

# Соціально-економічні ВІДНОСИНИ

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## **ONE OF THE 'NEW CITY' (*SHAHR AL-JADID*) COPPER COIN TYPES: READING THE OBERSE LEGEND**

*The article deals with two particular topics of Juchid numismatics. The author examines the legend written in Arabic letters on the obverse of copper coins struck at Shahr al-Jadid, a town once located on the site of nowadays' Old Orhei settlement (Moldova). Researchers use to attribute the coinage of this type to the final stage of Juchid presence in the region (second half of the 1360s). Silver coins of that period, save for the latest issues (AH 769–770), bear the name of Khan Abdallah (1363–1370). As for copper coins, all belonging to the same undated type, those were long considered anonymous. Early in the 2000s the Romanian numismatist Eugen Nicolae suggested to see on them the Turkic name قتلغبوغا Kutluğboğa, implying certain graphic errors in the coin inscriptions. On the basis of written sources researchers use to associate this name with one of the Juchid Khan's regional governors, a dignitary who took part in negotiations with Venice in the middle of 1340–1350 and later also in the battle against the Lithuanian prince Olgerd's army at Sinie Vody ('Blue Waters') in 1362.*

Two completely different reading versions of the same coin inscription have induced the author to carry out a study aimed at clarifying the real spelling and translation of the obverse legend. In the course of joint work with colleagues (Vladimir Nastich), the author has come to the conclusion that Eugen Nicolae's reading of the obverse legend on the copper coins in question is critically erroneous and the proposed reading of the legend as the name Kutluğboğa is impossible, which is confirmed by a detailed analysis of the arabographic legend, accompanying with high quality photos of clearer samples. The author has succeeded to reaffirm the reading of the legend proposed by Svetlana Yanina in 1977. Vladimir Nastich offered a refined translation of the cited expression as "glorious [is] who is moderate". Other types of Juchid copper coins of the late 14<sup>th</sup> century containing the same legend were also found. A similar dictum was detected as part of a more complete saying on a copper coin of the Qajar dynasty (Rasht, AH 1229 / 1813–1814 (Zeno numismatic database, #9077). All this has led the author to transferring his search from numismatics to Islamic texts. As a result, the cited saying has been found among the Hadith ascribed to Prophet Muhammad. Spelling, transcription and translation of the expression look like this: " عز من قنع وذل من طمع / azza man qana'a wa-dalla man tama'a "glorious [is] who is moderate, and despicable [is] who is greedy".

The result of the described work can be outlined in several paragraphs:

1. The legend on the Shahr al-Jadid copper coin obverse is not Turkic as per Eugen Nicolae, just Arabic. Instead of whatever name, it contains the first part of the saying عز من قنع / azza man qana'a "glorious [is] who is moderate".

2. The cited saying is present within the set of Hadith allegedly uttered by Prophet Muhammad. Thus, the question of correctness of its reading and translation can be considered settled and closed.

3. The text of Hadith has been fixed on a Juchid coin for the first time. The use of part of the Hadith in the design of a mass coin issued in Eastern Europe before the withdrawal of the Juchids requires special attention and further study.

The article should be interesting to historians and numismatists studying the history of Juchi Ulus, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the earliest history of the Moldavian principality, Islamic numismatics, and also to all those who are curious about the given topic.

**Keywords:** Golden Horde, Juchids, Juchi Ulus, Moldova, 14<sup>th</sup> century, Shahr al-Jadid, Kutlugboga, copper pul, coin legends, Hadith.

### КОСТЯНТИН ХРОМОВ

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### ОДИН З ТИПІВ МІДНИХ МОНЕТ 'НОВОГО МІСТА' (ШЕХР АЛ-ДЖАДІД): ДО ЧИТАННЯ ЛЕГЕНДИ АВЕРСУ

У запропонованому дослідженні вирішено декілька питань, що мають безпосереднє відношення до монетної справи 'Нового міста' (شهر الجديد /

*Шехр ал-Джадід*) часів правління там ханської адміністрації хана Абдаллаха у другій половині 60-х років XIV ст. Більшість сучасних дослідників локалізує цей центр карбування на місці городища Старий Орхей (Молдова). Дослідження стосується остаточного читання легенди аверсу єдиного типу мідної монети з арабографічною легендою. На сьогодні відомо два варіанти читання та три варіанти її перекладу.

Була проведена ревізія цих визначень, виявлені помилки та запропоновано читання та варіант його перекладу.

Питання перекладу та атрибуції фрази з легенди врешті вийшло за межі суто нумізматичного дослідження. Висновки з цього питання виявилися дуже цікавими та тими, що стосуються окремих питань ісламської теології в нумізматиці Улусу Джучи.

Потреба уточнення читання та перекладу легенди аверсу пов'язана з існуючими варіантами читання та перекладу. Ці варіанти дуже різняться між собою за змістом. Так, два варіанти містять однакове читання та переклади, що трохи відрізняються за змістом. Вони містять фразу з благим побажанням. Це дозволяє віднести тип мідної монети до анонімного карбування. Проте інший варіант додає в науковий обіг тюркське ім'я Кутлугбога (Кутлугбуга). Це ім'я пов'язується з намісником однієї з західних частин Улуса Джучі, що був розташований між річками Дністер та Дунай.

Останнім часом частина істориків і нумізматів Румунії та Молдови почали використовувати у своїх дослідженнях саме другий варіант його читання та перекладу, а саме називати цей тип монет емісіями Кутлугбога без згадки його титулу.

Вважаємо, що таке читання легенди (قتلغبغا / Kutluğboğa / Кутлугбога, та будь-які інші варіанти читання цього імені), запропоноване румунським дослідником Eugen Nicolae у 2002 році мають критичні помилки та не можуть бути використані у подальших дослідженнях. Ми розглянули доводи, що були наведені Eugen Nicolae й навели свої контраргументи проти них.

Інший варіант читання та існуючи два варіанти перекладу, що навели Світлана Яніна та Євген Гончаров, передають одну й ту ж фразу – блага побажання: عز من قنع "слава тому, хто задовольняється малим" чи "кому вистачає малого, той великий". За нашою думкою ця фраза не є самостійною. В результаті пошуків ми дійшли висновку про те, що цей текст є частиною хадису пророка Мухаммеда: – عز من قنع وذل من طمع / славен, хто помірний, та мерзенний, хто жадібний.

Нами були наведені приклади використання цього самого фрагменту хадису на джучидських монетах більш пізнього часу (80-ті роки XIV ст., карбування ал-Джадід), повного тексту хадису на іранській мідній монеті "цивільного" карбування початку XIX ст. (місто Решт) та надані посилання на використання хадису на чисельних виробках прикрас та інших предметах, що датовані від кінця XVIII ст. та й до сучасності.

В дослідженні є зауваження про те, що будь-який популярний текст хадису має безліч смислових відтінків. Тож ми не можемо наполягати

на якомусь єдиному варіанті його перекладу. Проте, запропонований нами переклад, на нашу думку, є найбільш реальним та таким, що відповідає однаковій кількості слів у арабському та українському варіанті написання.

Слід відзначити високохудожнє виконання деяких (напевно перших) штемпелів монет з цією легендою. Є думка, що вони були виконані на замовлення у майстернях традиційного ісламського світу (Крим, Мала Азія) та привезені на монетний двір Шехр ал-Джадід. В подальшому їх копіювали місцеві майстри та, згодом, довели рівень виконання цієї роботи до рівня імітацій.

Використання тексту будь-якого хадису в легенді джучидських монет є новиною для джучидської нумізматики. А в додатку з місцем карбування на західному кордоні ісламського світу в Європі та часом карбування напередодні створення на тих землях Молдавського князівства факт використання хадису в оформленні тамтешніх мідних монет додає особливе значення.

**Ключові слова:** іслам, хадіс, Джучиди, легенди на монетах, Молдова, Золота Орда, XIV ст., карбування Шехр ал-Джадід, пул.

The background and formation process of the Moldavian principality, still revealing many "blank spots", are of great importance for scholars studying the history of Juchi Ulus, especially its parts located within the boundaries of modern Ukraine and Moldova. The formation of the Moldavian principality coincides with the time of transition of the borders of Grand Duchy of Lithuania (GDL) to Dniester and the Black Sea through the territory of the western uluses. It also was the time of movement of Khan Abdallah's hordes from Transnistria to the East, along the Black Sea coast. For historians dealing with GDL, the moment of emergence of the Moldavian principality is associated with the legendary battle on the Blue Waters, where Grand prince Olgerd defeated the Tatar hordes of three "tsars". One of those "tsars" was Kutlugboga. Some sources call him a viceroy of the area of Juchi Ulus between Prut and Seret rivers. Since recently the name *Kutlugboga* has become important for numismatists: it suddenly comes into sight in scholarly works on the coinage of the *Shahr al-Jadid*, as though because this name is allegedly presented on the copper coins of the given series (Table 1.1) (Nicolae, 2003: 169, Fig.1).

Some historians note the strict Christian way of life in the Moldavian principality since the very beginning of its existence, i.e. almost since the middle of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, which seems very strange after a century of domination of Juchi Ulus in these lands and a half-century process of establishing Islam as a state religion in the Ulus.

The phenomenon of sudden economic upsurge in the Juchid *Shahr al-Jadid* belongs to the same time, which is recognized by experts. According to many of them, the town was located on the site of Old Orhei ancient settlement on the bank of the Reut River, 60 km north-east of modern Chişinău (Moldova). The mentioned rise of economic activity in the *Shahr al-Jadid*, observed within a short period from 1365 to 1370, was evidently reflected in numismatics, first of all in the annual emission of silver *dangs* in the name of Abdallah (1363–1370) and the mass production of anonymous copper *puls*. These coins have become widespread not only in the region but also along the entire Northern Black Sea coast. We associate this development with an attempt of establishing a new trade route along the right bank of the Dniester River towards Lviv and other trading cities of Eastern Europe. This route would eventually be called the 'Moldavian way' and become a successful rival of the 'Tatar way'. It is also obvious that at the same time a certain renaissance of Islamic ideas in the Juchid nomadic society of the region was taking place.

The task of our humble research was to resolve a couple of questions.

The first of them is the need to clarify the reading of the obverse legend on copper *puls* minted at the *Shahr al-Jadid* in the second half of the 1360 s.

The second question goes beyond actual numismatics and concerns the problem of unambiguous reading and adequate translation of the benevolent invocation on the coin obverse of this type. Both goals can be considered achieved.

In addition, the unexpected solution of the second task allows us in prospect to revise, clarify and restructure the entire volume of phrases (expressions, benevolent invocations and quotes) presented in the design of Juchid coins. It becomes the immediate task.

As it has already been noted above, most researchers associate the localization of *Shahr al-Jadid* with the ancient settlement of Old Orhei (Moldova)\*. Copper coins of the type in question with the indication of this minting place are undated (photo 1); according to indirect data, their emission began in the second half of the 1360 s.

The reverse legend (photo 2) has two options for the location of parts of the last word. It is no mystery and reads unambiguously: ضرب شهر الجديد "struck at *Shahr al-Jadid*". On silver *dangs* with the name of Abdallah such form of mint indication first appears in AH 766 (photo 3). We regard the

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\* The analysis of all options for localization of the mint center with this name is not part of this research tasks.

same date as the starting point for copper coinage of the type under consideration. However, the stylistic features of the dies designed for silver and copper coins allow us to believe that both were made by completely different masters. A large number of imitations is known among copper coins of this type.

The need to clarify the content of the obverse legend is associated with the existing reading and translation options, actually differing significantly from each other. If two known versions of the translation make this type of copper coins anonymous, then another one assumes in the same inscription the presence of the name *Kutlugboga*, a person known from several documents of that time as the viceroy of certain western parts of Juchi Ulus.

The obverse inscription, as well as the very coin type, has been known to researchers since the 19<sup>th</sup> century, but the first version of its reading and translation was only proposed in 1977 by Svetlana Yanina: *عزمن قنع / azza man qana'a* "Glory to the one who is content with little" (Yanina, 1977: 204). The legend contains a phrase in Arabic consisting of three words, each located either in two lines as 1 / 2+3 (photo 4.2) or in three lines with a sequence of 1 / 3 / 2 top-to-bottom (photo 4.3). The variability of the order of words is explained by an attempt to fit the phrase into the circle and as such is not the subject of this article.

In 2002 a Romanian numismatist Eugen Nicolae proposed the reading of the obverse legend as *قتلغبوغا Kutluğboğa* (Nicolae, 2003: 169, fig 1; 178). (Here we should note that in the Arabic writing the Turkic vowels [o] and [u], and hence the phonemic variants of the name *Kutlugbuga* and *Kutluğboğa* are ambivalent, and further on we will no longer denote this difference). The researcher made an attempt to connect this name with "the great dignitary of the Golden Horde, who participated in negotiations with the Venetians in 1347 and 1358 and was defeated by the Lithuanians in 1362 or 1363, yielding Podillia to them" (Nicolae, 2003: 179). Eugen Nicolae consolidated his version of reading and translation in the report presented at the 13<sup>th</sup> International Numismatic Congress in Madrid in 2003 (Nicolae, 2005: 1367–1373).

The third translation version of this legend, based on the 1977 Yanina's reading *عزمن قنع* and analyzed anew by Vladimir Nastich (Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow), was proposed by Eugeny Goncharov: "Who is content with little is great". In other words, within the meaning, the latter author returns to the 'anonymous' version of Svetlana Yanina, in which the name *Kutlugbuga* is definitely absent. This

translation has taken root in the Russian-language scientific segment but not issued as yet in a separate publication.

Two such different versions of the semantic interpretation of the obverse legend coexisted peacefully for some time, perhaps because no one else would have turned to these coins of the *Shahr al-Jadid* in printed works.

Today we can see that some historians and numismatists began to accept the obviously erroneous reading of this invocation, proposed by Eugen Nicolae: respective definitions of numismatic material have been already encountered in several works:

"Кутлубуга, Шехр-ал-Джедид Ae; 2,2 г; 16 мм; 767–768 г.Х. / 1365–1367, отчеканена в Новом Городе (Шехр-ал-Джедид), с именем эмитента Кутлубуга" (Чокану, 2009: 355);

"Kutlubuga, Shahr-al-Jadid Ae; 2.2 g; 16 mm; 767–768 AH / 1365–1367, minted in the 'New City' (Shehr-al-Jedid), with the name of the issuer Kutlubuga" (Chokanu, 2009: 355);

"Kutluğboğa. Şehr al-Cedid. 6. Av. [bo] / Kutluğ / ğa. Rv. Duri be / [Şehr] al-Cedid" (Boldureanu, Bacumenco-Pîrnău, 2010: 228, № 6).

A reference to the work by Eugen Nicolae on the monetary economy of the Moldavian principality during the Golden Horde era also appeared in the collection "Golden Horde Review" (Spiney, 2016: 752). The author of this publication did not give any definitions of coins, but the very fact of reference to this publication suggests that he agreed with the attributions given in it.

The tendency to quote numismatic works with critically incorrect definition for one of the main copper coins types in the region, in our opinion, contributes to further spread of the grave error.

In view of the obvious absurdity of the considered reading of the cited legend as *Kutluğboğa*, we decided to turn once again to the graphic and content analysis of this inscription. Significant assistance in our research was provided by a specialist in medieval oriental languages, source expert Vladimir Nastich (Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow), to whom the author expresses sincere gratitude.

We have chosen several methods as tools for research. They should be understandable for numismatists with different levels of ability to read the arabographic legends on medieval coins, be it a visual comparative analysis of the coin legend elements in the form, number and style of graphic signs, or a detailed reconstruction and full-fledged translation of the legend.

The essence of the problem of visual comparison of the inscription images and attempts at layman unprofessional reading of arabographic legends is described with sufficient details in the article "Amateur collector, 'independent researcher' and oriental academic source studies (as evidenced by the Islamic numismatics)" (Nastich, 2018). With this kind of approach to coin legend reading, the researcher does not see them as the text consisting of specific alphabet letters, but a certain set of "lines, convolutions and worm-like squiggles" that can be "read out" and put into words for translation in any direction and location in the legend field. Herewith any permutations, errors, lack of necessary or presence of unnecessary signs are "allowed". Due to such attitude to the arabographic texts of coins legends, the catch phrase: "... *the Arabic legend of coins can only be read if you know what it says...*" (Ponomarev, 2012: 76). What may follow from the above attempts of the given quotation's author to substitute incomprehensible "worms and squiggles" in the word he knows he wittingly needs, we also know from the just mentioned article by Vladimir Nastich.

Now let's do a cursory grammatical analysis of Eugen Nicolae's conclusions.

Immediately it is worth noting that the Turkic name *Kutlugbuga* can be written orthographically correct both jointly (قتلغبوغا , قتلغبوغا) and separately (قتلغ بوغا or قتلغ بغا). In fact, the hypothetical choice of the die carver could stop at any of these versions without violating the rules of spelling. The closest analogue of merged writing of a similar name is known in Juchi Ulus numismatics: it is the name of the khan تولبغا / *Tulabuga* (photo 5) on silver *yarmaqs* of the Crimean Ulus (Khromov, 2007: 29; No 111). It is valid to compare the legend on the coin with the spelling of this name, structurally similar to *Kutlugbuga*, but definitely not the separate formant قتلغ / *qutluğ*, with which Eugen Nicolae compares this legend.

According to him, the obverse legend consists of a word divided into three syllables "*Kutlug-bo-ğā*" and placed on the coin in three lines: 2 / 3 / 1 (photo 4.1). At the same time it is noted that the syllable بو *bo* (?) is allegedly written in a retrograde way (Nicolae, 2003: 171).

Let's take a look at the proposed spelling of the word according to grammar rules. The name *Kutlugbuga* consists of two words – قتلغ / *qutluğ* + بوغا / *buğā*, which means 'happy bull' in Turkic. However, as we have shown above, this name can be written both together and separately. In the legend of the copper coin of *Shahr al-Jadid*, the letter is most often seen that can be read as final ع / *'ayn* or غ / *ğayn*, placed at the end of the word.



The supposed first word in the coin legend ( قتلغ *qutluğ*) ends as well with the letter غ / *gayn*, which only can stand at the end of the word. Therefore, the full name should not be written merged in one piece as Eugen Nicolae suggests, just as two separate words.

At the same time the author doesn't seem to notice the absence of the letter ل / *lām* in the word at all. "Reading the beginning (*qutluğ*) and the end (*ğ*) does not cause problems, it is obvious that [there is] a similarity of the first component with that one in the quoted formula ... ( قتلغ بولسن – *Auth.*)" (Nicolae, 2003: 171). We see that the first part of the Turkic name *Kutlug* declared by the author is written with an error (photo 1; 4), namely without one of the middle letters; so, accepting the author's reading, we would have to read it as قنع / *qutuğ*, which is basically wrong.

We have conducted a comparative analysis for images of the word قتلغ / *qutluğ* how it spells on several well-known types of copper coins minted in Juchi Ulus, in particular in the Crimea and the Transnistrian region between the last quarter of the 13<sup>th</sup> and first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. A very similar word is known here in the copper coins legends of several types:

1. A *pul* with the mint name shown as "Qutlug Kend", Crimea, AH 686–690 (photo 6), published: (Khromov, 2018). On the reverse there is the legend قتلغ كند / *qutluğ kand*, instead of the traditional mint name *Qrim*;

2. A *pul* of the 'New City' from the first third of the 14<sup>th</sup> century (photo 7), published: (Goncharov, Krivenko, 2019: 60, fig. 1.2). On the reverse, the invocation قتلغ بولسن / *qutluğ bulsun* is placed on the copper *pul* of the 'New City' with Juchid tamgha dating back to the reign of Uzbek (713–739 AD);

3. Costești type *pul* with central legend *bo čin* in Mongolian script (photo 8), published: (Krivenko, Goncharov, 2020: 94, fig. 1(II.1) ). On the reverse, the invocation قتلغ بولسن / *qutluğ bulsun* is placed on the copper *pul* of the 'New City' with Juchid tamgha dating back to the reign of Uzbek (713–739 AD);

4. Costești type *pul* with the same legend قتلغ بولسن / *qutluğ bulsun* on both sides (photo 9), (Krivenko, Goncharov, 2020: 94, fig. 1 (III–IV) ).

Based on the visual study of the written form in the legends of copper and silver Juchid coins, we can well conclude that in all these legends the character ل / *lām* in the word قتلغ / *qutluğ* is present as an independent, visually expressed element of the image in the form of a high vertical line. Not a single case of absence of this or any other letter, even on rough imitations of *puls* like Costești (photo 9) has been detected.

On the contrary, there is no trace of this character on all known copper coin specimens of the *Shahr al-Jadid* mint, as well as any other later Juchi Ulus coin issues (and not only those). Could this be a carver's mistake? Theoretically, it would be possible perhaps once or twice on occasional separate species, but definitely not on the scale of the entire long and abundant coinage, including imitations, taking moreover into account the continued use of such spelling up to nowadays.

The second part of the name written in a merged manner, according to Eugen Nicolae, consists of a 'retrograde' بـ *bo* (?) at the bottom of the obverse legend. This is the most confusing part of his reconstruction. In accordance with the orthography rules, when writing the name *Kutlugbuga* in a joint way, the letter بـ *bā* in the middle of the word should look like بـ . With a separately written name this letter appears at the beginning of the word, thus looking like بـ . What we see in the legend of the copper coin can theoretically be called the letter *bā*, written as it should be at the end of the word, namely بـ . And at the commencement of this syllable is set... the letter و *wāw*? But the letter *wāw* never connects with ensuing letters! So maybe it isn't the *wāw*? But the author places it there in the final arabographic reconstruction of the name. In other words, we can witness here at least two (if not more) spelling errors.

Some three pages above we have quoted a passage from A.L. Ponomarev's work: "... the Arabic legend of coins can only be read if you know what it says..." (Ponomarev, 2012: 76). It is not unlikely that this very principle was used by Eugen Nicolae when reconstructing the writing and reading of the obverse legend on the *Shahr al-Jadid* copper *pul*. However, on comparing the legend reading proposed by Svetlana Yanina and Eugen Nicolae, it becomes obvious that the reconstruction of the legend as the name قتلغبوغا *Kutluğboğa*, proposed by the Romanian researcher, is devoid of any evidence-based reasoning, while his references to the graphic degradation, retrograde script, etc. simply don't stand up to criticism.

The study of coin images accessible for us among the copper coin issues of the 'Shahr al-Jadid' have revealed the simple fact that the Turkic word قتلغ *qutluğ*, be it a separate word or a component of the name *Kutlugbuga*, is absent from any die varieties of this issue, and what is more, it certainly cannot be but the Arabic قنع *qana'a*. Again, the only grapheme in which one could discern the proposed reading of the syllable غا *ğā* (the top line of the legend), for an incomparably stronger reason reads as Arabic عز *'azza*, if only because on all known coins of this type the middle part of the

grapheme has a marked prong, and its left part never rises above the line level. The fallacy of attempt to read the grapheme من in the bottom line as 'retrograde' بو *bo* (?) or *bu*, merely impossible both graphically or by meaning, has already been pointed out before.

In view of the above, the only proper reading version of the legend question remains to be عزمن قنع: despite the altered order of words allowed by the designers of the coin type (quite a typical phenomenon in the coinage of that time), this phrase is written in strict compliance with the basic norms of spelling, it is easily recognized and reads with full confidence. Several examples of coins of the type we are studying here, both genuine (minted in the *Shahr al-Jadid*) and their later imitations, are shown in photo 10. The same can be said about the patently accentuated word قنع *qana'a*, placed in the centre of the graphic composition and quite recognizable even on imitations (photo 10.5).

One more Eugen Nicolae's argument, according to him, was the absence of similar benevolent exclamations on the coins of other issues known to him. It seems needless to say that there is hardly any reason to specifically object to such a feeble argument.

Eugeny Goncharov devoted some of his articles to the study of coin legends containing benevolent exclamations and other sayings unrelated to the defining aspects of the coinage (ruler's names, mint names, dates) on the 13<sup>th</sup> century Juchid coins of Khwarizm, Bulghar, Saray and the Crimea (Goncharov, 2005; 2011). Analyzing in particular the legends on the coins of Saray containing the expressions like "eternal glory and honor enduring", "the kingdom of one God, the Almighty" et sim., he noted that *"The brevity of the phrase carrying any idea of Islam on the subjects of our consideration differs from the Creed, quotations from the Koran or Hadith which are characteristic for the previous as well as contemporary (i.e. 13<sup>th</sup> century) periods of Muslim numismatics. Central Asian and Persian"* (Goncharov, 2005: 80). In his later work Evgeny Goncharov wrote: *"First of all, the attention in the represented phrases is attracted to their non-religiousness, i.e., the legends are written with Arabic script, in Arabic or Persian, which both have come from the Muslim cultural environment, but at the same time they have neither the name of God nor of his Envoy, whereas according to the Islamic tradition going back to the mandatory rule in the 8<sup>th</sup> century, these attributes ought to be present on money samples"* (Goncharov, 2011: 7). From this quotation we can see that the use of various invocations, both religious and secular, has been known in Juchid numismatics since the 13<sup>th</sup> century and generally is not however extraordinary.

Among the later types of Juchid copper coins, two more types with exactly the same legend have become known thanks to Viktor Pivorovich's research (Pivorovich, 2008). All of them are dated about AH 780–808 and exhibit a tamga in the form of a recumbent figure 'eight' ( $\infty$ )\*\*. We have presented a detailed classification of coins with the tamga in the form of  $\infty$  in 2013 (Khromov, Khromova, 2013: 16–33). Among the numerous types of copper coins with such tamga, minted during the reign of Toqtamysh, two types of copper *puls* have been identified, one of which comprising several variants. We showed 3 variants of this type (photo 11), on which the obverse legend consists of the same already familiar phrase عزمن قنع with the addition of a  $\infty$ -like tamga between the lines. The second type, showing the same legend located on both sides of copper coins, is still known to us in a single version (photo 12). At the same time the reverse legend, partially engraved mirrorwise, consists of 5 lines, the 4<sup>th</sup> of which contains an unread two-letter word.

Another example of the expression عزمن قنع used as obverse coin legend is found among the Iranian 'civic' coinage of the Qajar dynasty (Iran). This type of anonymous copper coins (photo 13) has been issued at the city of Rasht in AH 1229 / 1813–1814 (Zeno, #9077). While studying the obverse legend, it turned out that the expression placed on the coins of the *Shahr al-Jadid* is not an independent invocation, but only the first part of a widespread popular phrase, otherwise reproduced in full (drawing of the phrase elements on the coin of Rasht see in photo 13.3).

As a result of our search, the geography of this invocation encountered on coins has expanded from modern Moldova to Iran, and its chronology of use is respectively since the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> and at least up to the early 18<sup>th</sup> century. Many examples of its use in the design of applied art objects and samples of calligraphy dated by the recent and modern times are also revealed\*\*\*. So eventually, is it possible to see in these examples the spelling of any names, either *Kutlugbuga* or any other, performed 'normally' or 'retrograde', competently or with errors, repeated since the 14<sup>th</sup> century over a vast territory? Of course not!

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\*\* The dating of 808 A.D. is disputed by some numismatists. However, the question of clarifying the upper date of such coins is not in the focus of this work. The obvious rudeness of execution, up to the type degradation, clearly indicates their long-term fabrication that has begun in 780 A.D.

\*\*\* In order to save space, we shall not add the images of these items. Everyone wishing to get acquainted with them can easily use the Internet search for the full expression in Arabic.

What can the expression عزمن قنع mean in the coin legend? Our answers to the two questions posed in the first part of this article are as follows.

The translation of the obverse legend on this type of copper coins with the place of issue shown as شهر الجديد (*Shahr al-Jadid*), proposed by Svetlana Yanina in 1977, and its clarification made by Vladimir Nastich and Eugeny Goncharov, turned out to be perfect from a linguistic point of view, but solely based on the assumption of "self-sufficiency" of the very expression.

We decided to disbelieve Eugeny Goncharov's conclusion about the complete "non-religiosity" of brief benevolent exclamations, in which "there is neither the name of God nor His envoy"; having undertaken a search for them in the theological literature, particularly the *Hadith* collections, we eventually found ourselves on the right track.

The legend of the copper coin in question is in fact the first part of a popular Muslim saying: عزّ من قنع ودلّ من طمع "glorious [is] who is moderate, and despicable [is] who is greedy"\*\*\*\*. According to different Muslim theologians\*\*\*\*, this phrase represents a *Hadith*, viz. one of the statements once uttered by the Prophet. In other words, this invocation, long-known in Juchid numismatics, placed on a copper coin minted in the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century at one of the westernmost corners of Juchi Ulus in Eastern Europe (Moldova), turned out to be part of the *Hadith* ascribed to Prophet Muhammad. As far as we may know, the proposed definition, apparently introduced into the Juchid numismatics for the first time, definitely requires a further careful study of similar legends on Juchid coins, hence it would obviously result in a revision of the opinion about their secular (non-religious) meaning. As for the accuracy of their translation, we evidently chose, following V.N. Nastich, the most suitable option, both in semantic and quantitative terms. Considering the enormous number of available translations of this and other popular *Hadith*, we would not insist on the perfection of our version, still believing that it completely reflects the meaning of the *Hadith* both as a whole and as part of it, placed as a coin legend on the Juchid pul.

*The final observation.* Some obverse dies of the *Shahr al-Jadid* copper coins are fabricated on rather high artistic level. Most researchers consider them to be original samples of the initial stage of minting, which would often serve as a standard for subsequent coin issues. It also should be

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\*\*\*\* The translation was kindly proposed by V.N. Nastich in private correspondence.

\*\*\*\*\* A nice example of this *Hadith* used in a sample of Arabic calligraphy can be seen by the link: URL: <https://www.pinterest.com/pin/388224430362384884>.

noted that both the content and the careful study of coin legends and general design of the working surface of the dies make us assume that the originals of die samples were imported. They could be purposefully ordered and manufactured at the workshops of certain traditional Islamic centers (Crimea, Asia Minor, etc.); upon the delivery to the mint of the *Shahr al-Jadid*, working copies were taken from them by local craftsmen to be used for mass coin minting. Later on, due to the general decline of Islamic culture and literacy in the region, copies from those copies gradually deteriorated to the level of crude imitation.

**ILLUSTRATIONS\*\*\*\*\***



Photo 1. Ulus Juchi: *Shahr al-Jadid*, AE puls, 60s XIV century.  
 1.1 – Photo (Nicolae E., 2003: 169, Fig. 1); 1.2 – Photo from the author's archive



Photo 2. Image of the variants of the location of the word "al-Jadid" on the reverse

Photo 3. Ulus Juchi: Abdallah, *Shahr al-Jadid*, dang, AH 766



Photo 4. Variants of the arrangement of the legend lines when reconstructing the obverse:  
 4.1 – the arrangement of syllables in the name *Kutlug-bo-ğa* (Nicolae E., 2003: 171); 4.2, 4.3 – word arrangement of a phrase: *قنع عز من* / *azza man qana'a* (Yanina; Goncharov)

\*\*\*\*\* All images, except for photo 1.1 and photo 11 are taken from the author's personal archive. All drawings are made by the author.



5.1

5.2

Photo 5. 5.1 – Ulus Juchi: Tulabuga, Qrim mint, AR yarmaq AH 686; 5.2. – drawing of name Tulabuğa



Photo 6. Ulus Juchi: Crimea, Qutlug Kend, anonymous pul AH 686–690. The legend "Qutlug Kend" on the reverse and drawing of the word قتلغ / qutluğ



Photo 7. Ulus Juchi: Shahr al-Jadid, the anonymous pul of the first third of the XIV century. The legend "Qutlug bulsun" on the reverse and drawing of the word قتلغ / qutluğ



Photo 8. Ulus Juchi: The anonymous pul of "Costești" type, early XIV century. The legend: "qutlug bulsun yangi pul" on the reverse and drawing of the word قتلغ / qutluğ



Photo 9. Ulus Juchi: The anonymous pul of "Costești" type, early XIV century. The legend: "qutlug bulsun" at both sides and drawing of the word قتلغ / qutluğ



Photo 10. Ulus Juchi: Shahr al-Jadid, The anonymous puls 60s XIV century (7.1-7.4), imitating them (7.5-7.6) and drawing of the word قنع / qana'a



Photo 11. Uls Juchi: "al-Jadid mint", The anonymous puls. The legend قنע / عز / من and tamga in the form of a symbol ∞, drawing of the word قنע / qana'a (11.1 with date of AH 780; 11.2 no date; 11.3. with date of AH 808)



Photo 12. Uls Juchi: pul without mint name and date قنע / عز / من; tamga in the form of a symbol ∞



Photo 13. Iran. Qajar dynasty. AE anonymous coin ("civic" coinage). Rašt. AH 1229 / 1813–1814 Zeno #9077



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