

The revolt of ‘Abdallāh b. Mu‘āwiya, AH 127–130: a reconsideration through the coinage¹

TERESA BERNHEIMER
University of Oxford

‘Abdallāh b. Mu‘āwiya b. ‘Abdallāh b. Ja‘far b. Abi Tālib, great-grandson of ‘Alī’s brother Ja‘far, rose up in Kufa in Muḥarram of 127/October 744. After he was defeated by Umayyad forces in 130 (747–748), he was imprisoned or killed by Abū Muslim, the leader of the later ‘Abbāsīd revolution in Khurāsān. During the three years of his uprising, Ibn Mu‘āwiya established himself over a wide area in the Jibāl and Fārs, where he appointed governors, collected taxes and struck his own coins.

Ibn Mu‘āwiya’s revolt is among the most important uprisings of the late Umayyad period; despite this, it has received little attention in modern scholarship. It has generally been discussed in the context of the success of the ‘Abbāsīd revolution, and studies such as Moshe Sharon’s *Black Banners from the East* have followed Julius Wellhausen’s view that Ibn Mu‘āwiya’s leadership in the revolt was only coincidental: he was the only member of the family of the Prophet present in Kufa at the time when the enemies of the Umayyads needed a leader.² Though Ibn Mu‘āwiya’s appeal may well be best understood against the background of opposition to the Umayyads, as he united most diverse factions under his banner, his uprising was more than just another ‘Alid (in this case Tālibid) revolt which weakened the Umayyads and helped to establish the ‘Abbāsīds in power. As Tilman Nagel has written, Ibn Mu‘āwiya’s short rule in the East can justifiably be called ‘the first Hashimite state’.³

Ibn Mu‘āwiya’s coinage is an important source for historians of the subject. It has been known to scholars since the late nineteenth century, through the publication of Gerlof van Vloten’s article ‘Über einige bis jetzt nicht bekannte Münzen aus der Omeiyadenzeit’.⁴ No serious attempt at studying the coins of

¹ Versions of this paper were delivered at a symposium on Classical Islamic Studies at the University of Pennsylvania in March 2003, and at the American Numismatic Society in August 2004. I am grateful to Chase Robinson, Tamima Bayhom-Daou, Luke Treadwell, Michael Bates and Patricia Crone for their comments on earlier versions.

² Moshe Sharon, *Black Banners from the East. Revolt: The Social and Military Aspects of the ‘Abbāsīd Revolution*, vol. II (Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1990), 127; see Julius Wellhausen, *Das Arabische Reich und sein Sturz* (Berlin: Georg Reimer Verlag, 1902), 239 ff. William Tucker’s article ‘‘Abdallāh b. Mu‘āwiya and the Janāhiyya: rebels and ideologues of the late Umayyad period’, *Studia Islamica* 51, 1980, 39–57, is the only comprehensive work on Ibn Mu‘āwiya to date. The focus is on the rebel’s connection to the extremist Shia and early gnosticism, using historical and heresiographical material. However, the relationship between Ibn Mu‘āwiya and the sects associated with him in the heresiographies (the Janāhiyya, the Harbiyya, or the Hārithiyya) is ambiguous at best. Tucker’s conclusions must be revised especially in view of Tamima Bayhom-Daou’s study ‘The second century Ši‘ite Gulāt: were they really gnostic?’, *Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies* 5, 2003, 13–61.

³ Tilman Nagel, *Untersuchungen zur Entstehung des Abbasidischen Kalifats* (Bonn: Selbstverlag des Orientalischen Seminars der Universität, 1972), 148; similarly Elton Daniel, *The Political and Social History of Khurāsān under ‘Abbāsīd Rule* (Minneapolis: Bibliotheca Islamica, 1979), 42–3. The recent study of Saleh Said Agha, *The Revolution which Toppled the Umayyads: Neither Arab nor ‘Abbāsīd* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2003), 50, only very briefly mentions Ibn Mu‘āwiya; Agha says that ‘he withdrew westward, to Fārs and Jibāl, talking with him whatever potential dangers any unauthorized “Ši‘ite” uprising posed to the Organization’s agenda’.

⁴ Gerlof van Vloten, ‘Über einige bis jetzt nicht bekannte Münzen aus der Omeiyadenzeit’, *ZDMG* XLVI, 1892, 441–4.

the 'late Umayyad revolutionaries' was made until Carl Wurtzel published a small catalogue of 'The Coinage of the Revolutionaries in the Late Umayyad Period' in 1978, where he aimed not only to update the inventory of a diverse number of coins, but also to present them in their 'proper historical context'.⁵ Wurtzel examined the silver and copper coinage of Ibn Mu'āwiya, Abū Muslim, al-Kirmānī and some Khārījite rebels. He based his findings mainly on an analysis of the silver coins, which he divided into four groups according to features of design and annulet configuration. Group 1 treats the dirhams of Ibn Mu'āwiya and his lieutenants, the subject of this article. His general division, as well as the classification into three sub-groups, is still very useful and will be followed here.⁶

Despite Wurtzel's significant study, historians have made little use of the material.⁷ Some important new coins have come to light since Wurtzel's publication in 1978, and his conclusions have to be revised accordingly. This brief study attempts to do so, and incorporates a wider reading of the literary sources; it also attempts to show the usefulness of numismatics for the historical study of early Islam. Some studies have already shown that analysis and interpretation of coinage can throw light on difficult problems of early Islamic history;⁸ in the absence of much external evidence, coins may well be a useful confirmation of, and corrective or addition to, the literary sources.

In what follows I shall argue that Ibn Mu'āwiya's coinage is evidence for a strong and unified movement, and corroborates the interpretation of the revolt as a 'dress rehearsal' for the 'Abbāsīd revolution.'⁹ The quranic verse written on his coins (42:23) *Qul lā as'alu-kum 'alayhi ajran illā 'l-mawadda fī 'l-qurbā* (Say I ask of you no recompense for it except the love of kin) was continued on the early coin issues of Abū Muslim; presumably this was intended to continue the revolutionary call and to ensure the take-over of Ibn Mu'āwiya's following. As the 'Abbāsīds were to do just a few years later, Ibn Mu'āwiya claimed the caliphate on the basis of his close kinship with the Prophet. Moreover, the coinage supports the literary accounts of the revolt, and even allows us to

⁵ Carl Wurtzel, 'The coinage of the revolutionaries in the late Umayyad period', *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes* 23, 1978, 161–99.

⁶ Wurtzel's groups are divided as follows: group 1 includes the dirhams of 'Abdallāh b. Mu'āwiya and his lieutenants; group 2 the dirhams of Abū Muslim and his lieutenants; group 3 the dirhams of Abū Muslim without the quranic inscription 42:23; and group 4 the dirhams of the Khārījites and al-Kirmānī. The divisions are based on the ideas of A. S. DeShazo and M. L. Bates, 'The Umayyad governors of al-Īrāq and the changing annulet patterns on their Dirhams', *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1974, 110–18. I follow this division here, and give references to Wurtzel's numbering of the coins in brackets. For the sake of clarity I only give Islamic dates for the coin issues.

⁷ In the case of Ibn Mu'āwiya, the numismatic evidence has not been incorporated systematically. Tucker knows of a few issues (by way of van Vloten's article) but does not use them; see 'Abdallāh b. Mu'āwiya', 44; Moshe Sharon, *Black Banners II*, 123 n. 67, draws attention to two issues published in Stanley Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of the Collection of Arabic Coins Preserved in the Khedival Library, Cairo* (London: B. Quaritch, 1897), and seems to think that he is among the first to attribute them to Ibn Mu'āwiya. Only Nagel, *Untersuchungen*, 92, makes some use of the material.

⁸ See, for example, Harry Bone, 'The administration of Umayyad Syria: the evidence of the copper coins' (Princeton: unpublished PhD Thesis, 2000); Michael Bates, 'Khurāsānī revolutionaries and al-Mahdī's title', in F. Daftary and J. W. Meri (eds), *Culture and Memory in Medieval Islam, Essays in Honour of Wilferd Madelung* (London: I. B. Tauris and the Institute of Isma'īlī Studies, 2003), 279–317; Michael Bonner, 'Al-Khalifa al-Mardī: the accession of Hārūn al-Rashīd', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 108, 1988, 79–91; Robert Hoyland, *Seeing Islam as Others Saw It* (Princeton: Darwin Press, 1997), 550–54 and 679; Luke Treadwell, 'Shāhānshāh and Malik al-Mu'ayyad: the legitimization of power in Sāmānīd and Būyīd Iran', in Daftary and Meri (eds), *Culture and Memory in Medieval Islam*, 318–37; and idem, 'The "Orans" Drachms of Bishr b. Marwān and the figural coinage of the early Marwānīd period', in Jeremy Johns (ed.), *Bayt al-Maqdis*, II (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the Board of the Faculty of Oriental Studies, 1999).

⁹ See Daniel, *Khurāsān*, 43.

understand the uprising in more detail than is possible from the written sources. For example, it is clear from two issues from Jayy of 127 that Ibn Mu'āwiya must have reached Iṣfahān within a year of his revolt in Kufa.¹⁰ The coinage also shows that he was in control of the Jibāl, as well as Fārs and Khūzistān by 128 (745–746), a wider geographical area than has so far been assumed.¹¹ In addition to emphasizing the role of Ibn Mu'āwiya's revolt as a precursor of the *da'wa* of what later became known as the 'Abbāsīd revolution, I therefore suggest some alternatives regarding the chronology, geography and authority of Ibn Mu'āwiya's revolt, by way of a reconsideration of the silver coinage.

The coins of 'Abdallāh b. Mu'āwiya: general description

Ibn Mu'āwiya's coins follow the standard post-reform Umayyad type. The obverse field legend reads *lā illāha illā Allāh waḥda-hu lā sharīka la-hu*; the reverse field legend reads *Allāh aḥad Allāh al-ṣamad lam yalid wa lam yūlad wa lam yakun la-hu kufu'an aḥad* (Quran 112:1–4); and the reverse marginal legend reads *Muḥammad rasūl Allāh arsala-hu bi 'l-hudā wa dīn al-ḥaqq li-yuḥira-hu 'alā al-dīn kulli-hi wa law kariha al-mushrikūn* (Quran 9:33). There is also an important addition: around the legend in the obverse field appears a verse from *Sūrat al-Shūrā* (Quran 42:23): *Qul lā as'alu-kum 'alayhi ajran illā 'l-mawadda fī 'l-qurbā* (Say I ask of you no recompense for it except the love of kin).

There are even two references to the use of this verse on Ibn Mu'āwiya's coins in the literary sources, in al-Balādhurī's *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, and Ibn Ḥabīb's *Asmā' al-Mughṭalīn*.¹² Its choice is significant, both for our understanding of the intentions of Ibn Mu'āwiya's revolt, and because it was continued on the early issues of Abū Muslim's coins, and used by the first 'Abbāsīd caliph, al-Saffāh, on a copper coin of al-Tawwaj as well as in his accession speech. It was also picked up by various 'Alid rebels later on, and George Miles has called it 'the characteristic battle cry of these Shiite messianic insurgents'.¹³ What appears to be Ibn Mu'āwiya's earliest silver issue, a dirham minted in Jayy in 127, carries a long version of this verse around the obverse marginal legend. The second part reads *wa-man yaqtarīf ḥasanatan nazīd lahu fihā ḥusnan* (and whoever earns any good, we shall give him an increase of good in respect of it). Ibn Mu'āwiya was thus the first to use this verse, and this seems to be the only instance of the long version on the coinage.¹⁴

¹⁰ This closely supports and gives detail to an account in al-Ṭabarī, related on the authority of al-Madā'īnī; see al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-rusul wa-l-mulūk*, ed. M. J. de Goeje *et al.* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1879–1901), II, 1976: 'When 'Abdallāh b. Mu'āwiya ... was driven out of Kufa, he went to al-Madā'īn, where the people swore allegiance to him, and a group of Kufans joined him. He went to the Jibāl and seized control there as well as in Hulwān, Qūmis, Iṣfahān and Rayy ... When he had prevailed, he resided in Iṣfahān'. Translated by J. A. Williams, *The History of al-Ṭabarī: The 'Abbāsīd Revolution*, vol. XXVII (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989), 85.

Al-Madā'īnī is an important source for the revolt of Ibn Mu'āwiya; Ibn al-Nadīm lists a *Kitāb 'Abdallāh b. Mu'āwiya* under his name, see Ibn al-Nadīm, *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, ed. G. Flügel with J. Roediger and A. Müller (Leipzig: F. C. W. Vogel, 1871–72), 101.

¹¹ The written sources provide little information for this period, but two issues for the year 128 from mints in Fārs, Iṣṭakhr (no. 12) and Darābjird (unpublished), as well as one issue from the mint of Rāmhurmuz in Khūzistān (no. 7), show this progress. See the discussion below.

¹² Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, ed. Wilferd Madelung (Beirut and Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2003), II, 73–4; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Asmā' al-mughṭalīn min al-ashraf fī al-jāhiliyya wa-l-islām*, ed. 'Abd al-Salām Harūn, *Nawādir al-makḥṭūāt*, II (Beirut: Dār al-Jil, 1991), 206 (no. 189).

¹³ George Miles, 'al-Mahdī al-Ḥaqq, Amir al-Mu'minīn', *Revue Numismatique*, 1965, 335. For a more detailed study of the verse in the *tafsīr* literature, see my MPhil thesis 'The revolt of Ibn Mu'āwiya' (submitted Oxford, 2002), 58 ff.

¹⁴ Michel Klat, *Catalogue of the Post-Reform Dirhams. The Umayyad Dynasty* (London: Spink, 2002), 112 (no. 268.b).



Figure 1. Group 1-A, Jayy 128. (Ashmolean Museum Oxford, Shamma Collection 1357; Wurtzel no. 1, Klat no. 268a.)

Group 1-A

Wurtzel divided the coinage of Ibn Mu‘āwiya and his lieutenants into three sub-groups (termed 1-A, 1-B and 1-C), based on considerations of design and annulet pattern. For the coins of group 1-A, verse 42:23 appears in a more or less circular arrangement around the obverse field legend (see Figure 1).¹⁵ There is a single serrate circle between the obverse inner marginal legend and the outer margin, and there are six single annulets on the reverse.¹⁶ A second issue from Jayy of the year 127 (no. 1) belongs to this group, and there are further issues from Jayy of 128 (no. 2) and 129 (no. 3), as well as from al-Taymara of 128 (no. 4) and 129 (no. 5), al-Rayy of 128 (no. 6), and Rāmhurmuz of 128 (no. 7).¹⁷ It should be noted that all these mints, except for Rāmhurmuz, are in the Jibāl province. Rāmhurmuz, however, is the capital of a district in Khūzistān.¹⁸ There are two more issues unknown to Wurtzel, from Māh (or Mahay) 128¹⁹ and Iṣṭakhr 128.²⁰

Wurtzel suggests that these coins were minted under the direct authority of Ibn Mu‘āwiya. Following this hypothesis, he has difficulty explaining the Rāmhurmuz dirham of 128 on the basis of the literary sources he examined. Al-Ṭabarī does not say that the province of Khūzistān, or al-Ahwāz/Rāmhurmuz, fell to Ibn Mu‘āwiya; rather, he says that in the year 129 (746–747) a certain Sulaymān b. Ḥabīb was in control of al-Ahwāz.²¹ Wurtzel thus concludes that:

¹⁵ By permission of the visitors of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. I am grateful to Luke Treadwell for providing me with the illustrations.

¹⁶ Wurtzel, ‘Coinage’, 164.

¹⁷ See Wurtzel, ‘Coinage’, 166, 169–70 and 180 ff. for catalogue.

¹⁸ See Guy Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (Cambridge (reprint): Cambridge University Press, 1930), 243: ‘Three days’ march east of Ahwāz is the city of Rāmhurmuz, still known by the name which it received from King Hurmuz, grandson of Ardashīr Bābgān ...’.

¹⁹ Klat, *Catalogue*, 214 (no. 566); Sotheby’s, London, auction 27/5/99, lot 149: ‘Four dirhams of Ibn Mu‘āwiya of Mahay 129 were recorded by Wurtzel (no. 9, group 1-B) but the present coin of 128 appears to be unrecorded’.

²⁰ Klat, *Catalogue*, 56 (no. 83b); *Catalogue Leu Auktionen*, Zürich, Auktion 62 (18. Mai 1995), lot 244.

²¹ Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, II, 1946.

Sulaymān had doubtless been in control of Rāmhurmuz (in Khūzistān/al-Ahwāz) in the previous year also, in 128, and had nominally offered allegiance to Ibn Mu'āwiya for the sake of legitimising his own independence from, and opposition to, the Umayyad authority. As a token of his recognition, Sulaymān had probably allowed Ibn Mu'āwiya to issue coinage in Rāmhurmuz, which accounts for the features shared by the Rāmhurmuz dirham with the others of Group 1-A.²²

Sulaymān b. Ḥabīb's role and allegiance are difficult to establish even from a wider range of historical sources. Patricia Crone suggests that this man, a member of the famous Muhallabid family, became a governor for Ibn 'Umar in the third civil war and, once defeated by Marwān's forces, joined Ibn Mu'āwiya in Fārs.²³ This account is again based on al-Ṭabarī, but even here neither the date of these events, nor his allegiance, is clear.²⁴ Al-Jahshiyārī writes that Sulaymān was governor of al-Ahwāz for Marwān II,²⁵ but he is the only author who places Sulaymān on the side of the Umayyad caliph. In al-Balādhurī's *Ansāb* we find two different versions, first that Sulaymān had been governor over al-Ahwāz for Ibn 'Umar, and then that he was governor for Ibn Mu'āwiya, indeed already at the time when Nubāta b. Ḥanzāla was fighting him.²⁶ In other words, he did not come to Ibn Mu'āwiya only after having been defeated by the Umayyad forces, as al-Ṭabarī suggests. Al-'Awtabī records yet another version, and states that 'Sulaymān b. Ḥabīb b. al-Muhallab became active in Fārs and called [people] to Abū Salama'.²⁷ This reading is not found elsewhere (and may refer to a later period).

These examples show that it is difficult to say with any certainty when and how Ibn Mu'āwiya and Sulaymān b. Ḥabīb came together, and on whose behalf the latter ruled over the city in Khūzistān. The evidence of the coinage, however, suggests that Rāmhurmuz, and so at least part of Khūzistān, was part of the area controlled by Ibn Mu'āwiya in the year 128 (745–746). Some of the reports in the written sources agree with this: al-Balādhurī says that he conquered 'Iṣfahān and most of Fārs and al-Ahwāz', but unfortunately does not give a date.²⁸

Thus, since there is neither evidence from the coinage nor from the written sources to indicate that the Rāmhurmuz dirham of 128 was minted in a context *different* to the other coins in this group, I would reject Wurtzel's suggestion that it was issued by the semi-independent Sulaymān b. Ḥabīb. Rather, this coin seems to be struck, to borrow from Wurtzel's vocabulary, 'under Ibn Mu'āwiya's direct authority' like all the others in this group. But let us look at the rest of the coins to make a stronger argument.

Group 1-B

Wurtzel suggests that the coins of both groups 1-B and 1-C were minted not by Ibn Mu'āwiya himself but by others on his behalf. The dirhams of group 1-B

²² Wurtzel, 'Coinage', 168.

²³ Patricia Crone, *Slaves on Horses: The Evolution of the Islamic Polity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 133 and 164, and Crone, 'Muhallabids', *EI*², VII (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1993).

²⁴ Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, II, 1946 and 1977, where one also finds the sources used by Wurtzel.

²⁵ Al-Jahshiyārī, *Kitāb al-Wuzarā'*, ed. Mustafa al-Saqqā *et al.* (Cairo: Mustafa al-Bābī al-Halabī, 1938), 98.

²⁶ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, II, 74.

²⁷ Martin Hinds, *An Early Islamic Family from Omān: al-'Awtabī's Account of the Muhallabids* (Manchester: University of Manchester, 1991), 84.

²⁸ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, vol. II, 74. The anonymous *Akhbār al-dawlā al-'abbasīyya*, ed. 'A. 'A. Dūrī *et al.* (Beirut: Dār al-Ṭālī'a, 1971), 251, says that he conquered Fārs, Iṣfahān and Rayy; see also the *Ta'rikh al-khulafā'*, ed. P. A. Gryaznevich (Moscow: Publisher of Oriental Literature, 1967), 259a.



Figure 2. Group 1-B, Mahay 129. (Ashmolean Museum Oxford, Shamma Collection 1374; Wurtzel no. 9, Klat no. 567.)

differ from those of the group 1-A only in the reverse annulet pattern. Whereas there were six reverse annulets in the first coin type, there are now only five (Figure 2). Following the thesis put forward by DeShazo and Bates for the silver coinage of the Umayyad mint of Wāsiṭ, Wurtzel argues that this change is indicative of a change in governorship. He identifies the new governor as Ibn Mu'āwiya's brother al-Ḥasan b. Mu'āwiya who, according to al-Ṭabarī, was appointed over the Jibāl when Ibn Mu'āwiya himself moved on to Iṣṭakhr.²⁹ It must be pointed out that DeShazo and Bates examined the annulet pattern on the obverse of the coin, where the annulets are much larger and more visibly placed. Wurtzel, on the other hand, bases this argument on the reverse annulets, which are much smaller than the obverse annulets discussed by DeShazo and Bates.³⁰ This may or may not be significant. In this group 1-B, there are issues from al-Rayy from 129 and 130 (nos 10 and 11), Hamadhān from 129 (no. 8), and Māh (or Māhay) from 129 (no. 9).³¹

Zambaur and thus Wurtzel identified Māh (or Mahay) as 'probably the official name for al-Mahān', in the northern part of Kirmān.³² It seems unlikely, however, that the governor of the Jibāl would also authorize the minting of a coin in Kirmān. I would suggest that the place must be understood as 'the two Māhs', Māh al-Kūfa and Māh al-Baṣra. The two cities of Nihāwand and Dīnawar were known by these names in early Islamic times because their respective tax revenues were given to Kufa and Baṣra.³³ This identification seems more probable not only because these two cities are in the Jibāl province, but also because these are the places mentioned in al-Iṣfahānī's

²⁹ Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḫ*, II, 1977.

³⁰ DeShazo and Bates, 'Umayyad governors', 110–18. I am grateful to Luke Treadwell for pointing this out.

³¹ Wurtzel, 'Coinage', 166, 170 and 181 ff. for catalogue. For the Rayy issues, see also George Miles, *The Numismatic History of Rayy* (New York: American Numismatic Society, 1938), 17–18.

³² Eduard von Zambaur, *Die Münzprägungen des Islam* (Wiesbaden: F. Steiner, 1968), 223. For al-Mahān, see also Le Strange, *Lands*, map IV and 248, 302, 307. Wurtzel follows Zambaur's suggestion, saying that the inclusion of the dirham in this group 'due to the shared features of design, and the specific mention of al-Māhān by the literary sources as one of the localities over which Ibn Mu'āwiya had control, strengthen the identification of Māhī (Māhay) with Māhān'; Wurtzel, 'Coinage', 170 n. 18.

³³ For example Le Strange, *Lands*, 196–7.

Maqātil and *Aghānī*: we read here ‘Māh al-Kūfa and Māh al-Baṣra’ rather than ‘al-Mahān’ as in al-Ṭabarī.³⁴ If this identification is correct, all of the coins of group 1-B were minted in the Jibāl; further, all three mints have issues for the year 129 at the earliest, and only al-Rayy has a second issue for the year 130.

There is one further problem if we follow Wurtzel’s suggestion that these coins are issued by al-Ḥasan b. Mu‘āwiya as governor of al-Jibāl, namely the issues from Jayy and al-Taymara of 129 (nos 3 and 5). Both these places are again in the Jibāl region, and should thus be of the 1-B type. They are not, however. They belong to group 1-A. One could of course suggest that they are simply continuations of the earlier issues (for both mints we have coins for the year 128), and Wurtzel does so by arguing that these two coins were authorized by Ibn Mu‘āwiya himself before he departed for Iṣṭakhr.³⁵ However, if this were the case, how do we explain another coin struck in Jayy in the year 129 (no. 17), which does not fit Wurtzel’s pattern? Again, it is not of the al-Ḥasan b. Mu‘āwiya 1-B type, as we might have expected, but of type 1-C. Before suggesting an alternative explanation, I will briefly examine this third type of Ibn Mu‘āwiya’s coins, which includes the Jayy 129 dirham.

Group 1-C

The coins in group 1-C are immediately distinguishable from the other two types by a second serrate circle separating the obverse inner marginal legend from the field legend (Figure 3). The *lā* of the obverse field legend is also moved to the second line (i.e. *lā illāha illā Allāh/wahda-hu lā/sharika la-hu*).



Figure 3. Group 1-C, Iṣṭakhr 129. (Ashmolean Museum Oxford, Shamma Collection 1353; Wurtzel no. 13, Klat no. 84.)

³⁴ Al-Isfahānī, *Kitāb Maqātil al-Tālibiyyīn*, ed. Aḥmad Saqr (Beirut: Dār al-Ma‘arifa, 1970?), 166/14; *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (Cairo: Dār al Kutub, Bulaq, 1285/1868–69), vol. XI, 74; (Cairo (reprint): 1227/1974), vol. XII, 229. There is a slight problem, because in the *Maqātil* the word is actually written m-y-ā-h, and on the coin m-ā-h-y; in the *Aghānī*, however, it is m-ā-h, which is then m-ā-h-y in the dual. In fact, this interpretation is also put forward by Michel Klat, who believes Māh and Māhay to be the same mint, and suggests that ‘most probably, therefore, this mint is in the Hamadhān quarter of the Jibāl’; Klat, *Catalogue*, 17.

³⁵ Wurtzel, ‘Coinage’, 170.

There are issues from Iṣṭakhr in this group, for the years 128 and 129 (nos 12 and 13), from Darābjird of 129 (no. 14), from Sābūr of 129 (no. 15), from Ardashīr Khurra of 129 (no. 16), and finally from Jayy in 129 and 130 (nos 17 and 18).³⁶ Again, it is important to note that all of these mints except of course for Jayy, which is a neighbouring city of Iṣfahān, are in the province of Fārs.³⁷

Wurtzel suggests that these coins, too, were not issued by Ibn Mu'āwiya, but under the authority of a certain Muḥārib b. Mūsā, a *mawlā* of the Banū Yashkur who is said to have gained a certain amount of authority in Fārs.³⁸ Accordingly, this man, 'another semi-independent warrior', pledged allegiance to Ibn Mu'āwiya and agreed to mint his coins in order to have his own authority legitimized. The interpretation clearly follows Wellhausen's narrative;³⁹ it is argued on the basis of the different design. However, apart from the additional circle, which may be no more than an improvement by the die engraver, there are no significant changes between this group and group 1-B. Just as in group 1-B, there are five reverse annulets, which could indicate a change in governor, but probably not a semi-independent warrior. Indeed, if we must assign them to another person, we may attribute these coins to Ibn Mu'āwiya's brother Yazīd, who is said to have become governor of Fārs in the same year that al-Ḥasan became governor of the Jibāl. This is related in the same account by al-Ṭabarī (year 129), on the authority of al-Madā'īnī, from which Wurtzel takes the idea that Ibn Mu'āwiya's brother al-Ḥasan was the issuer of the coins in group 1-B.⁴⁰ Yazīd may indeed be a more suitable choice, as it is unlikely for a number of reasons that Muḥārib b. Mūsā issued these coins. Most importantly the coinage itself tells a different story.

Three issues unknown to Wurtzel are important here. First, an issue from Iṣṭakhr of 128 shares its design not with the other two issues known from this mint of 128 and 129 (nos. 12 and 13, 1-C Muḥārib b. Mūsā type), but rather with the coins of group 1-A. Lutz Ilisch has described this as 'a type which is otherwise restricted to the mints in Jibāl under the direct control of 'Abdallāh b. Mu'āwiya'.⁴¹ Thus, we have here a coin from Fārs which shares features with the coins from the Jibāl; like all the other coins in this group 1-A, it has six reverse annulets. This makes the Rāmḥurmuz dirham of 128 discussed above, the one Wurtzel attributed to Sulaymān b. Ḥabīb, look less isolated. It rather suggests that coins of the 1-A type were minted over a wider geographical area than was considered up to now, and that therefore Ibn Mu'āwiya's control was more extensive than is indicated in the literary sources. This point is further strengthened by a second unknown issue, a dirham from the mint of Māh (or Mahay) of 128, again of the 1-A type. With these three additional

³⁶ Wurtzel, 'Coinage', 167, 172–3 and 182 ff. for the catalogue.

³⁷ Iṣṭakhr, Darābjird and Sābūr (Shābūr) are of course among the main cities in Fārs, and Ardashīr Khurra is the name of a district which is located near the city of Shīrāz; Le Strange, *Lands*, map VI.

³⁸ Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, II, 1976–7; also al-Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 167/2.

³⁹ Wellhausen, *Das Arabische Reich*, 240: 'andere Emporkömmlinge, die gleichzeitig in der selben Gegend auftauchen, erkannten ihn ['Abdallāh b. Mu'āwiya] an, um sich von ihm legitimieren zu lassen; so Muḥārib b. Musa und Sulaiman b. Habib'.

⁴⁰ Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, II, 1977 (translated by Williams, *History of al-Ṭabarī*, 86): 'Abdallāh b. Mu'āwiya then moved to Iṣṭakhr, appointing his brother Ḥasan to govern Jibāl. Then he settled at a monastery one mile (*mīl*) away from Iṣṭakhr. He appointed his brother Yazīd to rule Fārs, and remained where he was'. Moreover, it is clear, according to this account, that even though Muḥārib was working for Ibn Mu'āwiya at the time, it was Yazīd who was made governor of Fārs.

⁴¹ *Catalogue Leu Auktionen*, Zürich. Auktion 62 (18. Mai 1995), lot 244.

examples, we may now suggest that the 1-A type was simply the first (successful) type of the silver coins, and was minted in various places under Ibn Mu'āwiya's control.⁴²

Finally, the third coin unknown to Wurtzel is a dirham from the mint of Darābjird in Fārs of 128.⁴³ It belongs to group 1-C, in that it has a second circle separating the obverse inner marginal legend from the field legend; however, it is identical with only one coin from this group, the dirham from Iṣṭakhr of 128 (no. 12). As Wurtzel had noted, this coin is different from the others in the group because it retains the expression *hādhā al-dirham* in the obverse outer margin (i.e. *ḍuriba hadha al-dirham fi ...*), which is dropped in all other issues of Ibn Mu'āwiya's coins. Further, some of the words in the outer obverse margin, such as the word 'dirham' and the mint name, are divided internally by annulets (*al-di 0 rham* and *bi 0 ṣṭakhr*).⁴⁴ We find the same features in the unpublished Darābjird dirham of 128: the mint name is not divided by an annulet, but the word *dirham* is, and the expression *hādhā al-dirham* is kept.

In light of this new material, I would like to suggest the following conclusions: Ibn Mu'āwiya's 1-A type was the first successful issue, and it was struck over a wide geographical area. With the Rāmhurmuz dirham of 128 (no. 7), the new issue from Iṣṭakhr of 128 (Klat no. 83b) and the Māh dirham from the same year (Klat no. 566), we have good evidence that Ibn Mu'āwiya's authority quickly extended beyond the Jibāl into Fārs and Khūzistān.

Second, the coinage reflects a rearrangement of organization towards the end of 128. Group 1-A splits into groups 1-B and 1-C, so that for the years 129 (746–747) and 130 (747–748) there are two distinct groups of coins, the first (group 1-B) including the coins from the Jibāl, and the second (group 1-C) including the coins from Fārs, as well as two issues from Jayy.

Third, the two earliest examples of the 1-C 'Fārs' type, Iṣṭakhr 128 (no. 12) and Darābjird 128 (unpublished), should be seen as a kind of 'traditional type'. They include the expression *hādhā al-dirham*, which is not found on any of the other coins of Ibn Mu'āwiya, as it is with these coins that the new design with the additional circle is introduced; this is perhaps the work of new die engraver. All the later coins in group 1-C again drop the phrase, and have a more even distribution of letters between the annulets. Moreover, it is with these two coins that we first find five instead of six reverse annulets.

Thus, the evidence of the coinage suggests that after 128 (745–746) there were two governors in Fārs and the Jibāl, possibly Ibn Mu'āwiya's brothers al-Ḥasan and Yazīd, or Ibn Mu'āwiya himself in Fārs and one of his brothers in the Jibāl. That there was in any case a particularly close connection between the issuer of the Jibāl group and Ibn Mu'āwiya is made clear by the copper coins from al-Rayy of 127 and 129 (nos 31 and 32), which read in the field margin *mimmā amara bi-hi al-amīr 'Abdallāh b. Mu'āwiya*.⁴⁵ As noted above, DeShazo and Bates argued with regard to the Umayyad mint of Wāsiṭ that a change in the obverse annulet pattern indicates a change in governor; Ibn Mu'āwiya's coins, by contrast, show a change in the reverse annulets. None the less, the argument may still be applicable. Indeed, the division of the coins into two groups, which so clearly correspond to the two areas, as well as the change

⁴² Māh 128, Klat, *Catalogue*, 214 (no. 566); Sotheby's, London, auction 27/5/99, lot 149. See above under the coins of group 1-A.

⁴³ Tübingen University Coin Collection, inv. no. 94–33–2. I am grateful to Lutz Ilisch for providing me with a picture of this coin.

⁴⁴ Wurtzel, 'Coinage', 173.

⁴⁵ Wurtzel, 'Coinage', 188.

in annulet pattern from the earlier issues, support this hypothesis. It has to be remembered that Ibn Mu'āwiya's uprising was relatively brief and, whilst issuing coins, he was constantly concerned with gaining and keeping authority. Some of the patterns identified may thus not be as clear as one might wish. Nevertheless, through its consistency and geographical breadth the coinage shows a remarkably well organized and extensive revolt, and adds much to what can be gained from the literary sources.

In fact, the greatest divergence between the literary sources and the numismatic evidence pertains to the suppression of Ibn Mu'āwiya's revolt. From the evidence of the coinage it must be inferred that the uprising was not completely defeated until 130 (747–748), the same year for which there are still two coin issues from the mints of Jayy and al-Rayy in the Jibāl. The historical accounts, however, report that Ibn Mu'āwiya's last battle against the Umayyad commander Ibn Ḍubāra took place in 129 (746–747).⁴⁶ After this he fled to Herāt and was caught by Abū Muslim. It may have been that he was defeated only in stages: whilst the greater part of the area was re-conquered by the Umayyads in 129 (746–747), Ibn Mu'āwiya's movement was not entirely defeated until the year 130 (747–748).

The case for continuation: the coins of Abū Muslim

Even though the troops were dispersed by 130 (747–748), one may in fact suggest that Ibn Mu'āwiya's revolt was continued in the *da'wa* of what came to be called the 'Abbāsīd revolution. The literary sources mention various links between Ibn Mu'āwiya and Abū Muslim, the leader of the Hāshimiyya in Khurāsān. According to some reports, Ibn Mu'āwiya fled to Herāt upon his defeat by the Umayyads, in order to take refuge with Abū Muslim; but his supposed saviour imprisoned or even killed him.⁴⁷ Further, al-Balādhurī and al-İşfahānī mention 'a famous letter' from Ibn Mu'āwiya to Abū Muslim, in which the captive warned Abū Muslim of the judgement for his deeds on the Last Day; he also reminded him that the lives of his followers were entrusted to him, but only on loan, perhaps implying that Abū Muslim must not work on his own behalf.⁴⁸ Both al-Balādhurī and al-İşfahānī also relate an account according to which Ibn Mu'āwiya accused the Khurāsānīs of blindly following Abū Muslim, without asking or knowing anything about him.⁴⁹

Whatever the historicity of these reports, the evidence of the coinage shows a close connection between Ibn Mu'āwiya and Abū Muslim. Abū Muslim's first issues come from the mints of Balkh in the years 130, 131 and 132 (nos 19, 20 and 21), Marw in 130 (no. 22), Jurjān in 130 (no. 23), and al-Rayy in 131 (no. 24).⁵⁰ Just as the coins minted earlier by 'Abdallāh b. Mu'āwiya, Abū Muslim's coins follow the standard post-reform Umayyad type, with the addition of verse 42:23 *Qul lā as'alu-kum 'alayhi ajran illā 'l-mawadda fi 'l-qurbā*

⁴⁶ See, for example, al-Tabarī, *Ta'rikh*, II, 1978 ff.

⁴⁷ For example al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, II, 76 ff.; al-İşfahānī, *Maqātil*, 168 ff.; al-Nawbakhtī, *Kitāb firaq al-Shī'a (Die Sekten der Schia)*, ed. H. Ritter (Istanbul and Leipzig: Bibliotheca Islamica, 1931), 31.

⁴⁸ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, II, 76–7; al-İşfahānī, *Aghānī*, vol. 11, 75/vol. 12, 230; *Maqātil*, 168 ('a famous letter' to Abū Muslim); the most elaborate version of this letter, probably dating to 'Abbāsīd times, was collected by Aḥmad Zakī Şafwat, *Jamharat rasā'il al-'arab fi 'uṣul al-'arabiyya al-zāhira* (Cairo: Mustafa al-Bābī al-Halabī, 1971), 488 ff. See also Nagel, *Untersuchungen*, 149, and Wadād al-Qādī, 'Early Islamic state letters: the question of authenticity', in *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East. Problems in the Literary Sources*, ed. Averil Cameron and Lawrence Conrad, vol. I (Princeton: Darwin Press, 1992), 260–62.

⁴⁹ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, II, 77; al-İşfahānī, *Aghānī*, vol. XI, 75, vol. XII, 230.

⁵⁰ See Wurtzel, 'Coinage', 167.

(Say I ask of you no recompense for it except the love of kin) around the obverse field legend. There are some differences with regard to the design: whereas on Ibn Mu'āwiya's coins the quranic verse is arranged in a circular way around the obverse field legend, the inscription now forms a kind of square. Further, there are now two circles around the inner marginal legend, and four groups of triple annulets in the obverse. These triple annulets are found on all of Abū Muslim's coins, silver as well as copper, and may be seen as Abū Muslim's 'numismatic identification'.⁵¹ These formal changes notwithstanding, the most striking aspect of Abū Muslim's coinage is the similarity to Ibn Mu'āwiya's earlier issues.

The earliest coins of Abū Muslim date from the year 130 (747–748), for which there are still two known issues for Ibn Mu'āwiya, from al-Rayy (no. 11) and Jayy (no. 18).⁵² Not only did Abū Muslim strike coins remarkably similar to those of Ibn Mu'āwiya, he also did so at precisely the time that Ibn Mu'āwiya's revolt was collapsing.⁵³ In the case of al-Rayy, for example, the implications are clear: Ibn Mu'āwiya minted his coins there in the years 128, 129 and 130 (groups 1-A and 1-B respectively); in the following year Abū Muslim issued coins, with exactly the same legends, and only slightly varied design. There can thus be little doubt that Abū Muslim knew the rebel's coins and, by adopting them so closely, intended to continue his call and take over his following. One could even consider the possibility that in effect we are looking at the same rebellion, with two sequential leaders. In a numismatic context, this process might be compared to 'Abd al-Malik's adoption of the apparently Zubayrid innovation of the *shahāda* on the coinage. The 'short' *shahāda* is first found on Zubayrid issues of the years 66 (685–686) and 67 (686–687) from the mint of Bishābūr, and the 'long' version, in Pahlavi, appears on a unique drachm of 72 (691–692) attributed to the Zubayrid governor of Sīstān, 'Abd al-'Azīz 'Abdallāh; only after this date did Marwānid coins, first of Syria and then of the Eastern provinces, all begin to bear the *shahāda*. This change was thus possibly 'motivated by a desire to appropriate the Zubayrid mantle of piety', as Luke Treadwell suggests.⁵⁴

As for Abū Muslim, he dropped the quranic verse 42:23 from all the coins of Marw after the year 130. However, we still find issues from Balkh (nos 20 and 21) with the verse for the years 131 and 132, as well as a number of copper coins. On the copper, the verse appears either in connection with the title *amīr āl Muḥammad* (no mint name, 131, no. 36), or *Abū Muslim* (no mint name, 132, no. 37), or indeed *al-amīr 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muslim* (no mint name, years 133, 134, 135 and 136).⁵⁵ Wurtzel suggests that a possible reason for dropping the verse 42:23 was that the supporters of Juday 'al-Kirmānī, who were very powerful in Marw, 'were by no means interested in the *ahl al-bayt*'.⁵⁶ According to this argument, Abū Muslim alienated some of al-Kirmānī's supporters when he introduced the dirham with the inscription in the year 130, and consequently dropped it. Alternatively, Wurtzel suggests that the dirhams of 131

⁵¹ The term is borrowed from DeShazo and Bates. See Wurtzel, 'Coinage', 175.

⁵² Wurtzel, 'Coinage', 172 and 182 for catalogue.

⁵³ Al-Ṭabarī puts the defeat of Ibn Mu'āwiya under the year 129. On the authority of al-Madā'īnī, he relates that Ibn Mu'āwiya fled first to Sijistān and then to Khurāsān (al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, II, 1979–1981).

⁵⁴ Treadwell, 'The "Orans" Drachms of Bishr b. Marwān' 252, and Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, 550–54; see also the recent argument for 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr as caliph rather than as counter-caliph or usurper, Chase Robinson, *'Abd al-Malik* (Oxford: One World, 2005), 31–48.

⁵⁵ Wurtzel, 'Coinage', 188 and 192–3.

⁵⁶ Wurtzel, 'Coinage', 176.

from Marw may represent the earliest 'post-revolutionary' coinage, a normalized type independent of 'Abbāsīd or Shiite commitments. In view of the continuation of the verse on other silver and copper coins, these explanations do seem unlikely; moreover, a review of the coins of al-Kirmānī may reveal a different story. In the case of Abū Muslim, the transformation of the coinage certainly points to some important changes in the movement in Khurāsān worthy of further investigation.

Continuation continued: the Tawwaj copper coin

The participation of several members of the 'Abbāsīd family in Ibn Mu'āwīya's revolt throws light on Ibn Mu'āwīya's wide following, as well as the relationship between the two rebellions, Ibn Mu'āwīya's and that in Khurāsān; it further questions the relationship of the 'Abbāsīds with the movement which finally overthrew the Umayyads and brought them to power.⁵⁷ Al-Ṭabarī relates, on the authority of al-Madā'inī, that Abū Ja'far 'Abdallāh, the future caliph al-Manṣūr, and his two uncles, 'Abdallāh and 'Īsā b. 'Alī, joined Ibn Mu'āwīya. Al-Iṣfahānī says in the *Maqātil* that 'all (*jamī'an*) of the Banū Hāshim joined him, among them al-Saffāh and al-Manṣūr'. In the *Aghānī*, this list is extended to include the uncle 'Īsā b. 'Alī, as well as a number of Umayyads, among them Sulaymān b. Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik and 'Umar b. Saḥīl b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Marwān.⁵⁸

In the numismatic context, the connection between the *da'wa* and Ibn Mu'āwīya's revolt is most obvious in the early silver coinage of Abū Muslim discussed above; however, a copper coin from Tawwaj in Fārs deserves special attention.⁵⁹ It bears the name of the first 'Abbāsīd caliph Abū al-'Abbās 'Abdallāh, later known as al-Saffāh. It is dated in the obverse field legend to the year 132, the year of the 'Abbāsīd revolution. The obverse margin reads 'In the name of God, among those things ordered by 'Abdallāh amīr al-mu'minīn in Tawwaj'. The reverse field reads *Muḥammad rasūl Allāh*, and around the margin the familiar *Qul lā as'alu-kum 'alayhi ajran illā 'l-mawadda fī 'l-qurbā* (Say I ask of you no recompense for it except the love of kin).

This is the only known 'Abbāsīd coin with this verse. As Wurtzel rightly says, the retention of this revolutionary slogan on an 'Abbāsīd, probably post-revolutionary, coin is puzzling. Wurtzel places the coin after the revolution because 'Abdallāh carries the title *amīr al-mu'minīn*. He suggests that this issue must have been a mistake; either a new official obverse was combined with an old reverse, or this was an 'unofficial' issue by some local chiefs in order to commemorate the accession.⁶⁰

However, there are good reasons to see this as an intentional issue; should this be the case, it is a very interesting piece of evidence pointing to the continuation of Ibn Mu'āwīya's call through Abū Muslim to the 'Abbāsīds. In favour of it being a deliberate issue there are, first, no earlier coins known from the mint of Tawwaj with this verse from *Sūrat al-Shūrā*. Second, there

⁵⁷ See Agha on the question how ' 'Abbāsīd' the 'Abbāsīd revolution really was, answered in the title of his study: *The Revolution which Toppled the Umayyads: Neither Arab nor 'Abbāsīd*.

⁵⁸ Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, II, 1977; al-Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 167; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, II, 74, says that al-Manṣūr was even in charge of a small district of al-Ahwāz and collected taxes for Ibn Mu'āwīya. For this episode see Crone, 'On the meaning of the 'Abbāsīd call to *al-Ridā'*', in C. E. Bosworth et al. (eds), *The Islamic World: From Classical to Modern Times. Essays in Honour of Bernard Lewis* (Princeton: Darwin Press, 1989), 105–06.

⁵⁹ Le Strange, *Lands*, 259.

⁶⁰ Wurtzel, 'Coinage', 194.

is no other coin with a reverse exactly like that of al-Saffāh's. All of Abū Muslim's coppers with this verse have the triple-annulet pattern described above, and the two issues of copper coins by Ibn Mu'āwiya carry the name of the issuer on the same side as the quranic inscription.⁶¹ Judging from the numismatic record, Wurtzel's suggestion that a new obverse was combined with an old reverse is therefore unlikely.

Further, al-Saffāh is also reported to have used the verse 42:23 in his accession speech in Kufa. According to al-Madā'inī's account in al-Tabarī, al-Saffāh is said to have praised God for having chosen him and his family as the people of Islam, the kin of the Prophet, and for having given them 'the exalted place within Islam and its people'. He cites various verses from the Quran in which kinship with the Prophet is emphasized, among them verse 42:23; he then concluded that 'He, glorious be His praise, has informed them [the people] of our merits and has made our rights and affection for us incumbent on them'.⁶²

Though the evidence is admittedly sparse, it may be suggested that al-Saffāh's copper is more than a mere coincidence or mistake.⁶³ It was issued in Fārs, a region in which Ibn Mu'āwiya's coins would have been minted until just two years earlier. This does point to a carefully chosen message. As Wellhausen put it, 'the 'Abbāsids reaped the benefit of these earlier unsuccessful Shī'ite revolts'.⁶⁴ In the case of the Ja'farid Ibn Mu'āwiya, this is certainly confirmed. His rebellion may have been unsuccessful because it was staged too close to the Syrian troops stationed in Iraq; because his movement lacked the kind of organization which supported the 'Abbāsids; or simply because it took place too early. Despite its failures, however, it was a remarkably unified movement, which quickly established itself over a wide geographical area, collecting taxes and minting coins, and calling for a caliphate of the family of the Prophet. It can justifiably be called a 'dress rehearsal' for the 'Abbāsid revolution.

⁶¹ Wurtzel, 'Coinage', 188.

⁶² Al-Tabarī, *Ta'rikh*, III, 29, translation by Williams, *History of al-Tabarī*, 152: 'Praise be to God who has chosen Islam as the pillow of His glory ... He has made us the people of Islam, its cave and its fortress, and made us to uphold it, to protect it and support it ... He has specified us as the kin of God's Messenger ... He created us from the ancestors of the Prophet, causing us to grow from his tree, and be derived thereby from common origins, making him one of us...'. There are even some copper coins with the verse until the year 136. See Wurtzel, 'Coinage', 188. Madelung points out that from the wording of the verse itself it is by no means necessary to read *mawwada fī 'l-qurbā* in this way. He even says that 'this interpretation [of 'love for the family of the Prophet'] ... does not agree with the wording of the text'. Madelung prefers another interpretation offered in al-Tabarī's *Tafsīr*, according to which it is the love 'towards relatives in general' which is demanded. Wilferd Madelung, *The Succession to Muḥammad. A Study of the Early Caliphate* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 13.

⁶³ An official 'Abbāsid standard was introduced very soon after the revolution. This change, which is most importantly reflected in a change from *Sūrat al-ikhlāṣ* to the simple *Muḥammad rasūl Allāh*, is already found in gold and silver coins from the year 132.

⁶⁴ Julius Wellhausen, *The Religio-Political Factions in Early Islam*, trans. by R. C. Ostle and S. M. Walzer (Amsterdam and Oxford: North-Holland Publishing, 1975), 165.