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Khazrunid Gold Coins (367-445H/ 977-1053AD):

A New Classification Using an Unpublished Collection

نقود بني خزرون الذهبية (٣٦٧ - ٤٤٥هـ / ٩٧٧ - ١٠٥٣م)

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## Abstract

When it comes to Numismatics there may be a no more elusive topic than the tantalizing Khazrunid gold coin, scattered at few, rare collections raising mystery around them, yet the fruitful previous studies that may help to solve the matter are still impotent as most of the studied coins lost their dates because their outer margins were clipped; on the other hand, few details were given by the historians for the Khazrunid rulers.

The Khazrunid coins owe their worth not only in gold, but because every single authentic coin is chronicle of a different time and illustrates the struggling grasps of the three powerful Caliphates of the Islamic world. The Umayyad's of Spain writhed and reached out for the entirety of Morocco that was in the hands of the Fatimid's. The Khazrunid Emirate was the center of the clash with the Umayyad's of Spain... the first time that a part of Morocco was governed by Spain, as Ibn-Khaldun once said.

Mr. Rashid El-Subaihi owns a private collection where almost all known variation and value of Khazrunid dinars reside, Brethes had published many previously, but with legend errors and

poor photos. This will shine new light on the Khazrunid coins with the aim of setting a new classification for the Khazrunid gold issues using important information that was neglected by previous studies.

This paper also presents some new types of Khazrunid gold coins including the first known Khazrunid dinar in the name of Hisham II, other distinguished dinars of the Umayyads of Spain.

**Keywords:** Khazrunid dynasty, Wanudin, Mas'ud b. Wanudin, Maghrwawa, Gold coins.

### الملخص

عندما يتعلق الأمر بعلم النميات فربما لا يكون هناك موضوع شائك أكثر من نقود بني خزرون الذهبية المحيرة المتبعثرة في مجموعات نادرة مثيرة الغموض حولها ، حتى أن الدراسات السابقة المثمرة التي كان يمكن أن تساعد في حل الإشكالية ما تزال مكتنفة بالغموض و ذلك بسبب فقدان معظم النقود لتواريخها لأن هامشها الخارجي مقصوص، و من جهة أخرى فقد تم تقديم القليل من التفاصيل عند المؤرخين فيما يخص حكام أسرة بني خزرون.

و قد حظيت تلك النقود بأهميتها ليس فقط في معدن الذهب و لكن لكون كل قطعة منها تسجل لفترة تاريخية مختلفة موضحة الصراع ما بين الخلافت الثالثة المتصارعة في العالم الإسلامي آنذاك، حيث وصل الأمويون إلى داخل المغرب الذي كان في ذلك الوقت يحكمه الفاطميون و كانت إمارة بني خزرون في بؤرة الصراع مع الأمويين فللمرة الأولى يحكم الأمويين في الأندلس جزء من المغرب كما ذكر ابن خلدون. و يمتلك السيد رشيد الصبيحي مجموعة خاصة حيث يتوافر فيها معظم الأنماط المعروفة لنقود بني خزرون و التي نشر بريت العديد من أمثلة بعضها و لكن مع أخطاء في القراءة و صور رديئة ، مما سيلقي الضوء على نقود بني خزرون بهدف وضع تقسيم جديد للإصدارات النقدية الذهبية لبني خزرون مع استخدام معلومات هامة تم إغفالها من الدراسات السابقة.

كما تقدم هذه الورقة البحثية أنماطاً جديدة لنقود بني خزرون متضمنة أقدم دينار باسم هشام الثاني المؤيد بالله ودينارا مميزا من ضرب الأمويين أيضا و نصف دينار نادر يحمل اسم مسعود.

**كلمات مفتاحية:** أسرة بني خزرون، وانودين، مسعود بن وانودين، مغراوة، نقود ذهبية.

## Introduction \*

The Khazrunid emirate is a Berber dynasty that ruled a part of Morocco in the Middle Ages. They were a branch of Maghrawa of Zenata<sup>1</sup>, considered as one of the major Moroccan tribes. They came to power at Sijilmasa in AH 367/ AD 977 and ruled in the name of the Spanish Umayyad caliph Hisham II Al-Mu'ayyd. Although almost all Morocco was being ruled in the name of the Fatimid's<sup>2</sup>, the Spanish Umayyad's began to strike their remarkable coins in Sijilmasa.

Why Sijilmasa? There was probably no more important city in Morocco at that time than Sijilmasa, It was the most important center of communications and commerce between the Mediterranean and the South of the Sahara and the Orient<sup>3</sup>. It was considered as an African El-Dorado, the city of gold, as it was a pivot in the gold trade between the Mediterranean world and ancient Ghana, so Sijilmasa's caravans brought the wealth of Africa north to the Mediterranean world, as Messier said<sup>4</sup>, He added: "Three peaks in Umayyad production represented by twenty-nine dinars from AH 358/ AD 968, thirty from AH 363/ AD 973 and thirty-nine from AH 391/ AD 1000 correspond to zero, one, zero Fatimid dinars from the same years, it seems clear that when one of the two competitors controlled the gold route, it was at the expense of the other"<sup>5</sup>. It is clear that the Spanish Umayyad's were keen on keeping this city under their control to keep the gold route safe.

The Khazrunids ruled Sijilmasa from AH367/ AD977 to AH445/ AD1035, except during the Fatimid incursion of Bologgin the Zirid who held Sijilmasa temporarily in the year AH369/ AD979. Also, during the revolt of Ziri in Fas, Sijilmasa also stopped belonging to the Khazrunids. That was around AH 388 when Ziri ibn Atteya seized Fes and ruled Al-Maghrib in the name of Hisham II, then there was a rebel against Al-Mansour 'Amer whose name Ibn-

\* I would like to thank **Mr. Rashid El-Subaihi** for his help and to allow me to present his private collection of Khazrunid coins in this paper and to publish the unpublished ones. Also, I would like to thank **Mr. Edmund Hohertz** for his sincere help in this article and for his fruitful discussions and guiding me on several points of this work.

<sup>1</sup> **Ibn-Khaldun**(Abd El-Rahman bin Mohammad, 808AH); *Al-Aabar wa diwan al-Mobtada wa al-Khabar fi Ayam al-Arab wa al-Ajam wa al-Barbar wa Thawe al-Sultan al-Akbar*, Vol. 7, Beirut, 2000, P. 33&50.

<sup>2</sup> **Ibn-Khaldun**; *Al-Ebar*, Vol.. 7, P51.

<sup>3</sup> **Saenz, Juan IG-Diez**; *The Khazrunids: Mas'ud Ben Wanudin, Proceedings of the 10th International Congress of Numismatics= Actes du 10ème Congrès International de Numismatique- London, September 1986, PP. 423-427.*

<sup>4</sup> **Messier, Ronald A. & Miller, James A.**; *The last civilized place Sijilmasa and its Saharan destiny*, University of Texas press, First edition, 2015, p19.

<sup>5</sup> **Messier**; *the last civilized*, P.87.

Khaldun did not mention, so ‘Amer sent his son Al-Muzaffar Abd Al-Malik to Al-Maghrib to discipline the rebel, then he named Hamid Ibn-Yassil Al-Miknassy as a governor of Sijilmasa when Bani Khazrun fled from the city; Hamid recently joined the Spanish Umayyad’s after abandoning the Fatimid’s. Hamid kept his position for only a short time because before Al-Muzaffar returned to Spain he gave the government of Fas to Wadeh and granted amnesty to Wanudin and appointed him and his cousin Falful Ibn Said to Sijilmasa in exchange for money and several horses<sup>1</sup>. Ibn-Khaldun said that from the year AH390 / AD999 onwards, Wanudin became an independent ruler in the city Sijilmasa<sup>2</sup>.

Several years after the fall of Sijilmasa, the family of Wanudin and all the followers of Wanudin and members of Maghrawa tribes were exterminated when the Al-Moravids conquered Sefrou<sup>3</sup> in AH455/ AD1063. In AH463 the Al-Moravids entered Malueya and finished all Wanudin’s sons as if they had never existed, as Ibn-Khaldun said<sup>4</sup>.

The family of Bani Khazrun is surrounded by mystery because the famous historian Ibn-Khaldun didn’t give the starting or ending dates of their reigns or much information about them. It can be concluded from his book “Al-Ebar” that there were only three Emirs of this family: Khazrun Ibn-Falful who conquered Sijilmasa, succeeded by his son Wanudin, then finally Mas’ud “Wanudin’s son”. The previous numismatic studies depended on Ibn-Khaldun’s text, which has some contradictions, as we are going to explain.

The previous studies also presented prince Mas’ud, who was killed by the Al-Moravids invasion to Sijilmasa, as Mas’ud the son of Wanudin<sup>5</sup>, the only Mas’ud in this dynasty

<sup>1</sup> **Ibn-Khaldun**; *Al-Ebar*, Vol 7, P.51; **Saenz**; *The Khazrunids*, P.424.

<sup>2</sup> For more details; **Ibn-Khaldun**; *Al-Ebar*, Vol 7 PP. 50-52.

<sup>3</sup> **Ibn-Khaldun**; *Al-Ebar*, Vol 7, P.52. This name is written in two forms in Ibn-Khaldun; the first form is Sabroun, which refers to nothing at Geographical dictionaries and the second and correct form is Sufrii صفروي at the footnote of **Ibn-Khaldun**, Vol 7, P52; there are few information about this city at Al-Bakry and Al-Idreesy which says that it is in the way from Fes to Sijilmasa and it is near Fes, it has walls and it has rivers and trees and at Al-Idreesy; it is a small civilized town that has few markets and most of its people are farmers and they have cattles, **Idreesy**, **Abu ‘Abdullah Mohammad 564H**, Nozhat Al-Mushtak fi Ikhtarak Al-Afak, Leyde 1866, p76. **Al-Bakri**, **Abu Ubayd 487H**, al-Mughrib fi thekr bilad Afrikeya wa al-Magrib, Cairo, no date, P. 146,147. Saenz, *The Khazrunids*, P. 424.

<sup>4</sup> **Ibn-Khaldun**, Vol7, P. 52.

<sup>5</sup> **Brethes, J. D**; *Contribution à L’histoire du Maroc par les recherches numismatiques*, Casablanca, 2001, P.103; **Miftah, Nour Al-Din**; *Al-Fehris Al-Aam lelmaskukat Al-Maghribeyya men Al-Ahd Al-Idrissi ila Al-ahd Al-Saadi, Al-maahad Al-watani le oloum Al-athar wa Al-turath*, 2001-2002, P.143; **Ramadan, Atif**; *Nokoud Bani Khazrun Mulouk Sijilmasa (366-463H / 976-1070 AD), namat heg lam yasbek nashraha*, Derassat fi Athar Al-Watan Al-Araby 12, Majallat Al-Athareyeen Al-Arab, 2010, PP. 1244-1258, P.1245; **Heddouchi, Choukri**; *The medieval coins of Sijilmassa, Morocco, A history of the mint and its minting techniques*, M.A thesis, Middle Tennessee state University, 1998, P. 23.

mentioned by Ibn-Khaldun. This isn't true because there are two more rulers in this dynasty mentioned by Ibn Al-Khatib: Muhammad son of Mas'ud and Mas'ud son of Muhamad<sup>1</sup>, as we are going to see. Moreover, the previous studies had A confusion concerning Wanudin's reign. They wrote that Wanudin became independent and expanded his territories northward to the banks of Malweya river and Safrou<sup>2</sup>, which isn't true either because this event did not belong to Wanudin, but to Wanudin's sons as Ibn-Khaldun mentioned in page 47 when he was talking about the fight between Bani Wanudin and Al-Muez ibn Ziri in AH407/ AD1016<sup>3</sup>. Then Ibn-Khaldoun contradicted himself and stated that in the same date AH407/ AD1016 the two parties at conflict were both Wanudin himself and Al-Muez Ibn-Ziri. After that the former extended his territory by conquering Sefrou.

This overlap in information occurred due to the historical narration transfer from Ibn-Khaldun who didn't tell details about this dynasty's rulers and made the previously mentioned contradiction. Another problem in Ibn-Khaldoun is that he did not mention some dates for important events like moving the authority of Sijilmasa to Hamid Ibn-Yassel Al-Miknassi before it returned back to Wanudin. He also did not mention the date that sons of Wanudin expanded their territories to include Sefrou<sup>4</sup>. Here was the first question that Saenz tried to discuss in his article<sup>5</sup> when he was talking about the unknown beginning years of the Khazrunid rulers. He wondered why some modern numismatists, like Album and Cordy, affirm that Mas'ud's rule took place rather between AH435 and AH445, which infers that Wanudin ruled Sijilmasa approximately from the year AH380 to AH435. This infers Mas'ud ruled for only five or ten years, which is difficult to understand, as more coins are attributed to Mas'ud than Wanudin<sup>6</sup>. When we know that there were two other rulers in this dynasty, the coin production and sequence make sense and solves the mystery.

The previous list of Khazrunid rulers that was followed by the numismatists can be found at Album's Checklist as the following:

<sup>1</sup> **Ibn al-Khateeb, Lessan al-Din 776 AH**; *A'amal Al-A'lam fi man boye'a Kabl Al-Ehtelam men molouk Al-Islam wa ma yata'allak bethalek men Al-Kalam, tahkik Sayed kessrawy*, Beirut, n.d, Vol. II, P. 356-7.

<sup>2</sup> According to Heddouchi after 422H; **Heddouchi**; *Medieval coins*, P.22; and according to Dr. Atif it was after 407H; **Ramadan, Nokoud**, P.1245.

<sup>3</sup> **Ibn-Khaldun**; *Al-Ebar*, Vol 7, P.47.

<sup>4</sup> **Ibn-Khaldun**; *Al\_Ebar*, Vol 7, P. 51.

<sup>5</sup> **Saenz**; *The Khazrunid*, P. 425.

<sup>6</sup> **Saenz**; *The Khazrunid*, P. 425.

- Wanudin d circa 440 / 1048.
- Mas'ud b. Wanudin circa 440-445 / 1048-1053<sup>1</sup>.

Fortunately, Ibn Al-Khatib not only added the two princes' names in his book, but also gave exact dates for the reign of each of them<sup>2</sup>, the dates he didn't give were only for Khazrun and his son Wanudin, so their period of reign will be determined approximately after what was understood from Ibn-Khaldun. He said that in AH390/ AD 999 Wanudin became independent and in AH396/ AD1005 Wanudin was still in charge of Sijilmasa, which means that Wanudin ruled between AH390/ AD999 and AH396/ AD1005<sup>3</sup>, and very possibly to the year AH400/ AD1009, the date Ibn Al-Khatib mentioned for the start reign of Mas'ud. The following dates are from Ibn Al-Khatib, except for Khazrun's and Wanudin's reign:

- 1- Khazrun son of Falful (AH367 to possibly AH369). No coins issued, but if they exist, they will be in the name of Hisham II.
- 2- Wanudin son of Khazrun (AH369/ AD979<sup>4</sup>, then AH390/ AD999 as independent ruler<sup>5</sup> to AH396 and possibly until AH400 / AD1009). The issued coins are in the name of Hisham II.
- 3- Mas'ud son of Wanudin (AH400-413/ AD1009-1022), Some issues are in the name of Sulayman Al-Musta'in.
- 4- Muhammad son of Mas'ud (413-417/ 1022-1026), No coins are known.
- 5- Mas'ud son of Muhammad (417-445H/ 1026-1053), The last Emir, who was killed by the Al-Moravids. (coins?)

It is noted that the second Mas'ud ruled the longest period of the Khazrunids despite being not loved by his people, as we can conclude from Al-Nasseri when he talked about the Al-Moravids invasion to Sijilmasa. He said that the reason for that invasion was because of the complaint sent by the people of Sijilmasa explaining what happened to the people of knowledge, the people of

<sup>1</sup> **Album, Stephen;** *Checklist of Islamic Coins*, Third Edition, November 2011, P.78.

<sup>2</sup> There is a recent study on the political situation of the Khazrunid Emirate that referred to Ibn Al-Khatib's list of the Khazrunid princes; **Salman Mohammad Salman;** *Imarat Bani Khazrun Fi Sijilmasa Derassa Fi Awd'aeha Alseyaseya 367-445H /977-1053 AD*, Majallat Abhath kolleyat Al-Tarbeya al-Asaseya, Vol. 4, issue 4, 2007, P231

<sup>3</sup> **Ibn-Khaldun;** *Al\_Ebar*, Vol 7, P. 52; **Miles, George C;** *The coinage of the Umayyds of Spain*, published in cooperation with the Hispanic society of America, The American Numismatic Society, part1, 1950, p. 84.

<sup>4</sup> Ibn-Khaldun mentioned that Wanudin ruled the city after his father's death- but didn't determine a specific date for that- till 369H when Ziri ibn Manad conquered all Maghrib al-Aqssa and seized it, but the date he gave after that is not correct P.51 he became independent with the city since 390H (he gave the date 490H which is miswriting) *Al-Ebar*, Vol.7, P52.

<sup>5</sup> **Ibn-Khaldun;** *Al-Ebar*, Vol.7, P52.

religion, and the rest of the Muslims from humiliation with their ruler Mas'ud. Therefore, the Al-Moravids dropped the adversities and taxes that Mas'ud had imposed on them<sup>1</sup>.

The existence of the two Emirs named Mas'ud makes the task of assigning the coins even harder, because most of Khazrunid coins lost their margin completely or partially, so they have no dates. This is a problem for Numismatists, as they considered the name of Mas'ud to be son of Wanudin, so they attributed all the coins in the name of Mas'ud to only one ruler, while they should likely be distributed among two rulers. When the Al-Moravids occupied Sijilmasa, they killed the second Mas'ud, the last Emir of Bani Khazrun.

The Khazrunid dynasty struck both gold and silver coins and they are rare until now. Some of their issues are in the name of Hisham II, some other in the name of Sulayman Al-Musta'in while other issues are in Khazrunid names without the name of Umayyad Caliphs.

While I was working on my Master thesis titled "The Coins of Sijilmasa in the Islamic Period" in 2003, I read about a hoard of gold coins that was excavated by Dr. *Donald Whitcomb* at Ayla. Jordan, Most of them were struck at Sijilmasa in the name of the Umayyad Caliphs of Spain. The hoard contained about 32 coins including few Fatimid gold coins<sup>2</sup>.

I contacted Dr. *Donald Whitcomb* asking him to send me the photos of the Spanish Umayyad dinars, but unfortunately, he had only one little photo for the whole hoard in low resolution, so the photos missed one of each obverse or reverse of all the dinars<sup>3</sup>.

I tried to find additional examples of the Spanish Umayyad dinars that were struck at Sijilmasa by the name of the Caliph Hisham II Al-Mu'ayyad Billah during my search, but the result was only three dinars for Hisham had been preserved at the ANS, one clipped dinar for Mas'ud, and another one for Mas'ud at Al-Belbeisy's collection<sup>4</sup>, which doesn't exist anymore. I worked then with the available data, where the two photos of the Khazrunid coins in the name of Mas'ud were not clear enough to be correctly read then.

<sup>1</sup> **Al-Nasseri, Abul Abbas ibn Khalid;** *Al-Estiqsa le Akhbar Doal Al-Maghrib al-Aqssa*, Vol2, Al-Dar Al-Baydaa, 1997, P.12-13.

<sup>2</sup> **Whitcomb, Donald;** *Ayla: Art and Industry in the Islamic Port of Aqaba*, Chicago, 1994, p. 18.

<sup>3</sup> Despite having very important pieces, this hoard was mentioned only twice and without any details or complete photos. **Whitcomb;** *Ayla*, P.18. **Oren Tal, Robert Kool and Issa Baidoun;** *A Hoard Twice Buried? Fatimid Gold from Thirteenth Century Crusader Arsur (Apollonia-Arsuf)*, *The Numismatic Chronicle* (1966-), 2013, Vol. 173 (2013), pp. 261-292, P268.

<sup>4</sup> [www.bilbeisicollection.org](http://www.bilbeisicollection.org), this site was available before 2005.

I went to Morocco after my thesis was done, and met *Mr. Rashid El-Subaihi*. He kindly let me take photos of the Sijilmasa dinars of Hisham Al-Mu'ayyd and of Mas'ud to work on them, which are very rare and aren't published. Carefully reading them, I found that most of them are considered a contribution to Bani Khazrun dinars, as they clarify the wording on most of known types of Bani Kharun, especially the coins that Brethes had published in 1939 (republished in 2001) that were hard to read due to poor photographic reproduction.

Fortunately, the private collections on the internet now have more similar coins to the Khazrunid coins of both Hisham and Mas'ud, but unfortunately many of these pieces have partially or totally missing margins, so many of them can't be confirmed as to be of Sijilmasa mint except those of Mas'ud because there is no doubt that he ruled only Sijilmasa.

We can summarize the problems with the Khazrunid coins in the following points:

- 1- The Khazrunid dinars and dirhams are rare, especially the pieces that refer to Khazrunid Emirs such as "*Wanudin*" and "*Mas'ud*"<sup>1</sup>.
- 2- A dated series for Khazrunid dynasty coins doesn't exist either in gold or in silver.
- 3- A specific date for each Khazrunid governor can't be determined through coins; since most of Khazrunid gold coins lost their dates due to having their margins clipped.
- 4- Previous studies like Brethes and Prieto Vives presented a type that had been struck by Bani Khazrun that has the word "*Wazir*" (وازيير), which has no meaning in Arabic language. Miles included the same reading of "*wazir*" in his work, however, he doubted that reading. Lacking an illustration of these coins, Miles suggested that this strange word might be a misreading for "*Wanudin*", the son of *Khazrun*. Miles continued his suggestion saying; "*Admittedly Wanudin doesn't look very much like Wazir but until I have seen a specimen myself (none is illustrated), or some reader who has seen one categorically denies the possibility, the suggestion may be allowed to stand*"<sup>2</sup>. I also couldn't suggest any other reading in my master's thesis of 2005 for the same reason<sup>3</sup>.
- 5- The historic genealogy of the Khazrunid governors is not clear in the principal source of Moroccan history for the Middle Ages, "*Ibn-Khaldun*".

<sup>1</sup> Nour El-Din Miftah worked on 35 silver coins for Mas'ud, but only few of the photos match with wording and bear the name of Mas'ud; **Miftah**, *Al-Fehris Al-Aam*; P144-153.

<sup>2</sup> **Miles**; *The coinage of the Umayyads*, P.84.

<sup>3</sup> **Galal, Nayera**; *Nokoud Sijilmasa fi Al- 'assr Al-Islamy*, M.A thesis, Cairo University 2005, P.90.



6- The Khazrunid coins bear the names of: Hisham II or Sulayman only, Khazrunid Emir only or the name of A Khazrunid Emir after the title "Al-Imam" "Abdullah", yet the reason for this different wording is not clear.

This study takes care of the unpublished Khazrunid coins of Mr. Rashid El-Subaihi along with the available data for the previously published coins of the Khazrunid coins at the relevant articles and the online sources of the internet avoiding the repetition of the identical coins in order to clarify the new classification that this study is going to suggest.



The first type is a new one which has no recorded examples before and represents a contribution to the Khazrunid coins. It exists at Al-Subaihi collection and It bears Hisham's name.

In the catalog section, the obverse is the left image and writing, while the reverse is on the right. The marginal legends, if visible, are written below the coin image and the note "margin starts at..." refers to the beginning location of the margin's writing and is written using the notation for the hours of a clock.

### I. In the name of Hisham

Spanish Umayyad Caliph: Hisham II 366-399, 399-400, 400-403/ 976-1013.

Khazrunid ruler: Wanudin b. Khazrun 369/ 979?, then 390/ 999 as independent ruler to 396 and possibly until 400/ 1009.

Type 1	There is no God but Allah, only with no partner	لا إله إلا الله وحده لا شريك له Obv	الإمام هشام أمير المؤمنين Rev	The leader Hisham Commander of the Believers
1.	Gold Dinar  Sijilmasa n.d.			El-Subaihi Collection
		Obverse and reverse marginal legends [بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينر] [بسجلماسة سنة...]	margin starts at 6:00 محمد رسول الله أرسله بالهدى ودين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله.	
	In the name of God, this dinar was struck in Sijilmasa in the year...		Muhammad is the Messenger of God. Qr. XLVIII 29. who sent him with guidance and the religion of truth, to proclaim it to all entire Religion Qr. IX 33.	

### Rashid El-Subaihi Collection.

This type records the first part of the Shahada on the obverse center: "There is no god but Allah only, with no partner, then the margin records the mint name Sijilmasa". The reverse

contains the titles: The leader/ Hisham/ Commander of the Believers and the margin bears the Prophet's mission Qr. IX 33 "who sent him with guidance and the religion of truth, to proclaim it to all entire Religion".

This new type differs from the known types of dinars of Hisham II because the name of 'Amer disappeared, which is unusual not to record the Hajeb's name, hence if this was because of 'Amer's death in 392, then the name of Al-Muzafar Abd Al-Malik the son of 'Amer should appear instead, like the series of Al-Andalus gold dinars and silver dirhams beginning with 393H onwards<sup>1</sup>. Miles said that the name of 'Amer disappeared from coins in both 368H and 373H, so this piece could be dated with 368 or 373H, which puts it in the first grouping of the Khazrunid dinars types. Also, the title of Hisham II, "Al-Muayyad", disappeared from this dinar<sup>2</sup>.

The second type has variations, such as having or losing the annulet from the obverse/ reverse or both of them, sometimes by adding one or more solid/ empty circles or both, and in very few cases by sometimes dividing the word 'Amer into two syllables<sup>3</sup>. This paper will concentrate on the words found on the main varieties of each issue without paying attention to ornament variations in each issue.

Type 2	There is no God but Allah Muhammad is messenger of Allah	○ لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله ○	○ الإمام هشام المؤيد بالله أمير المؤمنين	The leader Hisham Strengthened by Allah Commander of the Believers
		Obv	Rev	
2.	Gold Dinar [Sijilmasa] n.d.			Album
		margin starts at 3:00 [محمد ر] سول الله أرسله بالهدى [ودين الحق ليظهره] Qr. IX 33.	margin starts at 2:00 بسم الله ضرب بسجلماسة سنة...].	
Album Auction 19, 15 May 2014, Lot 411, 4.08 g.				

This type also has no date, but it comes after the previous type because it also doesn't bear 'Amer's name which can be dated with 368H/ 373H for the same reason. This coin bears the two

<sup>1</sup> Miles, *The coinage of the Umayyads*, no.324, P.464, no.326, P.469, no.328, P.476...etc.

<sup>2</sup> Miles, *The coinage of the Umayyads*, P.69.

<sup>3</sup> For more details; Galal, Nayera: *Nokoud Sijilmasa*, pp. 77-98.

Shahadas on the obverse and the Prophet's mission in the margin, then the titles of Hisham II in three lines on the reverse, while the mint name Sijilmasa is recorded in the reverse margin.

Type 3	There is no God but Allah, only with no partner	لا إله إلا الله وحده لا شريك له	الإمام هشام أمير المؤمنين المؤيد بالله عامر	The leader Hisham Commander of the Believers Strengthened by Allah 'Amer
3.	Gold Dinar	Obv	Rev	
	Sijilmasa 378 H 988-9			ANS
		[محمد رسول الله [أرسله بالهدى ودين الحق ليظهر]ة على الدين كله] Qr. IX 33.	[بسم الله ضرب] هذا الدينر بسجلماسة سنة ثمان وسبعين و ثلثمائة [اية]	
		Vives-1893, 669, p. 88; Miles-1950, 281, p. 370; ANS 1001.57.2448 (not currently on the ANS website); Heddouchi-2003, 15, 4.02 g, 21 mm, pl. 5; Galal-2005, pl. 25, p. 82.		

This third type represents the common version of the Spanish Umayyad coins of Sijilmasa. There is an annulet above the central legend of the obverse that begins with the first part of the Shahada, while the margin starts with the second part of the Shahada, "Muhammad is the messenger of Allah", followed by Prophet's mission Qr. IX 33.

The reverse center legend includes the name of Hisham and his caliphate titles; "The leader", "commander of the Believers" and "strengthened by Allah", while "Amer" is written on the fourth line referring to Al-Mansour, the prime minister. This writing is surrounded by the margin that contains the mint name and date, 378H. The margin is partially clipped, which is very common in the Khazrunid coins.


4a.	Gold Dinar	Obv	Rev	
	Sijilmasa 380/ 990-1			Bank Al-Maghrif
		margin starts at 6:00 محمد رسول الله [أرسله بالهدى ودين الحق ليظهر]ة على الدين كله Qr. IX 33.	margin starts at 4:00 [بسم الله ضرب هـ] هذا الدينر بسجلماسة سنة ثمانين [و ثلثمائة]	
		Brethes-2001, 585, 4 g, 20 mm, p. 63-64, pl. X; Bank Al-Maghrif-2006, 563, 3.99 g, 21.5mm, p. 102.		



	Obv	Rev	
4b. Gold Dinar			El-Subaihi Collection
Medina Sijilmasa 380 / 990-1			
	margin starts at 1:00 [بسم الله ضرب هـ] ذا الدينر بمدينة سجلماسة سنة ثمانين [و ثلثمائة]	margin starts at 1:00 محمد رسول الله [أرسله بالهدى و دين الحق ليظهره] علا الدين كذا Qr. IX 33.	

**Rashid El-Subaihi Collection.**

The study publishes this dinar of El-Subaihi collection, which is nearly complete, compared to most Khazrunid coins. Remains of an annulet appear on the reverse of both 4a and 4b coins but the coin 4b has the two marginal legends switched, so we can find the date and mint on the obverse instead being on the reverse in the previous piece, which is not common in this type.

This coin of Al-Subaihi also has the word “Medina” which doesn’t exist on Brethes’ coin 4a and which Bank Al-Maghrib republished in 2006.

	Obv	Rev	
5. Gold Dinar			ANS
Sijilmasa 381/991-2			
	margin starts at 9:00 محمد رسول الله أرسله بالهدى [و دين الحق ليظهره] على الدين. Qr. IX 33.	margin starts at 10:00 [بسم الله ضرب بسجلماسة سنة احد وثمانين وثلثمائة]	
Vives-1893, 670, p. 88; Miles-1950, 292, p. 356; ANS 1001.57.2249 (not currently on the ANS website); Heddouchi-2003, 16, 4.175 g, 21 mm, pl. 6, p. 4; Galal-2005, pl. 26, p. 85.			

	Obv	Rev	
6. Gold Dinar			BN
Sijilmasa 383 / 993-4			
	margin starts at 1:00 [محمد] رسول الله أرسله بالهدى [و دين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله. Qr. IX 33.	[بسجلماسة سنة] ثلث وثمانين وثلثمائة	
BN-1891, 274, 3.80 g, 19 mm, p. 75; Vives-1893, 671, p. 88; Miles-1950, 298, p. 395.			

7.

Gold Dinar

Sijilmasa 384 / 994-5

No photo

[محمد رسول الله أرسله بالهدى ودين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله]

... هذا الدينار بسجلماسة سنة أربع وثمانين  
وثلاثماية

IX 33.

**Brethes:** Hada E.dinar bi Sidjilmassa senata arbaa ou temanin ou tleta mia.

**Brethes-**1939, 584, 4.05 g, 13.5 mm, p. 63 (This coin is marked as having a photo, but does not have one.); **Miles-**1950, 301, p. 399.

Obv

Rev

8.

Gold Dinar

Medina  
Sijilmasa 384  
/ 994-5



Brethes

[محمد رسول الله أرسله بالهدى ودين الحق  
ليظهره على الدين كله]. IX 33.

margin starts at 3:00  
بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بمدينة سجلماسة  
سنة أربع وثمانين وثلاثماية

**Brethes-**2001, 586, 4 g, 19 mm, p. 63, pl. X.; **Miles-**1950, 302, p. 399.

**Khazrunid ruler:** Wanudin b. Khazrun? Before 400/ 1009

**Spanish Umayyad Caliph: Hisham II**

Type 4

There is no God  
but Allah  
Muhammad is  
messenger of  
Allah

لا إله إلا الله  
محمد رسول الله



الإمام هشام  
المؤيد بالله  
عامر

The leader  
Hisham  
strengthened  
by Allah  
'Amer

Obv

Rev

9.

Gold Dinar

(Sijilmasa)  
n.d.



ANS

[محمد رسول الله أرسله بالهدى ودين  
الحق...]. IX 33.

[بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار  
ب...سنة...]

**ANS** 1001.57. 4117 (not currently on the ANS website); **Heddouchi-**2003, 17, 2 .093g, 15mm, plate 6;  
**Galal-**2005, pl. 35.

This type usually has clipped margins and if a part of the margin's words remains, it is obliterated. The central legend of this type has different words on the obverse, as it bears the two Shahadas in two lines: There is no God but Allah/ Muhammad is messenger of Allah. An ornament is found above the central field. The remaining obverse margin is obliterated, but this type always has the prophet's mission on the obverse. The reverse center begins with a decoration, followed by the titles of Hisham; "The leader", and "Strengthened by Allah",

However the title “commander of the Believers” isn’t written in this issue; the name of ‘Amer is still inscribed. The mint name and date are located in the reverse margin.

Khazrunid ruler: Wanudin b. Khazrun? Before 400/ 1009.

### Spanish Umayyad Caliph: Hisham II

Type 5	There is no God but Allah Muhammad is messenger of Allah Wazin			The leader Hisham commander of the Believers strengthened by Allah ‘Amer
		Obv	Rev	
10.	Gold Dinar  Sijilmasa [3]87			El-Subaihi Collection
		margin starts at 12:00		
		[محمد رسول الله ارسله بالهدى و دين الحق...] Qr. IX 33.		

Rashid El-Subaihi Collection; Miles-1950, 329, p. 479.



This issue is very rare. Prieto read the word on the third line of the obverse as “Wazir”. Miles suggested that the word could be “Wanudin”, but he had no illustration of the coin. Fortunately, the collection of Mr. Rashid El-Subaihi has two good examples for this issue and one of them has a part of its date. This dinar is the only known piece that has a part of its date.

The *Tonegawa* site published a similar piece with no date and has the same word, it mentioned the old word “Wazir” then modified it to be “wazin” in 2012 but without proof or comment, fortunately the collection of Mr. El-Subaihi has a very good example of that type; and is very helpful to solve the puzzle of Wazir / Wanudin by the clarity of its inscriptions. The previous misreading happened because of the appearance of the letter (N ن). We can observe that in the first three centuries after Hijrah, and even in the fourth century this letter was written in a characteristic decorative shape, resembling the letter (R ر) by having two edges above the beginning of the letter and a curved branch at its ending, which made the letter ن appearance to the viewer as the letters “نير”. For this reason, the decorative part was difficult to read (coin 10 enlarged photo).

Similar examples in the gravestones could be seen during the first three centuries of Hijrah, such as a gravestone dated with 305H<sup>1</sup> in the word (أن) in the eighth line (Figure 1.). Fortunately, another piece of the same type was found in the same collection and many of its letters has the same decorative style (see coin 12 below).

Another good reason for the reading of “وازن” could be given, which is having two points placed on each of (ن، ز), means that the calligrapher meant to put them at their current places to avoid misreading the word. It is clear that the Arabs have deliberately chosen certain places to punctuate some letters where they fear a misreading of them, starting from the first Century AH, such as in the *Ahnasia papyrus* dated 22 AH and on the inscription of Muawiyah’s dam, “Sadd Muawiyah”, 58 AH.

The word (وازن) (wazin) is a known numismatic word referring to a full weight of the dinar, and according to this case, the word may refer to the good weight of a piece compared to other versions of contemporary dinars. However, most pieces of this type aren’t fully rounded, so it makes sense to be written on this dinar type.

		Obv	Rev	
11.	Sijilmasa [39]5			Prieto y Vives
	Gold Dinar			
		[محمد رسول الله] ارسله بالهدى و دين الحق... Qr. IX 33.	بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينر بسجلماسة سنة خمس	
Prieto y Vives writes the date as “. . 5 .”; Miles, using the 1934 article, writes: “probably 395, ... It might be ‘70’ or ‘80’”.				
Prieto y Vives 1934, 63; Miles 1950, 329, p. 479.				

		Obv	Rev	
12.	Sijilmasa n.d.			El-Subaihi Collection
	Gold Dinar			
		[محمد رسول الله أرسله بالهدى و دين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله]. Qr. IX 33.	[ب] سم الله ضرب بسجـ[لماسة سنة...] margin starts at 1:00	

<sup>1-</sup> Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo, No. 162/ 2721, Wiet, Gaston, **Hussein Rached, Hassan Hawary**: *Catalogue général du Musée arabe du Caire. Stèles funéraires*, Le Caire, Imprimerie nationale, 1932, Tome 4, P. 149 Pl. 41, **Dawood, Mayssa**; *Al-Ketabat Al-Arabeya Ala Al-Athar Al-Islameya monthu Al-karn Al-Awal hatta awakher Al-karn Al-Thany ashar lel hijrah, Maktabet Al-Nahda Al-Mesreya*, Cairo, First edition 1991, P. 132, Pl. 51.



margin starts at 2:00  
[محمد رسول الله أرسله بالهدى ودين  
الحق ليد [ظهره على الدين كله]



[بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بسجلماسة  
[سنة...]

Tonegawa



Album

Tonegawa ([http://andalustonegawa.50g.com/caliphate/HishamII/IMG\\_9441.JPG](http://andalustonegawa.50g.com/caliphate/HishamII/IMG_9441.JPG)), 3.96 g, 19 mm; **Album Auction** 38, September 2020, Lot 227, 3.87 g, p. 17; **Rashid El-Subaihi Collection**.

The first two pieces are nice; they have the same words as the previous one but the date is clipped. They are important because they clearly show the points of the two letters of the word “Wazin”.

The historian Ibn al-Khatib mentioned that in 400H Ma’soud b. Wanudin was a governor of Sijilmasa, so it means that these two dinars are should be attributed to the reign of Wanudin before 400<sup>1</sup>.

## II. In the name of Sulayman

### Spanish Umayyad Caliph: Sulayman

First reign: 13 Rabi’ I, 400 – some days after 5 Shawwal 400/ 9 November 1009– 22 May 1010.

Second reign: 403-407 / 1013-1016

Khazrunid ruler: Mas’ud I b. Wanudin 400-413 / 1009-1022.

Type 6	There is no God but Allah Muhammad Is the messenger of Allah	لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله	لا الإمام سليمان المستعين بالله أمير المؤمنين	The leader Sulayman The asking help of Allah Commander of the Believers
		Obv	Rev	
13.	Gold dinar  n.m. [40]2			Ibrahim-2004
		[محمد رسول الله أرسله بالهدى ودين الحق ليظهره على الدين]	[بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بسجلماسة سنة ثنتين و أربعم...؟]	

<sup>1</sup> **Ibn Al-Khateeb**: *A’amal Al-A’lam*, Vol.2, pp. 356-7; No gold coins in the name of Wanudin are at Tübingen, but very important silver coins are preserved at Tubingen that have been published by Dr **Atif Mansour Ramadan** in Nokoud, pp. 1251-2.





Ibrahim-2020

[بسم الله ضرب] هذا الدينار بسجلما[سنة...]



Mansour-2010



[محمد رسول الله أرسله بالهدى  
و دين الحق ليظهره] على الدين  
كله. [Qr. IX 33.]

[بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بسجلماسنة...]

**Ibrahim-2004** Moneda Andalusi La Coleccion del Museo Casa de la Moneda, **Madrid**, 332, 3.06 g, 17 mm, p. 254; **Ibrahim-2020**; FINT BB6A3, 3.96 g; **Mansour-2010**, plate 1, p. 1254-5.

Due to unclear words, the coin of Tübingen was attributed to Wanudin regarding a misreading of the reverse “leader/ Abd Allah commander/ of the Believers”. However it seems to be identical with the coins of Sulayman Al-Musta’in. Fortunately, the same article presented another seven silver coins bearing the names of “Wanudin” or “Mas’ud”<sup>1</sup>. They are very rare and valuable.

The three coins belong to the Spanish Umayyad Caliph Sulayman Al-Musta’in, and are of the Sijilmasa mint under the Khazrunids. All the three are clipped but only one still has its date which is 402H. This leads me to think that this dinar may show the last date for the subordination of Bani Khazrun to the Spanish Umayyad caliphate and the subsequent beginning of a new independency when Mas’ud added his name on the coins without referring to the Caliph (Types 7-10). I suggest that this independency was after 402H. However, there is an observation here that concerns the second reign of Sulayman which started in 403, not 402, so this date should be located in Hisham’s reign not Sulayman. It could be referred to the disturbance that happened regarding the Spanish Caliphate collapse, or could be a missing information.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. **Atif Mansour** referred to Miles’s dinar of the word “wazin”, He agreed with Miles that the word refers to “Wanudin”, **Ramadan: Nokoud**, P. 1246, he also attributed a new published dinar of Tübingen BB6A3 to Wanudin, but no name is inscribed, **Nokoud**, P. 1251, pl.1.

### III. Mas'ud I

#### Khazrunid ruler: Mas'ud I b. Wanudin 400-413 / 1009-1022.

The following types record the names of the Berber rulers of Sijilmasa, starting with Mas'ud son of Wanudin. Brethes included these coins in chapter 5 as previously mentioned<sup>1</sup>.

No issues recorded in the name of “Wanudin” the independent Khazrunid Emir. Any dinar attributed to Wanudin without bearing his name is yet a suggestion. But fortunately, Dr Atif published some silver pieces in the name of Wanudin in his article concerning Bani Khazrun coins. Khazrunid gold coins with ruler names begin with the name of Mas'ud son of Wanudin until new pieces will be found by coming excavations. Also, we should keep in mind that all coins of Mas'ud should be dated between 400 and 413, as Ibn Al-Khatib determined his reign at these dates<sup>2</sup>. Messier wrote that when the Spanish Umayyad dynasty collapsed in Andalusia, Bani Khazrun continued to rule Sijilmasa and to strike both gold and silver currency, although the extant specimens of these coins are rare, they found three silver dirhams in the name of Mas'ud son of Wanudin at the Sijilmasa site during the first season<sup>3</sup>. Nour Al-Din Miftah published more than 30 silver coins for Mas'ud but most of them are not readable; only a very few have clear words showing Mas'ud's name<sup>4</sup>.

The following pieces represent a contribution to the Khazrunid coins, because of what is previously mentioned that known dinars of Mas'ud were mainly at Brethes's reference, they are 19 pieces with 15 illustrations and many of them are unclear and some of them don't match with the reading he made<sup>5</sup>. In addition to Brethes' pieces, there are three photos: one preserved at the ANS<sup>6</sup>, another one was on El-belbeisy website (which does not exist anymore) and was studied in my M.A thesis in 2005<sup>7</sup>, and the third one is preserved in Tubingen<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>- **Brethes**: *Contributions*, p. 103.

<sup>2</sup>- **Ibn Al-Khateeb**, *A'amal Al-A'lam*, Vol. 2, p. 357.

<sup>3</sup>- **Messier**: *The last civilized*, P87.

<sup>4</sup>- **Miftah**: *Al-Fehris Al-Aam*, pieces like 215 and 232 are readable and bear the name of Mas'ud, no. 215, 1.4g 13.8mm, p.147, no. 232, P. 151.

<sup>5</sup>- For example: The first dinar that Brethes presents is read by him as “The leader” while it is “Al\_Amir”, he also replaced the reading of each obverse and reverse, according the photo the mint name is on obverse but in text it is on reverse; **Brethes**: *Contribution*, No. 774, 2.9g 10 mm, P. 103, Pl XII. Also, in no. 775 the text doesn't match with its photo; the text reads “The leader/ Mas'ud/ ibn Wanudin” while the photo reads “The leader/ Abd Allah Al-Amir/ Mas'ud. **Brethes**: *Contribution*, 2.3g, 10mm, P. 103 and many more.

<sup>6</sup>- **Heddouchi**, *The medieval coins*, coin 18, p. 108.

<sup>7</sup>- **Galal**, *Nokoud Sijilmasa*, P.105; Their photos were not clear enough.

<sup>8</sup>- **FINT**, BB6B2, 2.91g; **Ramadan**: *Nokoud*, no. 4, P. 1256.

The following type of Khazrunid gold which does not bear any of the Umayyad's Califs names should be the earliest type of the known golden coins in the names of Bani Wanudin until new coins will be discovered because it bears the name of "Mas'ud son of Wanudin", who is the first Mas'ud that ruled in (40٠-413H) as previously mentioned. So, this type of coins should be dated between AH400 and AH413.

<b>Type 7</b>	There is no God but Allah Muhammad is the messenger of Allah	لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله	الأمير مسعود بن وانودين	The commander Mas'ud Son of Wanudin
		<b>Obv</b>	<b>Rev</b>	
<b>14.</b>	Gold Dinar  n.m. n.d.			El-Subaihi Collection
		margin starts at 8:00 [محمد رسول الله أرسل له بالهدى ودين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله]. Qr. IX 33.	[بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينر بسجلماسة سنة...] Letters don't form clear words.	

**Rashid El-Subaihi Collection.**

<b>Type 8</b>	There is no God but Allah Muhammad is the messenger of Allah	لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله	الأمير مسعود بن وانودين	The commander Mas'ud Son of Wanudin
		<b>Obv</b>	<b>Rev</b>	
<b>15.</b>	Gold Dinar  (Sijilmasa) n.d.			El-Subaihi Collection
		[محمد رسول الله أرسله بالهدى ودين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله]. Qr. IX 33.	[بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينر بسجلماسة سنة...]	

**Rashid El-Subaihi Collection.** Brethes included a similar type but with switched margins and without a date also: 774, 2.9 g, 10 mm, p. 103.

Type 9	There is no God but Allah Muhammad Is the messenger of Allah	لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله	الإمام عبد الله الأمير مسعود	The leader [‘Abd] Allah the Commander Mas’ud
		Obv	Rev	
16.	Gold Dinar  Sijilmasa, n.d.			Bank Al- Maghrib
		محمد رسول الله أرسله بالهدى ودين الحق ليظف؟ [بهره على الدين كله] Qr. IX 33.	[بسم الله ضرب بس] [جلماسة سنة...]	
Brethes-2001, 775 (2.3 g 10 mm), 776 (2.5 g, 15 mm), p. 103; Bank Al-Maghrib-2006, 260, 2.48 g, 15 mm, p. 103.				

This type is distinguished by having the title “The leader ‘Abd Allah”, which represents one of the four main caliphate titles. It was often followed by a name or another title of the Caliph, which did not happen in this example, so the question is whether this title refers to a real Andalusian Caliph or to an imaginary one. Fortunately, *Mr. Tawfik Ibrahim* presented this idea in a conference saying “After the collapse of the Spanish Umayyad caliphate in Al-Andalus in 399/ 1008 the use of a generic ‘The leader ‘Abd Allah’ begins to appear on a series of coins struck in Al-Andalus and the Maghrib Al-Aqsa. Its appearance on the currencies of various political powers and countries led to an interesting debate and brought out questions as to the identity implied by such a generic appellation and to its possible ideological projection...”. He also said that it occurred at one time or another in the Taifa Kingdoms, of Zaragoza, Seville, Mallorca, Toledo, Valencia, Badajoz and in all the mints of the rapidly expanding Al-Moravid empire and furthermore, as we shall later see, in some Maghribi locations well before the arrival of the Al-Moravids<sup>1</sup>. I think he means to say that it’s just a generic label for a Sunnite Imam after having no real one in Andalusia that time.

As a result of having incomplete margins for Types 9 and 10 of these Berber dynasty coins, the attribution to Mas’ud I is just a suggestion. These issues don’t bear the words “son of

<sup>1</sup> **Ibrahim, Tawfik:** “Al-Imam ‘Abd Allah” on the coinage of Al-Andalus and the Maghrib Al-Aqsa a presentation made at Congresso Internazionale di Numismatica, Messina/ Taormina and was held in September 21-26, 2020.

Wanudin”, so it could be Mas’ud I or II. I suggest that they could be for Mas’ud I because they resemble the previous issues in font and have the title “the commander” like the first issues of Type 6 and 7. On the other hand, the other group of coins that I suggest to attribute to Mas’ud II (Types 13 to 15) do not have that title. According to the historical sources, Mas’ud I received a powerful authority after his father Wanudin, who dominated many regions around his city, as Ibn-Khaldun said<sup>1</sup>, while Mas’ud II was so unjust in his rule that his people called for the Al-Moravids to come and rule the city, so the lack of titles may refer to less of power.



**Rashid El-Subaihi Collection.** A similar dinar is at Brethes 775, 2.3 g, 10 mm, p. 103.





**Rashid El-Subaihi Collection.**

<sup>1</sup> Ibn-Khaldun: *Al-Ebar*, Vol.7, P. 52.

## IV. temp. Mas'ud II

Khazrunid ruler: possibly Mas'ud II b. Wanudin 417-445/ 1026-1053.

Type 11	There is no God but Allah, Muhammad Is the messenger of Allah	لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله	الإمام الله عبد مسعود	The leader Allah 'Abd Mas'ud
	19.	Gold Dinar	Obv	Rev
	Sijilmasa, n.d.			
		Clipped [محمد رسول الله أرسله بالهدى و دين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله.] Qr. IX 33.	clipped [بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بسجلماسة سنة...]	

Album Auction 30, 18 January 2018, Lot 320, 3.68 g; Brethes 781, 3.20 g, 16 mm, p. 104;

Saenz type A, nos. 1-6, pl. 6, p. 426:

1. 2.11 g, 13.5 mm.
2. 2.60 g, 15 mm.
3. 3.84 g, 16x18 mm.
4. 3.55 g, 16x18 mm.
5. 3.60 g, 17 mm.
6. 4.32 g, 16.5x18 mm.

Saenz published twelve gold pieces for Mas'ud as son of Wanudin. He counted three types of gold coins for Mas'ud; the **last** one was incorrectly minted with two reverse dies<sup>1</sup>, These pieces vary in weight between 2.11 and 4.32 g and in diameters between 13.5 and 20 mm. Three illustrations were given, but unfortunately only one and an obverse of another are clear enough to be read. Both types A and B have the formula of Shadada “la Ilah Ila Allah Mohammad Rasulu Allah” on the obverse. Type A has “The leader ‘Abd Allah Mas’ud” on reverse while type B added “commanders of believers” before the name Mas’ud.

It is likely that type A belongs to Mas'ud II, son of Muhammad because the name of Mas'ud has no title, which means he had less of power. The generic appellation of “Al-Imam Abd Allah” was used after the Spanish Umayyad Caliphate collapsed in 400H, but no confirmation of the date can be made as it is not dated because the margin is clipped. It is known that the period pre the Al-Moravids was of lake of powerful Caliphate.

<sup>1</sup> Saenz: *The Khazrunids*, no.12, 3.19 g, 20 mm, p. 424.

<b>Type 12</b>	There is no God but Allah Muhammad Is the messenger of Allah	لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله	الإمام عبد الله أمير المؤمنين مسعود	The leader 'Abd Allah commander of the Believers Mas'ud
		Obv	Rev	
<b>20.</b>	Gold Dinar  n.m. n.d.			Saenz pl. 10

... هذا الدينار ...

Saenz type B, nos. 7- 11, p. 427, pl. 6:

7. 2.30 g, 12.5x15 mm.

8. 3.92 g, 17x19 mm.

9. 4.30 g, 18 mm.

10. 3.56 g, 16x20 mm.

11. 2.76 g, 19 mm.

This type has the two parts of the Shahada in the obverse center, the mint name and date are in the obverse margin, only two **words** remain of them, while the title of “Al-Iimam Abd Allah” has been written on the reverse, followed by “The commander of the Believers”<sup>1</sup>, then Mas'ud in the third line. I doubt the reading of Saenz because the remaining area does not seem to have three words in the second line of the reverse.

<b>Type 13</b>	There is no God but Allah only He has no partner	لا إله إلا الله وحده لا شريك له	الإمام [عبد] الله أمير المؤمنين مسعود	The leader 'Abd [Allah commander of the Believers] Mas'ud
		Obv	Rev	
<b>21.</b>	Gold dinar  n.m. n.d.			Mansour-2010

FINT BB6B2, Mansour-2010, 4, 2.91 g, p. 1256.

This type differs from the previous one by having only the first part of Shahada on the obverse, There is a decorative circle at the end of the obverse's third line.

<b>Type 14</b>	There is no God but Allah, Muhammad Is the messenger of Allah	لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله	الإمام [عبد] الله [مسعود]	The leader Abd Allah Mas'ud

<sup>1</sup> The reading of the reverse second line as given by Ramadan, : *Nokoud* is doubtful.

22.	Gold Half Dinar	<b>Obv</b>	<b>Rev</b>	El-Subaihi Collection
	n.m n.d			
		Clipped	Clipped	
<b>Rashid El-Subaihi Collection.</b>				

This piece could be a half dinar or a cut down dinar; it is very rare. Brethes recorded eight small pieces but only two of them are illustrated<sup>1</sup>; he didn't mention their data. We can only recognize the sentence: *la Ilaha Ila Allah Mohammad* on the obverse of Brethes 793; the rest of the words are not clear. This piece is very useful to recognize the half dinar's type-if it is a half dinar- for this dynasty. This piece measures 12.5× 13 mm without margins.

Type 15	There is no God but Allah Muhammad Is the messenger of Allah	لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله	الإمام عبد الله الإمام مسعد و	The leader 'Abd Allah ... Mas'ud
	23.	Gold Dinar	<b>Obv</b>	<b>Rev</b>
n.m n.d				
		Clipped	Clipped	

ANS 1001.1.7901. (not currently on the ANS website); **Heddouchi**-2003, 18, 2.622 g, 15-17 mm.

This coin has nearly the same words of the previous type<sup>2</sup> but it differs from them at the obverse by expanding the word Allah to accommodate the phrase “there is no God but”. The reverse has an ornament below the last line of writing.

<sup>1</sup> **Brethes**: *Contributions*, nos. 792 & 793, without text data.

<sup>2</sup> I would like to thank the ANS for sharing this photo with me, when I was working on my M.A thesis this coin had a lower quality photo on the ANS website, so I couldn't read it correctly, I checked the reading of Heddouchi and found that he also was not able to read the reverse, so the better photo now made the reading clearer; **Heddouchi** 1998,18, P. 109.



## V. Similar Coins of Unknown Origin

<b>Type 16</b>	There is no God but Allah, only With no partner	لا إله إلا الله وحده لا شريك له	الإمام هشام أمير المؤمنين المؤيد بالله عامر	The leader Hisham Commander of the Believers Strengthened by Allah 'Amer

		<b>Obv</b>	<b>Rev</b>	
<b>24.</b>	Gold Dinar			Baldwins
	n.m. n.d.			Morton & Eden

**Baldwins** Auction 101, 28 September 2016, Lot 3488, 3.90 g; **Morton & Eden** Auction 63, 22 April 2013, Lot 65, 3.90 g.

The two coins above are attributed to Hisham II. The auction houses said they are of the year 402H and are minted in Sijilmasa. However, the mint name is not written correctly, as they lost the two letters ج and ل so the letters read: بس..ما..سة. While the two coins are not identical, they have the same characters and the lower one seems to be clearer. Also, the date in the upper coin is not clear. It is also obvious that the name of 'Amer is written in a strange way, so both coins could be contemporary imitations.

<b>Type 17</b>	There is no God but Allah Only He has no partner Muhammad is the messenger of Allah	لا إله إلا الله وحده لا شريك له محمد رسول الله	الإمام هشام أمير المؤمنين المؤيد بالله عامر	The leader Hisham Commander of the Believers Strengthened by Allah 'Amer

		<b>Obv</b>	<b>Rev</b>	
<b>25.</b>	Gold Dinar			
	n.m. n.d.			

Clipped, and the remaining part is obliterated



Clipped, and the remaining part is obliterated

**Album** Auction 33, 17-19 January 2019, Lot 489, 2.74 g, p. 42.

This type resembles the first type but it added the second Shahada on the obverse, the legend gives the Spanish Umayyad ruler as Hisham, but without a mint or date. The assignment of this dinar to the Khazrunid Dynasty is not possible.

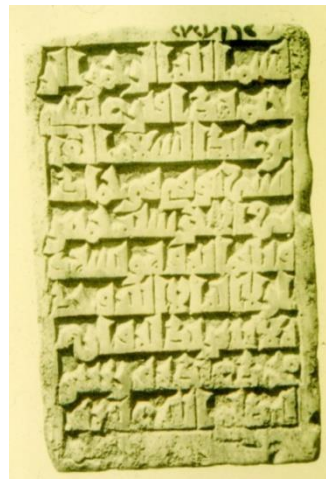
<b>Type 18</b>	There is no God but Allah Muhammad Is the messenger of Allah The commander son of (Wandin)	لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله الأمير بن وندين	الإمام عبد الله أمير المؤمنين	The leader 'Abd Allah commander of The Believers
		<b>Obv</b>	<b>Rev</b>	
26.	Gold dinar  n.m. n.d.			
		Clipped	Clipped	
<b>Album Auction 33, 17 January 2019, Lot 488, 2.45 g.</b>				

Stephen Album said that the name on this coin is “Son of Wanudin”, but this does not seem to be correct because the letters of the name on the obverse are questionable. The obverse center reads: the commander (son of mend / مند / Boond بوند ) because the curve of the letter after ب cannot be for ن and و at the same time. Also, this dinar does not bear date or mint name, so this piece cannot be assigned to a specific dynasty.

<b>Type 19</b>	There is no God but Allah, only	لا إله إلا الله و حده	الإمام عبد الله أمير المؤمنين	The leader 'Abd Allah Commander of the Believers
		<b>Obv</b>	<b>Rev</b>	
27.	Gold Fractional Dinar  n.m. n.d.			Album
		Dots	Dots	
<b>Album Auction 25, 19-21 May 2016, Lot 410, 0.72 g, p. 32.</b>				

This coin is attributed to Wanudin (440/ 1048) by Stephen Album, but this piece doesn't bear any Khazrunid name or a mint name or a date, and there are many similar pieces alike on the internet without proof for that attribution so there was no need to include them in this paper.

The coins that bear the title “The Leader ‘Abd Allah” are considered to be minted at the period of the Spanish Umayyad caliphate collapse because no caliph could be determined after the Fitna of 400H, so many coins of that title were attributed to this period but not all of them can be classified as Khazrunid unless they have names and / or dates and mint.



**Figure1:** A gravestone<sup>1</sup> dated 305 AH. The left end of the third line from the bottom shows the special design that was also used for ۞ in wazin in Type 5 coins.

## Conclusions

This study publishes for the first time nine coins from the collection of Mr. Rashid E-Subaihi that were struck by the Khazrunids, including the very first dinar of the Khazrunid coins under the name of the Spanish Umayyad Hisham II, which omits recording the Hajeb “prime minister’s” name of ‘Amer, according to Miles study, this could be dated with 368 or 373H. This paper also values what Dr. Salman pointed out in his paper to correct the information of having only three rulers of the Khazrunid family as was previously thought, and added another two princes: Mohamed son of Mas’ud and Mas’ud son of Mohamed, the last rulers in this family. They were mentioned by Ibn Al-Khatib and he gave their years of reign. Subsequently, the attribution of the dinars in the name of Mas’ud has been changed and a suggested classification was presented.

This study also publishes a unique dinar of 380H in the name of Hisham II that refers to the mint as “Medina Sijilmasa”, and gives proof for correcting the so-read word “wazir” on Hisham II dinars to be “Wazin” and cited some comparative texts that clarify and confirm this correction. This study presents an almost complete dinar with a nearly complete date of the “Wazin” type that rarely had any part of its date before. This study presents a possible half dinar in the name of Mas’ud and highly suggests that the independency of Masud I was after 402H because of having a dinar in the name of Sulayman “Al-Musta’in” in this year and therefore it should be the last date for the subordination of Bani Khazrun to the Spanish Umayyad caliphate.

<sup>1</sup> **Museum of Islamic art in Cairo**, No. 162 / 2721 Wiet : Stèles funéraires T.4 P. 149 Pl.41, **Mayssa Dawood: Al-Ketabat Al-Arabeya**, P. 132, Pl. 51.

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