PAUL NEUENKIRCHEN

From Pre-Reform Umayyad Solidi to the '*morabetino alfonsino*'

A Full-Circle Case of Co-production

Introduction

One area of study that seems to hold great promise for uncovering, and potentially better understanding, the mechanisms behind the mutual interactions and influences between different groups identifying as Jewish, Christian, and Muslim, that result in religious and/or cultural 'co-production' is to examine any given aspect of the material culture (e.g., architecture, manuscript culture, or numismatics) of a Jewish, Christian, or Muslim community at a particular point in its history and to determine both the extent to which it has been shaped by past and present material expressions of faith and/or identity and how and why it has retained some earlier features and reshaped others. In the present paper, I use the capacious concept of religious 'co-production' as developed by Katharina Heyden and David Nirenberg to illustrate aspects of the formation, re-formation, and transformation of the three so-called 'Abrahamic' religious communities as they interacted with, thought about, and imagined each other.[1] The examples used to illustrate the theory of co-production in Heyden and Nirenberg's work are drawn primarily from textual sources. In order to further demonstrate the relevance and usefulness of the concept of 'co-production', I would like to supplement these textual case studies with examples of mutual interactions between Christians and Muslims as reflected in their respective material cultures, more specifically in their coinage. In the case of Muslim communities, this very valuable aspect (both literally and figuratively) of their material culture is relevant to a better understanding of the beginnings of Islam since, as one scholar specializing in this period puts it, 'Coins and their imagery are our only contemporary continuous primary source for the genesis of the self-representation of the new religion and its empire in the

1 Heyden and Nirenberg, 'Co-produced Religions: Judaism, Christianity, and Islam'.

Paul Neuenkirchen is Postdoctoral Fellow in the 'Interactive Histories, Co-produced Communities: Judaism, Christianity, Islam' joint research project of the University of Bern and the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton.

The Co-production of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam: Artefacts, Rituals, Communities, Narratives, Doctrines, Concepts, ed. by Katharina Heyden and David Nirenberg, CORE 1 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2025), pp. 67–88 BREPOLS PUBLISHERS 10.1484/M.CORE-EB.5.149667

This is an open access article made available under a CC BY-NC 4.0 International Licence.

seventh century'.[2] To that I would add that coins offer us a fascinating window into the nature of the interactions between Muḥammad's early Believers movement and other religious communities — namely Jews and Christians (but also Zoroastrians) — and can be understood as a multi-level case study of co-production. Indeed, as we will soon see, the 'proto-Islamic' polity used both co-produced symbols and texts on the coins that it minted — adapting, modifying, or erasing them in response not only to Christians, but also to other competing 'proto-Islamic' political-religious groups.

Since I am not an expert in the field of numismatics, I will absolve myself of any wrongdoing by following the recommendation of eminent Islamic numismatics expert Michael L. Bates to non-numismatist historians like myself: 'The kind of numismatic studies that historians need will not come about until historians themselves take their obligation to assemble and understand the coin evidence for any research project as seriously as they take their obligation to deal with the evidence on paper'.[3]

In what follows, I will indeed assemble coin evidence from different times and regions to show how two distinct moments in history, separated by six centuries, are echoes of similar cases of co-production.

This essay is divided into three distinct parts, following a chronology that takes us from the seventh century CE to the twelfth century CE. The first part deals with the question of what the means of payment might have looked like during Muḥammad's lifetime. In doing so, we will focus on the terminology used in Islam's scriptural sources to speak of money. As we will discover, methods of payment in the Qurʾān remain something of an abstraction, since the few verses that deal with questions related to money speak about it in a non-legal, non-commercial context. As for the Ḥadīṯ, although it uses the terminology in everyday contexts, it still gives us no concrete indication as to the exact nature of the means of payment that might have been used in the Hejaz during the seventh century CE. What is certain, however, is that the vocabulary used in these two scriptural sources to describe means of payment are co-produced, as they all seem to derive from a very specific language and milieu. The second part of this essay takes us to the first half of the Umayyad era, when swift and significant transformations took place in rapidly expanding territories. Among these major changes, one of the most visible was the numismatic revolution that occurred under the caliphate of ʿAbd al-Malik and which constitutes a prime example of religious co-production. The coin designs that the Umayyad caliph experimented with reflected simultaneously continuity and discontinuity with the past in response to the challenges of the present. The end product of these experiments was a revolutionary gold coin model that, for the first time in Late Antiquity, was devoid of any figurative representation and was entirely epigraphic. This model, the result of

2 Heidemann, 'Numismatics', p. 651.

3 Bates, 'History, Geography, and Numismatics in the First Century of Islamic Coinage', p. 261.

a conscious self-definition of a new religion — Islam — in the face of previous long-standing religious traditions, is in itself a wonderful example of material co-production. It is also the canvas from which Islamic gold coinage would be drawn for the next thirteen centuries.

The third and final part of this paper brings us to the twelfth century CE with a specific case study of a Christian gold coin that imitated in every respect a contemporary Islamic equivalent, itself ultimately modelled on the fully epigraphic coin of ʿAbd al-Malik mentioned above. This case study will allow us to speak of a 'full-circle case of co-production' that might help us think about co-production in concrete, tangible terms and open up new ways of understanding the complex relationship between earlier religious traditions and Islam.

The Co-production of Monetary Vocabulary in Islam's Scriptural Sources: Qurʾān and Ḥadīṯ

As we start our investigation into the monetary world of the beginnings of Islam, it is important to note that Western scholarship dealing with Islamic numismatics always begins by describing coins dating to the time of the first caliphs,[4] that is to say after the death of Muḥammad, who, according to most sources, is believed to have died in the year 632 CE.[5] The reason for this gap is quite straightforward: as of today, we have no trace of coins that would have been used by Muḥammad and his contemporaries during the seventh century CE in the west coast region of Arabia known as the Hejaz, where he is traditionally believed to have lived. Even though it would be anachronistic to speak of 'Islamic' coins during the life of Muḥammad, since Islam as a religion did not yet exist, it nevertheless seems important to ask what kinds of means of payment he would have encountered and how that might have influenced both the scriptural sources of Islam and the later minting of actual Islamic coins.

---

4 Heidemann, 'The Evolving Representation', pp. 149–95 and Heidemann, 'Numismatics', pp. 648–63 are two introductory articles on Islamic numismatics that discuss Islamic coinage from 636 CE onwards. Two recent monographs discussing the historical context of the emergence of Islam in Arabia, namely Grasso, *Pre-Islamic Arabia* and Lindstedt, *Muḥammad and His Followers*, say nothing about the absence or (potential) presence of coinage in Arabia before and during Muḥammad's time (Grasso, *Pre-Islamic Arabia*, p. 198 only briefly mentions that the Christian Trinitarian doctrine appears on 'early Islamic coins', and Lindstedt, *Muḥammad and His Followers*, p. 308 evokes coins under the caliphs, i.e., after Muḥammad's death, and the emergence of aniconic coins during the end of the seventh century CE).

5 This 'traditional' date of Muḥammad's death was put into question by Shoemaker, *The Death of a Prophet*, who proposes that he was still alive in 634 CE, when the Arab conquests of Palestine began.

As archaeology has not revealed anything with regard to Hejazi coinage of the late sixth to early seventh century CE, we must rely on our earliest written source in Arabic, the Qurʾān. We can gain a sense of what kinds of currencies may have been circulating in Muḥammad's time by drawing inferences from the terminology that the Qurʾān uses to speak of means of payment. Doing so allows us both to contextualize the vocabulary used in this paper and to show that this terminology is itself co-produced.

Although the Qurʾān is traditionally understood to reflect the prophetic career of Muḥammad and his daily interactions with the inhabitants of the Hejazi cities of Mecca and Medina,[6] it says surprisingly very little on the subject of money. This is especially surprising considering the fact that, according to both internal and external accounts, Muḥammad seems to have been a merchant.[7] All in all, only four different nouns are used to speak about different forms of payment throughout the more than six thousand verses that make up the Qurʾān. In what follows, I will only concentrate on the gold coin, as this is the example I discuss throughout this paper. Gold is one of the two precious metals (which, together with silver, would later be designated under the Arabic term *al-naqdān*[8]) that has been used as coinage from the beginnings of the Islamic polity until the present day.

The Arabic word used to speak of the gold coin is the *hapax legomenon* دينار (*dīnār*), which appears jointly with another term referring to money — 'quintal', in Arabic قِنطار (*qinṭār*)[9] — in surah Āl ʿImrān (Q 3. 75):

---

6 For an overview of this question and its limits, see Reynolds, 'Le problème de la chronologie du Coran', pp. 477–502.

7 By 'internal', I mean sources from within the Islamic tradition such as Ibn Isḥāq's *Sīra*, which depict Muḥammad either as a merchant (in relation to his first wife, Ḫadīja) or as a shepherd. The 'external' accounts, whether Jewish, Christian or Zoroastrian, are earlier than the Islamic sources by at least a century and sometimes also depict Muḥammad as a merchant. Our earliest source belonging to the latter category is the *Armenian Chronicle* of 661, attributed to the bishop Sebeos (composed in the 640s CE, i.e. about a decade only after Muḥammad's death) in which we read: 'At that time a man appeared from among these same sons of Ishmael, whose name was Muhammad, a merchant …'. See Shoemaker, *A Prophet Has Appeared*, p. 64 (text) and p. 66 (commentary). For a recent overview of the question of how early non-Islamic and Islamic sources depict Muḥammad's profession, see Anthony, *Muhammad and the Empires of Faith*, pp. 59–82 (Chapter 2, 'Muḥammad the Merchant').

8 Brunschvig, 'Conceptions monétaires', p. 115.

9 This Arabic word probably comes from the Syriac ܩܢܛܝܪܐ (*qanṭīrō*), itself being derived from Latin *centenarium*, having passed through Byzantine Greek as κεντηνάριον, which refers to a weight of one hundred pounds. See Jeffery, *The Foreign Vocabulary*, pp. 243–44. This noun appears in two other qurʾānic passages, namely Q 3. 14 and Q 4. 20. The third qurʾānic word used to speak of money is دَراهِم (*darāhim*; plural of the non-qurʾānic دِرْهَم (*dirham*)) which is used in surah Yūsuf (Q 12. 20). It is an Arabization of either Syriac ܕܪܟܡܐ (*drakmō*) for 'drachm' (i.e., four drachms, equal to fifteen dinars), or of Pahlavi *dram* or *draxm* for 'silver coin' or 'money' in general, both ultimately transcribing the Greek δραχμή, which literally means 'as much as one can hold in the hand', and from there 'a weight (*drachm*)', and then 'a silver coin (*drachma*)'. See Jeffery, *The Foreign Vocabulary*, pp. 129–30; Huyse, 'Greece xiii'; Brunschvig, 'Conceptions monétaires', p. 128; and Liddell and Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*,

وَمِنْ أَهْلِ ٱلْكِتَابِ مَنْ إِنْ تَأْمَنْهُ بِقِنْطَارٍ يُؤَدِّهِ إِلَيْكَ وَمِنْهُمْ مَنْ إِنْ تَأْمَنْهُ بِدِينَارٍ لَا يُؤَدِّهِ إِلَيْكَ إِلَّا مَا دُمْتَ عَلَيْهِ قَائِماً / *wa-min ahl al-kitāb man in taʾmanhu bi-qinṭār yuʾaddihi ilayka wa-minhum man in taʾmanhu bi-dīnār lā yuʾaddihi illā mā dumta ʿalayhi qāʾiman.*

> (Among the People of the Book (there is) one who, if you entrust him with a qinṭār, will pay it back to you, but among them there is one who, if you entrust him with a dīnār, will not pay it back to you unless you stand over him) […][10])

Although the qurʾānic Arabic hapax *dīnār* would come to denote the highest value coin in Islam, in this oldest recorded instance of its use it is uncertain whether it refers to a coin made up of gold or silver alloy or whether it simply refers to a certain weight of one of these metals, since an etymological survey yields all of these possibilities. Indeed, although in general, Muslim lexicographers deem the word *dīnār* to be 'an Arabized Persian' word (*fārsī muʿarrab*),[11] the Arabic noun actually ultimately derives from the Latin *denarius*, which was used to refer to a Roman silver coin,[12] equivalent to a labourer's daily wages,[13] which passed into Byzantine Greek as δηνάριον[14] and then came through the Syriac ܕܝܢܪܐ (*dīnōrō*), meaning a gold (or silver) coin,[15] the qurʾānic Arabic's most probable direct origin.[16]

Even though we cannot know for certain what the exact meaning of *dīnār* is in the context of Q 3. 75, what we do know is that during Muḥammad's time it was understood as a word referring to a means of payment (something you can 'pay back', as the qurʾānic verse puts it) and that it would become the standard term used to speak of a gold coin after Muḥammad's death. But most importantly for our purposes, the brief etymological discussion above shows that to speak of payment methods, the Qurʾān uses terminology inherited from a non-local, non-Arabic world. As Alphonse Mingana had

---

pp. 448–49. The fourth and last qurʾānic term referring to money is the hapax ورق (*wariq/warq*), which appears in Q 18. 19. The Arabic term comes from a root which means a 'leaf' or 'sheet of paper', and it seems to correspond to the Syriac expression ܘܪܩܐ ܕܣܐܡܐ (*warqō d-sīmō*) for a 'sheet of silver'. See Payne Smith, *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary*, p. 108 and Sokoloff, *A Syriac Lexicon*, p. 360. For an overview of the terminology relating to methods of payment in the Qurʾān, see Neuenkirchen, 'L'argent et l'usure en Islam', pp. 18–29.

10 Translation, Droge, *The Qurʾān*, p. 37.

11 Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, III, p. 423.

12 See, for instance, the Gospel of Mark 6. 37: '… Do we need to go buy for two hundred silver coins of bread and to give it to them to eat?' (Ἀπελθόντες ἀγοράσωμεν δηναρίων διακοσίων ἄρτους καὶ δώσομεν αὐτοῖς φαγεῖν) as well as Mark 12. 15: '… Bring me a silver coin that I may see it!' (φέρετέ μοι δηνάριον ἵνα ἴδω). Further examples are found, *inter alia*, in Matthew 20. 9; Matthew 22. 19; Luke 7. 41; John 6. 7.

13 Jennings, *Lexicon to the Syriac New Testament (Peshiṭṭa)*, p. 54.

14 Liddell and Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, p. 388.

15 Payne Smith, *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary*, p. 91 and Sokoloff, *A Syriac Lexicon*, p. 297. See also Jeffery, *The Foreign Vocabulary*, pp. 133–35.

16 Mingana, 'Syriac Influence', p. 89 and Jeffery, *The Foreign Vocabulary*, p. 134.

already pointed out a century ago, the various names used in the Qurʾān to designate means of payment reveals a clear influence from the Greco-Roman world — which certainly passed into qurʾānic Arabic via the language of Eastern Christians — Syriac.[17]

Having seen that the Qurʾān only uses the word *dīnār* once and that it does so with an uncertain meaning, the question now is: what can the second scriptural source of Islam add to this discussion? As is often the case, the vast corpus of Sunni 'canonical' prophetic sayings or *ḥadīṯ* stands in stark contrast to the Qurʾān, referring to methods of payment abundantly and in detail.[18] These texts, which have a much more practical aim than the Qurʾān, give us an idea of the value of the aforementioned *dīnār* — which is mentioned hundreds of times. According to these texts, in Muḥammad's time, one *dīnār* could (apparently) buy one sheep[19] and twelve units of this same precious metal could be used to purchase a gold necklace.[20] Other *ḥadīṯ*-s inform us that the *jizya* tax that non-Muslim *ḏimmī* (or *ahl al-kitāb*, i.e., 'People of the Book') were supposed to pay the local authorities cost four *dīnār*-s, which was equivalent to forty *dirham*-s.[21] This same monetary equivalence appears in a report according to which a slave could be bought for fifty *dīnār*-s, or five hundred *dirham*-s.[22]

Aside from the words *dīnār* and *dirham*, by far the most common terms for currency in the Ḥadīṯ literature, we also find one occurrence of the

---

17 Mingana, 'Syriac Influence', p. 89: 'The Graeco-Roman world is indirectly represented by the three following words [i.e., *dīnār*, *dirham* and *qinṭār*] which refer to the State technicalities of currency, weight, and measure'.

18 I have only surveyed the most common *ḥadīṯ* Sunni collections that were compiled a century and a half after the death of Muḥammad: the *Muwaṭṭāʾ* of Mālik b. Anas (d. 179 AH/795 CE), the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Buḫārī (d. 256 AH/870 CE) and of Muslim (d. 261 AH/875 CE) as well as the *Sunan* of Ibn Māja (d. 273 AH/887 CE), Abū Dāwūd (d. 275 AH/889 CE), al-Tirmiḏī (d. 279 AH/892 CE), and al-Nasāʾī (d. 303 AH/915 CE).

19 Ibn Māja, *Sunan*, ed. by al-Albānī, p. 410: '[…] ʿUrwa l-Bāriqī [said]: "The Prophet gave him a dinar to buy him a sheep, and he bought him two sheep. Then he sold one of them for one dinar and he brought one dinar and one sheep to the Prophet. The messenger of God prayed for blessings for him"'. (*Kitāb al-ṣadaqāt* (n°15), *bāb* n°7, *ḥadīṯ* n°2402).

20 Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, ed. by al-Bāqī, III, p. 1213: '[…] Faḍāla b. ʿUbayd said: "I bought a necklace — with gold and gems — on the day of [the battle of] Ḫaybar [in 7 AH/628 CE] for twelve dinars (*ištaraytu yawm Ḫaybar qilāda bi-iṯnā ʿašara dīnāran fīhā ḏahab wa-ḫaraz*). […]"' (*Kitāb al-musāqa* (n°22), *bāb* n°17, *ḥadīṯ* n°1591).

21 Anas b. Mālik, *al-Muwaṭṭāʾ*, p. 264: '[…] Aslam *mawlā* of ʿUmar b. al-Ḫaṭṭāb [said] that ʿUmar b. al-Ḫaṭṭāb [r. 634–644 CE] would levy a *jizya* tax of four dinars on people living where there was gold, and of forty dirhams on people living where there was silver (*anna ʿUmar b. al-Ḫaṭṭāb ḍaraba l-jizya ʿalā ahl al-ḏahab arbaʿa danānīr wa-ʿalā ahl al-warq arbaʿīn dirhaman*). […]' (*Kitāb al-zakāt* (n°17), *bāb* n°24, *ḥadīṯ* n°44).

22 Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, ed. by al-Albānī, p. 827: '[…] al-Šaʿbī said: "[The price of] a slave is five hundred, that is dirhams (*al-ġurra ḫams miʾa yaʿnī dirham*)". Abū Dāwūd said: Rabīʿa said: "[The price of] a slave is fifty dinars (*al-ġurra ḫamsūn dīnāran*)"'. (*Kitāb al-diyyāt* (n°33), *bāb* n°21, *ḥadīṯ* n°4580).

aforementioned qurʾānic word *qinṭār*.[23] It is, moreover, striking that although there is also a single mention of a *qīrāṭ*, or 1/16th of a dirham, nothing is said about copper coinage in the Ḥadīṯ collections (which is also true of the Qurʾān). Finally, we should note that in all of the above instances, it is once again difficult to know whether the terms *dīnār*, *dirham*, or *qinṭār* refer to coins or to weights. Two other *ḥadīṯ*-s do make use of the Arabic word سكّة (*sikka*) for 'coin',[24] which would suggest that when these traditions speak of *dīnār* and *dirham*, they are referring to coinage,[25] but then again, many more prophetic traditions do refer to payments made through the weighing of different sorts of metals,[26] so that it is difficult to offer a decisive answer.

This brief investigation makes clear that the Arabic vocabulary relating to methods of payment in both the Qurʾān and the Ḥadīṯ is foreign to Arabia, and most certainly comes from the Syriac Christian world, allowing us to speak of a co-produced monetary vocabulary in Islam's Scripture. But we are still left with the question of the exact nature and provenance of means of payment during the days of Muḥammad, since they are not described precisely enough in the scriptural sources of Islam and as archaeological traces of these in Western Arabia are still wanting. What we do know, however, are what methods of payment were used *after* Muḥammad's death and during the beginning of the Arab conquests two years later, in 634 CE.

The Co-production of Gold Coins from Muʿāwiya to ʿAbd al-Malik

It is to historical, material, coins that I now turn, and more specifically to the gold *dīnār* (such a gold coin weighing 4.2 g, i.e., the reference *miṯqāl* weight[27]), following its path from its use by the first caliph of the Umayyad dynasty (661–750 CE) as a means of payment packed with Byzantine/Christian symbolism to a coin whose symbols were progressively adapted and modified to give them new meaning in a process of self-definition triggered by confrontation with the Other(s) to finally becoming fully epigraphic and,

---

23 Ibn Māja, *Sunan*, p. 608: 'The messenger of God said: "The *qinṭār* is [worth] twelve thousand *ʿūqiyya* [i.e., ounce] …"' (*Kitāb al-adab*, *ḥadīṯ* n°3660).

24 This Arabic word would also seem to derive from Syriac, as the first meaning of the Arabic *sikka* is 'a die for coining', a meaning that is also that of the Syriac cognate ܣܟܬܐ ܕܛܒܥܐ (*sēktō d-ṭabʿō*). See Payne Smith, *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary*, p. 378.

25 In the *Sunan* of Ibn Māja and Abū Dāwūd: '… The messenger of God forbade the breaking of the coins of Muslims valid among them, except when they were defective'. (*nahā rasūl Allāh an tuksara sikkat al-muslimīn al-jāʾiza baynahum illā min baʾs*).

26 See for instance Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb al-nikāḥ*, *ḥadīṯ* n°1427: '… ʿAbd al-Raḥmān married a woman for a datestone weight of gold'; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb al-musāqa*, *ḥadīṯ* n°1588: 'The messenger of God said: "Gold is to be paid for by gold with equal weight, like for like, and silver is to be paid for by silver with equal weight, like for like. …"'

27 Brunschvig, 'Conceptions monétaires', p. 133 and Heidemann, 'Numismatics', p. 656.

Figure 2.1. *Solidus* of Heraclius, with Heraclius Constantine. 610–641. AV Solidus (19.5 mm, 4.48 g, 6h). Constantinople mint, 1st officina. Struck *c.* 616–*c.* 625. Classical Numismatic Group, LLC, Electronic Auction 568, Lot 621.

in so doing, fully Islamic. Interestingly, this very particular design, which will become as associated with Islam as the cross featured on Christian coins, will live on for centuries onwards and will even end up being in turn copied by a Christian ruler, thus providing a fascinating example of what I have called a 'full-circle case of co-production'.

Gold coins were first struck by the Umayyads — the dynasty that succeeded the so-called four 'rightly-guided caliphs' (*al-rāšidūn*) — who had established their capital in Damascus, Syria, located in the former Byzantine Empire, where gold was readily available. Indeed, in the newly conquered Byzantine territories (Syria's conquest began in 634 CE), taxation, state expenditure, and the like were paid for with the gold *solidus* (pl. *solidi*, weighing in at about 4.55 g).[28]

The first Umayyad caliph, Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān (r. 41–60 AH/661–680 CE), who established his court in Damascus, would thus have been familiar with the *solidi* struck in Constantinople, the imperial Byzantine capital, by the former Emperor Heraclius (r. 610–641 CE).[29] One such example, reproduced above (Figure 2.1), was struck between 616 CE and 625 CE, and shows the busts of Heraclius and Heraclius Constantine on the obverse, accompanied by the following full Latin legend: *Domini Nostri Heraclius et Heraclius Constantinus Perpetui Augusti*; and a Christian cross on top of a series of four steps on the reverse, alongside the legend: *Victoria Augustorum Constantinopoli obryzum*.[30]

As the Islamic numismatics specialist, Stefan Heidemann, notes, 'the indigenous population probably retained a strong adherence to traditional Christian symbols'[31] on coins, and in the days of Muʿāwiya's reign 'almost no attempt was made to represent the new state or religion [*sic*] on coins'.[32]

---

28 Heidemann, 'Numismatics', p. 651.

29 Floss, 'A Syrian Coinage', p. 357: 'Taxation requires money and money implies coinage. The Nessana documents in fact mention gold coins, by which they presumably mean the Byzantine solidi that continued to circulate in Syria long after the conquest'.

30 The latter part translating as 'Victory of the august, Constantinople, 1/72-pound pure gold'.

31 Heidemann, 'The Evolving Representation', p. 159.

32 Heidemann, 'The Evolving Representation', p. 159. This, of course, should be dramatically nuanced, since it is anachronistic to speak of a new 'religion' as early as Muʿāwiya's reign. During his time, lines between religions within the 'proto-Muslim' community were blurry and to a certain extent, the latter certainly was somewhat 'interconfessional', as can be seen in early 'external' sources speaking of the reign of Muʿāwiya. On this subject, see Shoemaker, *A Prophet*

The only notable change made to the current *solidi* during his caliphate can be found on its imitation, probably struck in Damascus, sometime before the end of his reign in 60 AH/680 CE, which constitutes our earliest example of a gold 'proto-Islamic' pre-reform coin (see Appendix 1, Figure 2.2). On this *solidus*, all of the Christian crosses on the obverse have been removed (the two crosses above the crowns and the one in the upper right side, which was featured on the previous Heraclius issues), and the 'cross on steps' on the reverse has been modified to become what has been dubbed a 'bar on a pole on steps'[33] or a 'staff with a crossbar (like a letter T)'.[34] Different interpretations have been put forward to explain the resulting design, among which the most plausible is that it represents an 'urban column' as depicted on many late antique mosaics,[35] which can possibly be viewed as a symbol of victory.[36]

Such important visual modifications to the highest value currency attest to an awareness of the potency of this overtly Christian and/or Byzantine symbol on the part of the Umayyad polity,[37] which foreshadows a model that will appear during the caliphate of Muʿāwiya's successor, ʿAbd al-Malik. However, this particular *solidus* was short-lived,[38] apparently because it was rejected by the local populations, who considered such *solidi* inauthentic as they no longer featured crosses, as reported in the Syriac *Maronite Chronicle* composed in the late 660s:[39] 'And [Muʿāwiya] also struck gold and silver coinage, but it was not accepted, because there was no cross on it'.[40]

Has Appeared, p. 158: '… [Muʿāwiya's] marriage to a Christian, the fact that the core of his army, not to mention his navy, consisted primarily of Christian troops, and his appointment of Christians to high-level positions in government certainly would all be consistent with his leadership of such an interconfessional community [as proposed by Fred Donner].' Also, see the *Maronite Chronicle*'s (*c.* 665 CE) portrayal of the caliph who is crowned in Jerusalem (both the city of King David and Jesus) and immediately after goes to Golgotha to pray and to the tomb of Mary to pray as well. Shoemaker, *A Prophet Has Appeared*, pp. 152–53.

33 Heidemann, 'The Evolving Representation', p. 160.

34 Floss, 'A Syrian Coinage', p. 362.

35 Heidemann, 'The Standing Caliph-Type', pp. 29–33 discusses the possible meanings of this symbol in the context of ʿAbd al-Malik 'standing caliph' coinage. As discussed below, this model is ultimately based on Muʿāwiya's design (the only difference being the presence of a 'globe' on top of the pole instead of a short horizontal bar).

36 As with the column of Phocas, erected by the emperor in Jerusalem in 608 CE. My thanks to Katharina Heyden for this suggestion.

37 Heidemann, 'The Evolving Representation', p. 160.

38 It is therefore a very rare coin, as can be verified with the incredible amount that it was sold for at auction ($110,000). See <https://www.cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=372388> [accessed 21 January 2024].

39 Shoemaker, *A Prophet Has Appeared*, pp. 150–51 and previously, see Palmer, *The Seventh Century in the West-Syrian Chronicles*, p. 32. This is also mentioned, with diverging opinions, by Bates, 'Commentaire sur l'étude de Cécile Morrisson', pp. 319–21, pp. 319–20 and Floss, 'A Syrian Coinage', p. 362, the latter arguing that despite their current rarity, there is evidence that these coins were produced in large numbers, indicating that they were probably melted and restruck because they were rejected by the population as mentioned in the *Chronicle*.

40 Shoemaker, *A Prophet Has Appeared*, p. 152, and discussion on p. 162: 'Perhaps [Muʿāwiya]

Not very long after these failed attempts to de-Christianize, or perhaps more accurately to 'de-Byzantinize' these *solidi*,[41] the fifth Umayyad caliph, ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān (r. 65–86 AH/685–705 CE) undertook a series of steps to modify these gold coins to give them new meaning. These changes should, of course, be understood in both the historical context of his victory over the rival caliphate of Ibn al-Zubayr in 72 AH/692 CE (marking the end of the 'Second Fitna' or 'Civil War') and later over the Kharijite caliph Qaṭarī b. al-Fujāʾa in 78–79 AH/698–699 CE, and in the broader context of his intention to give Islam a more defined shape in reaction and opposition to Jews, Zoroastrians, and especially Christians living in the newly conquered and unified lands.[42]

ʿAbd al-Malik thus initiated a series of major reforms to create a centralized state (reform of the army, fiscal reform, administrative reform — with Arabic becoming the official language of the caliphal administration instead of Greek and Pahlavi),[43] and around the very same year that the Dome of the Rock's construction was completed, in 72 AH/692 CE, he began to experiment with different types of coin designs in Syria. For the sake of clarity, these can be summarized and divided into the following four phases:

1. Resurrecting Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān's idea, the Umayyads started with choosing another type of *solidus* as a model for a new gold coin. This coin retained the image of the Byzantine Emperor Heraclius and his two sons on the obverse, albeit without the crosses on their crowns, but modified the Byzantine cross on steps on the reverse for a 'bar on a pole on steps'. At the same time, it retained the anachronistic Latin inscription (VICTORIA AUGU, CONOB — the abbreviation for *Victoria Augustorum Constantinopoli obryzum*) (see Appendix 1, Figure 2.3, *solidus* probably minted in Damascus, *c*. late 60s–72 AH/late 680s–691/692 CE).[44]
2. The logical next step appears shortly thereafter, around the year 73–74 AH/692–694 CE, when the same Byzantine model was used but the 'bar' was replaced with a 'globe on a pole on steps' and, most importantly, instead of the Latin inscription an Arabic legend encircled this symbol on the reverse reading, بسم الله لا اله الا الله وحده محمد رسول الله/ *bi-sm*^{i} *Llāh lā ilāh illā Llāh waḥdahu Muḥammad rasūl Allāh* (In the name of God. There is no god but God, He is alone. Muḥammad is the

---

wanted to distinguish his own currency from that of the Byzantines, whose coins frequently had crosses on their reverse'.

41 Heidemann, 'The Evolving Representation', p. 159: 'The cross might have been perceived as more than merely a Christian religious symbol and might have also been identified with the rival Byzantine empire'.

42 Robinson, *'Abd al-Malik*, pp. 66–80 on ʿAbd al-Malik's coin reform and its reasons; Heidemann, 'Numismatics', p. 655 and Treadwell, ''Abd al-Malik's Coinage Reforms', pp. 357–58. Also see De Prémare, ''Abd al-Malik b. Marwān and the Process of the Qurʾān's Composition', pp. 198–99.

43 Dye, 'Pourquoi et comment se fait un texte canonique?', pp. 101–02.

44 Heidemann, 'The Evolving Representation', p. 171.

messenger of God) (see Appendix 1, Figure 2.4, *solidus* probably minted in Damascus, *c.* 73–74 AH/692–694 CE), making it stand out from its Byzantine model for the first time with a clear affirmation of the new faith. There is no doubt that this legend is a response to ʿAbd al-Malik's adversary, Ibn al-Zubayr (r. 64–73 AH/683–692 CE), who claimed his political-religious legitimacy through his affiliation with Muḥammad (something to which ʿAbd al-Malik had no claim) and whose governor of the province of Sistān (South-East Iran) was the first to inscribe a dated silver coin (*drahm*) with this same full *šahāda* or Islamic profession of faith in 72 AH/691–692 CE.[45]

3. The next phase, dubbed the 'standing caliph' phase, saw the introduction of a truly original design (see Appendix 1, Figure 2.5 of a *dīnār* dated 75 AH/694–695 CE),[46] which lasted from 74 AH/693 CE to 77 AH/696 CE and fully combined representations of both imperial power (replacing the Byzantine *basileus* and the cross with the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik and a sword) and religion (including the full *šahāda* as well as the modified Byzantine/Christian cross in the form of the 'globe on a pole on steps').[47]

4. The fourth and final phase is crucial for fully understanding the discussion in the following third part of this paper, and therefore needs to be developed. After the defeat of the Kharijite 'Commander of the Believers' (i.e., caliph), Qaṭarī b. al-Fujāʾa, who had led a relentless uprising against the Umayyads, sometime around the year 77 AH/696 CE ʿAbd al-Malik introduced 'the definitive symbolic representation of Islam and the Islamic empire' on coinage.[48] This coinage reform, or 'revolution', as Chase Robinson has described it,[49] consisted of a completely non-figural, fully epigraphic *dīnār* (Appendix 1, Figure 2.6, *dīnār* probably struck in Damascus, and dated 78 AH/697 CE), on which all previous traces of Byzantine/Christian symbols had been removed.[50]

On the obverse of these post-reform *dīnār*-s, where there once stood Byzantine emperors or a caliphal figure, we find a variation on the *šahāda* in the field: لا اله الا اللـه وحده لا سربک له/*lā ilāh illā Llāh waḥdahu lā šarīk lahu* (There is no god but God, He is alone, He has no associate), and around what has usually

45 Heidemann, 'Numismatics', p. 655: 'Together with the Prophetic mission of Muḥammad, it is the first symbol of the Islamic religion and its empire known'.

46 It should be noted here that the Arabic word *dīnār* first appears on these coins, allowing us to speak of them as such, and no longer of *solidus*/*solidi*.

47 For a complete overview of this matter, see Goodwin, *The Standing Caliph Coinage*. Also see Heidemann, 'The Evolving Representation', pp. 174–81; Heidemann, 'Numismatics', pp. 655–56; Heidemann, 'The Standing Caliph-Type', pp. 23–34.

48 Heidemann, 'The Evolving Representation', p. 184.

49 Robinson, *ʿAbd al-Malik*, p. 73.

50 Dye, 'Pourquoi et comment se fait un texte canonique?', pp. 101–02.

been wrongly identified as 'a shortened version of Qurʾan 9.33',[51] but is in fact a combination of two qurʾānic verses[52] (Q 48. 29 combined with a modified version of Q 9. 33) — if indeed we can speak of qurʾānic verses at all at this time: محمد رسول الله ارسله بالهدے ودس الحق لیطهره علے الدس کله/*Muḥammad rasūl Allāh arsalahu bi -l-hudā wa-dīn al-ḥaqq li-yuẓhirahu ʿalā l-dīn kullihi* (Muḥammad is the messenger of God. He has sent him with the guidance and the religion of truth, so that he may cause it to prevail over religion — all of it).[53]

On the reverse (in the margin, we find the *basmala* followed by the date), in the field, in lieu of the Byzantine cross on steps modified into a 'bar/globe on a pole on steps' we find a shortened version of Q 112 (if, once again, we can speak of a Surah at that time without being anachronistic): الله احد الله الصمد لم یلد ولم یولد/*Allāh aḥad Allāh al-ṣamad lam yalid wa-lam yūlad* (He is God, One. God the *ṣamad*. He has neither begotten, nor has He been begotten), which can be understood as 'translating' into text the symbolism present on the former models, thereby attacking 'the Christian claim to the divinity of Christ [through "He has neither begotten …"] in the same manner as the image of the deformed cross', as Luke Treadwell has suggested.[54] The religious ideology that is found in the inscriptions of this post-reform *dīnār* is consistent with those on the Dome of the Rock (72 AH/692 CE), itself a co-produced building with a supersessionist agenda,[55] featuring the affirmation of God's strict unity, of Muḥammad's prophecy, and a denunciation of the Trinity.[56] And the purpose of these inscriptions seems quite clear: they are 'bearers of propaganda',[57] a means of spreading the essential tenets of the new religion to all populations under the dominion of the Umayyads, especially Christians, and to affirm their political-religious legitimacy in opposition to other competing groups, especially the Zubayrids.

Unlike its predecessors which only lasted a few years, this post-reform *dīnār* model would prove incredibly successful, as it became the model that would be followed in the Islamicate world for centuries.

---

51 Heidemann, 'The Evolving Representation', p. 185 and see Bacharach, 'Signs of Sovereignty', p. 18 who speaks of "Abd al-Malik's use of Sura 9:33 (or 48:28 or 61:9, which have the same wording)'.

52 Interestingly, this is reminiscent of contemporary lapidary inscriptions in which we find 'amalgamations' of qurʾānic verses, making for original sentences with a 'qurʾānic inspiration' or 'flavor'. The earliest of these was found in Iraq and is dated 64 AH/684 CE. See Imbert, 'Le Coran des Pierres', I, p. 727.

53 Translations from Droge, *The Qurʾān*. Q 9. 33 reads: 'He (it is) who has sent His messenger with the guidance …' (هُوَ الَّذِي أَرْسَلَ رَسُولَهُ بِالْهُدَىٰ/*huwa l-laḏī arsala rasūlahu bi-l-hudā*).

54 Treadwell, "Abd al-Malik's Coinage Reforms', p. 373.

55 Dye, 'Pourquoi et comment se fait un texte canonique?', p. 101 with reference to Moshe Sharon: 'un monument supersessionniste, destiné à illustrer la supériorité de la nouvelle foi, tout en la reliant à l'histoire sainte et en insistant sur CE qui fait sa spécificité, à savoir le rôle de Muḥammad et le rejet de christologies considérées comme erronées'.

56 Dye, 'Pourquoi et comment se fait un texte canonique?', p. 102.

57 Robinson, *'Abd al-Malik*, p. 75.

The '*morabetino alfonsino*' as a Full-Circle Case of Co-production

And indeed, if we fast-forward to the twelfth century CE, we find ourselves in the company of the Christian king Alfonso VIII of Castile (r. 1158–1214 CE), who in the year 1174 CE began striking a 'revolutionary new coin',[58] the so-called gold *morabetino alfonsino*, in Toledo, Spain, after several centuries of interruption of the striking of gold coinage in Europe (see Appendix 2, Figure 2.7 — a *morabetino alfonsino*, dated 1250 Safar = 1212 CE).[59] This gold coin was struck almost uninterrupted for thirty-four years, from 1173 CE to Alfonso's death in 1214 CE,[60] and carried on after that sporadically until Alfonso X's reign (r. 1252–1284 CE).

As Abigail Krasner Balbale has recently noted, the expression '*morabetino alfonsino*' is actually a misnomer for two reasons: first, because contemporary written records refer to them as *mithqāls alfonsí*, and not as *morabetino alfonsino*. Second, and most importantly, because contrary to what has long been believed,[61] Alfonso VIII's gold coins were not based on the *dīnār*-s of the Almoravids (*al-Murābiṭūn*, hence *morabetino*), but rather 'mimicked the specific design and inscriptions of the dinars he had been receiving in tribute from Ibn Mardanīsh [(r. 542–568 AH/1147–1172 CE), the king of Murcia and Valencia who opposed the spread of the Almohad caliphate] for years'.[62]

Like every aniconic, fully epigraphic Islamic *dīnār*-s, the gold coin struck by Ibn Mardanīš (Appendix 2, Figure 2.8 — *dīnār* struck in 554 AH/1158 CE) is ultimately modelled on the post-reform model of ʿAbd al-Malik discussed earlier, which we will remember is itself based on a Byzantine/Christian model. In quite an ironic twist, then, the '*morabetino alfonsino*' reintroduces a Christian cross on the reverse and adapts its Arabic text with Christian content. Balbale has shown that these inscriptions were meant to directly counter the religious and political ideological claims featured in the legends of Ibn Mardanīš's gold coins.[63]

The obverse margin legend on the '*morabetino alfonsino*', dated 1212 CE, reads: صرب هدا الدىار ىطليطله عام حمسں وماىىں والف ىارىح الصفر/*ḍuriba hāḏā l-dīnār bi-Ṭulayṭula ʿām ḫamsīn wa-miʾātayn wa-alf tārīḫ al-Ṣafar* (This *dīnār* was minted in Toledo, year 1250 of the Era of Ṣafar).

In the obverse field, the following is inscribed: امىر القىولقں الڡىس ىں سىحه اىده اللـه وىصره/*amīr al-qatūliqīn Alfuns ibn Sanja ayyadahu Llāh wa-naṣarahu*

58 Balbale, *The Wolf King*, p. 216. I am deeply grateful to Mohammad Ballan for this reference.

59 Todesca, 'Selling Castile', p. 38.

60 Todesca, 'Selling Castile', p. 39. The only gap is between 1176 CE and 1180 CE.

61 Most recently, see Todesca, 'Selling Castile'.

62 Balbale, *The Wolf King*, p. 217.

63 Balbale, *The Wolf King*, p. 218. The decorations ('dots, a star, or a flower') on the '*morabetino alfonsino*' also copy those of Ibn Mardanīš's *dīnār*-s and are not present on Almoravid gold coins.

(Commander/ of the Catholics/ Alfonso son of Sancho/ May God strengthen him/ and help him).

As for the reverse margin legend, it reads: بسم الاب والابن والروح القدس اللـه الواحد من امن وبعمد يكون سالما/*bi-sm*^{i} *l-ab wa-l-ibn wa-l-rūḥ al-qudus Allāh al-wāḥid man āmana wa-ta*^{ʿ}*ammada yakūn sāliman* (In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, God is one. He who believes and is baptized will be saved).

Finally, the reverse field features a cross, under which is written: امام الشعه المسحيه باباه/*imām al-bī*^{ʿ}*a l-masīḥiyya bāba* (The Imam of the Church/ the Christian [i.e., the Christian Church], [is the] Pope), which is followed by the three Latin letters 'ALF', for 'Alfonso'.

The central mention of the *imām al-bī*^{ʿ}*a l-masīḥiyya* (Imam of the Catholic Church) on the reverse of the '*morabetino alfonsino*' is a direct reaction to the central inscription on the reverse of Ibn Mardanīš's post-547 AH/1152 CE *dīnār*-s,[64] which reads: الامام ابو عبد اللـه محمد المقتفى لامر اللـه امير المومنين العباسى/*al-imām Abū* ^{ʿ}*Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Muqtafī li-Amr Allāh amīr al-mu*^{ʾ}*minīn al-*^{ʿ}*Abbāsī* (The Imam/ Abū ^{ʿ}Abd Allāh/ Muḥammad al-Muqtafī/ li-Amr Allāh, the Commander/ of the Believers the Abbasid [i.e., the Abbasid Commander of the Believers]), reflecting that both Ibn Mardanīš and Alfonso wished to legitimate their roles as rulers through the authority of the leader of their faith: the Abbasid caliph al-Muqtafī li-Amr Allāh (r. 530–1096 AH/1136–1160 CE) for Ibn Mardanīš, and the Pope for Alfonso VIII.[65] The appropriation in the case of Alfonso's gold coin is especially striking insofar as the qur^{ʾ}ānic Arabic technical term *imām* that he uses to speak of the pope is exclusively Islamic and is heavily charged with meaning for Shias, who refer to the descendants of Muḥammad as such,[66] and to a lesser extent for Sunnis, who speak of religious figures or simply of men who lead the prayer as *imām*.[67]

The expression following the name of the Abbasid caliph on Ibn Mardanīš's *dīnār* is امير المومنين/*amīr al-mu*^{ʾ}*minīn* (Commander of the Believers), yet another historically charged expression, since this was the way in which ^{ʿ}Alī b. Abī Ṭ ālib, Muḥammad's cousin and son-in-law, was referred to by the Shias, for whom he was the first Imam,[68] and which was also an expression designating the first caliphs of Islam. As was the case with the word *imām*, the '*morabetino alfonsino*' reappropriates and adapts this historically charged expression to the Christian context as *amīr al-qatūliqīn* (Commander of the Catholics), thereby investing Alfonso VIII with the same authority.

Moreover, both the 'short' Islamic *basmala*, بسم اللـه/*bi-sm*^{i} *Llāh* (In the name God), featured in the legend of the reverse of Ibn Mardanīš's *dīnār*, and the 'short' *šahāda*, لا اله الا اللـه/*lā ilāh illā Allāh* (there is no god but God), featured

64 Balbale, *The Wolf King*, pp. 118–19.

65 Balbale, *The Wolf King*, p. 219.

66 On this topic see for instance the recent work of Amir-Moezzi, *La preuve de Dieu*.

67 For an overview of this important word, see Yusuf, 'Imām', II, pp. 502–04.

68 Amir-Moezzi, *Ali, le secret bien gardé*.

in the obverse field, are reformulated in Christian terms on the reverse of the '*morabetino alfonsino*' as *bi-sm*^{i} *l-ab wa-l-ibn wa-l-rūḥ al-qudus Allāh al-wāḥid* (In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, God is one). Although the latter is clearly a direct reaction to the ubiquitous Islamic *basmala*, whose aim is to express what Alfonso would have considered the correct theological understanding of God, I would not go as far as to call it a '*basmala* modified to incorporate the Tripartite Christian God', as Balbale suggests.[69] Indeed, the formula 'In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit' predates the emergence of Islam, as it is found in Greek in the Gospel of Matthew 28. 19, and is translated into Arabic precisely as it appears on the '*morabetino alfonsino*' as an introductory formula in Christian manuscripts, such as in a collection of the Gospels, the Epistle to the Hebrews and Sermons dating from 1123 CE.[70] Following this Christian formula, the addition of *Allāh al-wāḥid* (God is one) in terms echoing a qurʾānic verse such as Q 12. 39 is clearly meant to insist on the fact that although the Christian profession of faith is threefold, God is indeed One, an idea found in the Christian Bible (for e.g., Galatians 3. 20), but which is emphasized in this context as a pre-emptive response to common accusations from Muslims that Christians worship three gods.

Finally, it is no coincidence that just as Ibn Mardanīš's *dīnār* uses the following qurʾānic verse (Q 3. 85) in the legend on the obverse: ومن يبتغ غير الاسلام دينا فلن يقبل منه وهو فى الاخره من الخاسرين/*wa-man yabtaġi ġayr al-islām dīnan fa-lan yuqbala minhu wa-huwa fī l-āḫira min al-ḫāsirīn* (He who desires a religion other than Islam, it will not be accepted from him, and in the Hereafter he will be one of the losers), emphasizing the salvific and exclusive quality of Islam. Similarly Alfonso VIII's gold coin quotes his own Scripture (the Gospel of Mark 16. 16) to insist on the similar fact that *man āmana wa-taʿammada yakūn sāliman* (He who believes [i.e., in Jesus] and is baptized will be saved).[71]

Conclusion

Although separated by six centuries, many parallels can be drawn between the contexts in which the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik and the king Alfonso VIII struck their gold coins, the first historical context being that of rulership over newly conquered lands of varied faiths where the *dīnār* was a means of propagating the essential tenets of the newly formed religion — Islam — and the second the context of the Reconquista.[72] Both rulers resorted to a new, very different model of coin to inscribe this message — respectively the first

69 Balbale, *The Wolf King*, p. 219 n. 92.

70 Sinai Cod. Arab. 97, fol. 2a, ed. and trans. by Smith Lewis and Dunlop Gibson, *Forty-One Facsimiles of Dated Christian Arabic Manuscripts*, p. 19.

71 Balbale, *The Wolf King*, p. 220.

72 For instance, Alfonso VIII undertook a Crusade against the Muslim port of Almeria in 1147 CE. See Todesca, 'Selling Castile', pp. 30–31.

fully epigraphic coin of Late Antiquity and the first gold coin to be minted in Europe since the seventh century CE — and for both rulers the aim of the inscribed message was the same: a propagandistic assertion of political authority and supremacy as well as of religious superiority in contradistinction and opposition to the Other.

Despite this alterity, we find in both echoes of the Other: the first *dīnār*-s are not only heirs to their Byzantine predecessors in design, but also reflect deep theological interactions with Christians, as is evident in Q 112. 3 on the reverse of these gold coins,[73] or as can be seen in the progressive transformation and elimination of the Byzantine/Christian cross. Similarly, the so-called Christian '*morabetino alfonsino*' takes Ibn Mardanīš's gold coin model, which conforms to all the specific Islamic parameters of the *dīnār* (such as the aniconic, fully epigraphic form, as well as the use of qurʾānic verses), but reshapes it into a Christian product. It reformulates its Islamic Arabic legends to produce a polemic to its Muslim counterpart through the appropriation and adaptation of Islamic terminology, thus providing a fascinating example of what I have called a 'full-circle case of co-production'.

The present paper has concentrated on one particular type of coin — the gold *dīnār* — and on one specific case study, but we should further explore the vast potential for co-production that can be found in both Umayyad silver coins, which are based on their Sassanian predecessors and are full of Zoroastrian symbolism, which will slowly be modified and finally disappear, and in Umayyad copper coins — or *fulūs* — which are ultimately based on their Byzantine counterparts. These copper coins — especially the ones belonging to the so-called 'post-reform era' (i.e., post-77 AH/696 CE) — have been understudied and could potentially shed new light on different aspects of co-production between various religious groups in the formative years of Islam.

73 For an in-depth discussion regarding Q 112 and the ways in which it reacts to Trinitarian Christian doctrines, see Neuenkirchen, 'Al-Ikhlāṣ'.

Appendix 1. **Evolution of the gold coin from the first Umayyad caliph, Muʿāwiya (r. 661–680 CE) to the fifth Umayyad caliph, ʿAbd al-Malik (r. 685–705 CE)**

Figure 2.2. Muʿāwiya (r. 661–680 CE). First pre-reform gold coin struck during his caliphate. Dinar 1.1 (obverse) and 1.2 (reverse): Numismatica Genevensis SA, 'Ancient and World Coins' Auction 12 (Monday 18 November 2019), Lot 158. (https://ngsa.bidinside.com/en/lot/3478/umayyad-dynasty-pseudo-byzantine-coinage-/).

Figure 2.3. ʿAbd al-Malik (r. 685–705 CE). Struck late 680s–691–692 CE. Dinar 2: Baldwin & Sons, Islamic Coin Auction 24 (Thursday 9 May 2013), Lot 3999. (https://www.numisbids.com/n.php?p=lot&sid=459&lot=3999).

Figure 2.4. ʿAbd al-Malik. Struck between 692 and 694 CE. First Islamic profession of faith on a gold coin. Dinar 3: Baldwin & Sons, Islamic Coin Auction 24 (Thursday 9 May 2013), Lot 4000. (https://www.numisbids.com/n.php?p=lot&sid=459&lot=4000).

Figure 2.5. ʿAbd al-Malik. This 'standing caliph' model struck between 693 and 696 CE. Dinar 4.1 (obverse) and 4.2 (reverse): American Numismatic Society, 'Gold Dinar of Umayyad Caliphate, Dimashq, 75 H. 1970.63.1'. (Licence: Public Domain Mark; Rights: No Copyright — United States) (http://numismatics.org/collection/1970.63.1).

Figure 2.6. ʿAbd al-Malik. First post-reform fully epigraphic dīnār struck starting in 697–698 CE. Dinar 5.1 (obverse) and 5.2 (reverse): American Numismatic Society, 'Gold Dinar of temp. 'Abd al-Malik, Dimashq, 78 H. 1917.216.878'. (Licence: Public Domain Mark; Rights: No Copyright — United States) (https://numismatics.org/collection/1917.216.878).

Appendix 2. **Comparison between the gold coin of Alfonso VIII (r. 1158–1214 CE) and the dīnār of Ibn Mardanīš (r. 1147–1172 CE)**

Figure 2.7. '*Morabetino alfonsino*', struck by Alfonso VIII (r. 1158–1214 CE), dated 1250 Safar = 1212 CE. Dinar 6: Aureo & Calicó Subastas Numismáticas, S.L., 'Isabel de Trastámara, Medieval vol. I. Monedas de Alfonso VI a Alfonso X' Auction 376 (Wednesday 17 November 2021), Lot 261. (https://aureocalico.bidinside.com/en/lot/56768/1250-de-safar-1212-dc-alfonso-viii-/).

Figure 2.8. *Dīnār*, struck by Ibn Mardanīš (r. 542–568 AH/1147–1172 CE) in 554 AH/1158 CE. Dinar 7: Aureo & Calicó Subastas Numismáticas, S.L., 'Selección de 500 monedas, medallas y billetes' Auction 387 (Thursday 17 March 2022), Lot 28 (https://aureocalico.bidinside.com/en/lot/65630/taifas-almorjvides-murcia-ah-554-/).

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Abū Dāwūd, Sulaymān b. al-Aš'aṯ al-Sijistānī, *Sunan*, ed. by Muḥammad Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Albānī (Riyad: Maktaba l-ma'ārif li–l-našr wa-l-tawzī', 2007)

Anas b. Mālik, *al-Muwaṭṭā'* (Beirut: Dār al-jīl, n.d.)

Ibn Māja, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Yazīd al-Qazwīnī, *Sunan*, ed. by Muḥammad Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Albānī (Riyad: Maktaba l-ma'ārif li–l-našr wa-l-tawzī', 2008)

Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'Arab* (Cairo: Dār al-ḥadīṯ, 2003)

Muslim, Abū l-Ḥusayn, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, ed. by Muḥammad Fu'ād 'Abd al-Bāqī (Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyya, n.d.)

Secondary Sources

Amir-Moezzi, Mohammad Ali, *Ali, le secret bien gardé. Figure du premier Maître en spiritualité shi'ite* (Paris: CNRS Éditions, 2020)

——, *La preuve de Dieu. La mystique shi'ite à travers l'œuvre de Kulaynî IXe-Xe siècle* (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 2018)

Anthony, Sean W., *Muhammad and the Empires of Faith: The Making of the Prophet of Islam* (California: University of California Press, 2020)

Bacharach, Jere, 'Signs of Sovereignty: The "Shahāda", Qur'anic Verses, and the Coinage of 'Abd al-Malik', *Muqarnas*, 27 (2010), 1–30

Balbale, Abigail Krasner, *The Wolf King: Ibn Mardanīsh and the Construction of Power in Al-Andalus*, Medieval Societies, Religions, and Cultures (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2022)

Bates, Michael L., 'Commentaire sur l'étude de Cécile Morrisson', in *La Syrie de Byzance à l'Islam VIIe-VIIIe siècles. Actes du colloque international, Lyon — Maison de l'Orient méditerranéen, Paris — Institut du Monde Arabe, 11–15 septembre 1990*, ed. by Pierre Canivet and Jean-Paul Rey-Coquais (Damascus: Institut Français de Damas, 1992), pp. 319–21

——, 'History, Geography, and Numismatics in the First Century of Islamic Coinage', *Schweizerische numismatische Rundschau = Revue suisse de numismatique = Rivista svizzera di numismatica*, 65 (1986), 231–61

Brunschvig, Robert, 'Conceptions monétaires chez les juristes musulmans (VIIIe-XIIIe siècles)', *Arabica*, 14.2 (1967), 113–43

De Prémare, Alfred-Louis, ''Abd al-Malik b. Marwān and the Process of the Qur'ān's Composition', in *The Hidden Origins of Islam: New Research into Its Early History*, ed. by Karl-Heinz Ohlig and Gerd-R. Puin (New York: Prometheus Books, 2010), pp. 189–221

Droge, Arthur J., *The Qur'ān: A New Annotated Translation* (Sheffield: Equinox, 2017)

Dye, Guillaume, 'Pourquoi et comment se fait un texte canonique? Quelques réflexions sur l'histoire du Coran', in *Hérésies: une construction d'identités religieuses*, ed. by Christian Brouwer, Guillaume Dye, and Anja Van Rompaey (Brussels: Editions de l'Université de Bruxelles, 2015), pp. 55–104

Floss, Clive, 'A Syrian Coinage of Mu'awiya?', *Revue Numismatique*, 158 (2002), 353–65
Goodwin, Tony, *The Standing Caliph Coinage* (London: Archetype Publications, 2018)
Grasso, Valentina A., *Pre-Islamic Arabia: Societies, Politics, Cults and Identities during Late Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2023)
Heidemann, Stefan, 'The Evolving Representation of the Early Islamic Empire and its Religion on Coin Imagery', in *The Qurʾān in Context: Historical and Literary Investigations into the Qurʾānic Milieu*, ed. by Angelika Neuwirth, Nicolai Sinai, and Michael Marx (Leiden: Brill, 2011), pp. 149–95.
——, 'Numismatics', in *The New Cambridge History of Islam, Volume 1: The Formation of the Islamic World, Sixth to Eleventh Centuries*, ed. by Chase Robinson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 648–63
——, 'The Standing Caliph-Type — The Object on the Reverse', in *Coinage and History in the Seventh Century Near East 2*, ed. by Andrew Oddy (London: Seventh Century Syrian Numismatic Round Table, 2010), pp. 29–33
Heyden, Katharina, and David Nirenberg, 'Co-produced Religions: Judaism, Christianity, and Islam', *Harvard Theological Review*, 118 (2025), 159–80
Huyse, Philippe, 'Greece xiii: Greek Loanwords in Middle Iranian Languages', *Encyclopædia Iranica*, (Leiden: Brill, 2020), https://doi.org/10.1163/2330-4804_EIRO_COM_2460 [accessed 2 May 2024]
Imbert, Frédéric, 'Le Coran des Pierres', in *Le Coran des historiens*, ed. by Mohammad Ali Amir-Moezzi and Guillaume Dye (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 2019), I, pp. 707–32
Jeffery, Arthur, *The Foreign Vocabulary of the Qurʾān* (Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1938)
Jennings, William, *Lexicon to the Syriac New Testament (Peshiṭṭa)* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926)
Liddell, Henry George, and Robert Scott (revised by Henry Stuart Jones, and Roderick McKenzie), *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 9th edn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996)
Lindstedt, Ilkka, *Muḥammad and His Followers in Context: The Religious Map of Late Antique Arabia*, Islamic History and Civilization: Studies and Texts, 209 (Leiden: Brill, 2023)
Mingana, Alphonse, 'Syriac Influence on the Style of the Koran', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 11.1 (1927), 77–98
Neuenkirchen, Paul, 'Al-Ikhlāṣ: An Intertextual Reading of a Qurʾanic Creed', in *De la lettre à l'esprit. Travaux en hommage à Mohammad Ali Amir-Moezzi / From the Letter to the Spirit. Studies in Honour of Mohammad Ali Amir-Moezzi*, ed. by Orkhan Mir-Kasimov and Mathieu Terrier (Turnhout: Brepols, forthcoming 2025)
——, 'L'argent et l'usure en Islam', in *Dieu aime-t-il les prêts à intérêt? Les religions du livre et la finance*, ed. by Anne Morelli (Brussels: Mont de Piété de Bruxelles, 2020), pp. 18–29
Palmer, Andrew, *The Seventh Century in the West-Syrian Chronicles* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1993)
Payne Smith, Jessie, *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary: Founded upon the 'Thesaurus Syriacus' of R. Payne Smith, D.D.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1902)

Reynolds, Gabriel S., 'Le problème de la chronologie du Coran', *Arabica*, 58 (2011), 477–502

Robinson, Chase F., *'Abd al-Malik: Makers of the Muslim World* (London: Oneworld Academic, 2005)

Shoemaker, Stephen J., *The Death of a Prophet: The End of Muḥammad's Life and the Beginnings of Islam. Divinations: Rereading Late Ancient Religion* (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012)

——, *A Prophet Has Appeared: The Rise of Islam Through Christian and Jewish Eyes — A Sourcebook* (California: University of California Press, 2021)

Smith Lewis, Agnes, and Margaret Dunlop Gibson, *Forty-One Facsimiles of Dated Christian Arabic Manuscripts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1907)

Sokoloff, Michael, *A Syriac Lexicon: A Translation from the Latin, Correction, Expansion, and Update of C. Brockelmann's 'Lexicon Syriacum'* (Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2009)

Todesca, James J., 'Selling Castile: Coinage, Propaganda, and Mediterranean Trade in the Age of Alfonso VIII', in *King Alfonso VIII of Castile: Government, Family, and War*, ed. by Miguel Gómez, Kyle Lincoln, Damian Smith, and Martín Alvira Cabrer (New York: Fordham University Press, 2019), pp. 30–58

Treadwell, Luke, ''Abd al-Malik's Coinage Reforms: The Role of the Damascus Mint', *Revue numismatique*, 6.165 (2009), 357–81

Yusuf, Imtiyaz, 'Imām', in *Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān*, ed. by Jane Dammen McAuliffe (Leiden: Brill, 2002), II, pp. 502–04