

A Rare Dirham in the Name of the Mamluk Sultan Al-Mansūr Muhammad Minted in Mawsil (763 AH)

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ملخص:

يحتفظ المتحف اليوناني الروماني بالإسكندرية بدرهم نادر باسم السلطان المملوكي المنصور صلاح الدين محمد، يحمل مكان سكه وهو الموصل ومؤرخ بسنة ٧٦٣ هـ. ومن المعروف أن الموصل مدينة تابعة للدولة الجلائرية في العراق. وقد نشر بالوج في سنة ١٩٦٤م درهماً مماثلاً لكن لم يسجل له مكان السك وهو مضروب بالقلب ذاته بالوجه والظهر؛ مما يؤكد أنه من ضرب الموصل أيضاً. ويلاحظ أن قلب السك بالوجه والذي يشتمل على العبارات الدينية، مماثل للنقود الجلائرية. أما قلب الظهر والذي يحمل اسم وألقاب السلطان المملوكي المنصور صلاح الدين محمد ومكان وتاريخ السك فقد نفذ بخط الثلث المملوكي. وفي ضوء الكتابات المنقوشة على هذه الدراهم وما ورد في المصادر التاريخية، فإن المناسبة التي ضربت فيها هذه الدراهم ترتبط بالتحالف السياسي بين الدولة المملوكية في مصر والشام والدولة الجلائرية في العراق، وهو ما سوف نلقي عليه الضوء بمزيد من التفصيل في هذا البحث.

Paul Balog published his monograph *The Coinage of the Mamluk Sultans of Egypt and Syria* in 1964. One of the coins he mentioned was a dirham minted in the name of the Mamluk Sultan al-Mansūr Salah al-Din Muhammad (762-764 AH/1361-1363 BCE).¹ This coin was preserved in the collection of Mustafa Beyram Bey.² Its inscriptions are as follows:



(Pl. 1) AR. Mawsil 763 AH. Al-Mansūr Salah al-Din Muhammad, Greco-Roman Museum in Alexandria.



(Fig. 1) AR Mawsil 763 AH. al-Mansūr Salah al-Din Muhammad, Greco-Roman Museum in Alexandria (Inv. 27641, W. 2.07 grams, D. 18mm., unpub.)

Rev.	Obv.
السلطان الملك المنصور	الله
صلاح الدنيا والدين	لا إله إلا
محمد بن حاجي بن الملك	محمد
الناصر محمد بن قلاوون	رسول الله

The around field of the observer Margin has the names of four Caliphs; right (sic) 'بوبركر', above 'عمر', left 'عثمان', and below 'علي'.

The reverse margin reads: above 'سنة', left 'ثلاثة', below 'وستين', right 'وسبعماية'.

Balog indicated that the obverse inscriptions were done in 'Turkoman kufic', and identified it as mint missing but probably Aleppo. Ramadan Salah re-studied this dirham in his dissertation but he did not attribute this dirham to Aleppo as Balog did. Instead, he mentioned that the mint was unknown.³



(Fig. 2) AR Mawsil 722 AH, type D in the name of ILkhanid sultan Abū Saīd Bahader Khan preserved in FINT, Tübingen university (Inv.GH10C3, W. 3.59 grams, unpub.)



(Pl. 2) AR Mawsil 722 AH, type D in the name of ILkhanid Sultan Abū Saīd Bahader Khan

When I studied the collection of Islamic coins preserved in the Greco-Roman Museum in Alexandria, I found a dirham similar to this one from the collection of Mustafa Beyram Bey in the name of the Sultan al-Mansūr Salah al-Din Muhammad, minted in Mawsil in the same year 763 AH (Inv. 27641, Weight 2.07 grams., D. 18 mm. Fig. 1, Pl.1 unpublished.). The Obverse field within three circles: inner beaded, the reverse within circle:

Rev.	Obv.
السلطان الملك المنصور	الله
صلاح الدنيا والدين	لا إله إلا
محمد بن حاجي بن الملك	ضرب
الناصر محمد بن قلاوون	محمد
	موصل
	رسول الله

Obv. field ornament right and left 'ضرب/موصل'.

Obv. margin, around field was the names of four Caliphs, right (sic) 'بوكرك', above 'عمر', left 'عثمان', below 'علي'.

Rev. margin, above 'سنة', left 'ثلاثة', below 'وستين', right 'وسبعماية'.

The inscriptions on this dirham are exactly similar to the dirham in the Mustafa Beyram Collection. This dirham of the Greco-Roman Museum, however, carried the mint name in the obverse field 'ضرب\موصل'(Minted at Mawsil).

The existence of 'Mawsil' on this dirham cleared some of the mystery around the occasion on which these two dirhams were struck. However, there is evidence that al-Mawsil was one of the countries that submitted to the Jalayrid dynasty but witnessed some revolutions. It was occupied by Khawaja Morgan in 759 AH, then by Sultan Shah Khazen in 760 AH. Khawja Morgan later returned to occupy the city in 769 AH, until his death in 775 AH according to Zambaur.⁴

Abbas Iqbal mentioned that Al-Mawsil was in this period under the control of the Turkoman led by Beyram Khawaja, the brother of Qara Muhammad the leader of Turkoman, who helped the Jalayrid Sultan, Shaykh Uways who was successful in occupying Al-Mawsil in 766 AH.⁵

Ibn Kathir mentioned during the events of 763 AH:⁶
(وفي جمادى الآخرة توجه الرسول من الديار المصرية ومعه صناع خليفية و سلطانية وتقالييد و خلع و تحف لصاحبي الموصل وسنجان من جهة صاحب مصر ليخطب له فيهما، وولي قاضي القضاة تاج الدين الشافعي السبكي الحاكم بدمشق لقاضييهما من جهته تقليدين،

حسب ما أخبرني بذلك، و أرسلنا مع ما أرسل به السلطان الي البلدين، وهذا أمر عريب لم يقع مثله فيما تقدم فيما أعلم، والله أعلم).

The importance of this information lies in the fact that it sheds light on many complicated historical events in this revolution, but unfortunately Ibn Kathir did not mention the name of the ruler of Al-Mawsil as he said.

I think, mostly, these two dirhams were struck in Al-Mawsil during the control of Turkoman under the leadership of Beyram Khawaja. That is why Beyram struck these two dirham in the name of the Mamluk Sultan Al-Mansūr Salah Al-Din Muhammad, as an evidence of his submission to him. He also made the Friday sermon (Al-Khutba) in his name in Al-Mawsil seeking his financial military help against Shaykh Uways, the Jalayrid particularly that Beyram Khawaja missed the help for all Turkoman after his brother Qara Muhammad joined Shaykh Uways.

Back to coins. There are two obverse dies; the first dirham preserved in the Mustafa Beyram collection did not carry the mint name (if it was read correctly). As for the second, 'موصل\ضرب' preserved in the collection of the Greco-Roman Museum, it carried the mint name in the obverse field between the ornament.

The inscriptions on both obverse dies are in Kufic script. This style was completely similar to the type of inscriptions used on the dirhams of the Ilkhanid Sultan Abū Saīd Bahader Khan (716-736 AH/1316-1335 CE) especially type D (Pentagon Type, 722-724 AH). The arrangement of the inscriptions was also similar. We found the first word in one line. The word 'الله' (Allah) was inscribed in the first line above الله. The second word was inscribed in the second and third lines. Furthermore, the mint name was inscribed on the dirham of the Greco-Roman Museum collection between the first and second lines 'ضرب', and between the second and third lines 'موصل'. We notice that the

mint name 'Al-Mawsil' (الموصل) was recorded, without the Arabic definite article of definition 'ال'. This was the style used on the Ilkhanid coins. The names of the Orthodox Caliphs 'Bū Bakr (sic) بو بكر/Umar عمر/Uthman عثمان/علي 'علي' were inscribed around the field in the four directions: right, above, left, below.

To simplify the comparison, we could show a dirham minted in Mawsil 722 AH, type D in the name of Ilkhanid Sultan Abū Saīd Bahader Khan preserved in FINT, Tübingen University (Inv. GH10C3, W. 3.59 grams, Fig. 2, Pl. 2, unpublished; Inv. GH10C4, weight 3.53 grams; Inv. 2002-20-1300, W. 3.54 grams). Obverse within three circles, the middle is beaded, field:



The names of the Orthodox Caliphs were inscribed around the field. It moves clockwise, but starts from above the field. They were similar to the two previous dirhams. We also notice that the ornament, it was the same that appeared on the dirham of the Greco-Roman Museum Collection. It was the same ornament that appeared on the pentagon type from Abū Saīd dirhams that appeared on many coins from the other mints.⁷

We conclude from this comparison that these two dirhams minted in al-Mawsil (763 AH), perhaps used in striking both obverses ancient dies from the period of Abū Saīd or perhaps it was an imitation for it. If the use of ancient dies was the closer to the conditions of minting these two dirhams. They were struck during the period of revolution. The circumstances were not suitable to make new dies particularly that the working in mint of al-Mawsil stopped after 741 AH.⁸

Thus, the halt in Al-Mawsil mint and the revolution did not allow Al-Mawsil mint to make new dies for striking but they used older dies from the Ilkhanid era. Particularly, the field of the reverse for these two dirhams minted in al-Mawsil AH 763, were used in striking which was not produced by al-Mawsil but by one of Bahri Mamluk state's mint. This would be discussed now, we noticed that the two dirhams previous reverse used one die in striking and its inscriptions are in Naskhi script of most Mamluk coins. The inscriptions were arranged carrying the name of the Mamluk sultan and his titles according to the following traditions on the Mamluk coins. We noticed that the die used in striking the dirhams of al-Mawsil under the name of al-Sultan al-Mansūr Salah al-Din Muhammad had been made particularly for this purpose, because the arrangement of the lines in this die differs a little from the other dies used in the minting of dinars and dirhams by the name of al-Sultan al-Mansūr Salah al-Din Muhammad. Concerning dinars, we have a dinar struck in Cairo in AH 763. (Tübingen, Inv. CG8A2, W. 7.62 grams. Fig. 3, Pl. 3, unpublished).

Inscriptions within double-looped circles:

Obv.	Rev.
الله	ضرب بالقاهرة سنة ثلاث
وما النصر إلا من عند	السلطان الملك المنصور صلاح الدنيا
لا إله إلا الله محمد	والدين محمد بن الملك المظفر حاجي بن
رسول الله أرسله بالهدى	الملك الناصروسنتين وسبعماية
ودين الحق ليظهره على	
الدين كله	

These inscriptions appeared on the dinars of al-Mansūr Salah al-Din Muhammad minted in Cairo in 762 AH,⁹ 763 AH,¹⁰ 764 AH,¹¹ and Alexandria 762 AH,¹² 764 AH.¹³ However, on the dinars of Damascus (763 AH),¹⁴ the inscriptions of obverse came such as the dinars of Cairo and Alexandria but the inscriptions of reverse as follows:

Rev.

ضرب بدمشق سنة ثلاث
السلطان الملك المنصور
صلاح الدنيا والدين محمد
بن الملك المظفر حاجي
وستين وسبعماية

On the dinars of Damascus, there was another type but the date is missing,¹⁵ Reverse:

Rev.

ضرب بدمشق
السلطان الملك المنصور
صلاح الدنيا والدين محمد بن
الملك المظفر حاجي بن الملك
الناصر محمد بن قلاوون

On the type of dirhams minted in the name of al-Mansūr Salah al-Din Muhammad such as a dirham without mint or date (Tübingen Univ. Coll. Inv. CG8A3 , Fig. 4, Pl.4 , unpublished), the inscriptions are as follows:



(Fig. 4) AR. Mint and Date Missing. Al-Mansūr Salah al-Din Muhammad, Tübingen Coll. (Inv. CG8A3, UNPUB.)



(Pl. 4) AR. Mint and Date Missing. Al-Mansūr Salah al-Din Muhammad

Rev.	Obv.
[السلطان الملك]	لا إله إلا الله محمد
المنصور صلاح الدين [والدين]	رسول الله أرسله
محمد بن السلطان الملك	بالهدى ودين الحق.
[المظفر] حاجي بن الملك	
الناصر [محمد بن قلاوون].	

The titles taken by al-Mansūr Salah al-Din Muhammad on the dirhams of Al-Mawsil are:

السلطان الملك المنصور صلاح الدين محمد بن
حاجي بن الملك الناصر محمد بن قلاوون.

It differs a little upon the titles used by al-Mansūr Salah al-Din Muhammad on his other coins in Egypt and Syria. We find the titles on the dinars of Cairo and Alexandria:

السلطان الملك المنصور صلاح الدين محمد بن
الملك المظفر حاجي بن الملك الناصر.

on the dinar of Damascus AH 763:

السلطان الملك المنصور صلاح الدين محمد بن
الملك المظفر حاجي.

on the dinar of Damascus without date:

السلطان الملك المنصور صلاح الدين محمد بن
الملك المظفر حاجي بن الملك الناصر محمد بن قلاوون.

on the other dirhams¹⁶

السلطان الملك المنصور صلاح الدين محمد بن السلطان
الملك المظفر حاجي بن الملك الناصر محمد بن قلاوون.

On copper coins:¹⁷

الملك المنصور صلاح الدين محمد بن الملك المظفر
حاجي بن الملك الناصر.

In the light of the previous types from the coins of al-Mansūr Salah al-Din Muhammad, we find that the two dirhams minted in Mawsil were struck by different dies representing a new type not used on the coins minted in Cairo, Alexandria and Damascus for dinars and dirhams.

We conclude from this that the reverse die had been made particularly and sent to al-Mawsil from

one of the Mints in Egypt or Syria to be used in producing these dirhams. According to Ibn Kathir overlord symbols were sent from Egypt to Mawsil; he said:

وفي جمادي الآخرة توجه الرسول من الديار المصرية ومعه
صناجق خليفية و سلطانية وتقاليد و خلع و تحف لصاحبي
الموصل وسنجان من جهة صاحب مصر ليخطب له فيهما

Thus, we can conclude that different dies were used in striking these two dirhams minted in al-Mawsil in 763 AH. Concerning their obverse, there are two dies from the era of the Ilkhanid Sultan Abū Saīd Bahader Khan, Type D, or they may be imitation of these dirhams. As for the reverse, the die was used from the production of the Mamluk mint. Al-Mansūr Salah al-Din Muhammad cared to send the die inscribing on it his own titles which was important for him. Perhaps, he left for the revolutionists in al-Mawsil the freedom to choose the inscriptions on the obverse, whether they were religious inscriptions, or were the names of revolutionists who assigned to him the reign of these countries. All what al-Mansur Salah al-Din Muhammad was interested in was inscribing his name on these dirhams as overlord, proving the submission of these countries to him without any effort.

It remains for us to mention that the mint of these two dirhams was al-Mawsil. This was clear from the dirham of the Greco-Roman Museum collection which had the name of its mint 'Mawsil'. The date of minting these two dirhams was 763 AH inscribed around the inscriptions of the reverse field. This assured that these two dirhams were minted during the occupation by Turkoman of al-Mawsil. This date was inscribed on the die carrying the titles of the al-Mansūr Salah al-Din Muhammad which was sent from Egypt or Syria to al-Mawsil to be used in minting these dirhams.

Notes:

- 1 P. Balog, *The Coinage of the Mamluk Sultans of Egypt and Syria* (New York, 1964), 203, no. 383.
- 2 J. Schulmann, 'Collection Mustafa Beyram bey' (May, 1909), no. 268.
- 3 Ramadan Abū Zaid, *The Mamluk Coinage in Syria and its Monetary* (Ph.D. Diss., Tanta Univ., 2001), 150.
- 4 E. Zambaur, *Mu'jam al-Ansab wa-al-Surat al-hakima fi-al-Tārikh al-Islami* (Cairo, 1951-1952), 61.
- 5 Abbas Iqbal, *The History of Iran After Islam* (Cairo, 1990), 556.
- 6 Imad al-Din Abū Al-fida Ibn Kathir, *Al-Bidayah wa-al-Nihayah*, vol.13 (Cairo), 293; C.f. Ilisch Lutz, *Die Geschichte der Artuqidenherrschaft von Mardin Zwischen Mamluken und Mongolen 1260-1410AD* (Münster, 1985), 118.
- 7 Lane-Poole Stanley, *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum* (1875-1891), vol. VI, nos. 197-209; Ibrahim Artuk, *Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Teshirdeki Islami Sikkeler Kataloğu Cilt II* (Istanbul, 1974), nos. 2250-2258.
- 8 Zambaur, *Die Münzprägungen des Islams* (Wiesbaden, 1968), 251.
- 9 I would like to thank Dr. Ilisch Lutz in FINT, Tübingen Univ.; Stanley, *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum*. vol. IX: additions to vols. I-IV (London, 1889), no. 569 m; O. Codrington, 'On a Hoard of Coins Found at Broach', *JBBRAS* 15 (1882-1883), 339, 347, 370-374, no. 22\1; Balog, *The Mamluk Sultans*, no. 375.
- 10 Lane-poole, Codrington, *JBBRAS* 15, 347, no. 22/3; Balog, *The The Coinage of the Mamluk Sultans of Egypt and Syria Mamluk Sultans*, no. 376.
- 11 Stanley, *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum*, vol. IV: *The Coinage of Egypt* (London, 1879, No. 570; H. Lavoix, *Catalogue des monnaies musulmanes de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, vol. III : *Egypte et Syrie* (Paris, 1896), no. 891-892; Stanley, *Catalogue of the Collection of Arabic Coins Preserved in the Khedivial Library at Cairo* (London, 1897), no. 1531; Codrington, *JBBRAS* 15, 347, no. 22/6, 9, 10; Balog, *The Coinage of The Mamluk Sultans of Egypt and Syria*, no. 377.
- 12 Stanley, *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum*. Vol. IX, no. 569; Codrington, *JBBRAS* 15, 347, no. 22/17, Balog, *The Coinage of the Mamluk Sultans of Egypt and Syria*, no. 378.
- 13 Stanley, *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum*, vol. IX, no. 570d; Stanley, *Catalogue of the Collection of Arabic Coins*, no. 1534; Codrington, *JBBRAS* 15, 347, no. 22/13; Balog, *The Coinage of the Mamluk Sultans of Egypt and Syria*, no. 379.
- 14 Stanley, *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum*, vol. IX, no. 569T; Codrington, *JBBRAS* 15, 347, no. 22/11, 12; Balog, *The Coinage of The Mamluk Sultans of Egypt and Syria*, no. 380.
- 15 J. Da Cunha Gerson, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Numismatic Cabinet Belonging to J. Da Cunha Gerson*, Part I, II, III, IV (Bombay 1888-1889), no. 1486-1487; Codrington, *JBBRAS* 15, 347, no. 23; Balog, *The Coinage of the Mamluk Sultans of Egypt and Syria*, no. 381.
- 16 Balog, *The Coinage of the Mamluk Sultans of Egypt and Syria*, nos. 382, 384.
- 17 Balog, *The Coinage of the Mamluk Sultans of Egypt and Syria*, nos. 385-387.