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THE LEIPZIG NUMISMATIC CONTEST OF 1752
– AN INCENTIVE FROM THE IMPERIAL COIN
COLLECTION TO REESTABLISH THE ABILITY
TO ATTRIBUTE ARABIC COINS

Abstract

The contribution aims at a double goal. On the one hand, it reevaluates the significance of plates of Islamic coins published in 1752. And on the other hand, it discusses the origins of Islamic Numismatics. The author argues that Islamic Numismatics, the roots of which go back to the age of enlightenment, was the result of the efforts of both catholic and protestant scholars who preferred to embrace Philosophy, rather than Theology, for carrying out their researches.

Keywords

Islamic Numismatics, origins of the discipline, age of enlightenment, orientalist

In the early bibliographies of Islamic numismatics a reference to a plate of images of Islamic coins published in 1752 can be found, which was later passed with silence as only images but no attribution was offered. Thus it seemed that this publication was of no further consequence. The following remarks try to demonstrate that very much on the contrary this publication was an efficient start to recreate the discipline of Islamic numismatics.

At the same time the following contribution tries to carry on a response to Stefan Heidemann's thesis that the origins of Islamic numismatics were generated by a discourse among protestant orientalists of enlightenment to explore the Near Eastern history to promote the understanding of the Biblical text.¹ Instead I see a discourse between the political elites on one side and protestant as well as catholic orientalists who could free themselves of religious prejudice by gaining the support of their princes and highest level of administration. Important heroes of enlightenment, who had left any ties of theology behind them in favour of philosophy were using this chance: Forsskål, Duval and Reiske. Only in a subsequent generation some theologians reappeared on the scene.

In fact the first and glorious achievements of Islamic numismatics are to be connected with a single name: Georg Jacob Kehr (Schleusingen 1692-1740 Saint Petersburg), who reached far beyond the abilities of his precursors, the Spaniard Lastanosa of 1644 and the Swiss Johann Heinrich Hottinger (Zurich 1620-1667 near Zurich) of 1664. When in 1722 a hoard of early Abbasid dirhams was found on the Baltic shore at Stegen/Stegna, at the time a village belonging to the city of Danzig/Gdansk and located some twenty kilometres to the East of it a group of West and East Prussian secular scholars and coin collectors around Michael Lilienthal (Liebstadt 1686-1750 Königsberg/Kaliningrad) found Kehr in Leipzig to attribute these coins and to publish them in Leipzig in 1724². Once set on this path Kehr continued to develop his new discipline and in 1725 a study on the spectacular 200 rupee piece of the Great Mughal Aurangzib followed³. Through the connections gained by his 1724 publications, namely to the Königsberg historians and numismatists Gottlieb Siegfried Bayer (Königsberg/Kaliningrad 1694-1738 Saint Petersburg) and Michael Lilienthal, Kehr was given the position of a librarian to the Academy of Science in Saint Petersburg, where he was able to proceed in the study of early Islamic silver hoards⁴ as well as to develop Golden Horde

¹ HEIDEMANN 2005, p. 148.

² KEHR 1724; ILISCH 2012.

³ KEHR 1725; HEIDEMANN 2000, the Oriental coins of the Gotha collection were acquired by the Berlin Cabinet around 1935 and not lost as Heidemann assumed. Only the coin published by Kehr 1725 was sold separately and subsequently lost. Otherwise this article still represents the state of the art.

⁴ KULESHOV 2013.

numismatics⁵. However when he died in 1740 in Saint Petersburg he had no successor caring for the increasing holdings of Islamic coins, nor was his death and the loss of his knowledge notified by the contemporary European elites. Not a single mention in the obituaries of the time was dedicated to him. And his manuscripts left in the Academy of Science of Saint Petersburg while known to exist to a small number of enthusiasts⁶ had the misfortune to be only evaluated by a greater scholar, Christian Martin Fraehn (Rostock 1782-1850 Saint Petersburg), who was not really willing to share his own well deserved fame with the unpublished achievements of a largely unknown early predecessor⁷.

VALENTINE JAMERAI DUVAL (ANTONAY/LORRAINE 1695-1775 VIENNA)

The simple born Duval, son of poor peasants and educated by eremites had the good fortune to become known to the court of the Grand dukes of Lorraine, so that he could rise from a shepherd to a librarian and antiquarian, accompanying his patron Francis of Lorraine after his marriage to the empress Maria Theresia to Florence and Vienna. Retaining his simple and modest ways for all of his life he was regarded as a philosopher by the Austrian propagandists of enlightenment and his biographies reached posthumously two editions at a time when Josefinism revolutionized the Habsburg countries top down.

According to Duval's own account of the origin of the collection of modern coins he had the idea to exchange a sum of 300 ducats at his disposition into a similar number of different current gold coins of all princes and monarchs of Europe in order to compare the physiognomy, age, heraldry and style etc. with their honesty, welfare, genius and taste. Writing about this project to the minister of state, Baron Pfutschner, to help, the latter read the letter to the emperor, who regarded this idea even more than the author as a pasttime, that he decided to build up a collection of

⁵ Alexander Pachkalov found Kehr's manuscripts: PACHKALOV 2009, p. 199-208.

⁶ Letter of Peter Philipp Adler to Oluf Gerhard Tychsen, dated Berlin 16 March 1793, Universitätsbibliothek Rostock Mss. orient. 284 (2) Nr. 9 (fol. 18-19): *Bey dieser Gelegenheit sagte er (H. Bernouilli while selling his coin collection to Adler in 1791. L.I.) mir, daß die Academie zu Petersburg eine Sammlung von einigen hundert persischen, tartarischen und arabischen Münzen, darunter die volle Suite der ehemaligen Chalifen mit enthalten wären, besitze. Die Erklärung dieser Münzen wäre von dem Prof: Kehr angefertigt und dieses MS hätte die Academie. Mir ist nicht anders bewußt der Graf von Anhalt director, oder so etwas bey der Academie. Er ist ein gelehrter und auch wie der Fanzose sagt, ein galanter Mann. Wenn E(uer) W(ohl)g(e)b(oren) an Ihn geschrieben, so glaube ich für gewis, daß er Ihnen eine Abschrift von der von Kehr gemachten Beschreibung wird zukommen lassen.*

⁷ FRAEHN 1821 p. 8-10: Fraehn had not been able to find any manuscripts by Kehr between 1816 and 1821, only attributions written by him on envelopes.

one gold and a silver coin of every ruler of “from all parts of our hemisphere” from Charlemagne to the present day and let Duval return to this end from Florence to Vienna in 1748.⁸ The famous published result of this plan was the splendid *Monnoies en or* and *Monnoies en argent* publication published in Vienna in 1756 and 1759⁹. Coins from all our hemisphere included of course Oriental coins and the Oriental coins collected by Duval and Francis, but Oriental coins cannot be found in the two books. Duval could attribute ancient and European coins, but it soon turned out that the demand to deal with Arabic and Persian coins was beyond his capacity. He collected all available information on coins and monetary systems from travelogues in a thick manuscript volume *Recueil des Monnoyes Orientales*, which was described by Eduard von Zambaur.¹⁰ But for proper attribution of the medieval Oriental coins in the Imperial collection he had to find help from specialists. With Kehr being dead for a decade finding expertise turned out to be a real problem. For this reason engravings of well preserved coins in the Vienna collection were produced and these engravings served as a tool in further endeavours to revive the interrupted discipline of Islamic numismatics in the 1750s. The immediate place to search for knowledge was following the experience of 1724: Leipzig. In fact it was the only representative of the learned Prussian circle around Michael Lilienthal, which had arranged to find Kehr in 1724, who was still active in Leipzig, Johann Christoph Gottsched (Königsberg 1700-1766 Leipzig), in whose weekly periodical *Das Neueste aus der anmuthigen Gelehrsamkeit* was chosen to publish a copper plate, representing a selection of six of the Vienna coppers accompanied by a call for attribution:

Die Meister in orientalischen Sprachen werden von Wien aus ersuchet die vor dem Titel dieses Monats stehenden Muenzen zu erklären, und ihre Gedanken an die Verfasser dieses Neuesten unbeschwert einzuschicken: da man dann dieselben mit gebührendem Ruhme ihres Namens bekannt machen wird.

(The masters of Oriental languages are requested from Vienna to comment on those coins inserted before the titlepage of this month and to send their thoughts at ease to the authors of this *Das Neueste*: upon which those will be made public with due fame of their name.)¹¹

⁸ VON KOCH note p. 34-36. According to BERGMANN 1857, p. 33, 53.. Duval had arrived in Vienna in May 1748 and was formally employed as general director of the Imperial and Royal Galleries on 2 August 1748.

⁹ DUVAL 1762; for a list of the various editions and supplements see LIPSIUS 1801, p. 265, 410.

¹⁰ ZAMBAUR 1929, p. 40f. I saw this manuscript in 1991 in the Vienna Coin Cabinet, presently however after rearrangement (December 2013) it could not be found there. It may have been transferred to an archive or library.

¹¹ DAS NEUESTE, Brachmond (June) 1752, .

The six unattributed coins¹² were:

- I.1. Artuqids of Mardin, Qutb ad-dîn Îl-Ghâzî 572-580 H., Dirham 579 H. (Spengler/Sayles 32)
- I.2. Bektimurids of Akhlât, Sayf ad-dîn Bektimur, Dirham 581 H.
- I.3. Artuqids von Hisn-Kayfâ, Qutb ad-dîn Sukmân ibn Muhammad 581-597 H. , Dirham 581 H (Spengler/Sayles 12)
- I.4. Tûlûnids, Khumârawah ibn Ahmad, Dinar 273 H., ar-Râfiqa
- I.5. Artuqids of Mardin, Husâm ad-dîn Temürtâsh 516-547 H., Dirham (ca. 547 H.) (Spengler/Sayles 26)
- I.6. Zangids of Mosul, Nâsir ad-dîn Mahmûd 616-632 H., Dirham 627 H., al-Mawsil (Spengler/Sayles 67)

There was only in the following year one attempt sent in by George Körner, parish priest in Bockau near Schneeberg with the most curious attributions as Kalmük and tried to read Hebrew inscriptions into the legends, thus demonstrating that no immediate qualified response to the call. A final remark of the author ridiculing Jewish traders (*Mauschel*) filling the Roman Imperial *Curiositätenkammer* with such coins sheds some doubt on the question how serious all this was meant.¹³ As a consequence another plate with more coins was inserted before the titel of the Marchvolume 1753 which contained images of another six unattributed coins, this time all with Arabic inscriptions only. In contrast to the 1752 plate this time a caption “From the Imperial Coin Cabinet” stressed the importance of the need for attribution:

- II.1. Ayyubid, al-Kâmil Muhammad 615-635, dirham 616 H., Dimashq (Balog 425)
- II.2. Ayyubid of Aleppo, az-Zâhir Ghâzî 582-613 H., posthumous half dirham 62(2) H., (Halab), (Balog 643)
- II.3. Hungaria, 12th century copper coin imitating Spanish gold coins
- II.4. Ottoman, ‘Uthmân II 1027-1031 H., Onluk (1027 H.), mint off flan
- II.5. Qara Quyunlu, Yûsuf and Pîr Bûdâq 814-821 H., Tanka n.d., Ushnî
- II.6. Timurid, Shâh Rukh 807-850 H., Tanka 845 H., Bâyburt

As these coins were comparatively small two more Images were added either by the editor Gottsched or by Duval, showing a recently discovered aureus and a tet-

¹² Rough correct attributions were already included in MAYER 1952, p. 121 under “Körner”.

¹³ Das Neueste Lenzmonat (March) 1753; see also KRAFFT 1843, p. 305.

radrachm of the Roman emperor Pescennius Niger with the caption “From the Royal French Cabinet”. Gottsched, the gifted rhetorician, added: The lower coins have recently been made public from the Royal French cabinet and they represent the extremely rare emperor Pescennius Niger. There are news that something similar is to be found in Vienna. We offer with compliance to publish also this rarity to the honor of German coin cabinets, so that not only France may boast of its treasures.”¹⁴ Obviously German-French rivalry should incite a debate.

A follow up indeed appeared already in *Wonnemonat* (May) 1753 presenting now an image of the Pescennius Niger medallion in Vienna, which turned out not to be located in the Imperial cabinet, but in the collection of Mr. de France in Vienna to introduce a nice pun into the national rivalry.¹⁵ The new Islamic coins were:

III.1. Artuqids of Mardin, Husâm ad-dîn Yûluq-Arslân 580-597 H., copper dirham 589 H. (Spengler/Sayles 35)

III.2 Artuqids of Mardin, Husâm ad-dîn Yûluq-Arslân 580-597 H., copper dirham 596 H. (Spengler/Sayles 36)

III.3. Artuqids of Mardin, Nâsir ad-dîn Artuq-Arslân, copper dirham 599 H., Mârdîn (Spengler/Sayles 38.1)

III.4. Abbasid, time of al-Mahdî 158-169 H., dinar 165 H.

III.5. Umayyads of Spain, dirham 226 H., al-Andalus.

III.6. Fatimid, al-Mu’izz li-dîni llâh, dinar 348 H., (Sijilmâsa)

In an accompanying text Gottsched made fun of Körner by referring to the masses of Kalmük or Tartar coins owned by the emperor of which the most beautiful were incessantly engraved in coppers and sent all around. He had been sent several dozens to add then: We have no doubt that their very special types will make the amateurs desirous to solve these riddles in order to satisfy the desire of this highest monarch at least to some extent.

But neither amateurs nor scholars sent in any further contributions to Leipzig.

CONSEQUENCES IN FRANCE AND SCANDINAVIA

In April 1752 Duval traveled for a second time to Paris. His biographer von Koch lists his contacts among which the Abbé Jean Jacques Barthélemy can be found.¹⁶

¹⁴ DAS NEUESTE LENZMONAT (March) 1753 p. 233.

¹⁵ DAS NEUESTE 1753, p. 322 (unpaginated plate), p. 351f.

¹⁶ VON KOCH 1784, p. 49; BERGMANN p. 54.

Barthélemy (Cassis 1716-1795 Paris) was the devoted keeper of the Royal coin collection and probably the most knowledgeable ancient numismatist of his period, with some knowledge of Oriental languages too. Early in the following year, May 1753, Barthélemy read his *Dissertation sur les Médailles Arabes* in a public session of the Academy of Science on the relation the imagery of 12th century Northern Mesopotamian copper coinage from ancient coins, like Kehr's entry into the field of finds of Islamic coins this was a ground breaking contribution in the field of 12th century iconography which profited from his profound knowledge of classical coins. He presented a dozen Artuqid, Zangid and Rum Saljuqid coins, all from the Royal Coin Cabinet, which he curated. The study which was published only in 1769, contains no reference to the Viennese call for support of 1752, but the first coin to discuss, a coin of the Artuqid Temürtâsh comes with a reference not to the plate in *Das Neueste* but to the previous publication of another specimen by the Jesuite Froelich of Vienna in 1744¹⁷ in order to give place to a triumphant remark that the specimen in the Royal cabinet in Paris is *beaucoup mieux conservé* than the Vienna one and in order to correct Froelich's spurious identification of the prototype of Seleucos VI to the proper Antiochos VII.¹⁸ Obviously the peculiarities of the Royal French-Imperial German relations before the marriage of Louis XVI to Marie Antoinette in 1770 apparently prevented a servant of the French king to present a paper as a contribution to an international discourse opened by the imperial court. Also the type of first of the six Viennese coins (Mârdîn 579 H.) is discussed in Barthélemy's paper under his no. 5 on the basis of a specimen of 577 H. identifying the ancient model as a solidus of Heraclius and Heraclius Constantine.¹⁹ The other six image types which were presented to the Academy were not presented before in Leipzig and there is not a single word about them, but by presenting his choice of coins from the Royal coin cabinet Barthélemy leaves no doubt about the fact that Paris had the superior coin collections and the superior scholarship gaining a precise and deeper understanding in the historical, religious and cultural circumstances of an unexpected coinage and to provide answers to questions which had not even been formulated precisely beyond the borders. The call of 1752 for a scholarly treatment was thus fulfilled without leaving anyone in Leipzig the position to act as a judge. To which extent the needs of the Imperial cabinet for external expertise was met is an open question demanding further research in Vienna. But it seems likely that Duval was left on his own and that the majority of the medieval Islamic coins in Vienna remained unattributed. Saxony and the scholarship in Leipzig, where Kehr's achievements of 1724/1725 had never been recognized as anything of importance before seems to have well understood

¹⁷ FRÖLICH 1744, p. 107.

¹⁸ BARTHÉLEMY 1753, p. 560, pl. I no. 1

¹⁹ BARTHÉLEMY 1753, p. 563, pl. I no. 5.

that out of sudden the ability to provide expertise in near Eastern numismatics had turned into an international competition, in which they were no longer taking part.

A new alliance to advance the Near Eastern numismatics seems to have been forged between Paris and Stockholm. Barthélemy mentions that he had received about thirty Samanid dirhams dating between 280 and 306 H. from Stockholm.²⁰ The range of dates suggests that a new hoard had been delivered to the Royal coin cabinet in Stockholm, where in 1750 Carl Reinhold Berch (Stockholm 1706- 1777 Stockholm) had become the new secretary of the Antiquity Archive.²¹ Berch, who had studied in Uppsala with subsequent travels to Halle, Paris and London, around 1752 or 53 like Duval must have planned to bring up the lost skill in Sweden and it is barely conceivable that the simultaneous developments at the universities of Uppsala and Abo were carried out without planning in Stockholm. One of these advances seems to have been connected with a stipend for the young Uppsala student Peter Forsskål to deepen his knowledge of Arabic in Göttingen, where he immatriculated 13 October 1753, the other with the master promotion project of Martin Lundbeck (* Tavastahus, probably 1730s, no biographic dates known, but still active in Helsingfors/Helsinki at the end of 1770) at Abo/Turku university in nowadays Finland, supervised by professor Algoth A. Scarin, director of the University library. The publication of the first part of the thesis has mostly been ascribed to the orientalist Carl Abraham Clewberg (Bollnäs 1712-1765 Uppsala), who was presiding the defence. While not being the author Clewberg may well have had a very strong influence on the contents of the thesis. He was tied into a network with Göttingen and Uppsala, but he equally must have had strong relations to Paris, where he had lived 1742-1744.²² The unpublished second part seems to have consisted of a description of a Samanid dirham hoard kept in the university library, but the involvement of Berch is apparent because Lundbeck had the privilege to include the first known specimen of the earliest Arabic dirham coinage, the dirham of 79 H. from Damascus from the Wisby hoard, located in the Antiquity Archive in Stockholm. Lundbeck expresses his thanks to Berch for transmitting this coin to Abo to be engraved in copper.²³ But in order to be able to select

²⁰ BARTHÉLEMY 1753, p. 571, pl. II no. 16 illustrating and describing a specimen of Samarqand 300 H. from this hoard indicating that it was Berch who had sent the 30 coins to Paris for the Royal coin cabinet.

²¹ HÖGBERG 1961, p. 40-44, p. 244-246 for Berch's numismatic bibliography beginning in 1753; NATHORST-BÖÖS/WISEHN 1987, p. 15-16.

²² On Clewberg and his relation to Lundbeck see MERISALO 2001: HÄKLI 1988, p. 58-59, 151.

²³ LUNDBECK 1755, p. 3f for Berch's cooperation, p. 21 for a proper description of the 79 H. dirham. The engraving may shed some doubt on the question whether Lundbeck really had the original coin at hand, as he used a standard engraving of a Samanid dirham to reproduce the marginal legend and annulet pattern of the Umayyad dirham, without noticing the considerable differences in style. For an earlier reproduction of Johan Peringskiöld's drawings of the coin see HATZ e.a. 1968, pl. 23 no.

this coin it must have been attributed before the student ever saw it. Was Barthélemy helping behind the scene?

What became of the magister Martin Lundbeck? Lipsius erroneously notes that the author (referring to Clewberg) had died briefly after publishing the first part of the dissertation. But this is neither true for Clewberg nor Lundbeck. In 1760 the latter was rector of the town school of Borgå and later he became conrector of the trivial school in Helsingfors/Helsinki, where he is last heard of in November 1770.²⁴ But the case is the more difficult to research as Abo with its university library was destroyed in a fire by which also its coin cabinet was lost and Gabriel Geitlin, writing in 1862 on the Arabic coins in the Helsingfors university coin cabinet did not mention either Lundbeck's nor Clewberg's name. Apparently he did not know about their existence.²⁵

The second Swedish hope to promote Islamic numismatics through Uppsala university is connected with a much more famous young scholar, whose untimely death at a young age also may have hindered the early attempts in Sweden: Peter Forsskål was equally born in Finland but grew up in Uppsala, where he studied Philosophy, Oriental languages and most important under Linné biology. Linné was a friend of Clewberg in Abo, who was a friend of Michaelis in Göttingen. And so we find Forsskål as the first in a series of Swedish-Finnish students to be sent to Göttingen, immatriculated on 13 October 1753.²⁶

That Peter Forsskål acquired a hoard of 30 dirhams in Pommerania and took it to Sweden is a misunderstanding by Alexej Markov, which even lead to an entry for a separate hoard, in his *Topografiya*.²⁷ The error is based on a footnote in the description of a hoard found 1771 on the coast of the island Öland opposite Kalmar, Vestergötland, which Berch had given to the Uppsala orientalist Carl Aurivillius, to keep them in his private collection.²⁸ In the context of earlier research on Islamic coins

9, p. 337 for the republication by Ulla Welin, who made no reference to Lundbeck's work; JONSSON 1993, p. 451-458, p. 456 no. 9; LIPSIVS 1801, p. 85, gives only a shortened title of the dissertation and mentions Clewberg as the author with the remark *Mors auctoris continuationem impedit* - the death of the author prevented the continuation. But the full title leaves no doubt that the printing of the initial part of the dissertation was sufficient for fulfilling the academic duties and this may have been standard practice at Abo university.

²⁴ NORDMANN 1906, under the year 1760 and September 1769 and November 1770.

²⁵ GEITLIN 1862, p. 23f on the loss of the old Abo university coin cabinet and Fraehn's endeavor to reestablish it.

²⁶ HÄKLI 1988, p. 53-58, 151-153, .

²⁷ MARKOV 1910, p. 123, hoard no. 10.

²⁸ AURIVILLIUS 1775, p. 79-107, on the friendship between Aurivillius and Berch, which lasted for more than thirty years p. 82 note m. The coins were acquired by Tychsén in 1783, Hartmann p. 101, and they are mostly still preserved in Rostock today.

in Sweden Aurivillius writes: E Germania retrt. an 1757 ... PETRVS FORSSKÅL triginta fere ectypa variorum nummorum Orientalium, maximam partem, recentiorum, ichthyocollae illata perbenigne mecum communicavit, in quibus non nulla erant Arabicorum etiam, auctoritate Chalipharum & Regum Samanidarum, cursorum. Sed iametsi haud jam scio, e qua potissimum parte Germaniae tulerat ad fidum pronum est, repertos pariter hosce primitus in finibus qui a Balthico mari alluuntur.²⁹

What Forsskål had brought back from his stay in Germany were about 30 fishglue impressions of Oriental coins, mostly modern, but some of them Arabic with names of caliphs and Samanids, and these he had given to Aurivillius, who 18 years later had however no knowledge nor recollection in which part of Germany those impressions had been made. As Aurivillius library and also those fragmented dirhams had been acquired by Oluf Gerhard Tychsen around 1780, and the Tychsen library and collections were bought for the University of Rostock after the latter's death³⁰ and the Heinrich-Schliemann-Institute of Archeology today houses not only Tychsen's coin collection but also several boxes with unsorted old sealing wax, sulphur and gypsum etc. impressions and casts, it seemed worth while to search these holdings for a possible survival of Forsskål's harvest from Göttingen or elsewhere in Germany. In fact in one small box 28 paper wrappings could be found each containing two or more fish-glue impressions of obverse and reverse of one coin. Systematically gold and silver coins were reproduced in transparent white fish-glue, copper coins in transparent green. On some of the papers notes on legible parts of the inscriptions were written, rarely a more defined attribution like *Persicus*. Some notes were in fact written in Swedish. Thus a zolota of the Ottoman Mustafâ II (F1) was called a *stora gulden* and the mounted coin (F28) was marked as *med hålpå by delen*, thus confirming the origin from Aurivillius and Forsskål. Each of the envelopes was inscribed with the conventional abbreviation of metals and a number. Later Tychsen or Fraehn added a new numbering from F1 to F28. As the original numbering counted 4 gold coins, 15 silver coins 13 copper coins the total must have been originally 32, not 28. Possibly some ancient coins had been included. Two of the four gold coin impressions were missing.

While the fish-glue does not produce impressions as precise as sealing wax or gypsum and its surface is reflecting light strongly only provisional attributions could be made by the author so far. There were only three medieval coins, one Abbasid, al-Qâhir, dirham 321 H., Madinat as-salâm, one Samanid, Ahmad ibn Ismâ'il, dirham 297 H., ash-Shâsh, and one Volga Bulghar dirham, As for modern coins 7 Ottoman coins (2 in gold, 3 silver, 2 copper), 5 Safawid (3 silver, 2 copper), 1 Afsharid coin, could be identified while the rest seems to be Indian and Malayan. The youngest coin

²⁹ AURIVILLIUS, as above, p. 81 note 1.

³⁰ HARTMANN 1820, p. 101; FRAEHN 1844, p. 87 note 6.

was a rupi of Nadir Shâh from Tabrîz dating 1154 H./1743 AD. Apart from producing the impressions the only systematic record by Forsskål was weighing each coin and noting the weight in *qvint*, *obul* and grain.

None of the philologists of the 18th century, who initiated Islamic numismatics was seriously concerned with metrology. But Forsskål, who was trained in botanical collecting, had a different systematic attitude of first collecting and recording and secondly studying and attributing.

This sheds some light on the last contribution of Peter Forsskål to numismatics, connected with his participation in the famous Yemen expedition 1761-1767, during which he died 1763 in Yarîm while in the end only Carsten Niebuhr survived to publish the results of the expedition, editing the plates produced by Forsskål for the *Flora aegyptiaco-arabica* (1775) and *Icones rerum animalium* and *Descriptiones animalium* (both 1776). Forsskål was charged by the organizers of the expedition not only to collect, to study and describe animals and plants but also to record weights, monetary systems and commodity prices. It is impossible today to define which of the Yemeni coins that were brought back from Arabia to Copenhagen by Carsten Niebuhr (Lüdingworth 1733-1815 Meldorf) had been collected by Forsskål and which by Niebuhr. As Niebuhr was the treasurer of the expedition he was equally concerned with money. Some of the coins could not readily be obtained through circulation, such as the Qâsimid gold coins or the large *zolota*-like silver pieces (half *speciedaler*), which are today only known from those specimens which Niebuhr brought back.³¹ There is evidence in his diaries that Forsskål really did conform to his tasks, but the lists of coins in circulation, exchange rates and prices for various cities in the Tihâma seem to have been lost.³² He died in Yarîm on the way to San'â on 11th July 1763. Although primarily interested in philosophy and natural sciences also Islamic numismatics might have gone into a different direction based on recording the present day coinage and understanding coins as money through its history had Peter Forsskål survived the Arabian expedition.³³

Aurivillius' works of 1775 was the last sign of Oriental numismatic competence for a while. And the loss of the two young students of the mid 1750s and the sales of Clewberg's library to Göttingen 1768 and Aurivillius' library to Rostock 1785 indicates

³¹ KROMANN 1976, p. 123-135, p. 130 on the tasks of Forsskål, p. 132f fig. 32-33 for Yemeni coins that were not in circulation.

³² HANSEN 1965, p. 243, 274, 422. Although Hansen's literary treatment of the travel does not claim to be scientific it is largely based on the diaries of the travelers with precise data.

³³ The generation of Hallenberg, Tychsen, Adler and Assemani in the last two decades of the 18th century coins were of epigraphic interest and not of metrological or economic historical interest, as was remarked already by a reviewer of Tychsen's *Introductio* of 1794 in the *Magazin Encyclopédique* 1795, vol. I no 2, p. 229-238 according to HARTMANN 1820, p. 66.

the discontinuity of historical Oriental studies in general and more specifically of numismatics in Scandinavia.

CONSEQUENCES IN LEIPZIG

After reviewing the development of Islamic numismatics after 1752 in France and in Sweden it is worth while to take into consideration what happened in Leipzig, when no adequate immediate response came in from the scholars of that university and equally not from the near by Prussian university of Halle, the centre of Pietist learning and mission, and elsewhere in Germany, as was hoped by Duval in Vienna and Gottsched in Leipzig. In fact it was not before long that an initiative came from the capital Dresden about 1754/5³⁴, where the director of the royal and electoral coin cabinet, the Hofrat Johann Gottfried Richter (Altenburg 1713-1758 Leipzig) requested the extraordinary professor of Arabic Johann Jakob Reiske (Zörbig 1716-1774 Leipzig), to attribute the Arabic coins in the collection under his care and further more those coins from the Imperial and Royal collection in Vienna, of which he had copper engravings. These were not only those coins illustrated in *Das Neueste* 1752 and 1753 but quite a few more, which then served as the basis of Reiske's introduction to Islamic numismatics. By rendering such a service to the Dresden coin cabinet and serving potentially the Imperial cabinet Reiske could earn the dearly needed patronage for permanent employment, and in fact there is evidence that he had negotiated his assistance on condition that he obtained such a position. He finally obtained it not through relations within the Leipzig university, but from Dresden, where Count Joseph Anton von Wackerbarth intervened on Reiske's behalf when the city of Leipzig had to find a new director of the prestigious Nicolaischool, a position to which Reiske had applied and asked Richter to back his application.³⁵ But as Richter died a few months later the government honoured his promises.

³⁴ Reiske himself wrote of 1756 according to his letter to von Murr, FOERSTER 1897, p. 752 and REISKE 1781, IX p. 199 that the contact was initiated by Richter already some years ago and the first documented contact by which Reiske took over coins from the electoral cabinet dates 20 March 1755. For deciphering and attribution he received 10 talers, ARNOLD 2000, p. 22. In mid May 1755 Reiske asks his friend Saxe in Utrecht on behalf of Richter to provide him with casts of Arabic coins from the Havercamp collection, FOERSTER 1897, p. 540.

³⁵ FOERSTER 1897, p. 581 letter no. 263 to Johann Gottfried Richter 11.3. 1758 in the process of applying for the rectorate in Leipzig and a professorship in Wittenberg at the same time, to which amongst others Gottsched, the original editor of *Das Neueste in der anmuthigen Gelehrsamkeit* had advised him: *Mein gethanes Versprechen, meinem Landesherrn und guten Freunden mit meiner Wissenschaft zu dienen, unter der Bedingung, wenn ich auf eine anständige Weise versorgt seyn werde, so daß ich nicht genötigt bin ums Brod zu arbeiten ...* The professorship in Leipzig was without salary from the university. Also the subsequent concept for letter of thanks, p. 587-589, leaves no doubt that

The Greek, Byzantine and Arabic philologist and scholar Reiske is another central figure of enlightenment, not a theologian but a polyhistor with a medical doctorate. Not only his place in history of Greek and Arabic studies as well as enlightenment has been the subject of continuous studies, but also his fundamental contribution to Arabic numismatics, the posthumously 1781 published *Briefe über das arabische Münzwesen* has been studied in depth by Hermann Simon and more detailed later by Stefan Heidemann, so that I do not want to repeat their work.³⁶ All I will try to clarify is the relation between the 1752 call in Leipzig and his work, which was not addressed by Simon and Heidemann beyond the notification that Reiske used images from Vienna. Alongside this attempt it may be possible to understand how the *Briefe* were used by Reiske to promote his career.

First of all it has to be stated that Reiske was in Leipzig in 1752, when the call was published, but he neither reacted immediately nor does he mention the call anywhere in his letters written in spring 1752 or later and also it is not mentioned in *Briefe*. There can be no doubt that he was well informed as Gottsched had made this clear in 1753 and Reiske obviously was a friend of Gottsched, the editor of *Das Neueste*.³⁷

In the letters to the Hofrat Richter Reiske is amazingly silent about the Imperial ownership of most of the coins and with one exception does not mention who in whose interest he was writing.³⁸ Still some fifteen years later in his numismatic correspondence with the Nürnberg patrician Christoph Gottlieb von Murr (Nürnberg 1733-1811 Nürnberg), Reiske appeared secretive about his introduction to Islamic numismatics contained in the letters to Richter,³⁹ which once again can be interpreted as an agreement to write exclusively for the Saxon court and not for scholarly discourse.

the numismatic studies had brought him the position. The secret councillor Wackerbarth, also one of Gottsched's friends, was identified by Sabine Mangold in a paper read in ZÖRBIG, 17 June 2011 as the decisive patron of Reiske to gain the position of director.

³⁶ SIMON 1976, HEIDEMANN 2005.

³⁷ Gottsched was one of Reiske's advisers regarding strategies for his professional applications in 1758, FOERSTER 1897 p. 581.

³⁸ REISKE 1781, IX p. 199f on the engravings: *Die Abdrücke machte der Umstand um desto schätzbarer, weil eine gewisse hohe Hand dabey viel beygetragen haben soll* (The engravings were the more valuable because a certain high hand had contributed much to them). Avoiding to mention the Emperor could either be explained as written after the Prussian occupation of Saxony in 1756 and then references to the Emperor may have been problematic, or more likely because the Saxon court wished to be able to donate the letters to the Emperor as something written for the Saxon court. REISKE 1781, X, p. 235 *Von dieser raren Goldmünze haben Sie, mein Herr, mir den Abdruck mit den übrigen Wienerischen Abdrücken mitgetheilt.* thus referring to several Viennese engravings, p. 238 *Unter den Abdrücken, die ich von Ihnen, mein Herr, einige Zeitlang gehabt habe* makes clear that Reiske had to return the engravings to Richter. HEIDEMANN 2005, p. 156 note 4 quotes Reiske to have received 24 copper impressions from Vienna through Richter and another 24 from the Electoral Dresden cabinet, but I have not been able to find this reference in Reiske's letters.

³⁹ FOERSTER 1897, p. 752 note 1.

Out of this context it equally can be understood why he started his work with an attack on Barthélemy's paper of 1753, although he only knew it from a report.⁴⁰ This was the only serious scholarly response to the 1752 call and he probably misunderstood Barthélemy as a rival to his own objectives.

I will try to identify the relative share of coins in the Imperial cabinet in Vienna in comparison to the coins in Dresden in the *Briefe*. To this end I will try to figure out which coins had been engraved in Vienna in order to compare them to the coins discussed with or without reference to their whereabouts in the *Briefe*. Eichhorn had published them without any images. But with the help of *Das Neueste* and other sources Reiske's basis of images can be reconstructed

The engravings inserted by Gottsched in *Das Neueste* have been listed already in the beginning.

The original copper plates of Islamic coins, which were engraved during the 1750s, or at least part of them, still seem to be preserved in Vienna. A set of probably mid 20th century prints kept in the Forschungsstelle für Islamische Numismatik are illustrating 24 coins on twelve copper plates of two coins each and printed on three leaves contain the following:⁴¹

1. Abbasid, governor 'Amr ibn Mûsâ and Ahmad, Fals 157 H. Qinnasrîn
2. Abbasid, al-Mahdî 158-169 H., Dirham 163 H., Madînat as-salâm
3. Almohads, anonymous dirham
4. Fatimid, al-Mahdî 297-322, dinar
5. Fatimid, al-Mu'izz li-dîni llâh 341-365, dinar 352 H., (Sijilmâsa)
6. Tûlûnids, Khumârawah ibn Ahmad 270-282 H., Dinar 273 H., ar-Râfiqa, identical with *Das Neueste* no. 4.
7. Ayyubid, al-Kâmil Muhammad 615-635, dirham 616 H., Dimashq, (*Balog* 425) identical with *Das Neueste* 1753, no. II.1.
8. 7. Ayyubid, as-Sâlih Ayyûb 636-647 H, dinar 641 H., al-Qâhira
9. 8. Ayyubid of Aleppo, az-Zâhir Ghâzî 582-613 H.,
10. Ayyubid of Aleppo, az-Zâhir Ghâzî 582-613 H., posthumous half dirham 62(2) H., (*Halab*), (*Balog* 643) identical with *Das Neueste* 1753 no.2.

⁴⁰ HEIDEMANN 2005, p. 155 note 42 with a detailed analysis how Reiske obtained knowledge of Barthélemy's still unpublished academy paper already around 1755.

⁴¹ During his studies in Vienna under Prof. Robert Göbl the later Tübingen professor Dr. Heinz Gaube received a new set of prints of Islamic and Sasanian coins, engraved in the 18th century. After the creation of the Forschungsstelle für Islamische Numismatik in 1988 he passed these prints on to his newly founded institution. The whereabouts of the copper plates in 2014 were unknown to the curators of the Vienna coin cabinet and the University Numismatic Institute collection.

11. 9. Artuqids of Hisn-Kayfâ, Fakhr ad-dîn Qarâ-Arslân 539-562 H., copper dirham 560 H. (Spengler/Sayles 6)
12. Artuqids of Hisn-Kayfâ, Fakhr ad-dîn Qarâ-Arslân 539-562 H., copper dirham 570 H. (Spengler/Sayles 8)
13. 10. Artuqid of Hisn-Kayfâ, Qutb ad-dîn Sukmân ibn Muhammad 581-597 H., copper dirham 581 H (Spengler/Sayles 12)
14. 11. Artuqid of Mardin, Husâm ad-dîn Yûluq-Arslân ibn Îl-Ghâzî 580-597 H., copper dirham 581 H (Spengler/Sayles 33)
15. 12. Lu'lu'ids of Mawsil, Badr ad-dîn Lu'lu' 631-657 H., copper dirham 631 H., al-Mawsil (Spengler/Sayles 68)
16. 13. Samanid, Ismâ'îl ibn Ahmad 279-295 H., Dirham 287 H., Samarqand
17. 14. Ottoman, 'Uthmân II 1027-1031 H., Onluk (1027 H.), mint off flan, identical Das Neueste 1753 no. II.4
18. Ilkhanid, Ghâzân Mahmûd 694-703 H., Dirham 698 H., Bâzâr
19. Ilkhanid, Abû-Sa'îd 716-736 H., Double dirham 3X Khânî, Tabrîz
20. Qara Quyunlu, Yûsuf and Pîr Bûdâq 814-821 H., Tanka n.d., Ushnî, identical with Das Neueste 1753 no. 5.
21. Timurid, Shâh Rukh 807-850 H., Tanka 848 H., Bâyburt, identical with Das Neueste 1753 no. II.6.
22. Safawid, Shâh Ismâ'îl 907-930 H. Ashrafî, Erzinjân
23. 15. Safawid, Shâh Ismâ'îl 907-930 H. Shâhî
24. 16. Hungaria, 12th century copper coin imitating Spanish gold coins, identical with Das Neueste 1753 no. II.3.

Comparing this list of 24 engravings with the 18 from *Das Neueste* it becomes clear that the lists overlap, but they are not identical.

The coins which Reiske described in the 7th part of his letters can partly be traced to the engravings of the coins in the Imperial cabinet, while other coins from the electoral cabinet are generally quoted as such by Reiske:

- p. 168 Artuqid of Mardin, Artuq Arslan, copper dirham 599 H. (Das Neueste no. III.3). Imperial cabinet
- p- 169 Artuqid of Mardin, Yûluq Arslân, dirham 596 H. (Das Neueste III.2). Imperial cabinet
- p. 169 Artuqids Mardin, 589 H., (Das Neueste no. III.1), Imperial cabinet
- p. 170 Armanshahs of Akhlât, Bektemür, dirham 581 H. (Das Neueste no. I.2), misidentifying the suckling calf beneath the cow as a man as it is represented on the engraving, Imperial cabinet

- p. 171 Ottoman, Mustafa II, qurush 1106 H., Edirne
- p. 172 Ottoman Ahmad III, aqche 1115 H., Islâmbûl
- p. 173 Ottoman, Ahmad I, Nasri, Tûnis
- p. 174 Fatimid, az-Zâhir, Dinar? 416H., al-Qâhira
Safawid, Sultân Husayn, ‘Abbâsî 1133 H., Tabrîz
- p. 175 Fatimid, uncertain, addressed as Persian
- p. 176 Mughal, Aurangzeb, Rupi 1104 H./y. 36
- p. 196 Samanid, Nûh II, dirhams 338 and 344 H., Electoral cabinet
- p. 197 Banijurid/Samanid, dirham with Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Ahmad
- p. 200 Abbasid, fals 157 H., Qinnasrîn (Vienna prints no. 1) Imperial cabinet
- p. 203 Abbasid, al-Mahdî, dirham 163 H., (Vienna prints no. 2) Imperial cabinet
- p. 203-218 Abbasid, dirhams from Kehr’s Stegen hoard publication
- p. 219 Abbasid, al-Ma’ mûn, dirham 200 H. Electoral cabinet
- p. 220 Aghlabid, Muhammad, dinar (?) 240 H. Electoral cabinet
- p. 223 Samanid, Ahmad ibn Ismâ’îl, dirham 299 H., Andarâb, with Abû-Nasr, uncertain collection
- p. 224 Abbasid, al-Muqtadir billâh, dirham (?), Madînat as-salâm, uncertain collection
- p. 225 Abbasid, ar-Râdî, dirhams 322 and 323 H. ad-Dinawar(?) and Amid, uncertain collection
- p. 226 Hamdanid, Nâsir and Sayf ad-dawla, hybrid dirham 329 H., Wâsit, Electoral cabinet
- p. 228-232 Hamdanid, Nâsir and Sayf ad-dawla, dirham 330 H., al-Mawsil, Electoral cabinet
- p. 234 Fatimid, al-Qâ’im, dinar 331 H., al-Mahdîya, Imperial cabinet
- p. 236 Buyids, ‘Imâd ad-dawla, dirham 336 H., al-Ahwâz, Electoral cabinet
- p. 238 Fatimids, al-Mu’izz, dinar 366 H., (Sijilmâsa), Imperial cabinet
- p. 236-237 Samanids, Nuh, dirhams (338,344 H. see above p. 196) 348 H., Bukhârâ, Electoral cabinet
- p. 237 Bûyid, ‘Adhud ad-dawla, dirham 344 H., Arrajân Electoral cabinet

As can be seen Reiske commented only on a limited number of coins published in *Das Neueste*, but on a larger number of coins in the Imperial cabinet which were not yet published, as can be reconstructed either from the surviving Vienna prints or from references to engravings furnished by Richter to Reiske. Fairly exactly half of the commented coins come from the Electoral cabinet in Dresden, while the other half from the Imperial cabinet. The seemingly unintelligible sequence, in which Reiske discusses different groups become obvious in as far as he goes by collections rather than any systematic arrangement. But he places the mostly Artuqid copper coins first because they come from the higher ranking collection. While the majority

of the Islamic coins in the Imperial cabinet seems to have been collected in regions around Armenia, there was probably also access to a hoard of early Fatimid dinars (*Das Neueste*. III.6; Vienna print nos. 4 and 5; *Briefe* p. 234) that may have reached Vienna through Spain or through Sicily.

Although fundamental for Islamic numismatics it is clear that Reiske had initially only intended to write but not to publish an introduction to Islamic numismatics as this had been part of a deal which provided exclusive knowledge to the Saxon court. It remains to be researched whether this knowledge ever reached the Vienna court. Reiske's cooperation with Carsten Niebuhr to attribute the coins which he brought back from the Yemen and Iran meant the only other published work on coins before he died.⁴² Carsten Niebuhr stayed for nearly half of the year 1770 in Leipzig in Reiske's house and he donated the coins, which had been his personal belongings, to the Royal library before he left Copenhagen in 1778.⁴³

Two remarks in Hartmann's review on Tychsen's work suggest that Hartmann had a precise idea of the motivation and resources of Reiske's *Briefe*. The first refers to the coins available to Reiske, saying that apart from those in the Dresden cabinet there were prints of the originals in the Viennese cabinet which could be seen in Leipzig a few years before, obviously referring to the plate in *Das Neueste*. The second remark says that Reiske had not written his letters to the Hofrat Richter to perfection education but rather to satisfy his most immediate personal needs. He did neither specify the images in *Das Neueste* nor state clearly what Reiske's most immediate needs (permanent employment) were, but it seems that the story behind Reiske's promotion to directorship of the Nicolaischule in Leipzig was still known among German orientalists half a century later to be subsequently forgotten.⁴⁴ Hartmann and most of the orientalist interested in Oriental coins in his days like Assemani, Adler, Münter were indeed theologians (protestant and catholic!) and they may well have regarded the lives of their preceding generation with a critical interest, so that they would orally transmit backgroundknowledge, which was lost later. The parental generation had mostly been more radical followers of truth and reason, who disregarded religious boundaries like Kehr, Forsskål, Reiske and to some extent Duval and managed to escape submission to the church by submission to their Royal patrons.

⁴² NIEBUHR 1772, p. XXVIII-XXXII.

⁴³ Letter of Carsten Niebuhr to O.G. Tychsen, University Library Rostock, Sondersammlungen Mss. orient. 284 (7) No. 37 fol. 71r

⁴⁴ A.Th. Hartmann, Oluf Gerhard Tychsen oder Wanderungen durch die mannigfaltigsten Gebiete der biblisch-asiatischen Literatur, vol. II, 2, p. 55.

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FIGURE 1



FIGURE 2



FIGURE 3



FIGURE 4



FIGURE 5

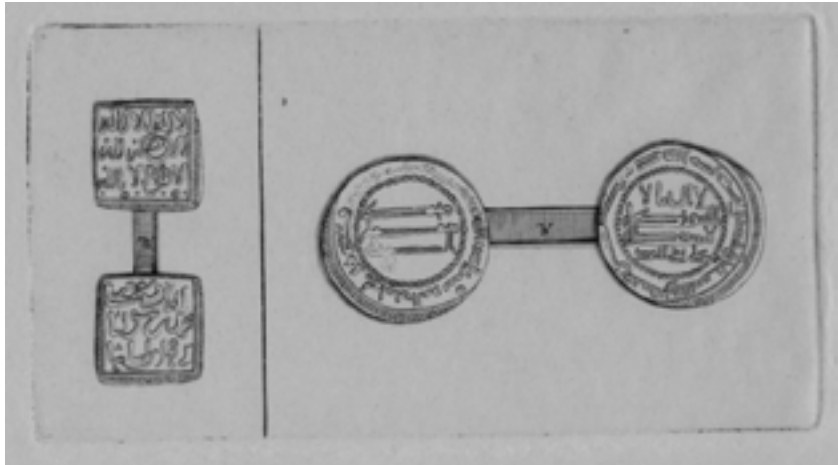


FIGURE 6



FIGURE 7



FIGURE 8

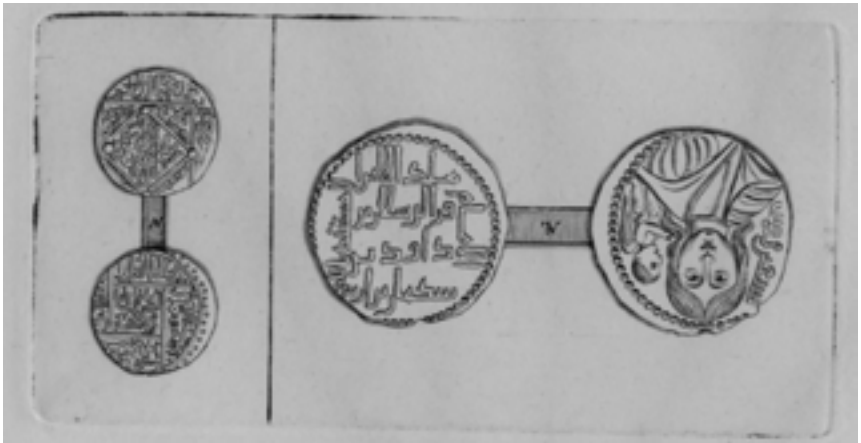


FIGURE 9

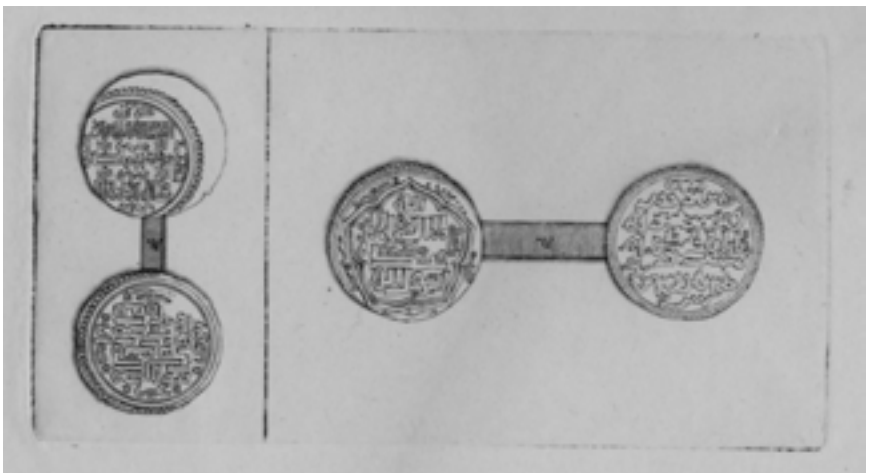


FIGURE 10

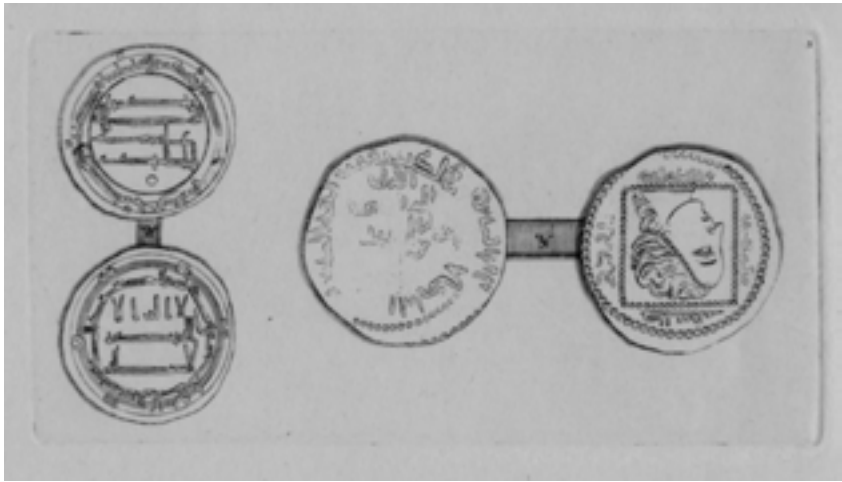


FIGURE 11



FIGURE 12

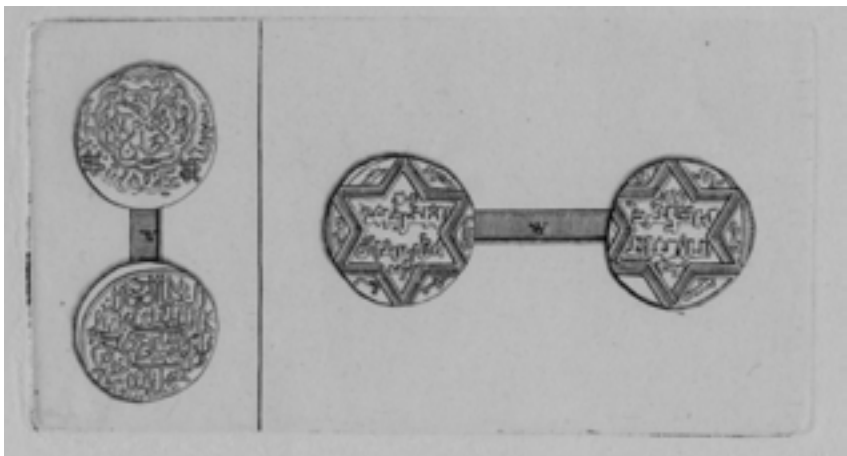


FIGURE 13



FIGURE 14