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To the Ukrainian people. To their brave women.

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THE MANCUSES ISSUED IN THE NAME OF THE ḤAMMŪDID CALIPHS: A CORDOBA–BARCELONA–KYIV CONNECTION. NEW PERSPECTIVES

МАНКУСИ ХАМУДІДСЬКИХ ХАЛІФІВ: ЗВ'ЯЗОК МІЖ КОРДОБОЮ, БАРСЕЛОНОЮ ТА КИЄВОМ. НОВІ ПЕРСПЕКТИВИ

Summary.

The aim of this study is to provide a new perspective on the Barcelona mancuses minted in the name of the Ḥammūdīd caliphs of al-Andalus, in the 5th/11th century. It has traditionally been thought that both their dates and the choice of the types they imitate were random and that they were minted in response to mere economic issues. However, by considering the chronology of the model types and analyzing them in their unique historical context in which, unlike other Christian powers that issued imitation coins, the counts of Barcelona were vassals to the caliphs of Cordoba, we can conclude that neither the choice of model types nor the dates and known mint names are “the result of a whim”, as some have stated, but rather that they responded to the policy of alliances of the counts of Barcelona with the different powers of al-Andalus. They represent evidence of the recognition of the sovereignty of the Ḥammūdīd caliphs, a recognition which has, at the very least, a legitimating value. Lastly, the coin hoards prove that the mancuses circulated not only in the territory of present-day Catalonia (the treasure of Odena), but also beyond its borders. This is evidenced by the treasure of Kyiv, which may well be a reflection of the relations between the Sephardic communities and those of the principality of Kyiv at a time when the interest in the ancient Khazar kingdom is reflected in the literature produced in Sepharad.

Key words: Mancus, Dinar, Ḥammūdīds, County of Barcelona, Bonhom, Sepharad, coin hoards, Odena, Kyiv.

Анотація.

Мета цього дослідження – окреслити новий погляд на барселонські манкузи, викарбувані від імені халіфів Аль-Андалусу Хаммудидів у V–XI ст. Традиційно вважалося, що і дати карбування, і вибір типів, які вони імітували, були випадковими, і що їх карбували у відповідь на економічні проблеми. Однак, розглядаючи хронологію типів моделей та аналізуючи їх в унікальному історичному контексті, в якому, на відміну від інших християнських держав, що випускали імітаційні монети, графи Барселони були васалами кордовських халіфів, можна зробити висновок, що ні вибір типів моделей, ні дати і відомі назви монетних дворів не є «результатом примхи», як дехто стверджував, а скоріше відповіддю на політику альянсів графів Барселони з різними державами Аль-Андалусу. Вони є свідченням визнання суверенітету халіфів Хаммудидів, визнання, яке має, щонайменше, легітимізує значення. Нарешті, монетні скарби доводять, що манкузи циркулювали не лише на території сучасної Каталонії (скарб Одени), а й за її межами. Про це свідчить і київський скарб, який цілком може бути відображенням відносин між сефардськими громадами та громадами Київського князівства в той час, коли інтерес до давнього Хозарського царства знайшов відображення в літературі, створеної сефардською мовою

Ключові слова: Манкус, динар, Хаммудіди, графство Барселона, Бонхом, Сеферад, монетні скарби, Одеса, Київ.

1. Introduction

The term *mancus* derives from the Arabic *manqūsh* (“engraving”) and literary sources from the European Middle Ages used this term to refer to Islamic currency. However, it was also applied to the coins with Arabic characters that various Christian powers minted imitating contemporary Islamic coins¹. The first mancuses that were minted in the Christian territories of the Iberian Peninsula, especially in the Catalan counties, imitated the caliphal coin of al-Andalus, both Umayyad and Ḥammūdīd.

It is important to note that only Andalusi coinage was in circulation in the Christian kingdoms of the north of the peninsula until the 5th/11th century, with the exception of the area of the Catalan counties, which were linked to the Hispanic March and, therefore, were under the influence and circulation of Carolingian issues². It wasn't until the reign of Sancho Ramirez (1063-1094) in Aragon and the conquest of Toledo (477/1085) by Alfonso VI of Castile that we find the first monetary issues of the Christian kingdoms of the north of the peninsula. Thus, Andalusi coinage was not only

¹ On the etymology and use of the term, see a summary in Balaguer 1984: 310-311. A list with the mentions of mancuses in early medieval documents up to 850 can be found in McCornick 2001: 811-814.

² Regarding monetary circulation in Catalonia cf. Jarret 2009. On the circulation of Andalusi coinage in the Christian kingdoms see: Dalché 1969; Bonnassie 1988; Barceló 1979; Balaguer 1988; Balaguer 1990; Crusafont 1992; Balaguer 1993; Canto 2001; Ibáñez Artica 2002; Pellicer i Bru, J. (2004).

the most used³, but it also became the model and the account currency for commercial transactions⁴. It was frequently mentioned in Christian documents with names that refer not to the caliph under whose government the coins were issued, but to the different characters that appear on their legends (*iafaris, kazminos, almanzoris...*) or to their place of minting (*cetinos, saragoncianos...*)⁵.

The historiography that has dealt with this subject has traditionally considered that because the Catalan counties did not have their own golden coins and needed them, they imitated the Andalusi dinars, given their great quality and wide acceptance, as a “replacement currency” of the Andalusi one⁶. However, at the time when the “imitations” of the Umayyad and Ḥammūdīd coins took place, the minting of dinars in al-Andalus had not yet declined to a point where the need to mint “substitution” coins would be justified. Moreover, in this period, production is stable and of a high quality⁷.

It is a known fact that, during the 5th/10th century and at the beginning of the 6th/11th century, Andalusi gold coins reached the northern territories of the Peninsular through payments made to Christian troops that were part of the caliphal army and to the seignorial armies that supported Andalusi military campaigns as vassals of the caliphs of al-Andalus⁸. The gold coins also traveled as payment of ransoms for captives, which had to be paid in gold dinars⁹. Thus, the Christian powers had gold at their disposal to be able to mint their first mancuses, which represent the reestablishment of gold issues in the Christian west, which had been suspended since the 3rd/9th century¹⁰.

2. The Ḥammūdīds and the Catalan counts. Historical context.

When the third caliph of Cordoba, Hishām II, appointed Almanzor’s youngest son, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Sanchuelo, as his successor to the caliphate, Muḥammad II al-Mahdī (a great-grandson of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III) initiated a coup d’etat that forced Hishām II to abdicate in his favor in the year 399/1009. A civil war began that would lead to the fragmentation of al-Andalus into independent taifa kingdoms (*mulūk al-tawāif*), in which not only did the different taifa kings confront each other, supporting one or another

³ Botet i Sisó 1908: 28,45.

⁴ Canto & Ibrahim 1997: 34.

⁵ Botet i Sisó 1908: 32, 34.

⁶ Crusafont 1982: 45.

⁷ This idea of the minting of the mancuses as a result of a decrease in the volume of currency in circulation has been maintained until recent publications (Cf., i.e., Bresc 2002: 181–182). However, the quality and production standards were preserved during the caliphates of the first members of the Ḥammūdīd dynasty, coinciding with the minting of the mancuses (Cf. Ariza Armada 2010, 1: 598; 2015: 341).

⁸ Balaguer 1984: 310.

⁹ Sénac 2003: 200–203. Despite the numismatic evidence, the Ḥammūdīd period is usually included in that of the taifas, considering the Ḥammūdīd caliphate as one more taifa. Therefore, the studies that have addressed this subject mention the payment of the *parias* (annual tribute) as the main way for the gold coins to reach the Christian kingdoms of the north. However, we must not forget that at the moment when the first mancuses are being carried out, al-Andalus was not yet paying *parias*, but rather it was the Christian territories that were paying tribute to the caliphs of al-Andalus. The turning point would coincide with the minting of the last mancuses, as we will see.

¹⁰ Bonnassie 1988: 167; Spufford 1991: 215 et seq.

contender to the caliphate, but the Christian powers of the north of the peninsula also sided with one or another Andalusī caliph. Thus, the count of Castile, Garcia Gomez, supported the cause of Hishām II. The alliance was not new: Sancho Garcia (995-1017), the count of Castile had sealed his alliance with Almanzor by offering his sister Onega as wife or concubine; and the resulting truce would last until the year 1000¹¹. In 393/1003, troops of Alfonso V of Leon and Sancho Garcia of Castile joined the army of the prime minister (*ḥājib*) ‘Abd al-Malik b. Abī ‘Āmir (Almanzor’s eldest son) in Medinaceli, under the provisions of the submission pact, to carry out an expedition to the lands of Barcelona¹². And the following year (394/1004), Almanzor’s son was required to solve the internal problems of the Christians, between Sancho Garcia, the count of Castile, and the Galician count Menendez Gonzalez¹³. In addition, Andalusī aid in consolidating the power of Bermudo II of Leon had left Almanzor free to focus on Catalonia¹⁴. These alliances were no obstacle to the razzias that would soon be carried out against the territories of Sancho Garcia, such as the Clunia expedition (397/1006–1007) in which ‘Abd al-Malik defeated the count of Castile and presumably re-established his vassalage, and, as a result, took the title of al-Muzaffar (“The winner”)¹⁵. Another example is the razzia from 398/1008, from which ‘Abd al-Malik had to return because he fell ill, ultimately dying on the return journey, perhaps poisoned by order of his own brother Sanchuelo¹⁶. In the following year (399/1009), Sanchuelo likewise carried out an expedition against the count of Castile¹⁷. Vassalage was restored during the civil war and Sancho Garcia was on Hishām II’s side, providing military support to his *ḥājib* Sanchuelo against the coup d'état carried out by Muḥammad II b. Hishām b. ‘Abd al-Jabbār al-Mahdī¹⁸.

Muḥammad II al-Mahdī took Cordoba and was recognized as caliph but, when he hid Hishām II from public view and spread the rumor that he was dead, he lost support and provoked a response by the Umayyads. Therefore, it is not surprising that when Sulaymān b. al-Ḥakam rose against him, with the support of the ‘Āmirīds and the Berbers, the latter commanded by ‘Alī b. Ḥammūd, Sancho Garcia would bring his troops to support Sulaymān in the conquest of Cordoba¹⁹.

Like the rest of the Christian powers in the north of the peninsula, the Catalan counts had also had vassalage relations with Cordoba, gradually dissociating themselves

¹¹ Echevarría 2011: 155–159.

¹² After conquering the castle of Monmagastre, they attacked the surroundings of Barcelona, seizing slaves, booty and 85 castles (Ibn ‘Idhārī 1930: 4–8).

¹³ Ibn ‘Idhārī 1930: 10.

¹⁴ Echevarría (2011: 152–153).

¹⁵ Ibn ‘Idhārī 1930: 13–14.

¹⁶ Ibn ‘Idhārī 1930: 36–37.

¹⁷ Ibn ‘Idhārī 1930: 48–50.

¹⁸ The hosts of Garcia Gomez were part of this military support. Ibn ‘Idhārī 1930: 48–50.

¹⁹ Ibn ‘Idhārī 1930: 51.

from their ties with the Franks, from the time of count Suñer (911–947)²⁰. However, in 374/985, Borrell II, count of Barcelona, Gerona, Osona and Urgel, suffered the conquest and looting of Barcelona by Almanzor, *hājib* of Hishām II, though he retrieved it shortly after²¹. The Franks' lack of help in the face of the Andalusi attack revealed the definitive rupture and strengthened their relationship of vassalage with the caliphs of al-Andalus. Thus, when the Andalusi civil war took place, the Catalans took active part in it. Their involvement was fundamental to the arrival of gold to the Catalan counties.

While the Castilian count had supported the cause of Hishām II and Sulaymān's uprising against Muḥammad II al-Mahdī, the sons of Borrell II, Ramon Borrell, count of Barcelona, Gerona and Osona, and Armengol, count of Urgel²², supported Muḥammad II al-Mahdī. The sons of Borrell were joined by the counts Hugo de Ampurias and Bernat Tallaferro of Besalu, and by the bishops Aecio of Barcelona, Oton of Gerona, Salla of Urgel and Arnulfo of Vic²³. The page (*fatā*) Wāḍiḥ²⁴ sealed the alliance, yielding to the demands of the counts, with vast funds provided by the people of Cordoba, obtained from the looting of the treasury of the great mosque²⁵.

Muḥammad II al-Mahdī recovered Cordoba following the battle of El Vacar (about twenty kilometers north of Cordoba), and thanks to Catalan support, thus put an end to the first government of Sulaymān al-Musta'īn bi-llāh in the capital of al-Andalus. The alliance and military intervention of the Christians in the Andalusi conflict caused great discomfort among the Muslims²⁶. However, the count returned safe and with great glory²⁷. It has been claimed that his participation marked the end of Islamic supremacy in Catalonia²⁸. In any case, his participation in the Andalusi conflict was an important source of income that allowed him to refill his coffers²⁹.

²⁰ The embassies of Borrell II of the years 950, 956, 966, 971 and 974 are clear examples (Balaña i Abadia 1992: 50). The term “mancus” begins to appear in Catalan documentation starting 981 (Botet i Sisó 1908: 26–28).

²¹ “... *el conte Burrel ajuntó barons, nobles et caualleros et gent de pié en grant multitud, et con la ayuda de Dios lançó fuera de Barchinona et de toda la tierra vigorosament los maluados moros*” (Ximénez de Embún 1886, chap. XXVI).

²² We should not overlook that he may have disliked Hishām II and the ‘Āmirīds, after the conquest and looting of Barcelona. It is what the chronicle states: “*Et en tiempo de aquesti conte Borrel fué pressa la ciudat de Barchinona por moros do fué feita gran pestilencia et de grant crueldat en la tierra*” (Ximenez de Embun 1886, chap. XXVI).

²³ The Catalans contributed an army of 9,000 or 10,000 men, according to the sources. Cf. Valdeavellano 1952: 242; Chalmeta 1989: 99; Sancho i Planas 2005.

²⁴ Wāḍiḥ was *hājib* of Muḥammad II al-Mahdī, whom he betrayed causing his death and enabling Hishām II to become caliph for the second time, keeping his title of *hājib* (Ibn ‘Idhārī 1930: 100).

²⁵ According to the *Bayān*, the funds for this recruitment were paid for by the Cordovans who raised a large amount of money to pay the Christian army. To this end they looted the mosque, given the refusal of the judge (*qādī*) Ibn Dhakwān to give them the money from the pious endowment (*ḥabūs*) (Ibn ‘Idhārī 1930: 98). Bruce (2013: 169) considers that it was at this moment that the counts turned from tributaries to mercenaries. However, the Catalan mancuses force us to rethink this issue.

²⁶ Cf. Fierro 1994: 405.

²⁷ Ximénez de Embun 1886, Chap. XXVI. His brother Armengol and other nobles, as well as the bishops of Barcelona, Gerona and Vic suffered a different fate, as they died during the battle or as a result of their wounds. (Ibn ‘Idhārī, Spanish trans.: 89, note 501).

²⁸ Cf. Mínguez Fernández 1989: 226–228, 238.

²⁹ Cf. Ibn ‘Idhārī 1930: 94. The cost of the operation amounts to a minimum of 1,212,000 dinars (Cf. Vallvé 1981:199; Ibn ‘Idhārī, Spanish trans. note 499).

In *dhū l-qa'da* 400/June 1010, pursued by the large army of Muḥammad II al-Mahdī and his Catalan allies, the Berber troops of Sulaymān al-Musta'in bi-llāh fought them at Guadiaro, near Ronda, claiming victory despite being outnumbered. After this battle, Sulaymān joined the Berbers in Malaga (*Rayyu*), while 'Alī b. Ḥammūd crossed the Strait of Gibraltar and seized Ceuta on behalf of Sulaymān al-Musta'in³⁰. Three years later, Christian sources mention a new military expedition of the Catalan counts in al-Andalus taking place in July 1013 (last month of 403 and first of 404) without being able to ascertain its cause³¹.

After these events, in the year 407/1016, count Ramon Borrell of Barcelona re-emerged on the Andalusi scene supporting the uprising of 'Abd al-Raḥmān IV b. Muḥammad³² against caliph 'Alī b. Ḥammūd, in the eastern lands (*sharq al-Andalus*)³³. The Umayyad had the support of Khayrān al-Ṣiqḡabī of Almeria³⁴, Mundhir b. Yaḥyā al-Tujībī, emir of Zaragoza and of the Upper March (*al-taghr al-a'lā*)³⁵, and that of his ally, count Ramon Borrell of Barcelona. This alliance between Ramon Borrell and Mundhir b. Yaḥyā al-Tujībī, must have played a fundamental role, conditioning the count's participation in the uprising against 'Alī b. Ḥammūd in *sharq al-Andalus*. From the very beginning, Mundhir made an alliance with the Catalan counts, thus guaranteeing the security of the border, an alliance that he maintained throughout his time governing, developing a great friendship with the count of Barcelona³⁶. After the death of Ramon Borrell (February 25, 1017), it was Ermesenda of Carcassonne, his widow and regent during the minority of Berenguer Ramon I, who maintained the alliance³⁷. Therefore, after the death of 'Alī b. Ḥammūd and a few days after the proclamation of his brother al-Qāsim, and probably because of it³⁸, 'Abd al-Raḥmān IV was proclaimed caliph by his supporters, taking the honorific title (*laqab*) of al-Murtaḡā (*dhū-l-ḥijja* 408/ April 1018). Shortly after (409/1018–1019), they attacked the caliph of Cordoba in Granada, the Umayyad contender having been betrayed and assassinated by his own³⁹. Although the

³⁰ On the famous battle of the Guadiaro cf. Ibn 'Idhārī 1930: 96–99.

³¹ Bruce (2013: 170) states that it coincided with the rebellion of 'Alī b. Ḥammūd and that the count's support was due to the fact that he supported the Slavs (*ṣaqāliba*), who were allies of the Ḥammūdids. However, this is not possible since 'Alī's uprising against Sulaymān had not yet taken place. The fact that his name appears on the Ceuta coins of 403/1012–1013 only shows the appointment of 'Alī as governor of Ceuta by the caliph Sulaymān (Cf. Ariza Armada 2010, 1: 130, 138–139; 2015: 78, 83–84).

³² For this Umayyad, great-grandson of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III, see Ibn 'Idhārī 1930: 125 et seq.

³³ Numerous towns from the Andalusi Levant joined the uprising, such as Valencia, Tortosa, Alpuente, Albarracín, Jativa and also Mujāhid of Denia who, apparently, never recognized him (Delgado 2001: 154; Guillen Robles 1880: 46; Viguera 1994: 36, 62).

³⁴ Although the Slav 'Āmirīd, Khayrān, the last *hājib* of Hishām II had actively supported 'Alī b. Ḥammūd when he seemed to lead the cause of Hishām II, he withdrew his support and rose up against him after finding his lord Hishām II dead (Cf. Ariza Armada 2010, 1: 173).

³⁵ On Mundhir and his brief dynasty cf.: Turk 1972–1973; Turk 1978; Viguera 1994: 72–74; Viguera 1995: 61–62.

³⁶ Ibn 'Idhārī 1930: 176–177.

³⁷ Cf. Bruce 2013: 179.

³⁸ Cf. Ariza Armada 2010, 1: 220.

³⁹ Cf. Ibn 'Idhārī 1930: 125–127.

sources do not specify what role the Catalans played in the betrayal, everything seems to indicate that they were ignorant⁴⁰.

As we have seen, the information found in the chronicles clearly marks the Catalan support for the cause of the Umayyad legitimists: first supporting Muḥammad II and then ‘Abd al-Raḥmān IV⁴¹. We therefore ask ourselves, on the one hand, why did they imitate the Ḥammūdīd issues and not the Umayyad ones⁴²; and on the other hand, whether not only economic⁴³ but also political reasons drove them to issue mancuses.

We must not lose sight of the fact that, under these alliances, the Christian powers were subject to the payment of vassalage taxes, just as “the small local lords whose prerogatives over certain territories were confirmed by the caliph in exchange for an annual contribution (*jibāya*)”⁴⁴. It was not only an economic issue, because it also implied a recognition of sovereignty⁴⁵. In addition, we know that at the time of the civil war, - and from at least as far back as 399/1009, the year in which we encounter the first such information regarding Muḥammad II al-Mahdī⁴⁶, the minting of dinars and dirhams in the name of the caliph was a prerogative that he granted, or even demanded, to certain important personalities of the provinces, in exchange for their recognition and loyalty⁴⁷. Therefore, mancuses being issued by the Catalan counts could have resulted from this principle, either as part of what they demanded given the importance of their support, or because it was demanded of them after they were defeated by the caliph, as a sign of recognition⁴⁸.

⁴⁰ During the battle, the Catalans remained firm in their posts, and also “Mundhir, at the time, had sown in the hearts of the Frankish men the fear of a betrayal by the ‘Āmirīd clients, and manipulated their minds” (Ibn ‘Idhārī 1930: 126).

⁴¹ Similar to Bonnassie (1988), Bruce (2013: 169, 170) states that the support of the counts went to the *ṣaqāliba*, in order to consolidate the alliances with the sovereigns of the maritime provinces. However, the case of the taifa of Zaragoza, as we will see, and the existence of the mancuses shows that their support primarily went to the caliphal cause defended by their allies, at least during the period of the minting mancuses, until well into the government of Ramon Berenguer I.

⁴² The claim made by Bruce (2013: 175) that during the *fitna*, until 1031, gold coins minting was monopolized by the Ḥammūdīds is not correct. Certainly, we can’t see any of the monetary issues under ‘Abd al-Raḥmān IV. However, not only was coinage minted and circulated in the name of Hishām II, Sulaymān and Muḥammad II, but also, despite their short caliphates, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān V and Muḥammad III also minted coins.

⁴³ Traditionally it has been thought that these imitations were due to the quality and prestige of the Ḥammūdīd coins. However, the quality of the Umayyad coinage of the period is comparable to that of the Ḥammūdīd one. Moreover, I suggested that they may have responded, not so much to the recognition of the Ḥammūdīd sovereignty, but to the need for a coinage that, due to its quality and prestige, would be accepted by both the Muslim and Christian populations (Ariza Armada 2015: 353). However, a more detailed analysis of these monetary issues highlights the importance of the political and legitimating aspect.

⁴⁴ Echevarría 2011: 164.

⁴⁵ Cf. Franco Sánchez 2008: 89–90.

⁴⁶ Ibn ‘Idhārī 1930: 78.

⁴⁷ It is a process of ennoblement based on the principle of territorial authority. Cf. Ariza Armada 2020: 72. Regarding the requirement cf. Ariza Armada 2010, 1: 342–343; 2015: 279–280.

⁴⁸ Cf. Ariza Armada 2015: 339–349. It is important to remember that the Catalan counties were granted the right to mint silver coins (*dineros* and *obolos*) by the Carolingian sovereigns starting with the reign of Charles the Bald, the golden coin being a royal prerogative. Likewise, we could consider the hypothesis that they could have received from the caliphs of Cordoba the right to mint coins in their name, like the rest of the vassals, be it from the Peninsula or the Maghreb, who recognized their sovereignty.

3. The mancuses issued in the name of the Ḥammūdīd caliphs

We know of various types of mancuses minted in the Catalan counties in the name of the Ḥammūdīd caliphs. Balaguer carried out a first systematic cataloging, based on geographical criteria⁴⁹. Subsequently, a new cataloging of these specimens according to the criteria of the imāmate was proposed⁵⁰. According to this last cataloging, the mancuses that are known to us to this date were in the name of the first three Ḥammūdīd caliphs: ‘Alī b. Ḥammūd, al-Qāsim b. Ḥammūd and Yaḥyā b. ‘Alī. All of them exercised their sovereignty from Cordoba, the capital of the Umayyads, until the last of them moved the seat of caliphal power to Malaga.

3.1. The mancuses issued in the name of ‘Alī b. Ḥammūd

We only know of one coin type in the name of the first Ḥammūdīd caliph (Ariza Imit. 1), which takes as reference the type of Ariza ‘A4⁵¹ and of which only one specimen is known and it is preserved in the *Département des Monnaies, Médailles et Antiques* of the *Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris* (Lavoix 1114) (Fig. 1). This type imitates dirhams of *Madīnat Sabta* (City of Ceuta) from 407/1016-1017 and 408/1017-1018. Their legends are:

I. A.		II. A.	
		ولى العهد	<i>Walī al-‘ahd</i>
لا اله الا	<i>There is no god but</i>	الامام علي	<i>The Imām ‘Alī</i>
الله وحده	<i>God, Alone</i>	امير المؤمنين	<i>Emir of the believers</i>
لا شريك له	<i>He has no partner</i>	الناصر لدين الله	<i>al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh</i>
		يحيى	<i>Yaḥyā</i>

I. M.: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينر بمدينة سبتة سنة

In the name of God this dinar was struck in Madīnat Sabta in the year...

II.M.: Qu’rān, 9:33⁵².



Fig. 1. Mancusa issued in the name of ‘Alī b. Ḥammūd.
Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris. Lavoix 1114

⁴⁹ Balaguer 1993. Regarding this cataloging also cf. Ariza Armada 2015: 341–344.

⁵⁰ Cf. Ariza Armada 2015: 344–349.

⁵¹ Regarding this coin type cf. Ariza Armada 2015: 107–110.

⁵² Lavoix identified the word Muḥammad in the marginal legend on the reverse, considering it an indication that it was the prophetic mission (Lavoix 1887: 516).

Although it is a type of indeterminate origin, if we accept the possibility that this is as coinage from the Catalan counties, it would have been coined in the times of Ramon Borrell.

The fact that it imitates a type minted in the years 407/1016–1017 and 408/1017–1018 places its minting either in that period or immediately after⁵³, probably after the defeat and death of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān IV. Therefore, it would show at least the implicit recognition of the Ḥammūdid sovereignty.

Finally, the poorer quality of the calligraphy of its legends is quite remarkable, contrasting with that of the mancuses issued in the name of al-Qāsim, as we will see.

3.2. *The mancuses issued in the name of al-Qāsim b. Ḥammūd*

To date, we know of two coin types minted in the name of caliph al-Qāsim attributed to count Berenguer Ramon I (1018–1035), and therefore to the county of Barcelona. They contain the name of the Jewish moneyer Bonhom⁵⁴.

The inscription of the first type (Ariza Imit. 2) (Fig. 2)⁵⁵ is:

I. A.		II. A.	
لا اله الا	<i>There is no god but</i>	الامام القاسم	<i>The Imām al-Qāsim</i>
الله وحده	<i>God, Alone</i>	المأمون بالله	<i>al-Ma’mūn bi-Llāh</i>
لا شريك له	<i>He has no partner</i>	امير المؤمنين	<i>Emir of the believers</i>
محمد	<i>Muḥammad</i>	BONOM	<i>Bonhom</i>

I.M. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينر بالاندلس سنة ثمان و اربعماية
In the name of God this dinar was struck in al-Andalus in the year 408 Bonhom

II.M. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينر بالاندلس سنة تسع اربعماية
In the name of God this dinar was struck in al-Andalus in the year 409



Fig. 2. Mancus issued in the name of al-Qāsim b. Ḥammūd by Bonhom. BNP (Lavoix 1124)

This first type takes as a model an original type which remains unknown to this day. The same occurs with the second type (Ariza Imit. 3) and its inscriptions read:

⁵³ Balaguer stated that we should not believe the mancuses were minted exactly on the date that appears on the die, although close to it (Balaguer 1993: 25). However, not only does the historical context show that they could well have been minted on the dates that appear, but also that they coincide or are very close to those of the models they imitate.

⁵⁴ The first references in Christian textual sources to the mancuses of Bonhom date from the year 1010 and extend until 1030, with a more isolated mention in the year 1064 (Cf. Balaguer 1993: 25, note 56).

⁵⁵ Lavoix 1124. Cf. Balaguer 1993: 142, no. 12; Ariza Armada 2010,1: 604; 2015: 345.

I. A.		II. A.	
لا اله الا	<i>There is no god but</i>	الامام القاسم	<i>The Imām al-Qāsim</i>
الله وحده	<i>God, Alone</i>	المأمون	<i>al-Ma'mūn</i>
لا شريك له	<i>He has no partner</i>	امير المؤمنين	<i>Emir of the believers</i>
محمد	<i>Muḥammad</i>	BONNOM	<i>Bonhom</i>

- I. M. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينر بمدينة برشونة سنة اربع عشر و اربعمائة
In the name of God this dinar was struck in the city of Barcelona in the year 414
- II. M. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينر بمدينة برشونة سنة اربع عشر و اربعمائة
In the name of God this dinar was struck in the city of Barcelona in the year 414



Fig. 3. Mancus issued in the name of al-Qāsim b. Ḥammūd by Bonhom. ANS 1959.86.1.

To date, we know of only one specimen of this second type, published by Miles, and which belongs to the collection of the American Numismatic Society (ANS 1959.86.1) (Fig. 3)⁵⁶. Its identifying characteristic is the central legend on the reverse framed in an octogram formed by two intersecting squares. Ibrahim assumed that this type of mancus imitated a still unknown coinage issued by al-Qāsim, during his second caliphate, taking as a model a previous type with an octogram of Yaḥyā from the year 413/1022-1023 (ArizaYa2)⁵⁷. However, a type from the caliph Sulaymān with an octogram has recently become known, prior to the coin of Yaḥyā being issued⁵⁸. Therefore, it seems rather that both caliphs took Sulaymān's issue as a model, adopting the symbol for their own benefit.

As mentioned, neither of these two types coined by Bonhom correspond to any of the known types of caliph al-Qāsim, since the name Muḥammad does not appear in either of them on the obverse, under the central legend. Yet it is their existence that

⁵⁶ Miles 1962: 683–693; Balaguer 1993: 143, no. 13.

⁵⁷ Ibrahim 1990: 266. On the type of reference and the octogram and its possible relationship with the *Rub' al-hizb*, cf. Ariza Armada 2010,1: 323; 2015: 178–182; 2020: 77–78.

⁵⁸ Ariza Armada 2020.

demonstrates the existence of the as-yet-unknown types that they imitate, since the choice of model types was carefully thought out⁵⁹.

Therefore, the fact that some typologies were issued in which the name of Muḥammad appeared on the obverse under the central legend seems to confirm that, from the very beginning, Muḥammad played an extremely prominent role together with his father, even before Qāsim temporarily considered the possibility of his other son, Ḥasan, becoming heir and of his second government in Cordoba⁶⁰.

Secondly, it is noteworthy that, in both types, the typical quranic legend in the margin of the reverse (Qu'rān, 9:33) was replaced by the *basmala*-specimen-mintmark-year formula, typical of the obverse. We do not encounter this in the type in the name of 'Alī b. Ḥammūd. Based on the information available to date, it is not possible to know with any certainty whether or not it was an error. However, the fact that the legend that was removed is the one that refers to the prevalence of Islam over other religions, compels us to consider the likelihood of an intentional act, specifically, to avoid the use of the only legend that conflicted with the Jewish religion of the coiner, Bonhom, as well as the count's one. It is important to note that the religious conflict inherent in Christian imitations of Islamic coinage was an issue that concerned religious authorities⁶¹ and the historiography that has dealt with this topic⁶².

There is no evidence to show that the Jewish moneyer minted under the count's orders, so he could well have minted on his own initiative, as has already been mentioned. Moreover, we shall see that the count's name appears in subsequent types, so this instance could well have represented an attempt to regain control of coinage in his territory, which would reaffirm Bonhom's possible autonomy⁶³. However, this hypothesis cannot be confirmed either, and the fact that he is so frequently mentioned in the documentation suggests a certain "official nature" of his mintings. This idea is supported by the fact that Bonhom's mancuses were valued just like the Andalusī mancuses, and their equivalence was established: 7 mancuses = 1 ounce⁶⁴. In addition, that his name appears on the coin suggests that he may have been more than an ordinary moneyer, particularly if we consider the fact that, on the one hand, we know that there

⁵⁹ Contrary to what has been previously claimed (for example, Crusafont 1982: 50). Cf. Ariza Armada 2015: 341–343. The possibility of a mixture of types is ruled out as the name Muḥammad does not appear on the obverse of Ḥammūdīd issues until the caliphate of Idrīs II.

⁶⁰ It was in Seville where al-Qāsim must have abandoned the idea of having his son, Ḥasan, succeed him in the caliphate, as it was his other son, Muḥammad, who appeared on the coins as heir from the moment al-Qāsim regained power in Cordoba for the second time (413/1023) (Ariza Armada 2015: 149–150, 152–155; 2018: 183).

⁶¹ We are reminded of the concern of Pope Clement IV, or that of Saint Louis King of France, over the fact that *millareses* were minted in imitation of the Almohad dirhams (Ariza Armada 2014: 100–101), or the bilingual peace treaty between the county of Barcelona and the taifa of Denia (449/1085), to which I shall return below, in which the information regarding the mentioning of the Andalusī sovereign in the churches of the county appears only in the Arabic text (Bruce 2013: 184–185).

⁶² Ariza Armada 2010,1: 608; 2015: 502–503.

⁶³ Crusafont & Balaguer 1981: 44–51; Balaguer 1984: 314–315; Crusafont 1982: 50; 1996: 66–67.

⁶⁴ Equivalence featured in Balaguer 1993: 27.

were other Jewish moneyers in Barcelona whose names do not appear on the coins⁶⁵ and, on the other, that there were Jewish courtiers⁶⁶.

As for the mintmarks that are featured in these types, the first is *al-Andalus* and the second is *Madīnat Barshinūna* (City of Barcelona). This is certainly not a minor issue. Just like in the case of choosing which types are minted, I do not believe that this was an arbitrary matter, but that it was determined by the political situation.

In the case of the *al-Andalus* mintmark issue, it should also be noted that there is a variation in the dates that appear on the obverse and the reverse. While it may be a simple mistake, although it does not seem justified in such a well-made piece, we should not rule out the possibility that it could have been intentional. If so, it could be an inverse reference to the Christian year of 1018, when Berenguer Ramon I came to power. As already noted, it is at this time that references in the documents regarding this coiner first appear.

Thus, the first of Bonhom's types was minted with the *al-Andalus* mintmark in the year 408–409/1018, after the defeat of 'Abd al-Raḥmān IV. Three years of peace followed in which the sovereignty of the Hammūdids was not questioned, neither in the peninsular territory nor in North Africa. This first issue of coins would therefore reflect the recognition of caliph al-Qāsim. The second type, with the *Madīnat Barshinūna* mintmark, is from the year 414/1023–1024. Since his first government in Cordoba, al-Qāsim had counted on the recognition of Mundhir b. Yaḥyā al-Tujībī⁶⁷. Given the alliance between the latter and the county of Barcelona, this issue may well have been the testimony of the count's recognition of the cause of al-Qāsim against that of his nephew Yaḥyā b. 'Alī, who disputed the caliphate from Malaga. A position that placed him in line with his Andalusī ally. In the same way that the Tujībids minted dinars with the mintmark *Madīnat Saraquṣṭa* (City of Zaragoza), at least from 415/1024–1025, the count did the same by mentioning the name of the county capital⁶⁸.

3.3. The mancuses issued in the name of Yaḥyā b. 'Alī

For the classification of the mancuses in the name of Yaḥyā b. 'Alī, we have six different types based on Balaguer's previous proposals⁶⁹. With the exception of one hybrid type represented by two specimens with an obverse in the name of al-Ḥakam II and a reverse in the name of Yaḥyā of undetermined origin (Ariza, Imit.4), all the other

⁶⁵ There are documented properties belonging to Jewish moneyers in present-day Paradis Street, in the Jewish quarter of Barcelona (Mora 2002: 40).

⁶⁶ Ibn 'Idhārī mentions that Ramon Borrell had a Jewish minister who fought and died in the battle of the Guadiaro (Ibn 'Idhārī 1930: 98). The mention of the Jewish minister is further evidence of the importance of the Sephardic community in Barcelona at this time. Regarding the Jewish community of Barcelona and courtiers in this period cf. Baer 1981: 41–42; Planas & Forcano 2009: 26–28, 81–84.

⁶⁷ After his death, al-Qāsim also had the recognition of his son Yaḥyā b. Mundhir, who will mint coins in his name with the title of *ḥājib* (Ariza Armada 2010, 1: 226, 243, 297–299; 2015: 160–161).

⁶⁸ This had been the practice in the case of silver coins since the first issues in the name of the Carolingian sovereigns (Charlemagne, Louis the Pious and Charles the Bald). In the case of the mancuses, they overtook the Zaragoza mint by one year, although possibly Zaragoza also minted in the same year, and we don't yet know of any coinage being issued.

⁶⁹ Cf. Ariza Armada 2015: 346–349.

types take the same Yaḥyā b. ‘Alī dinar type as a model: the Ariza Ya11 type. We know specimens of this type minted between 417/1026–1027 and 426/1034–1035, all from the Ceuta mint⁷⁰. Therefore, they all have the same central legend:

I. A.		II. A.	
قا	<i>Qā</i>	ولى العهد	<i>Walī al-‘ahd</i>
لا اله الا	<i>There is no god but</i>	الامام يحيى	<i>The Imām Yaḥyā</i>
الله وحده	<i>God, Alone</i>	المعتلى بالله	<i>al-Mu‘talī bi-Llāh</i>
لا شريك له	<i>He has no partner</i>	امير المؤمنين	<i>Emir of the believers</i>
سم	<i>sim</i>	ادريس	<i>Idrīs</i>

Of this entire series of mancuses, only those of the Ariza Imit.5 type have a legible date. These are specimens dated in the years 417/1026–1027 and 418/1027–1028⁷¹. As in previous typologies, in the current one, the quranic legend typically featured on the marginal legend of the reverse is replaced by the repetition of the formula *basmalā*-specimen-mintmark-year.

- I. M. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينر بمدينة سبتة سنة سبع و عشر
In the name of God this dinar was struck in Madīnat Sabta in the year [4]17
- II. M. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينر بمدينة سبتة سنة سبع
In the name of God this dinar was struck in Madīnat Sabta in the year [41]7



Fig. 4. Mancus issued in the name of Yaḥyā b. ‘Alī, year 417/1026–1027. BNP (Lavoix 1116)

Balaguer attributed them to the mint of Barcelona because of the quality of their execution and also because, like all the others, their chronology falls between the first mention of the moneyer Bonhom and the date of his death (1036)⁷². Although it is true that the replacement of the quranic legend on the reverse may support this theory, or at least the possible Jewish origin of the moneyer, this attribution is questionable since there is no explanation to justify the current absence of Bonhom’s name.

⁷⁰ Cf. Ariza Armada 2015: 202.

⁷¹ Lavoix 1116 and Balaguer 16 respectively.

⁷² Balaguer 1984: 315–316; 1993: 26, 144, no. 15.

The rest of the types have coarse characters that make it impossible to read the marginal legends (Imit. 6), very coarse legends (Imit. 7), or those that are so coarse that it is impossible to know which coin type they imitate (Imit. 8). Undoubtedly, the explanation for this phenomenon lies in the existence of different minters.

Since the reference type for these mancuses was minted between 417/1026–1027 and 426/1034–1035, they must have been minted in this time frame or immediately after. This chronological framework coincides with the government of Berenguer Ramon I⁷³. Just as in the case of the type of the mancus of Barcelona, they are the testimony of the political position of the county with respect to Andalusī politics and of the recognition of the caliphate of Yaḥyā b. ‘Alī. However, the known dates indicate that the count was, at that moment, far from the political position of the taifa of Zaragoza: when Yaḥyā b. ‘Alī regained power in Cordoba, after the deposition and flight of Muḥammad III al-Mustakfī, the Tujībids gave up the cause of al-Qāsim, completely abandoned the recognition of the Ḥammūdīd caliphate and started coining in the name of the generic *imām* ‘Abd Allāh (416/1025–1026) and the last Umayyad, Hishām III⁷⁴. This distancing must have occurred in 417/1026–1027, the year of the first dated mancus, since we know of a type of mancus with the name of Bonhom, with illegible marginal legends, in the name of the *imām* ‘Abd Allāh imitating Tujībīd coinage⁷⁵. All this seems to show that after the death of Mundhir, the alliance between the county of Barcelona and the taifa of Zaragoza was broken or, at least, declined, even before the Hūdīd dynasty came to power.

Lastly, the type Ariza Imit.9 (Balaguer 18) is worth mentioning as it is characterized by bearing the name of the count of Barcelona in Latin characters as a marginal legend on the reverse (Fig. 5). Like the rest of the mancuses in the name of Yaḥyā b. ‘Alī, this type mimics the Ariza Ya11 one. These bilingual coins (although we must not forget that those bearing the Bonhom name are also bilingual) have the following monetary legends:

I. .		II. A.	
القا	<i>Al-Qā</i>	ولى العهد	<i>Walī al-ahd</i>
لا اله الا	<i>There is no god but</i>	الامام يحيى	<i>The Imām Yaḥyā</i>
الله وحده	<i>God, Alone</i>	المعتلى بالله	<i>al-Mu‘talī bi-Llāh</i>
لا شريك له	<i>He has no partner</i>	امير المومنين	<i>Emir of the believers</i>
سم	<i>sim</i>	ادريس	<i>Idrīs</i>

I. M.:

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينر بمدينة

In the name of God this dinar was struck in Madīnat

II. M.: RAIMVNDVS COMES

⁷³ Balaguer (1993: 144) attributes this type to Ramon Berenguer I (1035–1075).

⁷⁴ Ariza Armada 2010, 1: 298–289; 2015: 161.

⁷⁵ Lavoix 1125, Crusafont 47, Balaguer 14. Please note that Lavoix (1887: 522) classifies it as an imitation of ‘Abbādid coinage. Bonhom died between 1034 and 1035, and from 1037 onwards, Christian sources speak of the mancuses of Eneas, which are identified with those who imitate the dinars of Yaḥyā with a coarse style (Botet i Sisó 1908: 45; Balaguer 1993: 26).



Fig. 5. Bilingual mancus issued in the name of Yaḥyā b. ‘Alī. Numismatic Cabinet of Catalonia (Reg. 015151-N)

Three variants can be attributed to this type, depending on the position of the letters of the Latin legend⁷⁶.

The attribution of this type to Ramon Berenguer I (1035–1076) is commonly accepted, though it has been much discussed⁷⁷. If the attribution is correct, the highly debated problem regarding coins with the Islamic profession of faith being minted by the pious Christian count (“*Propugnator et murus christiani populi*”) can be resolved by the fact that they responded to the need to be accepted both by the Muslim population as well as the Christian one, without posing an economic or legitimacy issue, since the sovereign prerogative to mint gold coinage was lacking⁷⁸.

However, another factor must be taken into account in order to understand the inclusion of the count’s name on the coins: the balance of power between Andalusī and Christian territories had already changed substantially by this time. Ramon Berenguer I was the first Christian ruler to collect *parias*, receiving huge sums of dinars from the neighboring taifas of Lerida and Zaragoza⁷⁹, which allowed him to increase his power compared to the rest of the Catalan counties.

There is another element that can justify this further. If at the end of the government of his predecessor, the county and the taifa of Zaragoza were estranged, as the mancuses seem to confirm, a close alliance with ‘Alī b. Mujāhid of Denia occurred during the government of Ramon Berenguer I, who was facing pressure from the taifa of Zaragoza, which was now in the hands of the Hūdids. A document from 449/1085 testifies that there was an agreement whereby the bishop of Barcelona had spiritual jurisdiction over the Christians of the taifa of Denia and, in return, the name of ‘Alī b.

⁷⁶ Cf. Ariza Armada 2015: 348–349.

⁷⁷ Regarding the different attributions and the aforementioned debate cf. Ariza Armada 2010, 1: 608; 2015: 348–349.

⁷⁸ Cf. Ariza Armada 2010, 1: 608–609; 2015: 349.

⁷⁹ Bruce 2013: 181–182.

Mujāhid had to be mentioned in the churches of the county, in the same way that Muslims did in the *khutba*, as a sign of recognition of his sovereignty and as a way of legitimizing it⁸⁰.

Bearing in mind that this agreement marked the renewal of a previous one that must have been signed by his father, Mujāhid, probably starting with 1034, the problem of the remoteness in time of the imitated original type seems to disappear, especially if one takes into account that the model dinars were minted between 417/1026–1027 and 426/1034–1035. Thus, the mancuses could well respond to the agreement between Mujāhid and the count of Barcelona, that dates to the first years of his rule. But why then imitate a Ḥammūdīd type? Because from the deposition of Hishām III (422/1031), who took refuge in the court of Sulaymān b. Hūd of Lerida, and was recognized by Mundhir of Zaragoza, until the proclamation of the alleged Hishām II in Seville the year 435/1043–1044, there was no other caliph to recognize than the Ḥammūdīd one⁸¹. At the time, this was an element of legitimacy still necessary in order to mint gold coins.

4. A Cordoba–Barcelona–Kyiv connection

A special mention is worth making of the aforementioned type Ariza Imit. 6, which imitates in a crude way the Arabic letters of the Ariza Ya11 one. Although their specimens are of undetermined origin, they bear a certain resemblance to those attributed to the Barcelona mint⁸². The specimens of the only two coin hoards known to date containing mancuses correspond to this type and, therefore, to the only type of mancuses that have been found in an archaeological context. We are referring to the treasure of Odena and the treasure of Kyiv.

4.1. The treasure of Odena (Barcelona, Spain)

This treasure was discovered in 1943 in Odena (Igualada, Barcelona)⁸³, by workers at the Odena quarry⁸⁴. In the Numismatic Cabinet of Catalonia (Barcelona) eleven coins are preserved as belonging to said find (one Yaḥyā al-Mu‘talī dinar and ten mancuses). The importance of this find lies, fundamentally, in the fact that an original

⁸⁰ For more information regarding this controversial document cf. Bruce 2013: 182–189.

⁸¹ Ariza Armada 2010, 1: 250–252. This acknowledgment did not conflict with his alliance with Mujāhid. The latter had systematically supported all Umayyad restoration attempts against the Ḥammūdīds, leading the conquest of Cordoba in 417/1026, when Yaḥyā b. ‘Alī left the city for Malaga, never to return. He had even proclaimed al-Mustansir in his own territories and would later support the cause of the alleged Hishām II raised in Seville in the year 435/1043–1044, minting coins in his name. However, between the two dates, in the absence of an Umayyad caliph to acknowledge, he probably had no choice but to recognize the Ḥammūdīd one, as a means of legitimation. In fact, we know that he was one of the ‘Āmirīds who reconciled with al-Qāsim (Codera 1877: 440, no. 15; Ariza Armada 2010, 1: 291) even having considered the possibility of a coinage of Mujāhid in the name of al-Qāsim (type Ariza Qā23) (Cf. Ariza Armada 2015: 155–156).

⁸² Balaguer 1993: 142, no. 11.

⁸³ Mateu y Llopis 1946; 1949: 203; Crusafont, Balaguer & Puig 1979; Canto 1992.

⁸⁴ Mateu y Llopis studied “*four of the ten or twelve coins found*” thanks to the fact that they were preserved by Mr. Miguel Ball, since the rest of the find was dispersed (Mateu y Llopis 1946: 392). Seeing as the study by Mateu y Llopis does not provide metrological data or any type of reference, it is difficult to identify the coins it describes.

specimen (dinar) and copies (mancuses) coexist. The dinar is from the year 424/1032–1033 with the mintmark *Madīnat Sabta* (Ariza Ya11.11)⁸⁵.

4.2. *The treasure of Kyiv (Ukraine)*

In 2012, a coin that for more than a century had been cataloged in the Hermitage Museum in Saint Petersburg as a dinar of the Ḥammūdid caliph Yaḥyā b. ‘Alī was identified as a mancus. The specimen came from the Kyiv Treasury, which was discovered by chance in 1899 when work was being carried out on the construction of a greenhouse. A ceramic amphora was uncovered about 35 cm from the surface, containing three gold and iron bracelets; two gold bars; and twenty coins, of which fifteen were Byzantine solids minted between the years 963 and 1059. Part of the treasure was dispersed, so it is possible that among the missing pieces there could have been more mancuses or dinars. Its burial was dated between the years 1060 and 1070⁸⁶.

The important treasure of Kyiv shows that the mancuses issued in the name of the Ḥammūdid caliphs circulated beyond the Iberian Peninsula, reaching territories as far away as the ancient Principality of Kyiv⁸⁷. It has been claimed that this find represents the numismatic testimony of the role played by Sephardic merchants in European trade, especially linked with the *ṣaqāliba* slave trade, during the 5th/11th century, although also before and after this date, and specifically of their contacts with the Jewish community of Kyiv⁸⁸.

It is true that the existence of a unique specimen in a single find could be due to multiple factors. However, it is interesting to put the find in context. We know of the contacts between the Sephardic community and the Khazarian community in the 4th/10th century, as evidenced by the famous letter of Ḥasday b. Shaprut to the king of the Khazars⁸⁹. We also know that in the 5th/11th century, the letter was well known among the Sephardics, and it was ca. 1139–1140 when Juda Halevi, from the taifa of Zaragoza, wrote *The Kuzari*, a dialogue between a supposed king of the Khazars, a Muslim, a Christian and a Jew⁹⁰. The contacts between the Sephardic communities and those of the principality of Kyiv, of which the mancus is evidence, may have favored the interest among the Sephardic population in this important work.

5. Conclusions

Similar to other Christian powers in the north of the Iberian Peninsula, the Catalan counts supported one or another Andalusī caliph during the civil war that divided al-Andalus into independent taifa kingdoms. These alliances allowed them to receive a large

⁸⁵ Reading and cataloging that corrects the previous one made by Mateu y Llopis. More details in Ariza Armada 2010,1:86–87; 2015: 89–91).

⁸⁶ Kuleshov 2012.

⁸⁷ Cf. Ariza Armada 2015: 57–58, 70–71.

⁸⁸ Kuleshov 2012: 215.

⁸⁹ Cf. Stampfer 2013; Martínez Delgado 2012.

⁹⁰ Ha-Levi 1964; Shear 2008.

flow of gold to be able to produce their own golden coinage, the mancuses. In this way, they had coins that could circulate both among the Andalusi populations and among those of their territories.

The fact that the Catalan counts were *de facto* vassals and allies of the caliphs whose coins they imitated (which doesn't occur in the case of other mancuses) allows us to consider the possibility that the reasons for this type of coinage were not only economic, but rather that the political context was decisive in the minting of the mancuses. These must have been struck on the dates that appear on their dies and in the chronological framework of the reference models, or immediately thereafter. Furthermore, it seems that the imitated types were not chosen arbitrarily or randomly. By taking these two elements into account and analyzing them in their historical context, we can find an explanation as to why the model types were the dinars of the first three Ḥammūdīd caliphs and not the Umayyads, as might have been expected based on their political and military alliances.

At least during the *fitna*, the minting of dinars and dirhams was a prerogative that the caliph granted to prominent figures in exchange for their recognition and loyalty. Like the rest of the local powers of al-Andalus, the Catalan counts could well have received this prerogative, which implied a recognition of sovereignty.

The Catalan counts initially supported the caliphs who represented the legitimist Umayyad cause, but once they were defeated and in the absence of a caliph who represented the Marwānīd cause, they had to acknowledge the sovereignty of the Ḥammūdīds. And, therefore, that of the first three Ḥammūdīds as legitimate sovereigns of al-Andalus, using such recognition as an element of legitimacy for the minting of gold coins.

Therefore, we can conclude that the minting of these mancuses was a result of the acknowledgement of the sovereignty of the Ḥammūdīd caliphs, reflecting the political alliances of the counts of Barcelona with the different powers of al-Andalus.

Finally, these mancuses are a testimony of the importance of the Sephardic community in the county of Barcelona, as well as of the religious and commercial networks of the Sepharads beyond the Mediterranean and the Islamic East, with the Principality of Kyiv.

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