THE CREDIBILITY OF RELIGIOUS QUOTES ON ISLAMIC NUMISMATICS CONSIDERING ITS ACTUAL HISTORICAL CONTEXT: THE CASE OF ṬARMASHĪRĪN KHAN

Atef Mansour Ramadan1 and Ahmed Ameen2
E-mail: amm06@fayoum.edu.eg1 E-mail: ahmed.ameen@fayoum.edu.eg2
1-2 Islamic Archaeology Dep., Faculty of Archaeology, Fayoum University, Egypt

ABSTRACT

Islamic Numismatics provides many mottoes, nishāns, tamghas and figures that largely reflect the various contexts of its production. An understanding of these contexts, specifically the religious, political, and economic ones, with the help of related historical sources, is required to properly analyse these quotes and figures. These mottoes generally mirror the Sultan’s, or whom these coins have been struck, policy and the different concurrent circumstances and changes. Ṭarmashīrīn coins are an excellent paradigm to show to what extent these mottoes were agreed with the real contexts of their production.

Ṭarmashīrīn was the first certain to convert to Islam from the Chagatai Mongols and took the name ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn. After embracing Islam, he abolished all the Mongol traditions inherited from the time of Genghis Khan. Ṭarmashīrīn began embracing the principles of Islam and made them the official traditions of the Mongol state. The present study investigates one of the most important Islamic traditions embraced by Ṭarmashīrīn as he tried to take it as his state regime. He tried to root the concept that the civilization and urbanism flourished and grew only with Justice; as quoted on his silver coins minted in Samarqand dated 726–727 AH “There is no Civilization except with Justice.”

This paper focuses on discussing this motto on Ṭarmashīrīn coins considering his rule’s period, contexts and his actual behaviour and performance along with his effect on Islamic teachings. In this regard, the paper corrects the misreading of related published coins and publishes new ones for the first time preserved in FINT Tübingen minted in Samarqand 726–727 AH. The paper concludes that the motto “There is no Civilization except with Justice,” which was inscribed on Ṭarmashīrīn’s coins agrees with Islamic culture and represented his vision throughout his rule. Moreover, Ṭarmashīrīn’s behavior mirrored his sincere belief in the meaning of this motto.

Keywords:
Islamic Numismatics, Ṭarmashīrīn; Chagatai; Islamic civilization; coinage; Samarqand
INTRODUCTION

As far as cultural heritage is concerned, Numismatics provides a context for historical knowledge. It also mirrors its era's economic, political, and religious characteristics. Although quotes and signs inscribed on Islamic coins were brief and limited, they bear more than their direct meanings. Quotes, particularly, both qur’anic and non-qur’anic cite the states’ regime, policies, and vision. The careful reading of the related historical sources is essential to recognize the entire meaning of those quotes and signs. Also, the data provided on Islamic coinage helps to solve some problematic issues, about whether the historical sources stated different data or have said nothing.

In this regard, the Arabic phrases recorded on Chagatai coins with particular concern for its first Muslim Khan Ğarmuşirin Sultan, along with their Islamic meaning is an outstanding example.

Chagatai (also spelled Chagatai, Tsagadai, Jagatai, or Chaghatai) khanate bears the name of its founder (d. 1241), the second son of Genghis Khan Chagatai. The second generation divided into two branches: a) the first branch converted to Islam who ruled the territories of Transoxania that are known in Arabic as the Bilād Mā Warāʾ al-Nahr (meaning “Those Countries which Lie Beyond the River”), including Balkh, Bokhara, Samarqand and Marw. The second branch was in the eastern part of the Ulus known as Mogholistan (also known as the land of seven rivers) including the Tarim Basin and Kashgaria. Alghu, a grandson of Chagatai, is considered the founder of an independent Mongol state in Central Asia. Burak Khan (or Barak) who ruled Central Asia 1266-1271. In 1282, after ten years interregnum, Burak’s son Du’a (r. 1282-1307) was raised to the throne. From then the Chagatai Khanate remained in Du’a’s dynasty almost to the time of its extinction. The Chagatai’s throne was occupied by six of Du’a’s sons; among them, Kebek (1318-1326) and Ğarmuşirin (1329-1334). The year when Ğarmuşirin took the Chagatai throne is a point of argument. Whereas Barthold and writers who followed him suggest that Ğarmuşirin ruled from 1326 but his brothers Eljigidey and Du’a Temür

---

1 Such these quotes influenced on both Islamic and non-Islamic heritages, see: Ameen, 2020.
3 Bawden, 2022.
5 About the early Islamic dynasties in these regions such as the Sāmānids and the Ghaznavids and the study of their numismatics, see: Mohammed Sayed Tawfiq Hafez, 2020.
6 Barthold & Boyle, 1986, 3.
7 Barthold & Boyle, 1986, 3.
8 Grousset, 1965.

---
reigned for few months in 1326 after Kebek and before him. On the other hand, concurrent sources state that Eljigidey reigned as the Chagatay Khan from 1326 till 1329, and was succeeded for short time by his brother Du’a Temür, then Țarmashîrin.¹ The latter interpretation is somewhat attested by Arabic sources² that agree Țarmashîrin ruled for six years and was then assassinated in 735 H (1334); so he reigned over the Chagatay 729-735 H (1329-1334).³ Moreover, it seems that Țarmashîrin enjoyed a certain amount of authority in the western part of the khanate during the years 1326-1329, which permits him to strike his own coins. It seems that the brothers Eljigidey, Du’a Temür and Țarmashîrin shared the authority after Kebek for a specific period until Termshîrin ruled alone. This may explain the confusion regarding who reigned the Chagatay during the years 1326-1329 and the striking of anonymous Chagatayid coins during the same period.

**ȚARMASHÎRÎN AND ISLAM**

Most sources and studies,⁴ suggest that Țarmashîrin was the first to convert to Islam from the Chagatay Mongol Khans. In fact, he was the third Chagatay Khan who adopted Islam; but the first one who continued to reign as a Muslim Khan and struck coins with his name. The first two Chagatay Mongol Khans who converted to Islam were Mubârak-Shâh⁵ and his successor Burâq Khan.⁶

Țarmashîrin, as his name declares, was raised as a Buddhist, his name bearing influence from the Sanskrit (Dharmaçrî) that means “venerable in the Dharma (the Buddhist law).”⁷ As was mentioned above, he, adopted Islam and took the name ʻAlâ’ al-Dîn Mohamed and titled with al-Sultan al-A’zam, i.e., the most exalted sultan. The historians said nothing regarding the exact time when Țarmashîrin converted to Islam, nor the reasons beyond his conversion.⁸ The certainty we have on the matter is that he was enthroned within the Chagatay Khanate as a Muslim ruler.

Muslim sources agree that the conversion of Țarmashîrin Khan, though the apostasy interregnum after his martyrdom, paved the way to the overall Islamisation of the Chagatay Khanate, the Mongol state in Central Asia. According to historic sources⁹ and numismatic evidence, Țarmashîrin was keen to follow the rituals and ethics of Islam; he gained a reputation as a pious, just ruler and a self-conscious Muslim. Ibn Batṭûta, the famous traveller who visited Țarmashîrin’s camp near Bukhâra in c. 1333 and stayed there 54 days, recorded various narrations that prove Țarmashîrin’s respect for Muslim divines.¹¹

---

³ The date of his death is also a point of contention among historians, see: al-Jazârî, Târikh Ḥawâdith al-Zamân, 3: 3: 851-52, 922-23.
⁵ Bartold cites that Mubârak-Shâh, the son of Kara-Hulegu and Orkina, was the first Chagatay convert to Islam, who proclaimed Khan in March 1266, and dethroned in the same year by his cousin Burâq Khan. Barthold & Boyle, 1986, 3.
⁶ Burâq Khan, according to Târikh-i Waṣṣâf, adopted Islam before his death and took the title Ghîyâth al-Dîn, see: Barthold & Boyle, 1986.
⁷ Grousset, 1965.
¹⁰ Fedorov, 2002; Mayer, 1998.
Ibn Baṭṭūta provided a rich concurrent account of the Sultan Ţarmashīrīn and his state, commanders, traditions and also the city of Samarqand itself. These accounts prove that the mottoes, i.e., epigraphic insignia, recorded on his coins concerning Justice was not tradition or propaganda but, was really an echo of his behavior and rule policy.

Ibn Baṭṭūta designated him as the Sultan of Transoxiana “Bilād mā warā’ al-nahr” and described him as:

“He is the exalted Sultan ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Ţarmashīrīn, a man of great distinction, possessed of numerous troops and regiments of cavalry, a vast kingdom and immense power, and just in his government. His territories lie between four of the great kings of the earth, namely the king of China, the king of India, the king of al-‘Irāq, and the king Ūzbak, all of whom send him gifts and hold him in high respect and honour. He succeeded to the kingdom after his brother al-Chaghaṭay. This al-Chagaṭay an infidel and succeeded his elder brother Kabak, who was an infidel also, but was just in government, showing equity to the oppressed and favour and respect to the Muslims.”

Ibn Baṭṭūta continued by providing some related situations concerning the Sultan Ţarmashīrīn, which confirm his Justice, respect to religion and religious leaders “faqihs,” fondness for doing charities, and his humility. In this regard, Ibn Baṭṭūta mentioned that Ţarmashīrīn after the Dawn “Ṣobḥ” prayer has been gone to his meeting hall in order to see the peoples’ complaints “listen to each petitioner, young or old, male or female.”

Another situation between the Sultan Ţarmashīrīn and his mosque’s Imam, the jurist Ḫusām al-Dīn al-Ŷāghī declares Ţarmashīrīn’s virtues and keeping to Islamic ethics and rituals. According to Ibn Baṭṭūta, when he attended the ‘aṣr prayer in the Ŧarmashīrīn mosque, the Sultan had not yet come but one of his assistants asked the Imam Ḫusām al-Dīn al-Ŷāghī to hold back the prayer waiting for the Sultan for a moment while he performed his ablution. The jurist Ḫusām al-Dīn al-Ŷāghī refused and said, “Is prayer for God or for Ţarmashīrīn?” He then ordered the muezzin to recite the second call for the prayer. The Sultan arrived late and prayed in the last row where peoples’ shoes are left close to the mosque’s door. He then performed the missed bowings and went up laughing to the Imam Ḫusām al-Dīn al-Ŷāghī to shake his hand, and afterwards, sitting down beside him, opposite the miḥrāb. Ibn Baṭṭūta was alongside the Imam as well; so, the Sultan told him “When you go back to your country, tell how a non-Arab (Ajamay, i.e. Persian) mendicant behaved like this towards the Turks’ Sultan.”

Ṭarmashīrīn’s Islam influenced his close amīrs as is noted in Ibn Baṭṭūta’s account regarding Buruṇṭāiḥ, who was the governor of Ghazna, and Ţarmashīrīn’s close confident amīr. He cited that “This amīr who was a lover of Islām and the Muslims, had constructed in Ghazna about forty zawiyas (hospices) in which food was supplied for free to everyone. He also had under his command many regiments of troops.”

Moreover, according to Mamlūk historians, Ţarmashīrīn appointed his brother as a governor of a city, and he subsequently killed someone; whose family complained to Ţarmashīrīn. The Latter offered monetary compensation (blood money), but they insisted on the qīṣāṣ (equivalence). So, Ţarmashīrīn brought his brother to justice and handed his brother over to them, and then they killed him. This difficult condition attests to what extent Ţarmashīrīn complied with the principles of Islām.

The same sources praise Ţarmashīrīn’s following of Islam describing him as religious and just. He increased his relationship with the Islamic World; abrogated forbidden taxes “mucus,” a move evidently, as al-ʿUmarī said, made his territories become
a magnet for Muslim merchants from as far afield as the Mamlūk territories, who returned home full of his praises. In the same context, Ṭarmashīrīn drew close to the believers and kept the infidels away, abolished all the Mongol traditions inherited from the time of Genghis Khan. The latter action was the main reason beyond Ṭarmashīrīn’s loss of his throne, as Ibn Baṭṭūṭa and Mamlūk historians stated:

“The reason for their [transference of] allegiance to him and deposition of Ṭarmashīrīn was that the latter had contravened the laws of their ancestor, the accursed Genghis, he who, as related above, devastated the lands of Islām. Now Genghis had compiled a book on his laws, which is called by them the Yasāq, and they hold that if any [of the princes] contravenes this book’s laws, his deposition is obligatory. One of its prescriptions is that they shall assemble on one day in each year, which they call the Ṭūy. The descendants of Genghis and the amīrs come from all regions, and the khātūns and army’s senior officers also attend. If their Sultan should have changed any one of those laws their chiefs will rise up before him and say to him, ‘You have changed this and changed that, and you have acted in such and-such a manner and it is now obligatory to depose you.’ They take him by his hand, cause him to rise from the throne of the kingship, and set upon it another of the descendants of Genghis.”

**THE COINAGE OF ṬARMASHĪRĪN**

The study of Ṭarmashīrīn’s coins, with a focus on the Arabic mottoes recorded on them is the main aim of this paper. The numismatics of the Chagataiyid Sultan Ṭarmashīrīn are characterised – in addition to the names and nicknames of the mint centres, dates, and sometimes the Sultan’s name and titles. Special nishāns (horizontal dividing signs in the middle of the coin), tamghas (dynastic or personal signs used by nomads), embellishing arabesque, and specific mottoes are also noted. These mottoes enlighten Ṭarmashīrīn’s policies and his vision for ruling, and all echo the inspiration of his conversion to Islām. Moreover, these nishāns, tamghas, and mottoes could be used as a clue in dating comparable coins that have neither date nor the Sultan’s name.

The first related coin minted in Samarqand in 726 AH /1325-1326 CE, preserved in the FINT Tübingen – INV. GA6 A6 (AR Dinar), Plate & Figure 1. It reads Obverse. ﾗّ ﺕ ﺓ ﺔ ﺓ ﺒ ﺡ ﻣ ﺖ ﻮ ﺖ ﻮ ﻮ ﺒ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ ﻮ 

**Pl. & Fig. 1 (Right; facsimile): AR Dinar, Samarqand 726 AH, FINT Tübingen–INV. GA6 A6**
The motto copied on this dinar “لا عّارة إلا بالعدل” (lā `imaret illā bi-el-`adl, = There is no Civilization without Justice), and related meaning mottoes, are characterizing Ṭarmashīrīn’s coins; and reflect his new Islamic culture. Moreover, the absence of such titles “ملك رقب الأُم,” mālik riqāb al-omam (=lord of the necks of the populace), that recorded on his predecessor Kebek Khan coins,¹ may refer to Ṭarmashīrīn’s affect with his new “pure” Islamic culture.

The Second example shows Chagatayid dirhams were struck in Samarqand with almost the same design, Chagatayid tamgha tamgha, nishān nishān, and the motto “لا عّارة إلا بالعدل” (lā `imaret illā bi-el-`adl, = There is no Civilization without Justice). This dirhams’ collection comprises three prototypes: The First One is dated to 726 AH/ 1325-1326, preserved in FINT Tübingen – INV. GA6 A5 (Dirham), Plate & Figure 2.

The third piece is dated to 727 AH/ 1326-1327, preserved in FINT Tübingen – INV. GA6 B2 (Dirham) (Fig. & Pl. 3). The Fourth One is preserved in the British Museum in London– INV. 1883 – W. 1.33g – D. 19mm, (Dirham) Pl. & Fig. 4.

¹ Fedorov, 2002, 410.
Fedorov published similar Chagatayid dinars to the abovementioned one (preserved in the FINT Tübingen – INV. GA6 A6 (AR Dinar), Pl. & Fig. 1) dated as well to 726 and 727 but with a different motto “عَمَّارَةُ الْدِّينِ مِبْنِيَةَ بِالْإِلْهِ.” (‘imaret al-ddīn mabnīah bi-el-’adl, = Building of faith is founded on Justice). Though this motto is different but gives the same meaning. Another related motto recorded on the Chagatayid coins, minted in Termidh “تَرْمِيْذُ” along with this distinguished title “Maḏīnāt al-Rijāl” i.e., the city of champions, of the same period, “الدِّينَ والْمَلِكَ تَوْأَمَانَ” (el-’adl wā el-mulq taw’amān, = Justice and Kingship are twins) (Figs. & Pls. 5-6). The latter motto appeared on the coins minted in Bukhāra in 727 H.¹

The Chagatayid tamgha، nishān، and the mottoes’ meaning form the common denominator among the aforementioned coins. I suggest the attribution of these anonymous coins with these meaningful mottoes to the Sultan Ṭarmashīrīn, or at least to his authority to the Chagatayid mints during that period. Since Ṭarmashīrīn was the first Chagatayid Khan to mint his name and titles on Chagatayid coins after Kebek, after a five-year interregnum (726-731) of minting anonymous Chagatayid coins. In 731 H, dinars were minted in Samarqand with the name of Sanjar, son of Ṭarmashīrīn (Pl. 7), with the name and full titles of his father “السُّلْطَانُ عَلَيْ النَّاسِ وَالْدِّينِ تَرْمِيْذُ” “the Sultan al-´adl ‘Alā’ al-Duniā al-Dīn Ṭarmashīrīn Khan.” Inscribed on these coins that are minted in the reign “٥٠٠٥” of Ṭarmashīrīn, along with the Islām shīhāda, are sometimes the names of the four the Khulafa-e-Rashideen with their honor epithets. The latter coins with name of Ṭarmashīrīn were minted in Samarqand, Bukhāra, Termidh and Atrar with the Chagatayid tamgha، nishān and other additional nishāns besides the clear insignia of Islam during the years 731-734 H.²

DISCUSSION

Literature dedicated to the Chagatayid numismatics or their conversion to Islām did not link between the mottoes recorded on their coins and the Sultans’ behaviour as inspired by the synchronized testimonies of travellers and historians, the focus of this paper. The well written paper of Michal Biran on the Ṭərmashirīn’s conversion to Islām, though it is an excellent survey of related historical sources, raises more questions than solutions.

The Chagāṭy Khanate after Kebek confronted an interregnum period until Ṭərmashirīn took the throne alone. The echo of this period is found in the confusion of the historical sources and the minting of anonymous coins regarding these years. The three brothers Eljigidey, Du’a Temūr and Ṭərmashirīn were supposed to share authority in some way, perhaps through the distribution of regions or the administration; to the extent of minting coins as Sanjar Khan, son of the Sulṭān Ṭərmashirīn did later during the latter’s reign (Pl. 7). The authority of Ṭərmashirīn was early in Samarqand since 726 H / 1325-6 as its coins suggest. The Arabic mottoes regarding the linkage between Justice and kingship or building the civilization appeared on the coins of that period, attributed to Ṭərmashirīn. I believe that such mottoes come in the context of his conversion to Islām. So, we can suggest the year 726 H / 1325-6, or earlier, as the date when Ṭərmashirīn adopted Islām.

After embracing Islām, Ṭərmashirīn, as mentioned above, began embracing the principles of Islam and made them the official traditions of the Mongol state. The present study investigates one of the most important Islamic traditions which were embraced by Ṭərmashirīn, as he tried to take it as his state regime. He tried to root the concept that the Justice is the main pier of civilization, urbanism and kingship. He recorded this vision via the Arabic mottoes inscribed on coins through three key formulas: 1) “لا عّاسج ئلا تاٌعذي” (lā ʿimaret illā bi-el-ʿadl, = There is no Civilization without justice), 2) “عّاسج اٌذ٠ٓ ِثٕ١ح تاٌعذي” (ʿimaret al-ddīn mabnīah bi-el-ʿadl, = Building of faith is founded on Justice) and 3) “العدل والملك توأمان” (el-ʿadl wā el-mülk tawʾamān, = Justice and Kingship are twins). The core of these three mottoes is one; where the Justice is rooted, the civilization will flourish. Similar mottoes inscribed on other Islamic coins, among which are “the blessing of governance is in perpetuating justice”, and “the permanence of the governance depends on justice.”

These mottoes concerning Justice represent one of the main principles approved by Islām for the rising of the universe and the foundation of nations. This principle is mainly based on achieving Justice in its broad and comprehensive sense, for it represents the basis upon which the construction of the world is set.

The meanings beyond these Arabic mottoes represent the essence of good governance, and reflect the Islamic culture, and one of the most important principles of rise and fall of the state. It is based on absolute Justice, unlike other societies that adopt the selective Justice, which itself carries its decline reasons. The famous hadith about the Makhzumiya lady who had committed theft.3 clearly summarizes this issue.

Engraving this phrase on Islamic coins; one of the most important insignia of the rule “mulk”; records a message representing the state’s emblem and its declared policy.

---

1 Lane-Poole, S. in 1890 in the catalogue of Oriental coins in the British Museum reads it incorrectly “لا عيادة إلا بالعدل” (lā ʿibadet illā bi-el-Islām, = There is no worship except by Islam). Lane-Poole, 1890, 127.
2 About the misreading of these mottoes and their corrections see: Fedorov, 2000. 9-11 ; Fedorov, 2002, 410-412.
3 al-Bukhārī, 3733.
The building and Urbanization of the earth is the message of mankind. The outcome of is the civilization. Which in order to be compatible with Islamic culture, must avoid injustice.

Urbanising and urbanization are what gives earth life. So abandoned or barren land is known as dead or blind land. And Justice is the pier of the rise and civilization of any state.

*Abd al-Malik* wrote to *Saee’d bin Jubayr*, asking him about Justice, and he replied: “Justice is in four aspects: Justice in ruling, saying, ransom and equality. As far as, this paper is concerned, it is Justice in governance which is necessarily related to the urbanization (civilization) and rise of the state.”

The historian *Ibn Abi Rabee*’, mentions that the rise, continuation and urbanization of the state need Justice. He classified Justice into three categories: the first is between the mankind and Allah, the second is concerning the rights between the persons themselves, and the third is the rights towards of their ancestors.

The eminent historian and sociologist *Ibn Khaldun* entitles a chapter of his famous *Muqaddimah* (prologue) with “Injustice brings about the ruin of civilization.” In which He explains and interrupts our concerned phrase with different pre-Islamic examples. He proves that the rise of the state’s civilization is directly connected with Justice, and its decay is a direct result of injustice. He cited a Persian story has been told by al-Mas’udi in connection with the history of the Persians. It says that in the days of King Bahram b. Bahram, the Mobe’dan, the chief religious dignitary among the Persians, expressed to the King his disapproval of the latter’s injustice and neglect for the consequences that his injustice must bring upon the dynasty. The Mobe’dan was very smart and tells this through to the King through a parable. *Ibn Khaldun* concludes this story teaches that injustice ruins civilization. The ruin (of civilization) has as its consequence the complete destruction of the government “dynasty”. In this connection, one should disregard the fact that dynasties in great cities often infringe upon Justice and still are not ruined.

This story also shows that the direct connection between the continuity of governance and Justice was known in civilizations before Islam. It clearly says the rise and fall of civilizations (societies) depends on Justice. Moreover, injustice ruins civilization and ends the dynasty. Islam with this cosmic law is no exception.

Thus, Ţarmashîrîn announced his own program on his coins from the first year of his rule, even with limited authority, connected with his embracing of Islam; representing a new historical phase of the Chagatay Khanate. Alongside this, Ţarmashîrîn kept the Islamic culture context and nullified the Mongol traditions inherited from Genghis Khan.

**CONCLUSION**

As Sulṭān Ţarmashîrîn himself told Ibn Baṭṭūṭa to tell his people –The Arabic Muslim World– regarding him as a just and pious Muslim ruler as is declared in his story with the Imam Ḫūsām al-Dīn al-Yāghī in the mosque. This story specifically, along with the related comment of the Sulṭān Ţarmashîrîn shows the extent to which Islam affected the change in the personality of Sulṭān Ţarmashîrîn. The words of Ţarmashîrîn confirms his astonishment in himself from this change: “*When you go back to your country, tell how a

---

3 *Ibn Khaldūn*, 2015, 238.
non-Arab (A’jamay, i.e., Persian) mendicant behaved like this towards the Turks’ Sultan.” His reaction could be entirely different before his Islam.

The Sultan Ţarmashîrin articulates his new character as a Muslim not only via the narration of Ibn Batţûta; but he clearly announced it also via his political and commercial policies that are proved by historical and numismatic evidence. The quotes inscribed on his coins confirm the dissimilarity between Ţarmashîrin and his predecessors and successors of the Chagatay Khanate. It seems that this differentiation is thanks to his adherence to Islam. Moreover, it reflects that his conversion to Islam was not a political one, but rather a complete fusion of the new religion and an irreversible exit from the mantle of the Genghis Khan guidelines.

The mottoes on Ţarmashîrin’s coins with the great emphasizing of the value of Justice and its linkage with the continuation and urbanization of the governance, more or less, is mainly attributed to the new character of the Muslim Sultan Ţarmashîrin.
The credibility of religious quotes on Islamic numismatics considering its actual historical context

BIBLIOGRAPHY


