the Artuqid and Zengid princes. Another new power, the Ayyubids followed by the Bahrid Mamelukes, was expanding northwards from Egypt. These last constantly threatened Armenia after Baibars and his Mamelukes had defeated the southward prong of the Mongol advance at Ayn Jalut, near Jerusalem in 1260. It was the Mamelukes who extinguished the Armenian kingdom in

TABLE B

BYZANTINE EMPERORS	DATES	ANONYMOUS FOLLES, TYPES	WITHOUT COUNTERMARKS	WITH COUNTERMARKS
ANASTASIVS	491-518		8	
JVSTIN I	518-527		1	2
JVSTINIAN I	527-565		7	1
PERIOD	491-565		5	1
JVSTIN II	565-578		3	1
TIBERIVS II	578-582		1	
MAVRICE	582-602		5	
PHOCAS	602-610		4	1
HERACLIVS	610-641		9	1
MICHAEL II	820-829		1	
THEOPHILVS	829-842		4	
BASIL I	867-886		4	1
LEO VI	886-912		19	2
CONSTANTINE VII	913-959		32	6
ROMANVS I	920-944		19	
NICEPHORVS II	963-969		8	
JOHN I-BASIL II and CONSTANTINE VIII	969-1028	A	1627	170
ROMANVS III	1028-1034	B	945	105
MICHAEL IV	1034-1041	C	1339	247
CONSTANTINE IX	1042-1055	D	404	56
CONST. X and EVDOCIA	1059-1067		1289	302
CONSTANTINE X	"		405	100
CONSTANTINE X	"	E	84	24
CONSTANTINE X	"	F	95	5
ROMANVS IV	1068-1071	G	697	146
"	"		172	38
MICHAEL VII	1071-1078	H	276	61
"	"		137	27
NICEPHORVS III	1078-1081	I	868	205
"	"		457	109
NICEPHORVS BRYENNIVS	1078		2	
ALEXIVS I	1081-1092	J	319	60
"	"	K	1427	392
"	1081-1118		21	9
UNATTRIBUTED			96	132
			10790	2204
				12994

1375 after a long period of Mongol protection. The Crusaders had lost their last foothold in Palestine at Athlit in 1291 and the Byzantine Empire had by then long since receded beyond the horizon. The whole Syrian and eastern Anatolian area was in turmoil as rival armies marched and plundered: what villagers and nomads thought and did about currency may well have been quite different from what remote centres of government intended. But the metals of currency, including copper, were all of value in themselves, irrespective of denomination or official invalidation. The 'Mardin' hoard was made in just this area where Mongols clashed first with the Seljuqs and other Turks, and then with the Mamelukes attacking Armenia in the 13th and 14th centuries.

The 'Mardin' hoard stretches back to pieces issued by Anastasius (491-518) and so the coins cover the earlier reorganisation of the whole area in the 7th century, and of its currency after the Arab victories over the Byzantine and Sasanian empires. Since then the coinage of the Byzantines, the Turkish princes and the Armenian kingdom had alike changed its character from the large heavy copper pieces to increasingly lighter and smaller ones. Lowick places the period in which the 'Mardin' Byzantine folles were countermarked as from 1140 to 1200: one countermark may be dated 1180/1 and two others are of approximately the same time. This would make them contemporaneous with the new style heavy copper 'dirhams' of the Turkish princes which carry figured types and copies of the Seleucid, Roman and Byzantine coins well known and still found, especially in Palestine and Syria today. There are some countermarks on Byzantine coins of the 6th century, but very few are earlier than the heavy Anonymous Folles Type A (ii) pieces of Basil II, which are also strongly represented amongst the uncountermarked pieces: both are heavily worn as might be expected after long circulation.

It would appear then that the bulk of the copper coinage circulating amongst the Turkish states in the eastern Anatolian area for some time after their occupation was of Byzantine pieces of the pre-reform Alexius I period, back to Basil II. This would be predictable, but it still has to be explained why hoards were made of both countermarked and uncountermarked coins of exactly the same character, four-fifths of them without any validation after that of the issuing Byzantine Emperor, whose name did not even appear on most of them, though of course Christian symbols did. In this connection, the possibility is suggested in this booklet of the countermarked pieces being intended for specific use as payments of tax, and hence passed officially through Muslim hands, while other pieces may have remained current without countermarking: the tax, called *jizyah* was religious in origin and the proceeds perhaps required identification as such.

The countermarked pieces would presumably be valid at the end of the 12th century and well into the 13th century: but would the others still be circulating? Would they have survived with much meaning after the comprehensive Byzantine coinage reform of 1092 had invalidated them within the Byzantine Empire and replaced them with completely different coins organised in a different way? Such thoughts suggest the possibility of a copper bullion hoard accumulated over a very long period, perhaps from the 12th century and perhaps periodically used and then concealed of necessity during some incident in the savage Mameluke/Mongol warfare which continued unabated after the Mongol conversion to Islam in 1295.

Alternatively and more simply, the hoard could have been made from currency at one time, with the earliest coins being accounted for as casual finds in the 12th and 13th centuries—as indeed they are still made today. This in particular would account for the worn and bad condition of the Anonymous Bronze Type K and Alexius I signed pieces, as well as for the narrow range of coins represented. In a bullion hoard one would expect to find Greek, Seleucid, Roman, Crusader and heavy Artuqid and Zengid pieces as well as smaller Byzantine half folles and fractions. This kind of collection could be found in coppersmiths' shops until quite recently. The coins of the 'Mardin' hoard are so worn that they must have been in active use for a very long time, and any reasonably good specimen amongst them comes as a surprise, nor are such better specimens confined to the later Byzantine reigns. If the coins were taken out of circulation at one time—and that time would still be in the second half of the 13th century—it would appear that Byzantine copper coinage was in general circulation much longer than has generally been thought, and in the face of competition from Turkish, Egyptian and particularly Mongol currencies.

PART II

THE COINS

The coins of the 'Mardin' hoard have been grouped for listing into (1) Period of Anastasius to Nicephorus II, i.e. the Pre-Anonymous coins, (2) The Anonymous Folles and other imperial issues, 969 to 1118, (3) The Islamic coins. The coins of sections (1) and (2)—the Byzantine coins of the hoard—are summarised under the Emperors to whom they are attributed in Table B (page 15). The coins were all of copper and all covered with the same bluish-green deposit.

The large number of Anonymous folles enables another review to be made of these issues and the outstanding problems connected with them, although conditions of time and space did not allow for the weighing of more than a few pieces: first priority was given to establishing the main types and varieties amongst them, in spite of their worn condition. All the major types A to K were found, but unfortunately none of the rare and as yet uncertainly attributed L, M and N types. In all there were over 9500 Anonymous pieces identified, with some 1800 of type K at the end of the series, and almost exactly the same number of type A at the beginning. Types and allocations to rulers follow the arrangement made by Margaret Thompson for the coins of the *Agora* (Vol. II, 1954) and in the table given in the *Numismatic Chronicle* (1955) with the correction to both made for type E by A. F. Johnson in *Museum Notes* (15, 1969): see also D. M. Metcalf in *Numismatic Chronicle* (1970) for both an attempted regrouping of the Type A varieties and a table and sketch of the 51 varieties noted by A. R. Bellinger in his *Anonymous Bronze Coinage* (1928). See also the note on p. 13 above, for the dating of types in the *Dumbarton Oaks' Catalogue* (1973).

(1) Anastasius to Nicephorus II

ANASTASIVS 491-518. Eight coins—none with countermarks: 3 folles of Constantinople DO I, 20 and two of 5th officina, DO I. 23 i and k; 4 half folles of Constantinople 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 5th officina DO I. 24a, c, d, g; 1 half follis of Nicomedia DO I.43.

JVSTIN I 518-527. Three coins of which two have countermarks; 1 follis of Constantinople DO I.8 type and 2 half folles of Cyzicus 1st officina and Constantinople fifth officina (DO I.43 Var, and DO I. 15a).

JVSTINIAN I 527-565. Eight coins of which one has a countermark: 4 folles of Constantinople (2 of DO I.28, 1 with star and crescent on reverse (not in DO) and 1 of Constantinople first officina, DO I.30); 2 half-folles of Antioch year 13 (DO I.235) and 29 (DO I. Class C) and 1 of Constantinople third officina but date illegible. The countermarked piece is a pre-reform half-follis with stars, of fifth officina (DO I.33d).

PERIOD 491-565. Six coins of which one is countermarked: 3 folles and 2 half-folles of uncertain Emperor, mint and officina: one half-follis with countermark in the same condition.

JVSTIN II 565-578. Four coins of which one is with countermark: follis of Constantinople, third officina, year 7 (DO I.32C), half-follis of Cyzicus year 3 (DO I.128), and a ten nummia of Carthage (DO I.200): the countermarked piece is a Nicomedia half-follis of year 9 (DO I.111).

TIBERIVS II 578-582. One coin without countermark: a follis of Antioch year 8 (DO I.44).

MAVRICE 582-602. Five coins, none with countermark. 3 folles of Constantinople year 7 (DO I.30b), Cyzicus year 8 (DO I.125b) and Antioch third officina year 21 (DO I.173); 2 half-folles, one possibly of Nicomedia and year 5, the other Constantinople fourth officina of year 9 (DO I.54b type).

PHOCAS 602-610. Five coins of which one has a countermark: 4 folles of which 3 are of Antioch year 1 (DO II.83) 2 (DO II.84) and year 7 (DO II.89) and one perhaps of Cyzicus. The countermarked piece is probably of Nicomedia (DO II.57a).

HERACLIVS 610-641. Ten coins of which one has a countermark: 8 folles are of Constantinople years 3 (DO II.71) 6, first and second officina (DO II.81 and 89) 16, (DO II.100) and 23, third officina (DO II.109) and 3 others of doubtful dates and officinas: one follis of Nicomedia second officina year 7 (DO II.163). The countermarked piece is a follis of Constantinople, third officina, year 10 (DO II, 92 type).

MICHAEL II (with Theophilus) 820-829. One coin not countermarked. Follis (DO III.i. Class 3 No. 10).

THEOPHILVS 829-842. Four coins all uncountermarked. All are folles of DO III.i. Class 3 type (Pl. II. 1 and 2)

BASIL I 867-886. Five coins of which one has a countermark. All are folles—2 of DO III.ii. Class 2, 1 each of DO III.ii. Class 4 and 5, and the countermarked piece DO III.ii. Class 3.

LEO VI 886-912. Twenty-one coins of which two have countermarks. All are folles: 1 (with Alexander) of DO III.ii Class 2, 18 of DO III.ii Class 3, and 2 with countermarks also of Class 3.

CONSTANTINE VII 913-959. Thirty-eight coins of which six have countermarks: 30 folles of 945-950 (DO III.ii Class 5) and 2 of Constantine VII and Romanus II (DO III.ii Class 6). The countermarked pieces are of DO III.ii Class 5.

ROMANVS I 920-944. Nineteen coins none with countermark. All folles of 931-944 (DO III.ii, Constantine VII, Class 4).

NICEPHORVS II 963-969. Eight coins none with countermark: 6 folles of DO III.ii Class 1, and 2 of DO III.ii Class 2.

(2) Anonymous Folles and other Imperial issues 969-1118.

Anonymous Folles Type A; 969-1028. 1797 coins of which 170 have countermarks. There were very few indeed of the A(i) small pieces attributable to John Tsimiskēs—perhaps two dozen, but a final check proved impossible. They were much worn like most of the group, but it was a surprise to find that so many of Class A(ii) could be allocated a variety number with some precision. Examples of 37 of Bellinger's varieties were positively identified, but it seemed fairer to group certain closely related types in the cases of varieties 24 and 33, 39 and 40, and 44 and 47 rather than treat a large number of coins as unidentifiable. Virtually the whole group was of the large and medium sized, generally thick and heavy flans of Basil II's seemingly vast issues. The Bellinger variety numbers followed in brackets by the number of coins in each are:

1 (6)	18 (1)	36 (1)
2 (29)	22 (4)	37 (2)
3 (57)	23 (1)	39)
4 (13)	24)	40) (263)
5 (44)	33) (247)	*41 (54)
6 (2)	25 (2)	42 (1)
7 (7)	26 (1)	43 (5)
8 (35)	27 (6)	44)
9 (3)	30 (1)	47) (269)
12 (1)	32 (46)	45 (3)
14 (11)	34 (1)	46 (73)
16 (2)	35 (25)	48 (1)
		50 (1)

*The normal 41 variety is taken as having the book ornament of Bellinger 29: as Dr. Metcalf has noted there seems to be some confusion here. An intensive search in the 1950's revealed no clear specimen of either Bellinger 29 or 41 but a large number of pieces clearly 41 but with 29 book ornament. The position is the same today and confirmed by the 'Mardin' hoard. It is fair to assume that 41 has been wrongly recorded and perhaps 29 as well—or even just misprinted. DO III.ii accepts this change for variety 41.

The 'Mardin' hoard contained a few varieties of interest

1. Reverse ornament as in 9 or 48 but with \times in nimbus, and the same in the Gospels but with an open circle at the centre (Pl. 1.3).
2. A variety like 30 with three pellets in the nimbus and five pellets on the Gospel cover. Unfortunately it was not possible to identify the reverse ornaments (Pl. 1.2).
3. Minor die cutter's variation on the normal Bellinger 47 in which the rectangle is inscribed inside the pellets at the corners in the nimbus and on the reverse: the Gospels are probably the same.
4. A 'tendril' type 39 but with two pellets in the nimbus as well as the Gospels. The die is finely cut. DO III.ii. includes this as a new type 24A (Pl. 1.1).
5. Reverse with type 35 but a rectangle in nimbus and five pellets in Gospels (Pl. 1.4).

Of these varieties there is one similar to (1) above, amongst some seven noted as 'varieties not in Bellinger' in the coins at the Barber Institute in Birmingham. But the future seems to lie with more grouping with than more varieties i.e. along the lines that Dr. Metcalf has attempted in his 1970 article in the *Numismatic Chronicle*.

One piece, almost certainly a contemporary forgery, was noted, having a small obverse type (20mm on a flan of 26 diameter), and a blundered $\overline{\text{IC}} - \overline{\text{XC}}$. The nimbus has a single pellet in the arms of the cross and the reverse a lettering of unusual style and somewhat blundered (Pl. II.5)

Anonymous Folles Type B; 1028-1034: Romanus III. 1050 coins of which 105 have countermarks. The large number of this type in the hoard reflects the size of this very common series of issues which, in contrast with their predecessor, have few obvious variations in types—so few that they tend to be neglected altogether. They are found in the nimbus decoration, or that of the Gospels binding and sometimes in both. Small individual digressions from the norm often simply involving the joining up of points made in laying out the die design, appear to be individual craftsmen's variations in the course of producing many similar dies and often perhaps from the sheer boredom of such simple repetitive work.

The 'Mardin' hoard has for instance examples of ✠ in the nimbus (and probably also in the Gospels), ⦿ in the nimbus with normal Gospels decoration and ◻ in the nimbus with again normal Gospels (Pl. III 2 and 3). Another has ⦿ in the Gospels, but with nimbus normal. There was no clear example of the fairly common ⦿ in the nimbus of which Ratto (No. 1983) illustrated an example, or of ◻ of which several are known, or again of ⦿ which is in one case associated with an unusual disposal of the lettering as high on the cross as possible, thus emphasising the main shaft of the cross as against the lettering.

As usual with Anonymous B pieces there were large differences between the sizes of the flans and of the lettering, with a profusion of large thin flans with big and often clumsily formed letters. The types on the flans varied too from 22mm diameter to 27mm, with 23mm a usual size for the smaller neatly executed dies. This sometimes appears on a flan clearly designed for a larger type (one 22mm type is on a 29mm diameter flan) but the reverse case, where flans are much too small for the types, is far more commonly found. The letter I is an easy one to measure and can be anything from 3.5mm to 6mm in examples from this hoard. Equally the letter L was often written as an I with a dot to the right: the dot could easily be omitted and the L is often simply an I or a slightly thickened I. The letter S can be Z or Σ and occasionally the C, as in ĪC which is an S, is rendered in the same way. The obverse legend *Emmanuel* can be off the flan altogether, but can also be left out for lack of room on the dies for some small type coins.

The Anonymous B coins are not quite so monolithic as they are often assumed to be. The craftsmanship of the die cutting appears to have deteriorated badly on many of the larger types—to such an extent that it is unwise to jump to the conclusion of forgery. The weights, for instance, seem infinitely variable: of three pieces picked out for the large size of their flans the diameters and weights were

32 mm	weighing	15.42 g.
36 × 28 mm	"	7.32 g.
32 mm	"	13.73 g.

All these had practically all of the obverse and reverse types on the flans. One neatly executed piece with small types of 22mm diameter on a 29mm flan weighed 11.41g and two of the smallest pieces in the hoard with diameters of 22mm and 23.5mm weighed 5.73g and 6.41g respectively: the first of these may have been cut down as only the left lower quarter of the reverse type was visible, but the second though much worn was probably of much the same size when it was first issued.

Anonymous Folles Type C; 1034-1041: Michael IV. 1586 coins of which 247 have countermarks. This is another very common series of issues, represented in profusion in the hoard. Broadly distinguishable were a group of large flans of 30/31mm diameter tending to be thin and less heavy than the similar Anonymous B group and a smaller group of around 23mm diameter. There was virtually no variation in the obverse and reverse types used, except in the number of jewels used to decorate the reverse cross. Some 'typical' coins of the larger group of flans were—

diameter	31 mm	weight	11.92
	30 "	"	9.75
	33 "	"	9.16
	30 "	"	8.72
	30 "	"	7.97
	29 "	"	7.96

and of the smaller flans—

diameter	27.5 mm	weight	7.61
	27 mm	"	9.38
	26 "	"	5.18
	25 "	"	6.41
	24 × 21 mm	"	5.67

One smaller piece cut down octagonally had diameters 22 × 20mm without seriously damaging the types and one larger piece had a 34mm diameter. These sizes and weights along with the changing size of types impressed, represent what may normally be expected amongst coins of Type C. Some of the larger flans had clear remnants of a flange indicating casting in a series of moulds, and others had been struck over Anonymous B issues.

The wear on the coins along with frequent double striking and careless striking, made it difficult to decide in many cases whether the unnecessary abbreviation marks over \overline{NI} \overline{KA} on the reverse were there or not. A careful study of 259 pieces showed 206 as normal and 53 with abbreviation marks, the latter figure being almost certainly an understatement. Also on the reverse the number of jewels in each arm of the

cross could be 4, 5, 6 or 7 as is normally found elsewhere, and occasionally a small neatly engraved type (23.5mm diameter obv. and rev.) is found on flans of 29/30mm. In general the craftsmanship was poor especially in the larger pieces, while some of those of medium size were from good dies; well struck and it seemed better preserved.

Anonymous Folles Type D; 1042-1055: Constantine IX. 460 coins of which 56 have countermarks. The big drop in numbers represents, from all the other evidence, a much smaller issue, although a bigger one than the next two Anonymous issues to follow. In respect of all these three issues the 'Mardin' hoard simply corroborates the evidence of the surviving coins known elsewhere.

There is a known variation of the reverse type with a pellet in the centre of the usual crescent below the inscription, making — ☉ — .

This variation was specifically noted on twelve specimens and diligent search might have found more. There was also one piece with the whole reverse inscription engraved from right to left, but in other respects perfectly normal. It lay at the smaller and lighter end of the usual range—27mm diameter and 6.32g—but is probably an official issue, though an exception to the generally higher standards associated with Anonymous D coins, for which weights of 9g to 10g are common.

Anonymous Folles Type E; 1059-1067: Constantine X. 108 coins of which 24 have countermarks. Amongst this heavily worn group was one important piece which confirmed A.F. Johnson's detection of the Constantine X and Eudocia standing figure type as struck under the Anonymous E and therefore before it. He therefore suggested changing the attribution of Anonymous E from Isaac I to Constantine X. The 'Mardin' piece is struck on an almost square flan 25mm broad and weighing 6.88g (Pl. III.4). Immediately under the bust of Christ is the bust of Constantine X clearly visible round the left edge with cuirass, cross and crown, as the type is larger than the Anonymous one. Under that and at right angles are the heads of Eudocia and—less clearly—Constantine X. The reverse of the coin has virtually nothing but the Anonymous E inscription and decoration above and below.

Anonymous Folles Type F; 1059-1067: Constantine X. 100 coins of which 5 have countermarks. The worn condition of this group made it difficult to be certain over restrikes. One obverse had the bust of Constantine X and the standing figures of Constantine X and Eudocia beneath but the Anonymous F reverse inscription obliterated its predecessors effectively. Another piece was over Anonymous E.

CONSTANTINE X AND EUDOCIA; 1059-1067. 1591 coins of which 302 have countermarks. A vast number of these issues have survived with many others also recognised as understrikes. The size of these issues goes some way to accounting for the very small ones of Anonymous E and F. There was little to attract notice except for two variant obverse legends badly bungled in the second half with the beginning in each case illegible or off the flan (Pl. II.4): the pieces were perfectly normal otherwise and must be accounted for as craftsmen's errors. There was also one contemporary forgery with a crude branch taking the place of the second part of the obverse legend: the beginning was illegible, but certainly not the standard one. The cross between the figures was not the usual labarum and to the left of its steps was IC and possibly AS to the right, taking the place of the lower part of each figure (Pl. II.3).

The forgery mixed in easily with the regular pieces but it may be worth noting that no examples of the Turkish imitations of this type—such as the very common one of Nur al-din Mahmud of Aleppo—were found.

CONSTANTINE X: 1059-1067. 505 coins of which 100 have countermarks. As is usual many of these were struck over the Constantine X and Eudocia, standing figures type. See Pl. III.1.

Anonymous Folles Type G; 1068-1071: Romanus IV. 843 coins of which 146 have countermarks. The flans for this type are generally larger and, though the fabric varies widely, more robust than those of the preceding Anonymous E and F issues, so that under-strikings have been more effectively obliterated. The Virgin on the reverse is particularly clear and normally better struck up than the obverse—a good example of the point made by Grierson in his 'Numismatics' (p. 108). Understriking noted were of Anonymous B and C and Constantine X and Eudocia along with a much earlier issue with traces of ANNO to the left of M.

ROMANUS IV; 1068-1071. 210 coins of which 38 have countermarks. Although the flans keep a fairly constant diameter, the weight differences ranged from 8.8g to 2.46g in some ten pieces picked as good examples of the coin. As in Anonymous G the reverse—here the deeply cut letters **CRPΔ** —dominates the much less heavily engraved obverse bust of Christ.

ANONYMOUS Folles Type H; 1071-1078: Michael VII. 327 coins of which 61 have countermarks. There were a few examples of a variant of the usual Anonymous H types, on small thick flans with small obverse and reverse types, but a thicker cross on the reverse with short thick transverse pieces: also the small decorative pellets round this cross are played

down (they are just there) and the larger pellets are marginally larger than usual (Pl. II.7). Diameters were about 21mm, which just includes the whole reverse type but cuts the obverse a little, and weight about 5.75g. Both flans and types have a cast look and no understriking were in evidence, though shears have been used to trim some of the flans. There seems nothing quite like this amongst the Dumbarton Oaks pieces, but they are not all illustrated. They must be from a different mint.

Many of the ordinary type were seen to be struck over Anonymous D and F and over Constantine X and Eudocia. It may be worth noting that two pieces at first sight predominantly H, were combined with Nicephorus III types which must have been the last striking, as indeed was plentifully corroborated from other pieces in the hoard.

MICHAEL VII; 1071-1078. 164 pieces of which 27 have countermarks.

Anonymous Folles Type 1; 1078-1081: Nicephorus III. 1073 coins of which 205 have countermarks. Some pieces had very thick flans for this type, and overstrikes on Anonymous D, E, G and H, and on Michael VII were all in evidence. Two pieces were noted on which the cross in the nimbus was made by a series of small pellets instead of engraving a line or joining up two points on the nimbus—perhaps a craftsman's experiment, and in any event hardly noticeable.

NICEPHORVS III; 1078-1081. 566 coins of which 109 have countermarks. The large capital letters of the reverse have survived much better than the half length figure of Christ, obverse. A great number appeared to have been double struck, but several were over Anonymous H and some over Romanus IV.

NICEPHORVS BRYENNIVS; 1077-1078: usurper. 2 coins neither counter-marked (Pl. II.6). Alternatively attributed to Nicephorus Basilacius by Hendy. See Grierson, who made the original attribution to Bryennius in 1950, in *Dumbarton Oaks Catalogue* III.ii pp. 833-835. Both were apparently of the same type, 2C of the *Dumbarton Oaks Catalogue*, one with traces of an understriking was of 25mm diameter weighing 6.06g; the other, which was more worn, was of diameter 26mm and weight 4.70.

Anonymous Folles Type J; 1081-1092: Alexius I. 379 coins of which 60 have countermarks. One piece was virtually unused.

Anonymous Folles Type K; 1081-1092: Alexius I. 1819 coins of which 392 have countermarks. A noticeably large number were struck over Anonymous J, as if there had been a thorough withdrawal and reminting—the restriking being light and hasty. Throughout, the Virgin on the reverse was the sharper striking; the flans varied from a numerous group of large size in diameter of about 29mm and weighing around 6.64g, to another big group of only 23mm diameter and of about 4.66g weight. However, the central part of both obverse and reverse types—the bust of Christ and the half length Virgin—tends to be the same in size, about 17-18mm in diameter. Taken together the coins do not form an impressive group and appear hastily and carelessly struck, before a long process of wear began.

ALEXIUS I: 1081-1118. Thirty coins, of which 9 have countermarks. Alexius I is the last Byzantine emperor represented in the hoard, and of these pieces which bear his name only one, which is without countermark, is of the post reform (1092) period—a tetarteron attributed by Hendy to the mint of Thessalonica *Coinage and Money in the Byzantine Empire* (Pl. 8. No. 7/8). Of the pre-reform pieces four were copper folles (B.M. Cat. Type 11 and Hendy Pl. 3. no. 3) attributed by Hendy to an eastern mint: one was countermarked and another in exceptionally good condition weighed 6.51g and had a diameter of 27.5mm. There were 25 specimens, including eight with countermarks, of the standing imperial figure type which Hendy ascribes to Thessalonica in the pre-reform period (p.75 and Pl. 3 No. 1): six were over Anonymous K strikings (Pl. III. 5 and 6). They varied little in diameter 24/25mm, but much in weight from 3.60g to 6.38, and all were in very worn condition. The fact of so many specimens of this otherwise rather scarce type—including countermarked pieces—being found in this hoard, closely associated with eastern Anatolia, seems worth consideration when reassessing the Thessalonica mint attribution. The total number of coins attributable to the reign of Alexius I in the hoard is 2328.

(3) Islamic Coins

The wear on these coins, particularly the second, suggests that they had been in circulation for a number of years before the hoard was deposited. The presence of coins of Mardin and Erzurum points to a burial-spot located in eastern Anatolia. These last are of the 'figured' types associated with the Turkish tribesmen entering the area in the wake of the Seljuqs: but there is no sign of any of the heavy copper 'dirhams' of the Artuqid and Zengid princes of the XIIth Century—of Husam al-din Timurtash amongst others.

Artuqid. Husam al-din Timurtash (516-47/1122-52). 'Head of Julian'.
No mint or date legible but type of Mardin, year 543.

See A. Erman, 'Eine übersehene Ortoqiden-Münze' in *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, Band VII, Berlin, 1880, p. 135; N. M. Lowick, "Les premières monnaies artuquides", *Revue Numismatique* 1974, pp. 95-99, Pl. VII, 10.

Seljuqs of Rum. Kayqubad I (616-34/1219-36). No mint or date but bearing the name of Caliph al-Nasir (d.622/1225) Type as in Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum*, Vol. III, Nos. 114 ff. The coin is rather worn. Pl. VII, 11.

Seljuqs of Erzurum. Rukn al-din Jahan Shah b. Tughril (622-27/1225-30). Enthroned figure. Type dated 625/1227-28. As in Lane-Poole, op.cit., Vol. III, No. 304. The coin appears to be a brockage. Pl. VII, 12.

1	2	3	4	5
6	7	8	9	10
11	12	13	14	15
16	17	18 (a)	18 (b)	19
20	21	22	23	24
25	26	27	28	

PART III THE COUNTERMARKS

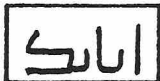
The 'Mardin' hoard contains 28 distinct types of countermark—or 27 if one excludes the uncertain no. 28, which may be only a variant of no. 18. Some of the countermarks are represented by hundreds of examples, others by ten or less while one (no. 2) is known from a single specimen. In addition to the examples in the 'Mardin' hoard about 500 countermarked *folles*, from the sources detailed in Part One, have been examined and are taken into account in the inventory which follows. They include no fresh type of countermark; but it is certainly possible, bearing in mind the rarities in the 'Mardin' hoard, that further scarce varieties may come to light in future finds.

Each countermark consists of a formula, symbol or group of letters in relief, sometimes surrounded by a dotted or linear border, the whole enclosed within a depression which defines the shape of the punch used. The peculiar eight-rayed star found on a single coin of Anonymous Class I (see Pl. VII, 9 and p. 68) has been excluded from the list of countermarks, since it is incuse and moreover lacks the essential surrounding depression.

As the countermarks rarely show a complete ruler's name and except in one possible case (no. 19) are undated, the attributions offered below are mostly somewhat tentative. The Turkoman dynasties which were collectively responsible for affixing these stamps include a number of princes who bore the same name or title. The range of possible attributions can, however, usually be narrowed down on various counts. Certain countermarks typically occur in combination with others the identity of which is established or inferrable, and a few groupings (e.g. 1, 12, 13) are especially common, a sign that the stamps in question were affixed in the same state, probably at the same workshop. The Table showing the allocation of countermarks to dynasties and mints (p. 47) has been built up partly on these criteria. The occasional, seemingly accidental superimposition of one stamp upon another helps to establish the relative chronology of the countermarks: this is illustrated by the diagram on p. 49, which indicates which of the countermarks are the earliest and which obviously fall later. Time, and the discovery of fresh examples of overstriking, will enable this diagram to be improved upon. Certain examples of overstriking assist in the identification of a countermark, by providing it with a *terminus post quem* and so reducing the number of possible attributions. In this way the evidence of the symbols and formulae which occur can be combined with that of

overstriking and multiple countermarking to yield what we hope are convincing explanations of at least some of the countermarks.

In the following inventory the terms 'Smithsonian' and 'Diyarbekir hoard' are used to denote the two hoard groups published by, respectively, R. Hebert and H. Weller in Spink's *Numismatic Circular*, 1974 and 1975 (see pp. 8-10). These groups have been examined at first hand by the writer. Other published specimens are referred to by author's name followed by publication date in italics.


1.  'Atabeg' Pl. IV, 1; Pl. V, 17,18; Pl. VI, 1,2,11; Pl. VII, 4, and c.f. Pl. VIII, 6.

Attribution. Zengids of Mosul: Qutb al-din Maudud (544-65 A.H. 1149-70 A.D.) or Sayf al-din Ghazi II (565-76 A.H./1169-80 A.D.). Probably mint of al-Jazirah.


The Turkish title of Atabeg ('ata' = father, 'beg' = commander) makes its appearance in Iran under the Great Seljuq dynasty. It was bestowed by the Sultan on those military governors appointed as tutors or protectors to princes of the ruling house who were still minors. Later, as these governors emerged from a state of vassalage to found independent principalities, the title became hereditary. It was used by, amongst others, the Zengids and the Ildegizids, but not by the Artuqids. A similar, slightly larger version of the countermark appears on Zengid coppers dated 554, 556, 569, and 572 (Pl. VIII, 6) of the three-quarter facing head type, (specimens in the B.M., the A.N.S. and the Bibliothèque Nationale). It does not occur on the succeeding issue of Ghazi II, dated 575. Over half the Byzantine coins showing the 'Atabeg' countermark also feature one or both of the associated countermarks 12 (°adl °Izz') and 13 (°Izz'), which are assignable to the mint of al-Jazirah or Jazirah ibn °Umar, capital of the eponymous province in northern Iraq. This city, located on the Tigris to the north of Mosul, was responsible for a great part of the copper coinage of the Zengids, and may even have preceded Mosul in the striking of copper dirhams.

The countermark is combined with nos. 1 (four times), 9 (fifteen times), 11 (once), 12 (92 times), 13 (81 times), 16 (twice), 17 (five times), 18 (thirteen times) and 21 (thirteen times).

Specimens. 'Mardin' hoard 231; 'Diyarbekir' hoard 24; Smithsonian 15; A.N.S. 1 (+ 10 casts); B.M. 9 (all from 'Diyarbekir' hoard); Paris 2; M. Burstein 3; L. Ilisch 3; Van Museum 2 (info. L. Ilisch).

2.  'Ahmad' Pl. IV, 2.

Attribution. Doubtful. The countermark occurs on a single coin of Anonymous Class C in the 'Mardin' hoard.


3.  'Jamal' Pl. IV, 3; Pl. VII, 1.

Attribution. Inalids of Amid: Jamal al-din Mahmud (536-79 A.H./1141-83 A.D.).

The titles Jamal al-din (Beauty of the Faith) and Jamal al-daulah (Beauty of the State) were both popular in the 12th century. They were borne, for example, by the Danishmendid Isma°il ibn Yaghi Basan of Sivas, by the Burid Muhammad ibn Tughtegin of Damascus and by a son of Timurtash the Artuqid. The first two, however, ruled outside the area where countermarked *folles* are commonly found, while the third was never an independent ruler. The Inalid Jamal al-din Mahmud, to whom we assign this countermark, was also responsible for no. 4, showing his full name, and probably also for nos. 9 ('Shams') and 19 ('Mahmud'). The length of his reign—43 years—would account for the large number of countermarks in his name.

Owing to an engraver's error, one of the examples in the 'Mardin' hoard has the word 'Jamal' reversed (Pl. VII, 1). The countermark is combined with nos. 9 (once) and 16 (once).


Specimens. 'Mardin' hoard 13; Smithsonian 2; A.N.S. 2 casts.

4.  'Jamal al-din Mahmud' Pl. IV, 4-5; Pl. VI, 12.

Attribution. Inalids of Amid: Jamal al-din Mahmud (536-79 A.H./1141-83 A.D.).

There can no longer be any doubt as to the correct attribution of this countermark, originally misread by Karabacek as 'Jamal al-din Muhammad' and later correctly read by Lane-Poole, who, however, failed to identify the ruler. Behzad Butak (1948) was the first to assign it to the Inalids. The countermark occurs most often on imitations of the Constantine X and Eudocia type (Pl VI, 12), three specimens of which—one with the countermark, two without—were acquired by Mr. Ilisch at Amid-Diyarbakir. He conjectures, plausibly, that such copies were manufactured at Amid itself, and there is every likelihood that the Inalids, who are not otherwise known to have had a coinage of their own, were the authorities responsible for their issue.

Specimens. 'Mardin' hoard 1; A.N.S. 3; B.M. 1 (*Lane-Poole 1877*, no. 691); Paris 1; Vienna (Kunsthistorisches Museum) 1; Van Museum 1 (info. L. Ilisch); L. Ilisch 2; *Karabacek 1869 2*; *Butak 1948 1*; *Erel 1970 1*.


5.  'dhimam' Pl. IV, 6-7; Pl. VI, 14; Pl. VII, 8

Attribution. Doubtful, perhaps Zengid.

The final letter is a little ill-defined, though sufficiently clear on most specimens. The word 'dhimam', if correctly read, may provide the key to the interpretation of the entire series of countermarks (see p. 53). It signifies the claim of a *dhimmi*, or non-Muslim member of the Islamic community, to the protection of his Muslim overlord, a claim dependent upon his payment of the *jizyah* or poll tax. It may be significant that on two of the twelve coins showing this countermark it is combined with the Zengid countermark no. 12 ('*adl 'Izz*').

The countermark is combined with nos. 12 (twice), 13 (once), 16 (once) and 24 (once).

Specimens. 'Mardin' hoard 7; 'Diyarbakir' hoard 2; Smithsonian 2; A.N.S. 2 casts; B.M. 1 (from 'Diyarbakir' hoard); *Sabatier 1862 1*.

6.  'Sa'd' Pl. IV, 8; Pl. VII, 5.

Attribution. Doubtful.

A common Muslim name, sometimes part of a title: Sa'd al-din (Gladness of the Faith) or Sa'd al-dawlah (Gladness of the State). A possible candidate is Sa'd al-dawlah Ilaki, the father of Jamal al-din Mahmud of Amid, who however died in 536/1141. Another is Sa'd al-dawlah Altuntash (547-54 A.H./1152-59 A.D.), the Artuqid governor of Sumaysat (Samosata) and the Shabakhtan, a district to the N.W. of Mardin; but as a subordinate of Najm al-din Alpi it is doubtful whether he would have had the authority to countermark.

The countermark is once combined with no. 28.

Specimens. 'Mardin' hoard 2; 'Diyarbakir' hoard 1 (now in B.M.).

7.  'Sayf' Pl. IV, 9; Pl. VII, 2.

Attribution. Sayf al-din Begtimur (579-89 A.H./1183-93 A.D.). Mint of Akhlat.

Part of a title: Sayf al-din (Sword of the Faith) or Sayf al-daulah (Sword of the State). The same word, in cursive instead of Kufic, occurs on no. 8, and it is surely significant that the two countermarks twice appear together on the same coin (Pl. VII, 2). The attribution presents difficulties. Sayf al-din Ghazi I of Mosul (541-44 A.H.) and his successor Ghazi II (564-72 A.H.) can both in my view be discounted. The style of no. 7 is out of keeping with that of the known Zengid countermarks, nor is it found combined with any of them. It is, however, twice combined with the rare countermark no. 23 ('Badr'). I would propose, provisionally, that no. 7 and the associated no. 8 be assigned to Sayf al-bin Begtimur, the Shah-i Armen, whose seat was at Akhlat on Lake Van, about a hundred miles N.E. of Mayyafariqin and just within the confines of present-day Turkey. No. 23 may then belong to his successor Badr al-din Aqsunqur. Sayf al-din Begtimur minted copper dirhams. The uncertain countermarks nos. 24 and 25 (q.v.) may belong to the same dynasty.

The countermark is combined with nos. 7 (once), 8 (twice), 19 (once), 23 (twice) and 24 (once).

Specimens. 'Mardin' hoard 8; 'Diyarbakir' hoard 1; Smithsonian 2.

8.  'Sayf' Pl. IV, 10; Pl. VII, 2.

Attribution. Sayf al-din Begtimur (579-89 A.H./1183-93 A.D.). Mint of Akhlat.

The inclusion of diacritical points leaves no doubt as to the correct reading. The countermark is twice combined with no. 7 (q.v.), also reading 'Sayf' and hence assignable to the same ruler. One coin shows nos. 7 and 8 combined with the rare no. 23 ('Badr') which we attribute to the same mint, Akhlat.

Specimens. 'Mardin' hoard 4; 'Diyarbakir' hoard 2 (now in B.M.).



9. 'Shams' Pl. IV, 11-12, Pl. V, 17; Pl. VI, 3-4.

Attribution. Inalids of Amid. Shams al-Muluk Jamal al-din Mahmud (546-79 A.H./1151-83 A.D.).

The number of points on the stars varies, and the countermark is occasionally reversed through a fault of the engraver. The word 'Shams' is part of an honorific: Shams al-din (Sun of the Faith), Shams al-dawlah (Sun of the State) or Shams al-muluk (Sun of Kings). The extremely frequent occurrence of coins with this countermark suggests a ruler with a long reign—perhaps, as conjectured by Miles, Shams al-din Ildegiz, Atabeg of Azerbaijan (531-69/1136-73 A.D.). However it is hard to believe that so many Byzantine coins, if countermarked in Iran, would have made their way back into Turkey, there to be laid down in hoards. I prefer to follow Artuk (1971, no.1315) in assigning the countermark to Jamal al-din Mahmud of Amid, who reigned for 43 years. Points supporting this attribution are a) the fact that the stamp often occurs on the same coins as countermarks assignable to the nearby mints of Mardin (no. 21), Mayyafariqin (nos. 16, 17) and al-Jazirah (nos. 1, 12, 13); b) that we have at least one other countermark of this ruler (no.4); and c) that no. 9 is once combined with the scarce no. 3 ('Jamal'). The small stars may be a discrete mark of deference to the prestigious Najm al-din (Star of the Faith) Alpi of Mardin, to whom Mahmud was allied by marriage.

No. 9 is combined with nos. 1 (fifteen times), 3 (once), 9 (eight times), 10 (nine times), 12(22 times), 13 (sixteen times), 14 (once), 16 (seventeen times), 17 (four times), 18 (six times), 21 (sixteen times), 26 (twice) and 27 (once).

Specimens. 'Mardin' hoard 361; 'Diyarbakir' hoard 24; Smithsonian 34 +; A.N.S. 26 coins, 6 casts; Ashmolean Museum 1; B.M. 10 (9 from 'Diyarbakir' hoard); Paris 2; Van Museum 4 (info. L. Ilisch); I. T. Roper 1; H. Weller 1; private coll. 2; *Abramishvili* 1965 3; *Artuk* 1971 1; *Miles* 1966 1; *Grierson* 1973 1; *Karabacek* 1869 2.



10. 'adl' Pl. IV, 13.

Attribution. Doubtful. Perhaps Artuqid.

The common formula 'adl', meaning 'just' or 'equitable', is used on Islamic coins from an early date to indicate that they are of an approved standard of weight or fineness. The fact that this stamp is most often found combined with countermarks attributable to the Artuqids and the Inalids points to a mint somewhere in the province of Diyar Bakr.

The countermark is combined with nos. 9 (nine times), 10 (once), 12 (once), 13 (three times), 16 (five times) and 21 (three times).

Specimens. 'Mardin' hoard 44; 'Diyarbakir' hoard 2; Smithsonian 6 + 1(?); A.N.S. 7 coins, 2 casts; B.M.1 (*Wroth* 1908, Pl. LIX, 10); Paris 1; M. Burstein 1.



11. 'adl' Pl. IV, 14

Attribution. Doubtful. Perhaps Artuqid.

The dots are sometimes missing. The epigraphy is the same as on no. 10, and it is probable that both countermarks emanate from the same mint in Diyar Bakr.

The countermark is combined with nos. 1 (once), 12 (once), 13 (once), 16 (once) and 21 (once).

Specimens. 'Mardin' hoard 13; A.N.S. 1 coin, 2 casts; L. Ilisch 1; *Abramishvili* 1965 1; *Grierson* 1973 1.



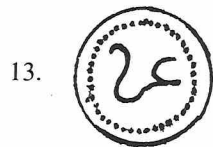
12. 'adl', 'Izz' Pl. IV, 15-16, Pl. V, 18; Pl. VI, 3, 5, 7, 10-11.

Attribution. 'Izz al-din Abu Bakr al-Dubaysi (541-51 A.H./1146-56 A.D.). Mint of al-Jazirah.

The *dal* of [°]adl', which on well-executed examples shows the proper curve to the left at the bottom, on others is rendered as a straight line. The word [°]Izz is presumably part of an honorific: [°]Izz al-din (Glory of the Faith) or [°]Izz al-dawlah (Glory of the State). The very frequent combination of this countermark with no. 1 ('Atabeg') (q.v.) points to its having been affixed at a Zengid mint; but it cannot be assigned to either [°]Izz al-din Mas'ud I of Mosul (576-79 A.H.) or to his successor of the same name, for the very good reason that on two coins in the 'Mardin' hoard (Pl. VI, 10) it has been partly obliterated by the countermark of Najm al-din (no. 21) who died in 572 A.H. If, however, it be assumed to have been affixed not at Mosul, but at its northern dependency al-Jazirah (Jazirah ibn [°]Umar), it can be assigned to the Zengid governor [°]Izz al-din Abu Bakr al-Dubaysi. According to Ibn al-Athir (XI, p. 221) al-Dubaysi was appointed to al-Jazirah by Sayf al-din Ghazi I and was one of the most powerful amirs of the latter's father Zengi. Upon Sayf al-din's death in 542 A.H. he revolted and Qutb al-din, the next Zengid ruler, was unable to overcome him. He died in the last month of 551 A.H. leaving no heir and al-Jazirah fell into the hands of a Turkish slave named Ghul Beg, who ruled for two years, after which the province was reclaimed by Qutb al-din. Al-Dubaysi's independent status explains the existence of countermarks in his name. On over two hundred coins no. 12 is combined with no. 13 ([°]Izz'), and on eighteen specimens it is stamped over the latter. We conclude that the two countermarks emanate from the same mint, no. 12 being the later of the two; but there may have been a short overlap period during which both countermarks were in use, for two coins appear to show no. 13 stamped *over* no. 12 (Pl. VII, 6). No. 1 ('Atabeg') is later than either and must belong to the period after the reconquest of al-Jazirah by the Zengids of Mosul.

The countermark is combined with nos. 1 (92 times), 5 (twice), 9 (22 times), 12 (seven times), 13 (212 times), 16 (eleven times), 17 (four times), 18 (21 times), 21 (four times), 22 (once) and 27 (once).

Specimens. 'Mardin' hoard 348; 'Diyarbekir' hoard 28; Smithsonian 30; A.N.S. 19 coins, 19 casts; B.M. 12 (from 'Diyarbekir' hoard); Paris 3; M. Burstein 5; D. M. Metcalf 1; *Miles* 1966 2; *Iran XI, 1973*, Pl. VI (surface find from Ghubayra, Kirman).



13. [°]Izz' Pl. IV, 17; Pl. VI, 1, 5, 8, 11; Pl. VII, 4, 6, 8.

Attribution. [°]Izz al-din Abu Bakr al-Dubaysi (541-51 A.H./1146-56 A.D.). Mint of al-Jazirah.

The countermark features the same honorific as no. 12 (q.v.) and is so often combined with the latter that it almost certainly belongs to the same ruler. Reasons for its attribution to al-Dubaysi have been given above. No. 13 preceded no. 12 and was evidently still in use in 547 A.H./1152 A.D., for on two coins it is found overstruck on the countermark of Najm al-din Alpi (Pl. VII, 4).

No. 13 is combined with nos. 1 (81 times), 5 (once), 9 (sixteen times), 10 (three times), 12 (212 times), 13 (five times), 16 (five times), 17 (four times), 18 (22 times), 20 (once), 21 (ten times), 23 (once) and 27 (twice).

Specimens. 'Mardin' hoard 473; 'Diyarbekir' hoard 32; Smithsonian 41; A.N.S. 18 coins, 23 casts; Paris 3; B.M. 11 (from 'Diyarbekir' hoard); Van Museum 1 (info. L. Ilisch); M. Burstein 12; D. M. Metcalf 1; H. Weller 1; *Artuk* 1971 1; *Abramishvili* 1965 1; *Miles* 1966 1; *Sabatier* 1862 1.



14. [°]Imad' Pl. IV, 18; Pl. VI, 6.

Attribution. Zengid. [°]Imad al-din Zengi II, Atabeg of Sinjar and Nisibin (565-94 A.H./1169-97 A.D.). Probably mint of Nisibin.

A number of examples show the *mim* detached from the rest of the word and written as a circle underneath. The countermark is certainly Zengid, for it occurs no less than four times in combination with the scarce no. 26, the Zengid *tamgha* or dynastic badge. It cannot belong to [°]Imad al-din Zengi I, since it is once found struck over the countermark of a later ruler, Najm al-din Alpi (Pl. VI, 6). [°]Imad al-din Zengi II was the first to use the *tamgha*, which appears on coins of Nisibin from c.580 A.H./1184 A.D. onwards. Nisibin was situated to the north of Sinjar, midway between Mardin and al-Jazirah and just within the presumed countermarking area.

The countermark is combined with nos. 9 (once), 14 (once), 23 (once) and 26 (four times).

Specimens. 'Mardin' hoard 15; Smithsonian 4; A.N.S. 3 coins, 2 casts; B.M. 4.



15. 'Fakhr' Pl. IV, 19; Pl. VII, 7.

Attribution. Artuqid. Fakhr al-din Qara Arslan (539-62 A.H./1144-67 A.D.). Mint of Hisn Kayfa.

The star is sometimes missing. The word forms part of the honorific Fakhr al-din (Pride of the Faith) or Fakhr al-daulah (Pride of the State). The countermark may in theory have been affixed by the Mengujekid Bahramshah of Arzinjan (c.550-622 A.H.) or by the Danishmendid al-Qasim b. Dhu'l-Qarnayn of Malatya (c.567 A.H.); but both of these ruled on the fringes of, if not outside the area in which countermarking is known to have been practised. Fakhr al-din Qara Arslan, on the other hand, ruled in Diyar Bakr; he was first cousin to Najm al-din Alpi of Mardin, who was responsible for countermarks 21 and 22; and he issued an abundant coinage in copper including some countermarked pieces (Pl. VIII, 4-5). It is therefore highly probable that he took part in the practice of countermarking folles. The star was perhaps added in acknowledgment of Alpi, like the star on the countermark of Jamal al-din Mahmud (no. 9).

The countermark is combined with nos. 15 (once), 16 (twice), 18 (seven times), 21 (once) and 27 (once).

Specimens. 'Mardin' hoard 26.



16. 'illah' Pl. V, 1; Pl. VI, 8-9; Pl. VII, 1, 7.

Attribution. Artuqid: ruler uncertain, perhaps mint of Mayyafariqin.

The dots are often missing or differently distributed. 'illah', 'for Allah', is a formula very commonly found on Islamic coins from the Umayyad period onward, and indicates that the coin on which it appears carries divine authority or is intended for a religious purpose. The countermark is most often combined with the common Inalid and Artuqid stamps 9 and 21, and hence presumably emanates from some mint in Diyar Bakr. Without any stronger grounds than that of general probability I am inclined to assign it to Mayyafariqin, the one important town in the region which would otherwise be unprovided with a countermark. Its mint, active under the Hamdanids and the Marwanids, was to resume operation in 581 A.H./1185 A.D., after its submission to Saladin, when it produced an impressive series of large copper dirhams. No. 16 is often found stamped over other countermarks (nos. 9, 12, 13, 21) but itself is never overstruck. It therefore belongs to the later period of countermarking, after c.555 A.H./1160 A.D.

The countermark is combined with nos. 1 (twice), 3 (once), 5 (once), 9 (seventeen times), 10 (five times), 11 (once), 12 (eleven times), 13 (fifteen times), 15 (twice), 16 (four times), 17 (once), 18 (three times), 21 (seventeen times), and 26 (once).

Specimens. 'Mardin' hoard about 270; 'Diyarbekir' hoard 15; Smithsonian 41 + 4?; A.N.S. 10 coins, 5 casts; B.M. 2; Paris 2; Van Museum 2 (info. L. Ilisch); M. Burstein 3; L. Ilisch 1; private coll. 1; *Grierson 1973* 5; *Karabacek 1869* 1.



17. 'illah' Pl. V, 2; Pl. VI, 7.

Attribution. Artuqid: ruler uncertain, perhaps Mayyafariqin mint.

The countermark differs from no. 16 only by its outline, and when weakly impressed is difficult to distinguish from the latter. The two evidently emanate from the same mint, which may have been Mayyafariqin (see remarks on no. 16).

The countermark is combined with nos. 1 (five times), 9 (four times), 12 (four times), 13 (four times), 16 (once), 18 (once) and 21 (twice).

Specimens. 'Mardin' hoard about 70; 'Diyarbekir' hoard 8; Smithsonian ?; A.N.S. 3 coins, 4 casts; B.M. 1; Paris 3; L. Ilisch 2; I. T. Roper 2; H. Weller 1; private coll. 1; *Abramishvili 1965* 3; *Miles 1966* 1.




18. a) b) 'illah' ? Pl. V, 3-4; Pl. VII, 3.

Attribution. Artuqid: ruler uncertain, mint of Hisn Kayfa.

I share Hebert's scepticism regarding Artuk's reading of the countermark as Ina(1) or Yana(1), the name of the founder of the Inalid dynasty of Amid; and cannot altogether suppress doubts as to Weller's attribution, 'illah', which requires us to assume that in all cases the final *ha* has been written defectively. The countermark is reversed on about half the known specimens and whether this is intentional or accidental is not clear. It is often combined with the trio of countermarks (nos. 1, 12, 13) assigned to the mint of al-Jazirah, but not with such overwhelming frequency as to justify its attribution to that mint. Of perhaps greater significance is the fact that it is combined with the scarce no. 15 ('Fakhr') on seven out of the twenty-six coins showing the latter. If no. 15 is correctly assigned to Fakhr al-din Qara Arslan, of Hisn Kayfa, no. 18 may also belong to this mint, which lay not far from al-Jazirah on the Upper Tigris. It is not found overstruck by any other countermark and hence must belong to the later period of countermarking, after c.555 A.H./1160 A.D. This is supported by the exceptionally worn condition of many *folles* on which it occurs.

The countermark is combined with nos. 1 (thirteen times), 9 (six times), 12 (twenty one times), 13 (twenty-two times), 15 (seven times), 16 (three times), 17 (once), 18 (once), 21 (four times), 23 (once), 26 (once) and 27 (six times).

Specimens. 'Mardin' hoard 251; 'Diyarbakir' hoard 13; Smithsonian 11 + 1(?); A.N.S. 4 coins, 2 casts; B.M. 2 (from 'Diyarbakir' hoard); Paris 1; M. Burstein 3; *Artuk* 1971 1; *Sabatier* 1862 2.


19.  'Mahmud' Pl. V, 5.

Attribution. Inalids of Amid. Jamal-al-din Mahmud (536-79 A.H./1141-83 A.D.).

The name Mahmud is written exactly as on the 'Jamal-al-din Mahmud' countermark no. 4. The device above may be read as Abjad cyphers *ayn waw* = 76, for 576 A.H. or 1180 A.D. The same dating system is used on an issue of Qara Arslan of Hisn Kayfa, where the cyphers are *tha, nun, waw* = 556 or 1160 A.D. (*Lane-Poole* 1877, no. 315). Alternatively, it is possible to read simply a 4, as on a copper of Amid dated 614 in ordinary numerals (*ibid.* no. 346). The countermark may then be interpreted as the fourth in Mahmud's reign (the others being nos. 3, 4 and 9).

No. 19 is combined with nos. 7, 23 and 24, all on the same coin in the 'Mardin' hoard.


Specimens. 'Mardin' hoard 7; 'Diyarbakir' hoard 2; Smithsonian 2; A.N.S. 2 casts; B.M. 1 (from 'Diyarbakir' hoard); *Sabatier* 1862 1.

20.  'malik al-umara' Pl. V, 6.

Attribution. Uncertain.

The Seljuq princely title 'malik al-umara' (Prince of Amirs) was borne by—amongst others—the Artuqids, the Zengids and the Bekteginids, and appears on their coins. The countermark thus cannot be allocated to a particular dynasty, though the fact that it is once combined with the Zengid countermark no. 13 (*Artuk* 1971, no. 1316) may be significant.

Specimens. 'Mardin' hoard 2; *Artuk* 1971 1.

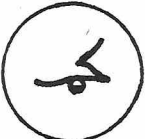
21.  'Najm' Pl. V, 7-8; Pl. VI, 2, 4, 6, 9, 10; Pl. VII, 4.

Attribution. Artuqid. Najm al-din Alpi (547-72 A.H./1152-76 A.D.). Mint of Mardin.

The honorific Najm al-din (Star of the Faith) was borne by two members of the Artuqid dynasty, but the evidence points unequivocally to the later of the two, Alpi. For one thing, he is known to have countermarked his own copper coins and those of his predecessor Timurtash (*Lane-Poole* 1877, nos. 368 ff.), the name Najm being written exactly as on the countermark under discussion. For another, the countermark is found struck over nos. 9 ('Shams') and 12 ('adl 'Izz') (Pl. VI, 10), which probably belong to Jamal al-din Mahmud of Amid and 'Izz al-din Abu bakr al-Dubaysi: both of these ruled later than Najm al-din I. The star-shaped enclosure is of course connected with the meaning of the word Najm; but on some specimens it has deteriorated into a mere zigzag line, while on others it has been turned into a straight-sided polygon. The countermark was presumably affixed at Mardin, the Artuqid headquarters, where so many of the large copper dirhams were minted.

No. 21 is combined with nos. 1 (thirteen times), 9 (sixteen times), 10 (three times), 11 (once), 12 (four times), 13 (ten times), 15 (once), 16 (seventeen times), 17 (twice), 18 (four times), 21 (once) and 26 (twice).

Specimens. 'Mardin' hoard 321; 'Diyarbakir' hoard 8; Smithsonian 13; A.N.S. 7 coins, 6 casts; B.M. 4 (from 'Diyarbakir' hoard); Van Museum 1 (info. L. Ilisch); M. Burstein 3; L. Ilisch 4; I. T. Roper 1; H. Weller 1; private coll. 1; *Grierson* 1974 1.

22.  'Najm' Pl. V, 9.

Attribution. Artuqid. Najm al-din Alpi (547-72 A.H./1152-76 A.D.). Mardin mint. A scarce variant of no. 21.

Specimens. 'Mardin' hoard 7; *India-Asia Num. Society* Vol. II no. 2, p. 83, no. A 55.


23.  'Badr' Pl. V, 10.

Attribution. Badr al-din Aqsunqur (589-94 A.H./1193-97 A.D.) Mint of Akhlat.

The countermark was first observed by Casanova (see reference below) on a coin of the Danishmendid Malik Muhammad. He read it as 'Nun' and attributed it to Malik Muhammad's successor, Dhu 'l-Nun of Siwas. However examination of specimens in the 'Mardin' and 'Diyarbekir' hoards does not support this reading: the first letter regularly has a diacritical point beneath it, proving it a *ba*, while the second letter resembles a *dal* rather than a *waw*. 'Badr' (Full Moon) is attested both as a personal name and as part of an honorific, Badr al-din. As there were several rulers with this name or title the attribution to Aqsunqur the Begtimurid is tentative only. It is probably significant that the countermark is twice combined with the scarce no. 7 ('Sayf'), which we assign to the previous ruler of Akhlat, Sayf al-din Begtimur. Nos. 24 and 25 seem to belong to the same group of countermarks.

The occurrence of no. 23 on a coin of Malik Muhammad is probably coincidental, the Danishmendid coin having been counterstamped because of its resemblance to a Byzantine *folles*. No. 23 is also found on a curious 'double obverse' imitation of a *folles* of Michael VII, in the British Museum. The countermark is combined with no. 7 (twice) and with nos. 13, 14, 18, 19, 24 and 25 (all once only).

Specimens. 'Mardin' hoard 4; 'Diyarbekir' hoard 1; B.M. 2; P. Casanova, "Numismatique des Danichmendites" III, *Revue Numismatique* 1896, pp. 220-221, Pl. III, 3.


24.  *dal, lam, alif* Pl. V, 11.

Attribution. Begtimurid; mint of Akhlat.

Since the *lam* is not joined on to the following *alif*, but is represented by its independent form, the letters are intended to be read separately, not as a word or name. They do not make sense as an Abjad date. A link with no. 25 is suggested by the fact that on both the last two letters are the same. Further, each is coupled with the scarce no. 23 ('Badr'). It is a reasonable inference that all three belong to the same mint, probably Akhlat (see remarks on no. 23).

The countermark is combined with nos. 5, 7, 19 and 23 (all once only).

Specimens. 'Mardin' hoard 1; *Sabatier* 1862 1.

25.  *sin, lam, alif* Pl. V, 12-13.

Attribution. Begtimurid; mint of Akhlat.

As on no. 24 (q.v.) the independent forms of the letters are used. Points of resemblance between the two countermarks, coupled with the fact that each is combined separately with no. 23, suggest that they belong to the same workshop.

Specimens. 'Mardin' hoard 6; *Abramishvili* 1965 1.


26.  Pl. V, 14.

Attribution. Zengids of Sinjar and Nisibin: 'Imad al-din Zengi II (563-94 A.H./ 1169-97 A.D.). Probably mint of Nisibin.

The symbol is the *tamgha* or badge used by the Zengids of the Sinjar and al-Jazirah branches on their coins. (*Lane-Poole* 1877, nos. 615 ff., 636 ff.). The countermark, a scarce one, is combined no less than four times with no. 14 ('Imad), which may confidently be assigned to 'Imad al-din Zengi II of Sinjar and Nisibin. Nisibin, the more northerly of the two mints, is the most likely location for the countermarking. It was also the first mint to strike copper dirhams displaying the *tamgha*, c. 580 A.H./1184 A.D.

The countermark is combined with nos. 9 (twice), 14 (four times), 16 (once) and 21 (twice).

Specimens. 'Mardin' hoard 7; A.N.S. 1; B.M. 1 (1972. 8. 15. 4).

27.  'gim' (3rd letter of Armenian alphabet)
Pl. V, 15; Pl. VII, 3.

Attribution. Artuqid (?); mint of Hisn Kayfa (?).

Several specimens of this countermark have been examined by Prof. D. Kouymjian, who informs me that it is a perfectly formed *gim* (in eastern or classical Armenian) or *kim* (in western Armenian). It is difficult to account for the use of an Armenian letter as a countermark in an area which at this period was completely under the domination of the Turkomans. However it

may represent the initial letter of the name of an Armenian minister or official in charge of finance in one of the cities of Diyarbakr. As it is once combined with the scarce countermark no. 15 ('Fakhr') and six times with the associated no. 18 ('lillah?') it may belong to the same mint as these latter—i.e. Hisn Kayfa. It is also combined with nos. 9 (once), 12 (once), and 13 (twice).

Specimens. 'Mardin' hoard 14; 'Diyarbekir' hoard 1; Smithsonian 2.

28



Pl. V, 16; Pl. VII, 5.

Attribution. Doubtful.

This puzzling symbol may be a *tamgha*, or possibly merely a faultily engraved version of countermark 18 ('lillah?'). Like the latter it occurs mainly on worn, lightweight coins of the later anonymous classes. It is once combined with countermark 6 ('Sa^cd') (Pl. VII, 5).

Specimens. 'Mardin' hoard 5.

The following arrangement shows the allocation of countermarks to dynasties and mints.

ARTUQIDS			ZENGIDS		INALIDS	BEGTI-MURIDS	UNCERTAIN RULERS
MARDIN	MAYYA-FARIQIN	HISN KAYFA	AL-JAZIRAH	NISIBIN	AMID	AKHLAT	MINT ?
21 (^c Najm)	16 (^c lillah)	15 (^c Fakhr)	13 (^c Izz)	14 (^c Imad)	9 (^c Shams)	7 (^c Sayf)	2 (^c Ahmad)
22 (^c Najm)	17 (^c lillah)	18 (^c lillah?)	12 (^c adl 9zz)	26 (Zengid tamgha)	3 (^c Jamal)	8 (^c Sayf)	5 (^c dhimam)
		27 (Armenian letter)	1 (^c Atabeg)		4 (^c Jamal al-din Mahmud) 19 (^c Mahmud)	23 (^c Badr) 24 (^c dal, lam, alif) 25 (^c sin, lam, alif)	6 (^c Sa ^c d) 10, 11 (^c adl) 20 (^c malik al-umara) 28 (?)

The probable rulers involved are

MARDIN AND MAYYAFARIQIN: Najm al-din Alpi (547-72 A.H./1152-76 A.D.)

HISN KAYFA: Fakhr al-din Qara Arslan (539-62 A.H./1144-67 A.D.) and Nur al-din Muhammad (562-81 A.H./1167-85 A.D.).

AL-JAZIRAH: ^cIzz al-din Abu Bakr al-Dubaysi, Zengid rebel (541-51 A.H./1146-56 A.D.) and Qutb al-din Maudud b. Zengi (544-65 A.H./1149-70 A.D.).

NISIBIN: ^cImad al-din Zengi II (565-94 A.H./1169-97 A.D.).

AMID: Shams al-muluk Jamal al-din Mahmud (536-79 A.H./1141-83 A.D.).

AKHLAT: Sayf al-din Begtimur (581-89 A.H./1185-93 A.D.) and Badr al-din Aqsunqur (589-94 A.H./1193-97 A.D.).

*KEY TO DIAGRAM ILLUSTRATING
OVERSTRIKING OF COUNTERMARKS*

Figures following references indicate the number of observed examples.

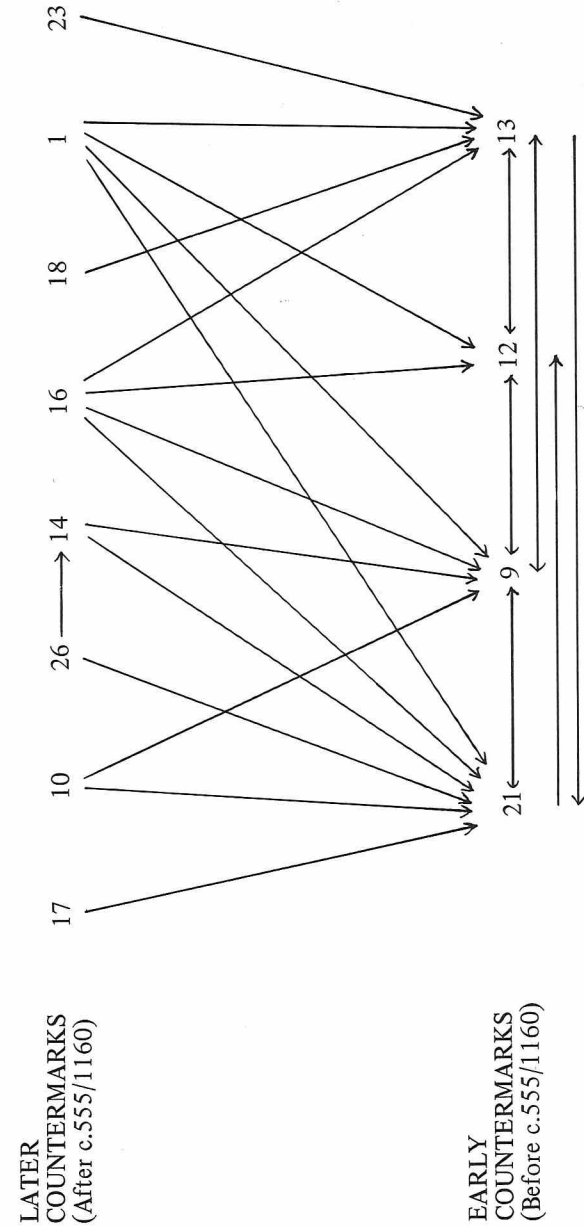
No. 1 ('Atabeg') over No. 9 ('Shams'): 'Diyarbekir' hoard 2. Pl. V, 17.	
1	12 (' ^c adl ^c Izz'): 'Mardin' hoard 10; 'Diyarbekir' hoard 1; A.N.S. 1. Pl. V, 12; VI, 11.
1	13 (' ^c Izz'): 'Mardin' hoard 13; 'Diyarbekir' hoard 2; A.N.S. 1. Pl. VI, 1.
1	21 ('Najm'): 'Mardin' hoard 2. Pl. VI, 2.
9 ('Shams')	9 ('Shams'): 'Mardin' hoard 1.
9	12 (' ^c adl ^c Izz'): 'Mardin' hoard 1. Pl. VI, 3.
9	13 (' ^c Izz'): 'Mardin' hoard 1.
9	21 ('Najm'): 'Mardin' hoard 1. Pl. VI, 4.
10 (' ^c adl')	9 ('Shams'): 'Diyarbekir' hoard 1.
10	21 ('Najm'): 'Mardin' hoard 1.
12 (' ^c adl ^c Izz')	9 ('Shams'): 'Diyarbekir' hoard 1.
12	13 (' ^c Izz'): 'Mardin' hoard 16; 'Diyarbekir' hoard 1; A.N.S. 1; Paris 1. Pl. VI, 5.
13	9 ('Shams'): 'Mardin' hoard 1.
13 (' ^c Izz')	12 (' ^c adl ^c Izz'): 'Mardin' hoard 1; Smithsonian 1. Pl. VII, 6.
13	13 (' ^c Izz'): 'Diyarbekir' hoard 1.
13	21 ('Najm'): 'Mardin' hoard 2. Pl. VII, 4.
14 ('Imad')	9 ('Shams'): 'Mardin' hoard 1.
14	21 ('Najm'): 'Mardin' hoard 1. Pl. VI, 6.
15 ('Fakhr')	15 ('Fakhr'): 'Mardin' hoard 1. Pl. VII, 7.
16 ('lillah')	9 ('Shams'): 'Mardin' hoard 1; I. T. Roper 1.
16	12 (' ^c adl ^c Izz'): 'Mardin' hoard 1.
16	13 (' ^c Izz'): 'Mardin' hoard 1; 'Diyarbekir' hoard 2. Pl. VI, 8.
17 ('lillah')	12 (' ^c adl ^c Izz'): 'Mardin' hoard 1. Pl. VI, 7.
17	21 ('Najm'): H. Weller 1.
18 ('lillah?')	13 (' ^c Izz'): 'Mardin' hoard 1.
21 ('Najm')	9 ('Shams'): 'Mardin' hoard 1.
21	12 (' ^c adl ^c Izz'): 'Mardin' hoard 2. Pl. VI, 10.
23 ('Badr')	13 (' ^c Izz'): 'Mardin' hoard 1.
26 (Zengid tamgha)	14 ('Imad'): 'Mardin' hoard 1; B.M. 1.
26	21 ('Najm'): A.N.S. 1.

TABLE D. Diagram showing overstriking of Countermarks

Examples:

17 → 21 = No. 17 superimposed on no. 21.

9 ↔ 12 = No. 9 superimposed on No. 12 and vice versa



Our analysis leads us to the conclusion that the countermarking of Byzantine folles was practised by at least four of the Turkoman dynasties ruling the hilly country of the Upper Tigris and western Armenia. The area concerned was not a large one: from the southernmost mint, Nisibin, to the most northerly, Akhlat on Lake Van, is about 150 miles as the crow flies and represents a journey of perhaps six days. Between these cities, as the evidence of multiple countermarks makes plain, the circulation of copper coin was brisk; and finds in the adjacent parts of Iran and Georgia reveal that the same coins also travelled more widely. The period of countermarking is harder to delimit but cannot much have exceeded half a century: in round terms 540-595 A.H. (1145-1200 A.D.). During this time the Turkish principalities, incessantly engaged in warfare with each other and with their Christian neighbours, nevertheless found time to initiate and develop a substantial copper coinage of their own, influenced by the Byzantine in its predilection for pictorial designs. The adoption of such motifs as the enthroned Christ and the Byzantine Emperor would be hard to account for if we did not know, from the 'Mardin' and other hoards found in the same area, that Byzantine coins were in widespread use among the Muslim inhabitants of south-east Anatolia. In all likelihood the demonetised follis issues of Byzantium were sufficiently numerous to meet the everyday needs of the Turkomans, at least until the 1140's: one possible reason for the late inception of their own coinage. Up to this point the only rivals to the follis seem to have been certain rare copper issues of the early Danishmendids, themselves heavily influenced by the Byzantine model.

The custom of countermarking, then, coincided remarkably closely with the introduction of an Islamic coinage in Turkish Anatolia. The equipment and organisation needed for countermarking is similar to, and little less complex than, that required for the minting of coins by the traditional method. Each calls for more or less skilled engravers, a forge for the manufacture of iron or bronze punches, and a measure of supervision by finance officials. It would seem that, in twelfth century Turkey, as in other areas of coinage, countermarking was carried out mainly at workshops which also functioned as mints. This holds good for nearly all the rulers to whom countermarks have been attributed, including Jamal al-din Mahmud of Amid who, although not known to have struck any coins in his own name, was probably the issuer of certain classes of imitated folles found in and near Amid-Diyabekir, often bearing his countermark (Pl. VI, 12).

In attempting to explain the countermarking phenomenon, two overall factors come in for consideration, the religious and the economic. Religion, the role of which may have been contributory rather than primary, claims our attention for obvious reasons. The symbolism and inscriptions of the Byzantine prototypes are uncompromisingly Christian, whilst several of the

countermarks—reading 'lillah', 'for God'—have a Muslim religious connotation. As noticed in Part One of this booklet, there is no systematic attempt to obliterate the Christian effigies on the coins. This, indeed, would run counter to a fundamental precept of Islam, which honours Christ as Muhammad's immediate precursor among the prophets and Mary as his virgin mother. But we must also bear in mind that from about 1150 onward the Turkoman rulers, hitherto tolerant of the religious practices of their large Greek and Armenian communities, entered on a campaign to restrict Christian worship. Nur al-din of Aleppo and Qara Arslan of Hisn Kayfa forbade the construction of churches, while Najm al-din Alpi and Ilghazi of Mardin transformed churches into mosques and even permitted the persecution of Christians. Only at Amid, a predominantly Jacobite Christian city, were the inhabitants allowed to restore their churches after the middle of the 12th century. In the midst of such mounting zeal for the Islamic cause, it would not be surprising if Christian coins hitherto universally accepted as current were to be prohibited, or allowed to circulate only after revalidation by a Muslim authority. It is surely significant that there is no overt Christian symbolism on the coinage of any part of the Jazirah after the reign of Alpi (d. 572/1176).

The essential factor, however, was probably economic. The discovery in 516/1122 of large resources of copper at Dhu'l-Qarnayn near Mayyafariqin, resulting in the production of a copper coinage which in impressiveness of design, if not in bulk, more than equalled that of Byzantium, doubtless had repercussions on the circulation of the follis. The fact that Islamic coppers of the Artuqids and other dynasties were not, except by accident, hoarded with Byzantine coins, suggests a distinction in value between them. It seems that the Islamic coins commanded a nominal premium conferred upon them by issuing authorities, for a number bear the word 'dirham', the name for a silver coin, in place of the usual 'fals'. The Muslim rulers concerned may have adopted the expedient of 'forcing' their own coinage at an artificially high value as a means of buttressing it against the follis; and to the same end, Byzantine coppers may have been declared invalid unless counterstamped for further use. Whether the application of a stamp authorised a follis to circulate at an enhanced rate, or merely at bullion or near-bullion value, we have no way of knowing for certain. Whatever its status in official eyes, however, it is clear that the follis continued in use throughout eastern Anatolia for a period of many decades after the Turkomans had introduced their own coinage. The occurrence of countermarks on some pieces may represent no more than the grudging acceptance by the Muslim rulers of a currency situation over which they wielded incomplete control.

Some insight into the function of countermarks on folles may be gained from an examination of countermarked Islamic coppers of the same period. It is well established that in late mediaeval Islam copper coins had a very limited 'life'. In the Ottoman Empire, for example, 'manghirs' were current for only three years before being withdrawn for reminting, a system which gave corrupt tax officials ample scope for profiteering, as well as benefiting the state. In some parts of Iran, until the 19th century, the copper coinage was demonetised almost every year. In 12th and 13th century Turkey the situation seems to have been little different. The coinages of the Artuqids and Zengid dynasties fall into a series of well-defined issues, distinguished by their different pictorial types, as well as by date. From the incidence of overstruck pieces, it is apparent that coins were periodically withdrawn and reminted, sometimes by the very ruler who issued them. It is likely that in any year only one type of coin (which may have been struck over a period of several years previously) was current at its full legal value, while the earlier types from the same mint were demonetised or circulated only at a discount. Countermarks on Artuqid and Zengid coins are limited to a few issues, but their use clearly represents a facet of the recycling process. Najm al-din Alpi, the second Artuqid ruler to mint coins, has two countermarks. The first, 'Najm al-din' (Pl. VIII, 1), occurs on coins of his predecessor Timur-tash, of the 'Antiochus head' type. Its application probably coincided with Alpi's first issue (Pl. VIII, 2), which has the same obverse design. The second countermark, 'Najm al-din Malik Diyarbakr' (Pl. VIII, 3), is found on coins of both Timurtash and Alpi: this presumably coincided with the latter's second issue (confronted busts), which is dateable to c. 555 A.H./1160 A.D. and carries the same wording as the countermark. Evidently Alpi decided to recall the 'Antiochus head' coinage at this point, allowing only countermarked specimens to continue in circulation. A Timurtash coin in the Bibliotheque Nationale, showing both countermarks, supplies a rare instance of multiple countermarking in this series, and proves that it was possible for some coins to survive two reissues.

Alpi's cousin at Hisn Kayfa, Fakhr al-din Qara Arslan, seems to have manipulated his coinage in the same manner. A circular countermark showing intertwined dragons appear on one of his early copper coins, of the enthroned Christ type (Pl. VIII, 4). The countermark was probably applied on the occasion of a modification of this type, when the entwined dragons were incorporated into the design and engraved upon the die (Pl. VIII, 5). The Zengids of Mosul and al-Jazirah affixed a countermark 'Atabeg', very like our no. 1, to a number of their coppers prior to the helmeted head issue of 575 A.H./1179 A.D. (Pl. VIII, 6). At a slightly later stage countermarking spread to north-west Iran, where the Ildegizid Abu Bakr (587-609 A.H./1197-1216 A.D.) affixed the countermark 'Abu Bakr Atabeg' to the

copper of his immediate predecessor Qizil Arslan. In early 13th century Georgia, Rusudan (1223-45) countermarked the coppers of Queen Tamar (1184-1213). All these examples of countermarking imply a renewal of the copper coinage by the introduction of a new type and the partial withdrawal and demonetisation of an earlier one.

Viewed against the background of monetary practices in the Middle East during the 12th and 13th centuries the appearance of Islamic countermarks on Byzantine folles is less difficult to interpret. Like the contemporary Turkoman copper coins, the Byzantine folles circulating among the Muslims seem to have had limits set to the period during which they were considered legal tender, and to have been returned to the mint for periodic revalidation. This could explain why rulers such as Jamal al-din Mahmud and Sayf al-din Begtimur had more than one countermark and also why a few folles have the same countermark applied to them with different punches.

So far we have discussed the application of countermarks in its broadest context, without reference to any specific purpose to which the countermarked folles may have been put. Such a purpose is discernible. One of the countermarks (no. 5), represented by several clear specimens in the 'Mardin' hoard, can be read as 'dhimam'. The word was used in mediaeval Islam to signify the claim or right of a *dhimmi*, or non-Muslim member of the Islamic community, to the protection of his Muslim overlord, a claim conditional upon his discharge of certain obligations, chief among which was the payment of the *jizyah* or poll-tax. The tax, which originated at the time of the first Arab conquests, was payable annually by every adult male non-Muslim, and consisted of a fixed sum, usually one gold coin, though sometimes more. The *jizyah* was a religious tax, and special care had therefore to be taken in the way money from it was spent. Most Islamic states imposed it, and we are well-informed of its role in the Ottoman Empire, the sum payable per head in 16th century Hungary being one gold *flori* (florin or ducat). Of the *jizyah* in post-Manzikert Anatolia we know only what can be inferred from texts of the 13th century and later, and these fail to make clear the distinction between the poll-tax and the *kharaj* or land-tax, which was payable by Muslims and non-Muslims alike. The Mongols in the late 13th century abolished the *jizyah*, as being a sign of the superiority of one religion versus another, but it was certainly in force in the Seljuq kingdom of Rum during the period of its independence. It is fair to assume that it was also an important source of revenue in the neighbouring Turkoman states, which included many Greek and Armenian Christians.

The *jizyah* was paid in coin, doubtless gold or silver where these were available. But the Turkomans minted little gold and, until the 13th century, no silver. In Ayyubid Egypt, where a similar shortage of silver prevailed, copper attained the status of an official currency which could be used for the

payment of taxes and debts. As already mentioned, some Turkoman coppers were called dirhams and were therefore substitutes for silver coins. If the coins countermarked 'dhimam' were used for the payment of the poll-tax, it is possible that some or all of the other countermarked folles were used in the same way. Assuming the *jizyah* at this time to have been one gold coin, several hundred folles would have been required to discharge the dues of a single *dhimmi*. However the number of countermarked folles discovered in recent years alone—upward of 2500—does not seem inconsistent with countermarking on such a large scale. Uncountermarked coins would not have been accepted; and a fee of perhaps one coin in every three or four coins handled would have been charged for the countermarking provided. Byzantine copper thus accumulated in the hands of tax officials and could either have been retained for reminting into copper dirhams or put back into circulation, a quicker and simpler way of supplying local currency needs. In the long term, the heavier coins would tend to be separated from the lighter ones and kept by the treasury for melting down. It is perhaps significant that most of the folles which carry four or five countermarks, and hence had been in circulation longest, are of the later, lightweight varieties.

Finally, the evidence that the countermarked folles were used for the purpose of tax payments may throw light on the question of why only a small proportion of the coins in the 'Mardin' hoard and others like it were stamped by Islamic authorities. In Part One it has been suggested that some folles could have been deposited before countermarking had been introduced or had become general. Others may have made their way into the countermarking area subsequently. These explanations presuppose a large bullion accumulation begun perhaps early in the 12th century and not completed until the mid-13th. If, on the other hand, the hoard consists substantially of coins which were all current at the same time, another hypothesis is called for. We may argue that only those coins which were submitted specifically for the purpose of tax payments required validation by countermarking, while the others continued to circulate freely until they wore out or were forced out of circulation by competition from a superior currency. Such a currency may conceivably have been the Turkoman copper dirham series (and certainly the rulers were endeavouring to impose it as such); but it is more likely to have been the pure silver coinage put out in ever increasing quantities by the Seljuqs of Rum, the Ayyubids and the Mongols in the course of the 13th century.

SOURCES UTILISED (apart from those listed on p. 8).

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PLATE I

*Uncountermarked coins—some variants
of Anonymous Follis Class A (ii)*

1. Obverse and Reverse of a Class A (ii) Follis with ☉ in nimbus, ☉ in Gospels, and tendril ornament on reverse. Noted as a new variety in DO. III ii. (No 24A on p. 635 but Gospels ornament there uncertain). Enlarged by 2: actual size 26 × 22mm. and 6.38 grams.
2. Obverse of Class A (ii) Follis with ••• in nimbus and ☉☉☉ in Gospels, but reverse decoration unrecognisable. New variety or possibly a forgery, as dies are irregular and reverse inscription is faulty. Enlarged by 2; actual size 30mm and 8.78 grams.
3. Obverse of Class A (ii) Follis with reverse of Bellinger variety 9 but with ✕ in nimbus and ☉☉ on Gospels. Enlarged by 2: actual size 29.5mm and 6.99 grams.
4. Obverse and reverse of Class A (ii) Follis, a new variety with ☐ in nimbus, ☉☉☉ on Gospels and —◇— on reverse. Enlarged by 2: actual size 25mm, and 7.35 grams.



1



2

3



4

PLATE II


*Uncountermarked coins, including
two contemporary forgeries*

1. Theophilus follis (DO. III i Class 3); reverse in the rough state of the majority of the coins in the hoard. Enlarged by 2: actual size 23mm and 3.41 grams.
2. Theophilus follis of the same type as No 1 but in unusually good state—reverse. Enlarged by 2: actual size 25.5mm and 6.45 grams.
3. Contemporary forgery of follis of Constantine X and Endocia with palm branch replacing legend on left and IC — AS instead of the lower part of the standing figures—reverse. Enlarged by 2: actual size 28mm and 3.12 grams.
4. Constantine X and Eudocia follis: reverse with engraver's errors in legend on left ϵ V Δ M \odot H V Δ I . Enlarged by 2: actual size 25mm and 6.34 grams.
5. Obverse and reverse of contemporary forgery of Anonymous Follis Class A. Actual size—25mm and 7.64 grams. No obverse legend and reverse garbled.
6. Nicephorus Bryennius or Basilacius—reverse with $\begin{matrix} C & B \\ N & B \end{matrix}$. Actual size—25mm and 6.06 grams. See DO. III ii 2C. There were two specimens of this scarce coin in the hoard.
7. Obverse and reverse of Anonymous Follis Class H. It seems a new type—smaller, thicker and apparently cast. Possibly a forgery but more probably another mint. Enlarged by 2; actual size 22 × 18mm and 5.76 grams.



PLATE III

*Uncountermarked coins, including
Constantine X and Alexius I*

1. Constantine X follis, reverse. Enlarged by 2: actual size 27mm and 8.16 grams. Unusually good specimen of DO. III. ii. Class 3.
2. Anonymous Follis, Class B with the new variation  in the nimbus. Actual size 26mm and 10.04 grams.
3. Another Anonymous Follis Class B with the same variation as in No. 2 above. Actual size—28 × 19mm and 7.08 grams.
4. Anonymous Follis Class E over Constantine X with traces of Constantine X and Eudocia below. Enlarged by 2; actual size 28mm and 4.14 grams. This confirms the overstrike published by A. F. Johnson in 1969 with Constantine X and Eudocia under Class E and his transfer of the Class E coins from Isaac I to Constantine X or later.
5. Alexius I follis with standing figure, given by Hendy to the mint of Thessalonica (see also BM Catalogue Alexius I AE Type 11). Enlarged by 2: actual size 27.5 and 4.21 grams. Legend begins + Λ Λ Ε Σ Ι
6. Another specimen of No. 5 above showing many traces of the Anonymous Follis Class K on which it was struck. Enlarged by 2: actual size 23.5 and 5.92 grams.



1



2



3



4



5



6

PLATE IV

N.B. Except where stated otherwise, all the countermarks illustrated are on coins from the 'Mardin' hoard now in the British Museum.

- | | | |
|-----|-----------------|--|
| 1. | Countermark no. | 1 ('Atabeg'). |
| 2. | " | 2 ('Ahmad'). |
| 3. | " | 3 ('Jamal'). |
| 4. | " | 4 ('Jamal al-din Mahmud'). |
| 5. | " | 4 (") . B.M. Lane-Poole 1877,
no. 691. |
| 6. | " | 5 ('dhimam'). |
| 7. | " | 5 (") |
| 8. | " | 6 ('Sa ^c d'). |
| 9. | " | 7 ('Sayf'). |
| 10. | " | 8 ('Sayf'). |
| 11. | " | 9 ('Shams'). |
| 12. | " | 9 ('Shams' retrograde). |
| 13. | " | 10 (' ^c adl'). |
| 14. | " | 11 (' ^c adl'). |
| 15. | " | 12 (' ^c adl ^c Izz'): from 'Diyarbekir' hoard, now in B.M.
(1973.4.22.33). |
| 16. | " | 12 (' ^c adl ^c Izz'). |
| 17. | " | 13 (' ^c Izz'). |
| 18. | " | 14 (' ^c Imad'): B.M., provenance and acquisition date
unknown. |
| 19. | " | 15 ('Fakhr'). |

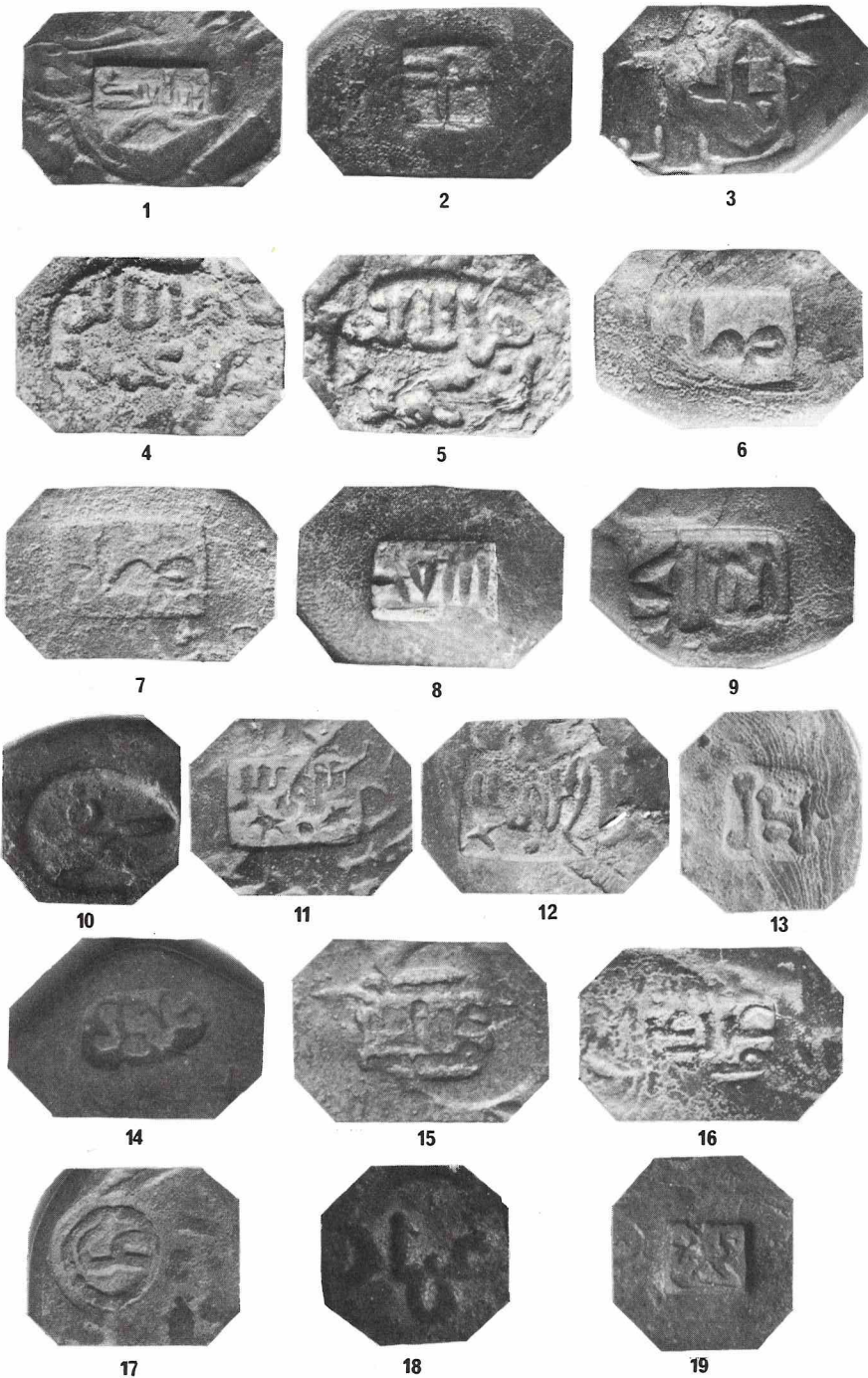


PLATE V

See note on Plate IV.

1. Countermark no. 16 ('illah').
2. " 17 (").
3. " 18 ("), var. a.
4. " 18 ("), var. b.
5. " 19 ('Mahmud').
6. " 20 ('malik al-umara').
7. " 21 ('Najm').
8. " 21 ("): from 'Diyarbekir' hoard, now in B.M. (1973.4.22.11).
9. " 22 ('Najm').
10. " 23 ('Badr'); B.M., provenance unknown (1973.4.24.6).
11. " 24 ('dal, lam, alif').
12. " 25 ('sin, lam, alif').
13. " 25 (").
14. " 26 (Zengid tamgha), B.M., provenance unknown (1972.8.15.4).
15. " 27 ('gim').
16. " 28 (?).
17. " 1 ('Atabeg') over no. 9 ('Shams').
18. " 1 (") over no. 12 ('^cadl ^cIzz').

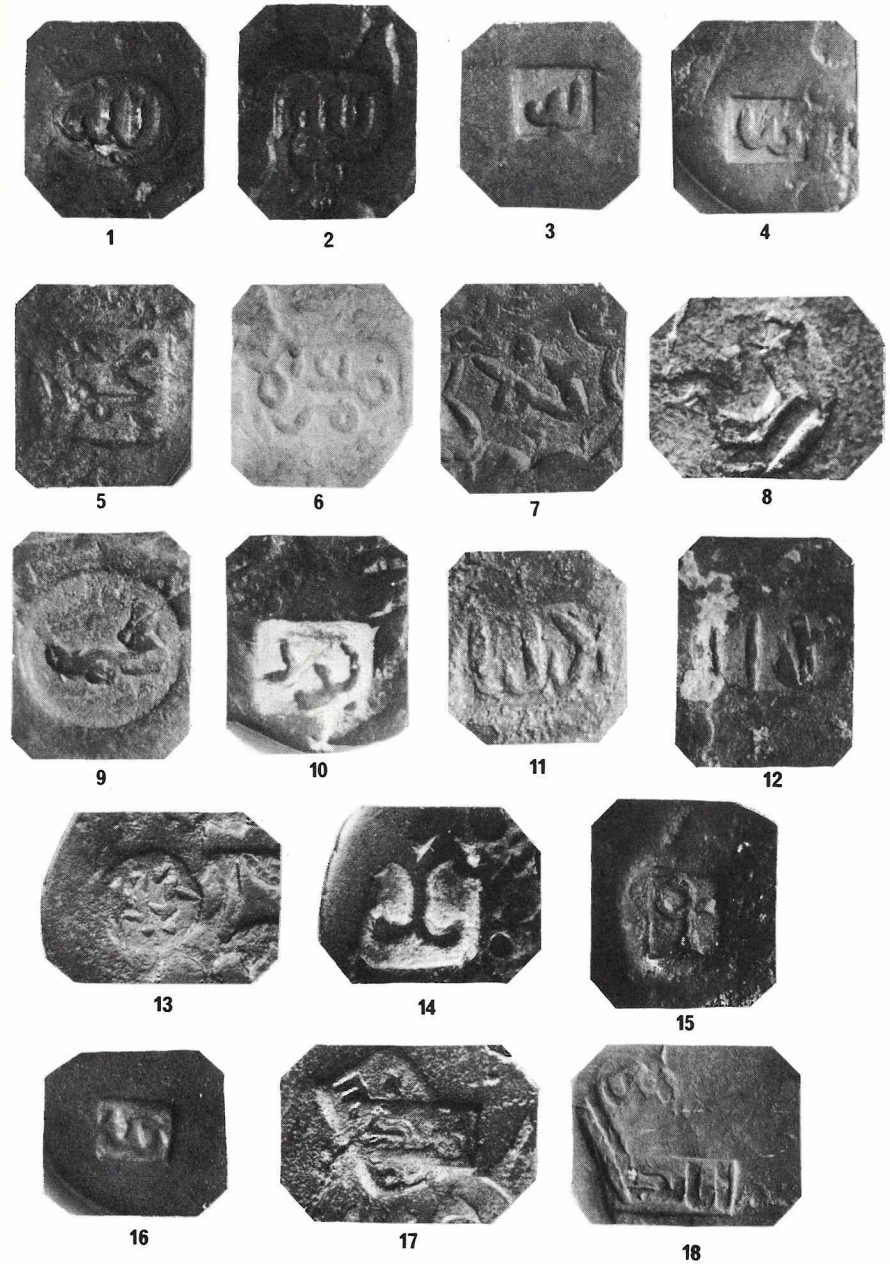


PLATE VI

See note on Plate IV.

1. Countermark no. 1 ('Atabeg') over no. 13 ('^cIzz').
2. " 1 ('Atabeg') over no. 21 ('Najm').
3. " 9 ('Shams') over no. 12 ('^cadl^cIzz').
4. " 9 ('Shams') over no. 21 ('Najm').
5. " 12 ('^cadl^cIzz') over no. 13 ('^cIzz').
6. " 14 ('Imad') over no. 21 ('Najm').
7. " 17 ('lillah') over no. 12 ('^cadl^cIzz').
8. " 16 ('lillah') over no. 13 ('^cIzz'); from 'Diyarbekir' hoard, now in B.M. (1973.4.22.22).
9. " 16 ('lillah') over no. 21 ('Najm').
10. " 21 ('Najm') over no. 12 ('^cadl^cIzz').
11. " 1 ('Atabeg') over no. 12 ('^cadl^cIzz'); no. 13 ('^cIzz') over no. 1?
12. " 4 ('Jamal al-din Mahmud') on an Islamic (?) copy of the Constantine and Eudocia type. A.N.S.
13. Reverse of no. 12.
14. Countermark no. 5 ('dhimam') on an Anonymous Class K follis. Smithsonian Institution (*Hebert 1975*, no. 134).

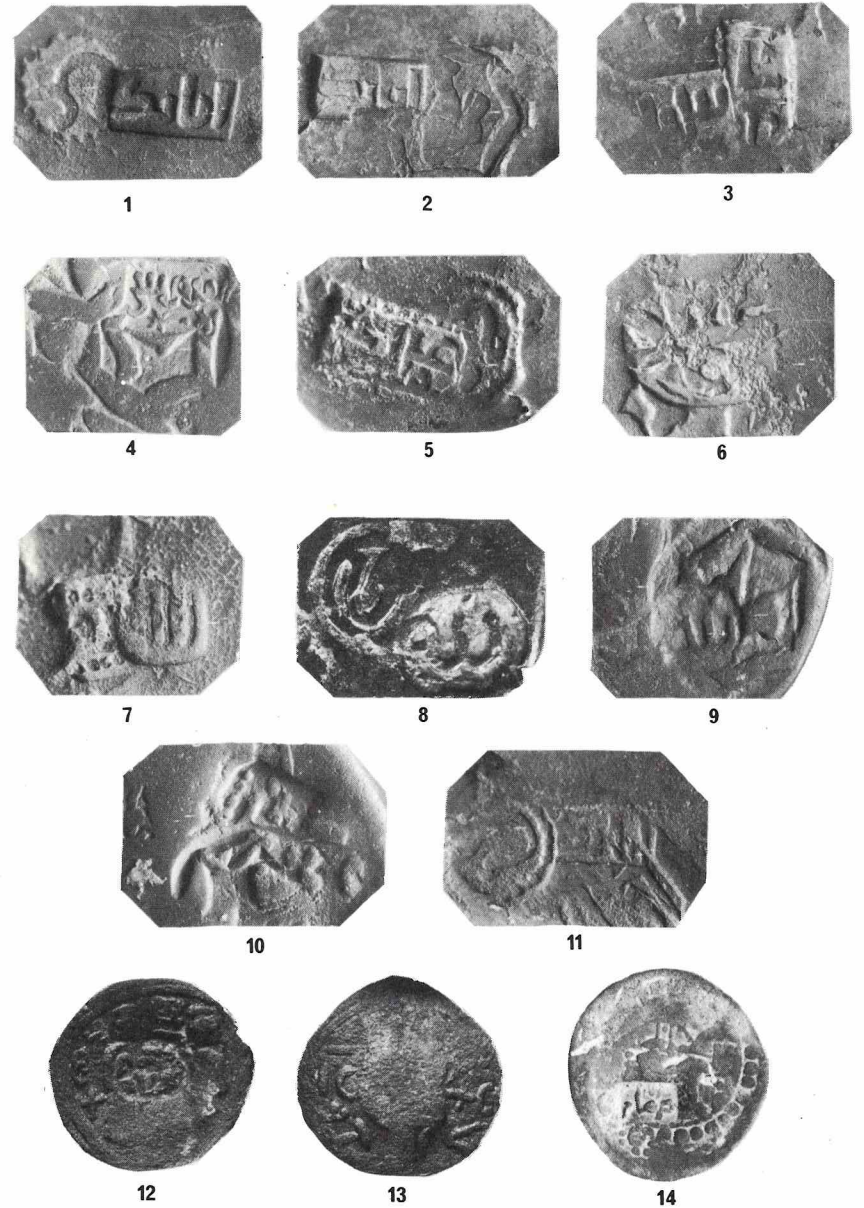


PLATE VII

N.B. All the coins illustrated are from the 'Mardin' hoard (now in B.M.) except where otherwise stated.

1. Countermarks 3 ('Jamal' retrograde) and 16 ('lillah') on Anonymous Class A.
2. " 7 and 8 (both 'Sayf') on Anonymous Class A.
3. " 18 ('lillah?') and 27 ('gim') on Anonymous Class G.
4. " 1 ('Atabeg'), and 13 ('Izz') over 21 ('Najm') on Anonymous Class A.
5. " 6 ('Sa^cd') and 28 (?) on anonymous Class I.
6. " 13 ('Izz') over 12 ('^cadl^cIzz') on Anonymous Class C. Smithsonian Institution.
7. " 15 ('Fakhr') over 15, and 16 ('lillah') on Anonymous Class I.
8. " 5 ('dhimam'), 12 ('^cadl^cIzz'), 13 ('Izz') and 16 ('lillah') on Anonymous Class I.
9. Incuse star punched or engraved on Anonymous Class I.
10. Artuqids of Mardin. Husam al-din Timurtash (516-47/1122-52). (Head of Julian'). No mint or date legible but type of Mardin, 543, A.H. (Obverse and reverse.)
11. Seljuqs of Rum. Kayqubad I (616-34/1219-36). No mint or date legible, but bearing the name of Caliph al-Nasir (d. 622/1225). Type as *Lane-Poole 1877*, nos. 114 ff. (Obverse and reverse).
12. Seljuqs of Erzurum. Rukn al-din Jahan Shah b. Tughril (622-27/1225-30). Enthroned figure type dated 625/1227-28. As *Lane-Poole 1877*, no. 304. Apparently a brockage (Obverse and reverse).

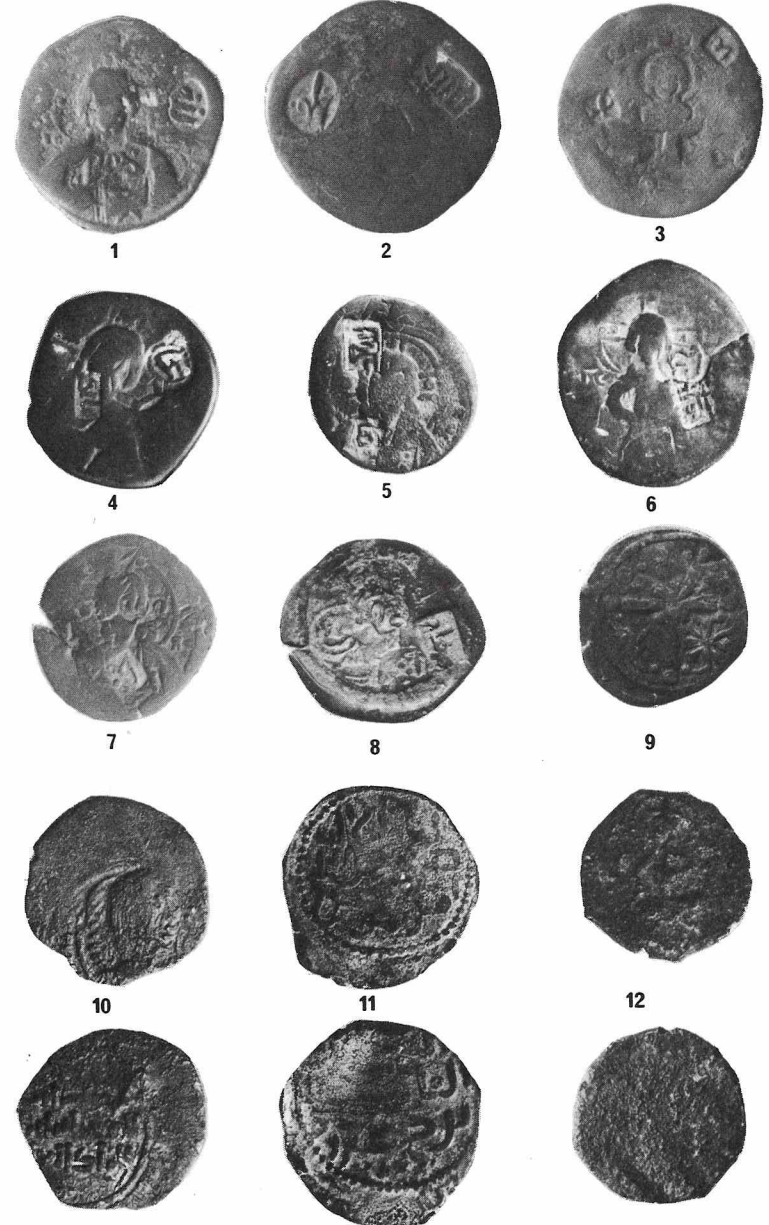


PLATE VIII

1. Artuqids of Mardin. Husam al-din Timurtash (516-47 A.H./1122-52 A.D.). "Antiochus VII" type with countermark 'Najm al-din' stamped across neck. The countermark is contemporary with the first issue of Alpi, no. 2., below B.M. (OR 2438).
2. Artuqids of Mardin. Najm al-din Alpi (547-72 A.H./1122-76 A.D.). "Antiochus VII" type with 'Najm al-din' engraved across neck on die. B.M. *Lane-Poole 1877*, no. 369.
3. As no. 2, but with Alpi's second countermark 'Najm al-din Malik Diyarbakr' stamped across neck. The countermark is contemporary with Alpi's second issue (confronted busts). B.M. *Lane-Poole 1877*, no. 370.
4. Artuqids of Hisn Kayfa. Fakhr al-din Qara Arslan (539-62 A.H./1144-67 A.D.). "Enthroned Christ" type with countermark showing entwined dragons, stamped across throne, right. The countermark is contemporary with the modified "enthroned Christ" type, no. 5. Paris, *Bibliothèque Nationale*.
5. As no. 4, but the design of entwined dragons is engraved upon the die. B.M. *Lane-Poole 1877*, no. 329.
6. Zengids of Mosul. Sayf al-din Ghazi II (565-76 A.H./1169-80 A.D.). Three-quarters facing head surmounted by angels. Specimen dated 572 with countermark 'Atabeg' (similar to countermark no.1) stamped across head. B.M. *Lane-Poole 1877*, no. 520.



TABLE E. 'Mardin' Hoard: Coins with One Countermark

Cmk No	Anonymous Classes													Total																					
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K																								
1														9	7	4	1	4	8	3	14	7	2	1	8	10	6	3	12	5	104				
2																														1					
3																1			2		3				1	1	1	1		11					
4																						1								1					
5																			1			1	1	1		1	1			6					
6																														1					
7																					2	2	1							5					
8																											2			2					
9														1	5 ^a	18	2	5	8	20 ^a	23	51	5	1		21	7	6	7	51	6	286			
10																6	2	1				2		4	1		2	1	4	6	1	30			
11																2	2							1			1	1	2	2		12			
12																17	5	3	1	6			9	2	17	3	2		14	5	13	1	19	7	124
13																34	9	5	3	9	2	20	23	19	7	2		18	5	18	7	42	12	235	
14																2						1	2	3			1	1	1	2		13			
15																1	1						1	1	1			1	1	3	2	2	15		
16 } 17 } ^b																64	16	4	1	5			21	14	38	9	3	2	28	7	39	9	60	13	333
18 } ^c														1	1	5	11	3	4	2	39	4	13	1	7	1	6		4	10	21	10	31	27	208
19																						2							1	1	1		6		
20																												1				2			
														Total			1395																		

Continued on page 73

Table E continued

	Anonymous Classes													Total																
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K																			
21																			48	9	5	9	3							269
22																				2										7
23																														
24																														1
25																														5
26																														5
27																														7
28																														4
?																														82
														Total			1774													

a. one countermark reversed.

b. often hard to distinguish; mostly no. 16.

c. 2 Justin I, 1 Justinian, 1 Justin II & Sophia, 1 Phocas, 1 Heraclius, 1 uncertain (491-565).

d. one carries an incuse symbol * (not included in Total)

TABLE F. 'Mardin' Hoard: Coins with Two Countermarks

Cmk Nos	Anonymous Classes													Total
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	Undetermined		
1, 1									1 ^a			1	1	3
1, 9	1						1	1						4
1,12	3	1		1	2	2	2		3	2		7	1	24
1,13	3	4		3	5	1	3	1	1	1	2	1		25
1,17				1	1							1		3
1,18								1	1			1		4
1,21				1				1	1			1		5
3,16		1												1
5,12					1									1
6,28									1					1
7, 7		1 ^a												1
7, 8		1												1
9, 3												1		1
9, 9	1				1							1 ^b	1	4
9,10	1												3	4
9,12	1	1		1	1			1						5
9,13	1	1		1	1	1		1				1		7
9,14														1
9,16	2	1		3	1	1	1	1	1			1		12
9,17									1					1
9,21	3			1	2	1			1	1	1			10
9,26				1								1		2
9,?	1											1		3
10,12	1													1

Total 124

Continued on p. 75

Table F continued

Cmk Nos	Anonymous Classes													Total
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	Undetermined		
10,13													2	3
10,16	1												1	4
10,21							1	1						2
10, ?													1	1
12,12							1 ^a						1 ^a	2
12,13	9	3	2		10		7	8	10	2	3	1	5	3
12,16										1			1	2
12,17														2
12,18														2
12,21	1	1								1			1	5
12,22													1	1
12, ?													1	1
13,13														2
13,16	2						2						1	4
13,17	1												1	2
13,18		1											1	2
13,21														2
13,27	1												1	1
13, ?	1													1
14,26	1													1
15,15														1
15,16														1
15,18													1	1
													1	4
													1	6

Total 300

Continued on p. 76

Table F continued

Cmk Nos	Anonymous Classes											Undetermined	Total
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K		
15,27												1	1
15, ?										1			1
16,16	1	1											4
16,21			2	2	1	2	1	2			3		15
16,26								1					1
16, ?			1	1						2			5
18,27									1	3	1		5
18, ?										1	1		2
21,21			1 ^a										1
21,26				1									1
23,25	1												1
													Total 337

a. Same punch used
 b. Different punches used.

TABLE G. 'Mardin' Hoard: Coins with Three Countermarks

Cmk Nos	Anonymous Classes											Undetermined	Total	
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K			
1, 1,12													1 ^a	2
1, 1,13													1 ^b	1
1, 9,12												1		3
1, 9,21												1		1
1,12,13	4	1	1					5		2	6	7	8	35
1,12,16													2	2
1,12,18													1	2
1,12,16								1						1
1,13,21									1			1	1	4
1,13, ?										1				1
7, 8,23													1	1
9,10,16											1			1
9,12,13								1	2				2	5
9,12,18													1	1
9,12,21												1		1
9,16,17													1	1
9,16,18												1		1
10,21, ?													1	1
11,13,21													1	1
12,12,13														1
12,13,16								1	1					3
12,13,17													1	1
12,13,18												3	1	4
12,13, ?														1
														Total 75

Continued on p. 78

Table G continued

	Anonymous Classes													Undetermined	Total	
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K					
12,16,21			1												1	1
13,18,23															1	1
14,14,21		1 ^a														1
16,18,21				1												1
27, ?, ?			1													1
																Total 80

- a. Same punch used for repeated countermark.
- b. Different punch used for repeated countermark.

TABLE H. 'Mardin' Hoard: Coins with Four and Five Countermarks

Cmk Nos	Anonymous Classes													Undetermined	Total	
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K					
1, 1,12,13										1 ^a						1
1, 9,12,13														2		2
1,12,13,18										2						2
5,12,13,16										1						1
9,12,16,18												1				1
9, 9,12, ?											1					1
12,12,13,21															1	1
12,13,18,18														1		1
15,15,16,21														1		1
1,12,13,17,18															1	1
7,19,23,24, ?														1		1
																Total 13

- a. Repeated countermark affixed with different punches.

Coins with one countermark	1774
Coins with two countermarks	337
Coins with three countermarks	80
Coins with four countermarks	11
Coins with five countermarks	2

Total 2204

