



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

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### 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 Chagatay Mongols and took the name 'Alā' 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 focus is 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; Chagatay; Islamic civilization; coinage; Samarqand

### المخلص

تمدنا المسكوكات الإسلامية بعدد من الشعارات والرموز والشارات، والأرقام التي تعكس إلى حد كبير سياقات إنتاجها المتباينة. وتحليل تفسير هذه الشعارات والرموز بشكل صحيح يتطلب فهم سياقات إنتاج السكة، خاصة السياقات الدينية والسياسية والاقتصادية، ويتحقق ذلك بقراءة المصادر التاريخية ذات الصلة. الشعارات المنقوشة على السكة تعكس بشكل عام سياسة السلطان – أو من ضربت باسمه السكة – وكذلك مختلف الظروف والمتغيرات المترامنة ووقت سكها. وتعد نقود ترماشيرين (طَرْمَشِيرِينَ) نموذجًا ممتازًا لإظهار مدى اتفاق الشعارات المسجلة عليها مع السياقات الحقيقية لإنتاجها.

كان ترماشيرين أول من اعتنق الإسلام من مغول الجغتاي بشكل يقيني، وتلقب بعلاء الدين. بعد اعتناقه الإسلام، قام بإلغاء جميع التقاليد المغولية الموروثة من زمن جنكيز خان. اعتنق ترماشيرين مبادئ الإسلام وجعلها منها المرجعية الرسمية للدولة المغولية. وتناقش هذه الدراسة أحد أهم القيم الإسلامية التي آمن بها ترماشيرين جعلها أساسًا لنظام دولته. فقد حاول تجذير مفهوم أنه بالعدل فقط تزدهر العمارة والعمران؛ كما نقش على نقوده الفضية المضروبة في سمرقند والمؤرخة بـ ٧٢٦-٧٢٧ هجرية "لا عمارة إلا بالعدل".

تركز هذه الورقة البحثية على مناقشة هذا الشعار على نقود ترماشيرين مع الأخذ بعين الاعتبار فترة حكمه وسياقاتها وسلوكه وأدائه الفعلي فضلًا عن مدى تأثيره بتعاليم الإسلام. في هذا الصدد، تصحح الورقة بعض القراءات السابقة للشعارات المسجلة على نقود ترماشيرين، كما تنشر نماذج جديدة لنقوده محفوظة في مركز أبحاث المسكوكات الإسلامية في توبنجن، وتعود لدار ضرب سمرقند ومؤرخة بعام ٧٢٦-٧٢٧ هجرية. وخلصت الدراسة إلى أن شعار "لا عمارة إلا بالعدل" الذي نقش على نقود ترماشيرين جاء متسقًا والثقافة الإسلامية ويمثل رؤيته طوال فترة حكمه. وفضلًا عن ذلك، فقد عكس سلوك ترماشيرين صدق إيمانه بمضمون هذا الشعار.

### الكلمات الدالة:

المسكوكات الإسلامية؛ ترماشيرين؛ الجغتاي؛ الحضارة الإسلامية؛ سك النقود؛ سمرقند

## 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<sup>1</sup> 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 Chagatay coins with particular concern for its first Muslim Khan Ṭarmashīrīn Sultan, along with their Islamic meaning is an outstanding example.



Fig. 1. A map of the Mongol empire  
(Britannica T. E., Mongol empire, 2021)

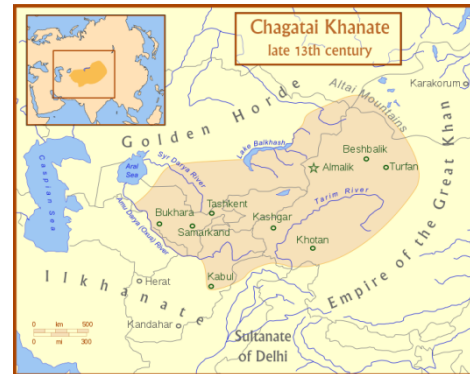


Fig. 2. A map of the Chagatai Khanate, late 13th century (MapMaster, 2008)

Chagatay<sup>2</sup> (also spelled Chagatai, Tsagadai, Jagatai, or Chaghatai) khanate bears the name of its founder (d. 1241), the second son of Genghis Khan<sup>3</sup> Chagatay. The second generation divided into two branches: a) the first branch converted to Islam who ruled the territories of Transoxania<sup>4</sup> that are known in Arabic as the *Bilād Mā Warā' al-Nahr*<sup>5</sup> (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. Alughu, a grandson of Chagatay, 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 Chagatay Khanate remained in Du'a's dynasty almost to the time of its extinction. The Chagatay's throne was occupied by six of Du'a's sons; among them, Kebek (1318-1326) and Ṭarmashīrīn (1329-1334).<sup>6</sup> The year when Ṭarmashīrīn took the Chagatay throne is a point of argument. Whereas Barthold<sup>7</sup> and writers<sup>8</sup> who followed him

<sup>1</sup> Such these quotes influenced on both Islamic and non-Islamic heritages, see: Ameen, 2020.

<sup>2</sup> Britannica T. E., 2022.

<sup>3</sup> Bawden, 2022.

<sup>4</sup> Britannica T. E., Transoxania, 2016.

<sup>5</sup> 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.

<sup>6</sup> Barthold & Boyle, 1986, 3.

<sup>7</sup> Barthold & Boyle, 1986, 3.

<sup>8</sup> Grousset, 1965.

suggest that Ṭarmashīrīn ruled from 1326 but his brothers Eljigidey and Du‘a Temür reigned for few months in 1326 after Kebek and before him. On the other hand, concurrent sources state that Eljigidey reigned as the Chagaṭay Khan from 1326 till 1329, and was succeeded for short time by his brother Du‘a Temür, then Ṭarmashīrīn.<sup>1</sup> The latter interpretation is somewhat attested by Arabic sources<sup>2</sup> that agree Ṭarmashīrīn ruled for six years and was then assassinated in 735 H (1334); so he reigned over the Chagaṭay 729-735 H (1329-1334).<sup>3</sup> Moreover, it seems that Ṭarmashīrīn 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 Ṭarmashīrīn shared the authority after Kebek for a specific period until Termshirin ruled alone. This may explain the confusion regarding who reigned the Chagaṭay during the years 1326-1329 and the striking of anonymous Chagaṭayid coins during the same period.

### ṬARMASHĪRĪN AND ISLAM

Most sources and studies,<sup>4</sup> suggest that Ṭarmashīrīn was the first to convert to Islam from the Chagaṭay Mongol Khans. In fact, he was the third Chagaṭay 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 Chagaṭay Mongol Khans who converted to Islam were Mubārak-Shāh<sup>5</sup> and his successor Burāq Khan.<sup>6</sup>

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

Muslim sources agree that the conversion of Ṭarmashīrīn Khan, though the apostasy interregnum after his martyrdom, paved the way to the overall Islamisation of the Chagaṭay Khanate, the Mongol state in Central Asia. According to historic sources<sup>9</sup> and numismatic<sup>10</sup> evidence, Ṭarmashīrīn 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 Baṭṭūṭa, the famous traveller who visited Ṭarmashīrīn’s camp near Bukhāra in c. 1333 and stayed there

<sup>1</sup> Biran, 2002, 745-7.

<sup>2</sup> al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, 53: 419-420; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar A‘lām al-Nubalā’*, 17: 564-565; Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-‘Umarī, *Masālik al-abṣār*, 148-149; al-Ṣafadī, *A‘yān al-‘Aṣr wa-A‘wān al-Naṣr*, 2: 104-105; *al-Wāfi bi-al-Wafayāt*, 2: 104-105.

<sup>3</sup> The date of his death is also a point of contention among historians, see: al-Jazarī, *Tārīkh Ḥawādith al-Zamān*, 3: 3: 851-52, 922-23.

<sup>4</sup> Biran, 2002, 745-7.

<sup>5</sup> Bartold cites that Mubārak-Shāh, the son of Kara-Hulegu and Orkina, was the first Chagaṭay convert to Islam, who proclaimed Khan in March 1266, and dethroned in the same year by his cousin Burāq Khan. Barthold & Boyle, 1986, 3.

<sup>6</sup> Burāq Khan, according to *Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf*, adopted Islam before his death and took the title Ghiyāth al-Dīn, see: Barthold & Boyle, 1986.

<sup>7</sup> Grousset, 1965.

<sup>8</sup> Biran, 2002, 745-7.

<sup>9</sup> Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, 53: 419-420; *Siyar A‘lām al-Nubalā’*, 17: 564-565; Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-‘Umarī, *Masālik al-abṣār*, 148-149; al-Ṣafadī, *A‘yān al-‘Aṣr wa-A‘wān al-Naṣr*, 2: 104-105; *al-Wāfi bi-al-Wafayāt*, 2: 104-105.

<sup>10</sup> Fedorov, 2002; Mayer, 1998.

54 days, recorded various narrations that prove Ṭarmashīrīn's respect for Muslim divines.<sup>1</sup> Ibn Baṭṭūṭa provided a rich concurrent account of the Sulṭān Ṭarmashīrīn 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 Baṭṭūṭa designated him as the Sulṭān of Transoxiana "Bilād mā warā' al-nahr" and described him as:

*"He is the exalted Sulṭān 'Alā' al-Dīn Ṭarmashīrīn, 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-Chagaṭay. This al-Chagaṭay was 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 Baṭṭūṭa continued by providing some related situations concerning the Sulṭān Ṭarmashīrīn, which confirm his Justice, respect to religion and religious leaders "faqih," fondness for doing charities, and his humility. In this regard, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa mentioned that Ṭarmashīrīn 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 Sulṭān Ṭarmashīrīn and his mosque's Imam, the jurist Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Yāghī declares Ṭarmashīrīn's virtues and keeping to Islamic ethics and rituals. According to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, when he attended the 'aṣr prayer in the Ṭarmashīrīn mosque, the Sulṭān had not yet come but one of his assistants asked the Imam Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Yāghī to hold back the prayer waiting for the Sulṭān for a moment while he performed his ablution. The jurist Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Yāghī refused and said, "Is prayer for God or for Ṭarmashīrīn?" He then ordered the mue'zzin to recite the second call for the prayer. The Sulṭān 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 Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Yāghī to shake his hand, and afterwards, sitting down beside him, opposite the mihrāb. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa was alongside the Imām as well; so, the Sulṭān told him "When you go back to your country, tell how a non-Arab (A'jamay, i.e. Persian) mendicant behaved like this towards the Turks' Sulṭān."

Ṭarmashīrīn's Islam influenced his close *amīrs* as is noted in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's account regarding Burunṭaiḥ, who was the governor of Ghazna, and Ṭarmashīrīn'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, Ṭarmashīrīn appointed his brother as a governor of a city, and he subsequently killed someone; whose family complained to Ṭarmashīrīn. The latter offered monetary compensation (blood money), but they insisted on the *qiṣāṣ* (equivalence). So, Ṭarmashīrīn brought his brother to justice and handed his brother over to them, and then they killed him. This difficult condition attests to what extent Ṭarmashīrīn complied with the principles of Islām.

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, 1997; Gibb, 2017, 31 ; Gulati, 1997, 774.




The same sources praise Ṭarmashīrīn'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-'Umarī 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 Baṭṭūta 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 Sulṭān 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 Chagatayid Sulṭān Ṭarmashīrīn are characterised –in addition to the names and nicknames of the mint centres, dates, and sometimes the Sulṭān'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 Sulṭān'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.

سِكَاھُ بِلَادِ مَھْفُوزَا سَمَرْقَانْدِ (Numismatic [of the] Preserved City [of] Samarqand) /  "a *tamgha*" centers the word *Maḥfūza* and the entire obverse/ ٧٢٦ (726 AH /1325-1326). Reverse.  / *lā 'imaret* "لا عمارة" (= There is no Civilization) /  / "a *nishān*" centers the motto "لا عمارة إلا بالعدل," and the entire reverse / *illā bi-el-'adl* "إلا بالعدل" (=without justice)



Pl. &amp; Fig. 1 (Right; facsimile): AR Dinar, Samarqand 726 AH, FINT Tübingen–INV. GA6 A6

The motto copied on this dinar “لا عمارة إلا بالعدل” (lā ‘imaret illā bi-el-‘adl, = There is no Civilization without Justice), and related meaning mottoes, are characterizing Ṭarmashīrīn’s coins; and reflects his new Islamic culture. Moreover, the absence of such titles “ملك رقباب الأمم,” mālik riqāb al-omam (=lord of the necks of the populace), that recorded on his predecessor Kebek Khan coins,<sup>1</sup> may refer to Ṭarmashīrīn’s affect with his new “pure” Islamic culture.

The Second example shows Chagaṭayid dirhams were struck in Samarqand with almost the same design, Chagaṭayid *tamgha* , *nishān* , and the motto “لا عمارة 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.



Pl. &amp; Fig. 2 (Right; facsimile): Dirham, Samarqand 726 AH, FINT Tübingen – INV. GA6 B2



Pl. &amp; Fig. 3 (Right; facsimile): Dirham, Samarqand 727 AH, FINT Tübingen – INV. GA6 B2

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.

<sup>1</sup> Fedorov, 2002, 410.



Pl. & Fig. 4 (Right; facsimile): Dirham, Samarqand 727 AH, INV. 1883 (1.33g – 19mm)

Fedorov published similar Chagaṭayid 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 “عمارة الدين مبنية بالعدل” (‘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 Chagaṭayid coins, minted in Termidh “ترمد” along with this distinguished title “Madīnat al-Rijāl” i.e., the city of champions, of the same period, “العدل والملك توأمان” (el-‘adl wā el-mülk tau‘amān, = Justice and Kingship are twins) (Figs. & Pls. 5-6). The latter motto appeared on the coins minted in Bukhāra in 727 H.<sup>1</sup>



Pl. & Fig. 5




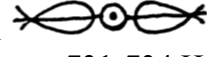
Termidh 730 AH, AR Dinar, 7.83 grams, 31 mm, Type of Album # 1992, Tübingen 1101

(V Coins)

Pl. & Fig. 6

Termidh 7[2?] AH, AR Dinar, 7.27 grams, 32 mm,, Type of Album # 1992, Tübingen 1101

(V Coins)

The Chagaṭayid *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 Sulṭān Ṭarmashīrīn, or at least to his authority to the Chagaṭayid mints during that period. Since Ṭarmashīrīn was the first Chagaṭayid Khan to mint his name and titles on Chagaṭayid coins after Kebek, after a five-year interregnum (726-731) of minting anonymous Chagaṭayid 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 “السلطان العادل علا الدنيا والدين ترماشيرين خان” “the Sulṭān el-‘adel (=Just) ‘Alā’ al-Dunīā al-Dīn Ṭarmashīrīn Khan.” Inscribed on these coins that are minted in the reign “في أيام دولة” 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 Chagaṭayid *tamgha* , *nishān*  and other additional nishāns besides the clear insignia of Islam during the years 731-734 H.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Fedorov, 2002, p. 412.

<sup>2</sup> Fedorov, 2000, p. 11 ; Fedorov, 2002, pp. 412-4.



Pl. 7. Termidh 734 AH, AR Dinar, 7.88 grams, A-1996, Zeno-44069, (NumisBids, n.d.)

## 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 Ṭarmashīrīn's conversion to Islām, though it is an excellent survey of related historical sources, raises more questions than solutions.

The Chagatay Khanate after Kebek confronted an interregnum period until Ṭarmashīrīn 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 Temür and Ṭarmashīrīn 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 Ṭarmashīrīn did later during the latter's reign (Pl. 7). The authority of Ṭarmashīrīn 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 Ṭarmashīrīn. 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 Ṭarmashīrīn adopted Islām.

After embracing Islām, Ṭarmashīrīn, 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 Ṭarmashīrīn, 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 عمارة إلا بالعدل" (lā 'imaret illā bi-el-'adl, = There is no Civilization without justice), 2) "عمارة الدين مبنية بالعدل"<sup>2</sup> ('imaret al-ddīn mabnīyah bi-el-'adl, = Building of faith is founded on Justice) and 3) "العدل والملك توأمان" (el-'adl wā el-mülk tau'amān, = 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.

<sup>1</sup> Lane-Poole, S. in 1890 in the catalogue of *Oriental coins* in the British Museum reads it incorrectly "لا عبادة إلا بالإسلام" (lā 'ibadet illā bi-el-Islām, = There is no worship except by Islam). Lane-Poole, 1890, 127.

<sup>2</sup> About the misreading of these mottoes and their corrections see: Fedorov, 2000, 9-11 ; Fedorov, 2002, 410-412.



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.<sup>1</sup> 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.

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 *Sae’ 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.”<sup>2</sup>

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.<sup>3</sup>

The eminent historian and sociologist *Ibn Khaldun* entitles a chapter of his famous *Muqaddimah* (prologue) with “*Injustice brings about the ruin of civilization.*”<sup>4</sup> 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 Mobedan, 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 Mobedan 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, Ṭarmashīrīn 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 Chagāṭay Khanate. Alongside this, Ṭarmashīrīn kept the Islamic culture context and nullified the Mongol traditions inherited from Genghis Khan.

<sup>1</sup> al-Bukhārī, 3733.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn Manẓūr, 1988, Vol.11, 131-2.

<sup>3</sup> Ibn Abī al-Rabī‘, 1869, 109.

<sup>4</sup> Ibn Khaldūn, 2015, 238.

## CONCLUSION

As Sulṭān Ṭarmashīrīn 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 Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Yāghī in the mosque. This story specifically, along with the related comment of the Sulṭān Ṭarmashīrīn shows the extent to which Islam affected the change in the personality of Sulṭān Ṭarmashīrīn. The words of Ṭarmashīrīn confirms his astonishment in himself from this change: “*When you go back to your country, tell how a non-Arab (A’jamay, i.e., Persian) mendicant behaved like this towards the Turks’ Sulṭan.*” His reaction could be entirely different before his Islam.

The Sulṭān Ṭarmashīrīn articulates his new character as a Muslim not only via the narration of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa; 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 Ṭarmashīrīn 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 Ṭarmashīrīn’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 Sulṭān Ṭarmashīrīn.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENT

We are really grateful to Dr. Vesta Sarkhosh Curtis, the Curator of Middle Eastern Coins, Department of Coins and Medals, the British Museum, and Dr. Sebastian Hanstein, the Head of the Research Center for Islamic Numismatics Tübingen (FINT) for providing us data and photos of some Chagatay coins. Special thanks also go to Prof. Peter Jackson, the Emeritus Professor of Medieval History, School of Humanities, Keele University, for sending me his valuable article on the Islamization of Mongol Khans.

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