

BRUNO CALLEGHER*

NULLA DIES SINE LINEA :
AMONG THE DINARS
OF 65-334H / 684-946CE

218-21611



Abbasid Khalifah

Ab8

- 1 Xالا
- 2 اللو يلا
- 3 Xسر يلا
- ⊙ ϕ XXX, 3-4
- ⊙ (c) ذ



ϕ XLVII, 29

- 1 لله
- 2 مبع
- 3 رسول
- 4 الله
- 5 المعتصم بالله
- ⊙ ϕ IX, 33 (a)

8/1

alMu'tasim billah = Ab VIII (218-227)

المعتصم بالله
دينار

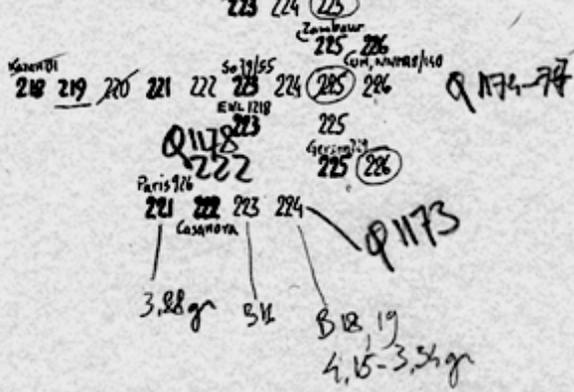
⊙ Dinar 19-21 mm 3.4-4.15 gr

Mint:

Date:

- ⊙ Misr D مصر
- ⊙ Dimishq G كوسو
- ⊙ Surr-man-ra ا لسمرقند
- ⊙ Madinat es Salam ل مدينة السلام
- ⊙ al Muhammadiya L المدينة
- ⊙ Marw U مرو
- ⊙ San'a E صنعاء

218 219 220 221 222 223 224 225 226 1179-



الله
المعتصم بالله
ع

8/2

From the September 1990 Draft of this *Corpus* (Private Archive of the Author)

Nulla dies sine linea:
among the dinars of 65-334 H / 684-946 CE ¹

Giulio Bernardi is no newcomer to laborious numismatic studies, to lengthy and wide-ranging research which, when completed, provides researchers with a coin record that contains many novel aspects, full of connotations and new developments. In this regard, for the purposes of a rapid bibliographic profile of the scholar, mention should be made of his celebrated first monograph on the coinage of the Patriarchy of Aquileia (ca. 1100-1420)². In that work, far from limiting himself to reorganizing available information, the author re-examined the archival sources, conducted a survey of storerooms and personally verified their holdings, differentiating the genuine coins and expunging the counterfeit ones. The numismatic data were completed by historical-chronological information on the different patriarchs and their issues connected with those of the Friesach mint (Carinthia), from whose mines arrived conspicuous quantities of silver³.

The same method was used in the second monograph, on the medieval coinage of the Trieste mint between 1195 and 1320⁴. In that work, again after personal examination, a study was made of approximately 1400 coins, from which it was possible to reconstruct the minting sequence of Episcopal money, from Wolcango to Rodolfo Pedrazzani da Robecco. The author once again engaged in quantitative research, dedicating himself to a patient review of the coins held in public and private collections, described in the specialist

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¹ PLINY, *Nat. Hist.*, 35. The two abbreviations refer respectively to the Hegira (H) and dating of the Christian era (CE).

² Cf. G. BERNARDI, *Monetazione del Patriarcato di Aquileia*, Trieste 1975; see the reviews of this work by B.M. FAVETTA, "Atti e Memorie della Società Istriana di Archeologia e Storia Patria", 75 (1975), pp. 279-281; C. GAMBERINI DI SCARFÈA, "La Numismatica", 5 (1975), p. 151.

³ The Aquileia money and its relations with that of Friesach are the subject of the proceedings of the conference held in Friesach on 14-18 September 1992: *Die Friesacher Münze im Alpen-Adria-Raum*, R. HÄRTEL ed., Graz 1996, in particular the papers by A. SACCOCCI, *La monetazione dell'Italia nord-orientale nel XII secolo*, pp. 285-312 and D. DEGRASSI, *Uso del denaro e circolazione monetaria in Friuli e nel litorale alto-adriatico tra la metà del XII e la metà del XIII secolo*, pp. 313-338. Some successive researches were united in the volume by I. BAUMGARTNER, H. WINTER, R. LINKE, M. SCHREINER, *Die Frühzeit des Friesacher Pfennigs (etwa 1125/30- etwa 1166)*, M. ALRAM, R. HÄRTEL, M. SCHREINER eds., Wien 2002; on these contributions see the review by A. SACCOCCI, "Rivista Italiana di Numismatica", CVI (2005), pp. 463-470.

⁴ Cf. G. BERNARDI, *Il Duecento a Trieste. Le monete*, Trieste 1995, with an introduction by A. SACCOCCI; see the reviews by L. TRAVAINI, "Numismatic Circular", 103, 10 (1995), pp. 381-382; by G. RUOTOLO, "Bari Economica", 5 (1995), pp. 164-166; by M. MATZKE, "Geldgeschichtliche Nachrichten", 171 (1996), pp. 43-44 and by M.T. [Mario TRAINA], "Cronaca Numismatica", 73 (March 1996), p. V.

journals and auction catalogues, and obtained results that could be defined as «a final objective of numismatic studies» and the volume containing them became «a fixed point in the progress of numismatic studies relative to the Middle Ages»⁵. The mass of data made available, by means of some simple statistical calculations, allowed the historians of economics in Trieste during the Middle Ages to formulate valid hypotheses on the volume of coins minted and, consequently, on the amount of silver arriving in the mint and then released on the market in that form⁶.

Something of the scholar's own personality also emerges from the two monographs: in presenting the results of his research he opts for a spare and concise prose, frequently schematic; he avoids lengthy comments, while entrusting the task of rendering the outcome of his studies immediately intelligible to the efficacy of the tables and figures. The indexes and concordances also facilitate the consultation of often technical pages. This research method and the writing of these two highly descriptive works required a great deal of time, especially considering the years of their publication, when traditional instruments were used and computer aids were still inexistent or in their infancy. In other words: every page involved travel and lengthy research, each coin direct checks on the specimen's weight and diameter, or long and laborious research conducted into the identities and type links for both the obverse and reverse: an undertaking in line with the cited aphorism of Pliny the Elder (23-79).

Only by reverting to this method of "searching" and to the criteria for presenting what has been "found", can one grasp the true significance of Giulio Bernardi's last effort: *Arabic Gold Coins. The First Essay of a Corpus*.

His interest in Islamic coinage began in the mid-1960s as a consequence of a very simple observation: in his collection the number of coins of this series tended to markedly increase in his collection, almost by inertia, without him knowing the essential data: the issuing authorities, the mints, the chronology. And the "hoard", by the author's own admission, required being rescued from oblivion exactly because it was "unfamiliar" material. He also observed that the antiquarian market and periodic auctions dispersed a large number of dinars, dirhams and fulus, while knowledge about them remained uncertain and limited to a few specialists. Over time he defined a precise approach both to collecting and the historic-numismatic research in Islamic ambits: among the Islamic coins he chose the dinar, perhaps because it was more legible or not produced in enormous quantities and varieties and consequently suitable for long periodisations.

⁵ A. SACCOCCI, *Presentazione*, in BERNARDI, *Il Duecento a Trieste* cit., p. 10: «un obiettivo finale degli studi numismatici» and «un punto fermo nel progresso degli studi numismatici relativi all'età di mezzo».

⁶ Some advance information can be deduced in SACCOCCI, *Presentazione* cit. The subject does not appear to have subsequently attracted the attention of historians, for example on the occasion of the exhibition on the Middle Ages in Trieste, for which cf. the catalogue of the exhibition on Trieste in the Middle Ages: *Medioevo a Trieste : istituzioni, arte, società nel Trecento*, P. CAMMAROSANO and M. MESSINA eds., Milano 2008.

His research was initially based on the work by von Zambaur, where the Islamic coins are divided according to the hundreds of working mints and the chronology of the Hegira⁷. Following that tested model, files were prepared for each type of dinar with a map for the location of the mints, and the name of the issuing authority, a photo of the specimen, the transcription of the legends on the obverse and reverse with relative dating, followed by a list of the mints completed by a bibliography both of the coin type and of each specimen of the same type examined. There were also some difficult obstacles: the Arabic language and transcription of the legends, which at that time could only be reproduced in the age-old way by copying out the “Kufic” letters. Both were tackled with the time-honoured method, slowly, day after day, with him gradually acquiring confidence in the reading of the inscriptions on the dinars and in the description of the obverse and reverse of the individual specimens. Keeping pace with this, an appropriate Islamic section gained substance in the author’s library starting from the acquisition of the works by Stanley Lane-Poole (1854-1931)⁸, in particular of the *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum* and subsequently expanding until it became well-stocked and renowned among the specialists in the sector⁹.

The first outcome of the research was the exhibition *Il mondo islamico nelle sue monete* [*The Islamic World in its Coins*], open to the public at the Azienda di Soggiorno di Sistiana (Trieste) on 23-27 August 1983¹⁰. In the brief introduction to the catalogue, which provided a description of the specimens organized in a chronological *excursus*, mention was made of the ongoing studies and the intention to give them continuity: «The result that we propose to obtain, including by means of a popular and lively presentation of the material, is therefore not a contribution to the studies, which *is our intention later* [my italics], but, for now, a stimulus and an invitation to cultivate this fascinating branch of numismatics, which is currently attracting increasing numbers of enthusiasts»¹¹. In the same year, that initiative received wider coverage in the Mostra Sociale del Circolo

⁷ E. von ZAMBAUR, *Die Münzprägung des Islams*, Wiesbaden 1968. The author recognizes that this work has a paradigmatic role.

⁸ Bio-bibliographical information in “The Numismatist”, 45 (1932), p. 179 [official publication of the American Numismatic Association]; the importance of his contributions to Islamic numismatics can also be inferred from G.C. MILES, *A collection of letters written to Stanley Lane-Poole*, “ANS. Museum Notes”, 3 (1948), pp. 115-123.

⁹ Because of its current range, it can be considered, barring fresh information, as one of the most complete in Italy, either public or private. It contains publications on Islamic numismatics (monographs, catalogues, journals, extracts) from the end of the 18th century onwards, with a geographical spread from Spain to the countries of south-east Asia.

¹⁰ The exhibition was organized by Giulio Bernardi in collaboration with Giorgio Conetti.

¹¹ CIRCOLO NUMISMATICO TRIESTINO, *Il mondo islamico nelle sue monete. Catalogo della Mostra*, edited by G. BERNARDI and G. CONETTI, Sistiana (Trieste) 1983 (cyclostyled), p. 1: «Il risultato che ci proponiamo di conseguire, anche attraverso una presentazione del materiale agile e divulgativa, non è dunque un contributo allo studio, che *ci ripromettiamo in seguito* [corsivo mio], ma, per ora, una sollecitazione e un invito a coltivare questa branca della numismatica, il cui fascino attrae oggi sempre più numerosi amatori».

Numismatico Triestino (Trieste)¹², in collaboration with the city's Civic Museums of History and Art, held at the Council-City Art Gallery in Piazza dell'Unità d'Italia to mark the 3rd centenary of the victory of Vienna over the Turks. The brief catalogue of the Sistiana exhibition was republished for the occasion, with the addition of some essays and illustrations of the coins exhibited¹³.

Significant progress in identifying dinars was made possible following publication of the handbook by Broome¹⁴. A *corpus* of manuscript files began to be formed, named the *Green Book* in deference to the Islamic culture¹⁵. The first outcome of the survey *in itinere* was a short paper on some unpublished dinars from the Rayy mint (Persia)¹⁶. The obvious complexity of the series, starting from the Arabic writing, may still now be appreciated on one of the pages of the first instalment of the manuscript, bound as a working paper in September 1990 (cf. *infra*, p. 414)¹⁷. A second paper was subsequently extrapolated from the files on the gold coins of the caliph Abbasid Al-Mamun, an essay which was circulated among scholars in the form of a working paper «in order to communicate the research programmes and methods»¹⁸.

The next year a new instalment, again on green paper, took into account the progress and corrections made. Written in English, it included an introduction followed by a *Description* and *Cross references and bibliography*¹⁹. Shortly after, Stephen Album's handbook re-oriented the entire work of the scholar, who at that point compared the dinars in his

¹² The Circolo, which is also known as the Regional Centre of Numismatic Studies of Friuli-Venezia Giulia, organizes a usually annual exhibition for the members and enthusiasts of numismatics, entitled the "Mostra Sociale [Club Exhibition]".

¹³ "Annuario 1983" [Circolo Numismatico Triestino], Trieste. The following papers were published in the journal: G. BERNARDI, *La monetazione islamica*, pp. 9-12; G. CONETTI, *La monetazione dell'impero ottomano*, pp. 17-21.

¹⁴ M. BROOME, *A handbook of Islamic coins*, London 1985.

¹⁵ Private archive of Giulio Bernardi (henceforth: GB Archive), where all the manuscript files of this phase are coloured green.

¹⁶ G. BERNARDI, *Contributi alla storia numismatica di Rayy*, "Gazzetta Svizzera di Numismatica", 40/159 (1990), pp. 63-66, which integrates G.C. MILES, *The numismatic history of Rayy*, "ANS. Numismatic Studies", 2 (1938).

¹⁷ GB Archive. The instalment, with number 1 at the top right of the front cover, gathers information on the dinars from 77-80 to 358 of the Hegira. On this denomination, Dr. Lutz Ilisch of the Orientalisches Seminar of the "Eberhard-Karls-Universität" of Tübingen made some critical suggestions in a letter of 4 June 1992, kept in the GB Archive. In particular, after suggesting some methodological modifications, he mentions possible confusion with the famous "Green Book" by Mu'ammar al-Ghadafi of the Islamic Republic of Libya.

¹⁸ G. BERNARDI, *Gold coins of Al Ma 'mun. VIIIth Abbasid Caliph, 196-218 H – 811-833 D*, Trieste [s.d., but 1991] (*pro manuscripto*), p. 2: «allo scopo di comunicare loro i programmi e i metodi della ricerca». The abbreviation D indicates the chronology after Christ.

¹⁹ Cf. GB Archive: the title page of the volume in A4 format reads: «Classification of the Arabic Gold Coins 77-656 H. Work in progress. Many common coins are still missing. Last input on Sept. 24, 1991».

collection with those in the newly published catalogue²⁰. The result was *Monete cufiche d'oro dalla riforma di 'Adb al-Malik alla conquista mongola di Bagdad*. [*Kufic gold coins from the reform of 'Adb al-Malik to the Mongol conquest of Bagdad. 77-656 H / 697-1258 D.*] *Fascicolo della Collezione di Giulio Bernardi numismatico* [*Fascicle of the Collection of Giulio Bernardi numismaticist*], a completely new list, in which the Arabic letters were obtained from appropriate typographical fonts. In the introduction he expressed a revised plan: «I began this work to distinguish the different types by mints and years of issue, attributing the levels of rarity resulting from the comparison, with the aid of an organizer [computer], with the catalogues of the various collections and sales. It will undoubtedly be a lengthy task and I promise to print the updated text periodically»²¹.

Which is what happened.

The next edition in 2000, which again appeared as a working paper, had the title modified to *Catalogo di una collezione e repertorio tipologico di monete cufiche d'oro dalla riforma di 'Adb al-Malik alla conquista mongola di Bagdad*. [*Catalogue of a collection and list of types of Kufic gold coins from the reform of 'Adb al-Malik to the Mongol conquest of Bagdad*]. *77-656 H / 697-1258 D*²². In 2001 there were three updated editions, without any alteration to the title. The first had a layout that foreshadowed a permanent typographical format: the methodological introduction preceded the catalogue of dinars complete with photographs, while the first indexes provided a guide to the use of the list²³. Next came an interim edition²⁴ for Michael L. Bates' visit²⁵ to Trieste, a scholar with whom the author had a fruitful scientific collaboration, and one soon after to record his trip to London, where he had examined new gold coins and checked specimens already present in the collection²⁶. Shortly afterwards, with the aim of subjecting the efficacy of the method and the validity of the results obtained to the scrutiny of the scientific community, the author published an article

²⁰ S. ALBUM, *Checklist of Popular Islamic Coins*, Santa Rosa CA 1993.

²¹ Cf. GB Archive, instalment V, in A4 format, p. 1: «Ho cominciato questo lavoro di distinguere i diversi tipi per zecche e anni di emissione, attribuendo i gradi di rarità che risultano dal confronto, con l'aiuto di un organizzatore [computer], tra i cataloghi delle diverse collezioni e delle vendite. Sarà certamente un lavoro lungo e mi prometto di stampare periodicamente il testo aggiornato». On the title page, after the title, was the editorial information: «Questa è l'edizione del 1° gennaio 1999, stampata a Trieste in 3 esemplari» [This is the 1° January 1999 edition of 3 copies, printed in Trieste].

²² Cf. GB Archive, with the annotation: «Edizione provvisoria di una copia. Settembre 2000» [Interim edition of one copy. September 2000].

²³ Cf. GB Archive, with the annotation: «1° gennaio 2001. 4 copie» [1° January 2001. 4 copies].

²⁴ Cf. GB Archive, with the annotation: «Edizione provvisoria di 2 copie. Aprile 2001» [Interim edition of 2 copies. April 2001].

²⁵ Biographical notes in R. WITSCHONKE, *Michael Bates: A Brief Biography*, "ANS Magazine", vol. 4, n. 3 (2005), text consultable online: <http://ansmagazine.com/winter05/bates>).

²⁶ Cf. GB Archive, with the annotation: «Edizione provvisoria di 2 copie stampate il 20 giugno 2001» [Interim edition of 2 copies printed on 20 June 2001].

on the dinars minted with the reform of 'Abd al-Malik²⁷. There were also two editions of the working paper in the following year: in the first, the catalogue, next to the chronological order, incorporated an organization by region and by dynasty²⁸; in the second, printed and dedicated «to Mutasin Bilbeisi and my friends and colleagues Norman Doug Nicol and Mauro Lo Monaco on the occasion of their visit to Trieste», tables with conventional symbols were inserted and a long list of abbreviations²⁹. There were also two editions in 2003, with a slightly modified title: *Catalogo di una collezione e appunti per un repertorio tipologico di monete cufiche d'oro dall'epoca della riforma di 'Abd al-Malik a quella della conquista mongola di Baghdad* [*Catalogue of a collection and notes for list of types of Kufic gold coins from the period of the reform of 'Adb al-Malik to that of the Mongol conquest of Bagdad*]: 74-656H / 694-1258D. With the first, the author wanted to mark the Simone Assemani Symposium (1752-1821)³⁰ on 17 May 2003 in Padova³¹; the second included the many corrections suggested by the colleagues who had participated in the symposium on the Islamic coinage³². In the following years, the consultation of updated catalogues and auction lists, the checking of an extensive bibliographical record, the increase of his personal collection, but especially the discussions with colleagues, were merged in the volume published on the occasion of the second Simone Assemani Symposium, held in Trieste on 29-31 August 2008³³. The dinars

²⁷ G. BERNARDI, *Il dinar di 'Abd al-Malik coniato nell'anno 77H. Un esame comparativo dei conii di martello e d'incudine*, "Rivista Svizzera di Numismatica", 80 (2001), pp. 131-137, where two stamps are identified for the obverse and three for the reverse. This is confirmed in C. FOSS, *Arab-Byzantine Coins. An Introduction, with a catalogue of the Dumbarton Oaks collection*, Washington 2008, pp. 58-81 (Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine Collection Publications 12).

²⁸ Cf. GB Archive, with the annotation: «Edizione provvisoria in otto copie stampate il 20 febbraio 2002» [Interim edition in eight copies printed 20 February 2002].

²⁹ Cf. GB Archive: [A Mutasin Bilbeisi e agli amici e colleghi di studio Norman Doug Nicol e Mauro Lo Monaco in occasione dello loro visita a Trieste], with the annotation: «Edizione provvisoria [...] 24 marzo 2002» [Interim edition [...] 24 March 2002].

³⁰ A. PONTANI, B. CALLEGHER, *Un orientalista a Padova: primi appunti su "L'arabico Assemani" (1752-1821)*, in *Simposio Simone Assemani sulla monetazione islamica*, Padova 2005 (Numismatica Patavina 5), pp. 11-29; lastly, A. PONTANI, *Simone Assemani*, in *Padua felix*, O. LONGO ed., Padova 2007, pp. 259-270.

³¹ Cf. GB Archive, with the annotation: «Bozza provvisoria in occasione del 1° Simposio Assemani. 17 maggio 2003» [First draft on the occasion of the 1° Assemani Symposium. 17 May 2003]. Note the renewed programmatic declaration, aware of the complexity and duration of the research: «*Ars longa vita brevis*, per questa considerazione, ben conscio della persistenza di innumerevoli errori e manchevolezze, pubblico l'edizione provvisoria [...]» [*Ars longa vita brevis*, because of this consideration, well aware of the persistence of innumerable errors and defects, he published the interim edition [...]]. The Padova meeting is reported in the proceedings: *Simposio Simone Assemani sulla monetazione islamica* cit.

³² Cf. GB Archive; the usual annotation is confined to: «23 ottobre 2003. Edizione provvisoria» [23 October 2003. Interim edition].

³³ The symposium, organized by the Dipartimento Scienze dell'Antichità "L. Ferrero" of the Faculty of "Lettere e Filosofia" (University of Trieste) in collaboration with the firm Giulio Bernardi Numismatica srl – Trieste, was reported in the current affairs press of the sector, for example, in "Comunicazione" [Società Italiana Numismatica], 57 (2008), p. 11

examined, and which are accounted for in an almost endless bibliography, amount to a few thousand.

The title was altered radically, because a catalogue of a collection integrated by “notes” turned into the project of *corpus* of the gold coins entitled: *Primo tentativo di un corpus delle monete cufiche d’oro. I. Dagli inizi (65H = 684 D) all’avvento dei Buwayhidi (334 H = 946 D)* [*First attempt at a corpus of Kufic gold coins. I. From the beginnings (65H = 684 D) to the coming of the Buwayhidi (334 H = 946 D)*]³⁴. The chronological span was reduced to around three centuries due to the impossibility of uniting in a single volume the attestations of gold coins which, from the end of the 10th century onwards, increased considerably and posed numerous questions of a metrological nature to scholars. For the earliest centuries (65H = 684 /334H = 946), the author applied a system of classification that differed from the traditional model proposed by the Russian orientalist, C.M.J. Frähn (1782-1851)³⁵, working in St. Petersburg in the first half of the 19th century, based essentially on the identification of monetary classes and, in general, followed by later scholars. In our *corpus* of dinars, instead, the types have been organized following the succession of Abbasid caliphs and, subordinately, the series of vassal dynasties.

In this way, on the basis of type, thanks to which dozens of combinations of mints and chronologies are combined and compared under single entries, the complex organization of the monetary production during the Abbasid period becomes clear, an organization previously only guessed at by scholars. A system of alphabetic combinations facilitates the identification of the mints: a capital letter identifies the geographical area, while a lower case letter refers to the mints producing in the region. Thus it is evident that the author intends to catalogue the coins following a numismatic method of his own, which I predict will be appreciated by the specialists in the sector, as happened with the organization of the medieval coins of the Friuli Venezia Giulia region, whose presentation within entries was later imitated³⁶.

Between the end of that same year and the first months of 2009, the work was translated into English. The vastness of the work can already be deduced from the introductory indexes, which provide different approaches to the documentation:

- ‘Sources and Bibliographic Abbreviations’ clarify consultation of the bibliographical abbreviations;

and in D.M. DOSSI, *Il secondo Simposio Simone Assemani*, “Cronaca Numismatica”, XX (2008), n. 212, pp. 60-62.

³⁴ Cf. GB Archive, with the annotation: «Trieste, nel giorno della nascita di Evelyn, 27 luglio 2008 e in occasione del Secondo Simposio Simone Assemani» [Trieste, on the day of Evelyn’s birth, 27 July 2008 and on the occasion of the Second Simone Assemani Symposium]. The number of copies is not indicated.

³⁵ Regarding this, see the arrangement of Islamic coins in C.M.J. FRÄHN, *Beiträge zur Muhammedanischen Münzkunde aus St. Petersburg; oder Auswahl seltener und merkwürdiger, bis dahin unbekannter Muhammedanischer Münzen aus dem Kabinet des kaiserlich russischen Collegien-Assessors Herrn G. Pflug*, Berlin 1818.

³⁶ G. BERNARDI, *Le monete maggiormente in uso nel Medioevo friulano*, Udine 1981.

- 'Authors and Bibliographic Abbreviations', as do 'Index Concordances', establish an immediate synopsis between the coins published by Miles³⁷, those in the American Numismatic Society collection, with those in the corpus, to which the year of the Hegira has been added;

- Concordances: 'Corpus-Major Collections' and vice versa relate the dinars in the corpus with those in eight of the most significant public and private collections, with the weight of each specimen, where known.

From these first pages of indexes, of which there are more than ninety, the methodological rigour and ductility can be appreciated of a layout not planned as a catalogue but rather intended to provide all the coordinates for further study, for example on the mints active in a given year, on the number of surviving specimens, on the rarity of some dinars. This becomes obvious in the analysis of three cases worthy of special mention.

- a. Among the 21 different types of the Abbasid caliph Harun al-Rashid (170-193 H / 786-809 D), types 69 and 75 seem to have been particularly significant, as evinced from an appropriate *synoptic frame* of those dinars, organized by type and year.
- b. A survey was made of 29 mints and a considerable number of specimens of the Abbasid caliph Al-Muktafi bi Allah (289-295 H / 902-908 D), which allow to reconstruct the minting sequence of type 226, documented in chapter 17.
- c. The observations for the dinar type 242 of the Abbasid caliph al-Muqtadir bi Allah (295-320 H / 908-932) are similar. The coin was produced in at least 34 mints and, as with the previous instance, the large number of records represent the extensive indispensable research for the thorough reconstruction of the minting pattern of a particular coin type.

Other itineraries or discoveries will depend on the patience and curiosity of the readers: they must explore the corpus of the gold currency in the tracks of a study which lasted at least three decades, probably not without errors, but indispensable for recognizing types, metrological and mint data, legends and bibliography of the gold coinage of the Abbasid period.

³⁷ G.C. MILES, *Rare Islamic Coins*, "Numismatic Notes and Monographs", 118 (1950).