

Original article

A UNIQUE MEMORIAL MAMLUK DINAR MINTED IN DAMASCUS IN 740 AH. ON ASCENDING THE THRONE BY THE ABBASID CALIPH AL-WATHIQ BI-LLAH

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Abstract:

This research paper presents a study of a unique Mamluk memorial dinar minted in Damascus in 740 AH with the name of Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad Ibn Qalawun, weighing 29.8 grams and having a diameter of 30 mm in the collection of Professor Firas Abu Yahya in the United Arab Emirates. It has not been published or studied yet. This memorial dinar was minted in commemoration of the ascending the throne by the Abbasid Caliph al-Wathiq Bi-llah Ibrahim Ibn Muhammad Ibn al-Mustasik Ibn Ahmed Al-Hakim bi-Amr Allah in Egypt. The general form of this dinar was described in an accurate scientific manner, illustrating its writings and decorations, interpreting these writings in light of the different circumstances of Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad, and determining the reasons for minting this dinar. After that, memorial coins were discussed, and their differences from circulating coins were determined. Then, a comparison was made between the dinar under study and a circulating dinar minted in the same mint, i.e., Damascus, and with the same date, highlighting their similarities and differences. Therefore, this research is an addition to Islamic memorial coins, especially those of Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad.

1. Introduction

Al-Nasir Muhammad is Sultan al-Malik al-Nasir Abu Al-Futuh Nasir Addin Muhammad ibn Sultan Al-Malik Al-Mansur Saif Addin Qalawun al-Salihi al-Najmi al-Alfi. He was born in 684 AH/1285 AD. He ascended the throne of the Mamluk Sultanate three times, the first in 693 AH/1293 AD, the second in 698 AH/1298 AD, and the third in 709 AH/1309 AD. The general form of this dinar contains central inscriptions in a circle on the obverse and reverse, fig. (1), and the texts of writings are listed in tab. (1). The obverse inscriptions are formed in five parallel lines in the Mamluk Thuluth script. The first and second lines contain a Qur'anic text: "Victory is only from Allah", a part of verse 126 of Surah Al Imran. This verse denotes that victory over the enemy comes from Allah thanks to His help, so believers must rely on Allah and seek His support and assistance to achieve victory over the enemy and plant their feet firmly [1]. This verse was mentioned on the coins of the Marinid, Mamluk, and other Sultanates^(a). The 3rd line of the obverse's inscriptions is the Shahada (testimony of monotheism), abbreviated as "[I bear witness that] there is no god but Allah"^(b). At the end of the third line and the fourth and fifth lines is the Qur'anic quote, which reads, "Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah who sent him with guidance and the religion of truth," which is a part of verse 28 of Surah Al-Fath, verse 33 of Surah Altawbah, and 9 of Surah As-Saff, verse 9. This verse means that Allah sent His messenger Muhammad, peace

and blessings of Allah be upon him, with guidance and the religion of truth [Islam] to manifest it over all religions [2, 3]. Verse 126 of Surah Al Imran was not inscribed on coins as it came in the Holy Qur'an, but it was inscribed like this: "Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah who sent him" by putting the name of the Messenger, peace and blessings be upon him. This Qur'anic quote appeared on many Islamic coins since their Arabization in 77 AH/696 AD until the Mamluk era, as well as the contemporary coins of the countries of the East and West of the Islamic World. The phrase "Minted in Damascus" was inscribed in the first line of the reverse, suggesting that this memorial dinar was minted in the mint of Damascus, the capital of the Umayyad Caliphate, that played a vital role in the history of Islamic coins since early Islamic days. In this mint, dirhams and fulus were minted. However, the name Damascus did not appear on dinars except in the era of the Abbasid Caliph Abdullah Al-Ma'mun^(c) [4]. The name and titles of al-Nasir Muhammad were mentioned from the 2nd to the 4th lines of the reverse inscriptions as "Sultan al-Malik al-Nasir// Supporter of the world and religion, Muhammad// Ibn al-Malik Almansur, in the year of". At the end of the 4th line, the word "in the year of" was inscribed. The last line stated the date of minting, "seven hundred and forty," i.e., this memorial dinar was minted in 740 AH. Linguistically, the title sultan means oppression, so it is given to the governor. It is used in many Qur'anic

verses, meaning argument and proof. Additionally, it had been mentioned in Arabic papyri since the first Hijri century. It was used for the greatest statesmen. It was used for the first time in the reign of Caliph Harun al-Rashid when it was given to Khalid Ibn Barmak Jaafar Ibn Yahya al-Barmaki [5]. Sultan was followed by the title of al-Malik (king), which refers to the supreme head of temporal authority. It is a common title in the Semitic languages and appeared in ancient Arabic inscriptions. It also appears in some verses of the Qur'an, such as verse 79 of Surah al-Kahf. However, the title al-Malik (king) was not officially known in early Islam or the Umayyad era but appeared in the Abbasid era^(d).



Figure (1) a unique memorial Mamluk dinar minted in Damascus in 740 AH, with the name of Al-Malik Al-Nasir Muhammad Ibn Qalawun, preserved in the collection of Professor Firas Abu Yahya in the United Arab Emirates, weighting 29.8 grams with a diameter of 30 mm (published for the first time)

Table (1) the writings texts of 740 AH Mamluk dinar

Item	Obverse (الوجه)	Reverse
Center	وما النصر الا من عند الله لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله ارسله بالحق وبين الحق الله	حروب يفتحق السلطان الملك الناصر ناصر الدنيا والدين محمد ابن الملك المنصور سنة اربعين وستمائة
Translation	Victory is only from There is no god but Allah, and Muhammad is The Messenger of Allah who sent him With guidance and the religion of truth	Minted in Damascus Sultan Al-Malik Al-Nasir Supporter of the world and religion, Muhammad Ibn Al-Malik Almansur, in the year of Seven hundred and forty

2. Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad Ibn Qalawun and The Periods of his Rule

2.1. The first time in 693 AH/1293 AD

Al-Nasir Muhammad was Sultan al-Malik al-Nasir Abu al-Futuh Nasir Addin Muhammad Ibn Sultanal-Malik al-Mansur Saif Addin Qalawun al-Salihi al-Najmi al-Alfi. He was born in Qalaat al-Jabal in Cairo in 684 AH/1285 AD [6, 7]. He assumed the throne of the Mamluk Sultanate three times. The first reign was after the assassination of his brother, al-Malik al-Ashraf Saladin Khalil Ibn Qalawun in 693 AH/1293 AD. He was the 9th Sultan of the Turkish kings in Egypt [7]. He continued until he was deposed by al-Adil Kubbugha

Ibn Abdullah al-Mansouri Al-Turki in 694 AH/1294 AD [7]. That is, his first reign lasted one year less three days, but he was a sultan in name only [6].

2.2. The second time in 698 AH/1298 AD

He assumed the throne for the second time after the assassination of al-Malik al-Mansur Lajin in 698 AH/1298 AD [7] and continued until he deposed himself from the Sultanate and resided in Karak in 708 AH/1308 AD [6].

2.3. The third time in 709 AH/ 1309 AD

The third and final time reign was after King Muzaffar Baybars deposed himself as the King of Egypt in 709 AH/1309 AD [6,7]. al-Nuwairi [8] reported that al-Nasir Muhammad was prayed for in the religious sermons in his third term in 709 AH/1309 AD and continued to rule until he died in 741 AH/1340 AD [7].

2.4. Commemorate the accession of the Caliph al-Wathiq Billah

Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad ibn Qalawun minted this unique memorial dinar understudy to commemorate the accession of the Caliph al-Wathiq Billah Ibrahim Ibn Muhammad Al-Mustasik Ibn Ahmed al-Hakim bi-Amr Allah in 740 AH/1339 AD [6], after the death of the Caliph, Commander of the Faithful, al-Mustakfi Billah Abu Al-Rabi' Suleiman, son of the Caliph al-Hakim bi-Amr Allah Abi al-Abbas Ahmad Ibn al-Hasan Ibn Abi Bakr al-Hashimi al-Abbasi in Qus in 740 AH/1339 AD at the age of fifty-six years, two months and thirteen days. He was a noble, generous, and virtuous man [6]. He was hostile to Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad Ibn Qalawun because of the rise of the Caliph al-Mustakfi in 708 AH/1308 AD to support the Sultan al-Muzaffar Baybars after assuming the Mamluk throne after Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad deposed himself and resided in Karak with his horses and Mamluks. al-Malik Al-Muzaffar Baybars mistreated Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad. For example, king al-Muzaffar Baybars sent emir Maghalatay to al-Malik Al-Nasir Muhammad in Karak to take his horses and Mamluks, but he spoke harshly with Al-Malik al-Nasir who became very angry and said to Mughalatay, "I have left the kingship of Egypt and the Levant to Baybars. Hasn't he felt sufficient that him that he wants to take my horses or mamluks". "Return to Baybars and tell him that I swear if he does not leave me, I will inform the Tatars that I have left the kingship of my father, my brother, and me for my Mamluk, but he chases me and wants things in my hand" al-Nasir added. It ended with the expulsion of Mughalatay from Karak [6,7]. Thus, the disputes and conflicts began between al-Muzaffar Baybars and al-Malik al-Nasir Muhammad Ibn Qalawun^(e). Most emirs and soldiers joined al-Malik al-Nasir Muhammad against al-Malik al-Muzaffar Baybars. Additionally, al-Nasir Muhammad seized many cities, such as Damascus. Because Baybars made sure that his authority would come to an end, he summoned all emirs on Tuesday, 6 Ramadan 709 AH/1309 AD, to seek their advice and consult them about the situation. Baybars al-Dawadar and Bahadur As recommended, Baybars should dispose of authority and seek the pardon of al-Nasir. Baybars and a group of emirs visited the treasuries and took money, horses, and camels. Then, they fled. Ther-

efore, people chased them, shouting and throwing stones at them. On Friday, 9 Ramadan 709 AH/1309 AD, sermons prayed for Al-Nasir in Cairo and Egypt, with no mention of Baybars, whose reign lasted for ten months and twenty-four days [6,7]. When Al-Muzaffar went to al-Malik al-Nasir Muhammad, al-Nasir killed him and was buried behind Cairo Citadel in 709 AH/1309 AD [7]. It was mentioned that during the conflict between al-Malik al-Nasir Muhammad and al-Muzaffar Baybars, the Abbasid Caliph al-Mustakfi Billah supported al-Muzaffar Baybars. For instance, when al-Muzaffar Baybars assumed the Mamluk throne in 708 AH/1308 AD as the 11th sultan of the Turkish kings, the 17th of the Mamluk, and the 1st of the Circassians, the Caliph Abu al-Rabi' Suleiman al-Mustakfi delegated to him the power of the Sultanate, wrote and signed a covenant for him, including "Indeed, it is from Solomon, and indeed, it reads: 'In the name of Allah, the Entirely Merciful, the Especially Merciful'. Then, emirs Betkhas, Quli, and Lajin al-Jashankir summoned emirs and soldiers to swear an oath, and it was sent to the countries [7]. When the conflicts were at rage between al-Muzaffar Baybars and al-Malik al-Nasir Muhammad, and most emirs and soldiers joined al-Malik al-Nasir Muhammad, Caliph al-Mustakfi concluded a second pledge of allegiance to al-Malik al-Muzaffar Baybars, renewing the covenant that was circulated. Baybars said, "No one dares to disobey the Commander of the Faithful, al-Mustakfi Billah". Consequently, Caliph al-Mustakfi was biased and supported Al-Muzaffar Baybars. He urged all people to obey al-Malik Muzaffar and attacked the system of inheriting the throne of the Qalawun dynasty, mentioning that he was the one who appointed al-Muzaffar. In the covenant, al-Mustakfi also mentioned that al-Malik al-Nasir made the Muslims disobedient, divided their speech, dispersed them, and exposed the country to danger. He added that he would fight al-Malik al-Nasir until he returned to the ordinance of Allah, urging people to fight al-Malik al-Nasir. This was circulated on the pulpits of the mosques of Cairo, especially al-Azhar and al-Hakim, in Friday sermons [6]. The hostile stances of Caliph al-Mustakfi against al-Malik al-Nasir Muhammad led the latter to be seek revenge from Caliph al-Mustakfi. When al-Malik al-Nasir took over power for the third time in 709 AH/1309 AD, he turned away from and continued to trouble al-Mustakfi until he left him in the tower of Cairo citadel in his house with his sanctuary, and his private property. The issue of al-Mustakfi had been assumed by Prince Qawsun, who begged Sultan al-Nasir to allow him to return to his house. Then, it was claimed that his son Sadaqa had become attached to some of the private members in the Sultan's court. The Sultan was informed that Sadaqa abounded in amusements in his house on the Nile in the neighborhood of Jazeerat Al-Feel and that one of the Jamadariyya^(f), called Abu Shamah, with a beautiful face, frequented and stayed with him late for service. As a result, the Jamdar was arrested and exiled to Safad. In 736 AH/1335 AD, al-Malik al-Nasir instructed the arrest of Caliph al-Mustakfi in al-Qala Prison until he was released in 737 AH/1336 AD, as he was detained for five months and seven days [6]. After

releasing Al-Mustakfi, al-Malik al-Nasir instructed that al-Mustakfi, his children, and his cousin be sent to Qus, accompanied by emir Saif al-Din Qutlu Tamr Quli, in 737 AH/1336 AD. Thus, al-Mustakfi was under house arrest, and the governor of Qus was informed of al-Malik al-Nasir's order. al-Mustakfi's children numbered about a hundred. His salary was five thousand dirhams a month, but it was reduced to three thousand dirhams in Qus and continued to be cut to one thousand dirhams. Therefore, al-Mustakfi became in dire need of money, which led his women to sell their clothes [6]. al-Mustakfi remained the same until he died in Qus in 740 AH/1339 AD. Before his death, Caliph al-Mustakfi^(g) entrusted his son Ahmad to succeed him on the throne of the Abbasid Caliphate with the testimony of forty just judges, as proven by the judge of Qus. However, al-Malik al-Nasir did not agree and chose another to be the new Abbasid Caliph in Egypt called Ibrahim in 740 AH/1339 AD and made Ibrahim close to him. Then, Ibrahim went with caretakers^(h) to al-Malik Al-Nasir in Cairo Citadel in 740 AH/1339 AD and met with the judges in the House of Justice, and al-Nasser instructed them to pledge allegiance to Ibrahim for the caliphate, but the judges refused. al-Malik al-Nasser disqualified him, and al-Mustakfi Billah entrusted his son Ahmad before his death with the testimony of forty just judges and the governor of Qus. The judges reported that the covenant of Ibrahim should be reconsidered. Thus, al-Malik al-Nasir was urged to summon Ahmad and his father's family to the citadel. Speechmakers in Egypt and the Levant did not mention the name of the caliph in the sermon for about four months until Ahmed Ibn al-Mustakfi came from Qus to the citadel. Sultan al-Nasir did not agree to make Ahmed assume the throne of the caliphate, so he asked for Ibrahim and informed him of his shameless conduct. Ahmed declared his repentance and committed himself to following the path of goodness. As a result, al-Malik al-Nasser Muhammad summoned the judges in 740 AH/1339 AD and informed them that he had appointed Ibrahim to the caliphate. The judge, Izz al-Din Abdul Aziz, received information about Ahmed's misconduct, disqualifying him from the caliphate. Ahmed replied that he had repented, and whoever repents [to Allah] will be like he who did not commit any sins. The judge said, "I appointed Ibrahim as a Sultan, so conclude a pledge of allegiance." Accordingly, Ibrahim assumed the throne of the Abbasid Caliphate, and Sultan al-Nasir ordered for him three thousand five hundred and sixty dirhams, nineteen ardeb (weight measure) of wheat, and ten ardeb of barley a month. In 740 AH/1339 AD, Ibrahim was prayed for on the pulpits of the mosques, and he was entitled al-Wathiq Billah Abi Ishaq. The common people used to call him Almustati because he used to take from them what would benefit him [6]. It was necessary to compare this memorial dinar minted in Damascus in 740 AH and another circulation dinar bearing the same place and date of minting to determine their differences in the texts of the writings. We noticed that the memorial dinar weighs 29.8 grams, while the circulation dinar weighs 5.94 grams, fig. (2)⁽ⁱ⁾. The general form of the two dinars is the same. They contain inscriptions in five horizontal lines in

the Mamluk Thuluth script within a circle on both the obverse and reverse. The inscriptions on the circulation dinar are as listed in tab. (2). We notice that the inscriptions on the dinar for circulation, in terms of the number of lines, the texts of the inscriptions, arrangement, and script, i.e., the Mamluk thuluth, are the same as those on the memorial dinar under study, especially the place and date of minting, i.e., Damascus in 740 AH. They only differ in weight, diameter, and function. The memorial dinar is heavier and is not used for circulation, while the other is lighter and is used for circulation. A third dinar, fig. (3) has the same mint place, i.e., Damascus, but it differs only in the date of minting, i.e., 741 AH. It weighs 6.814 grams⁽⁶⁾. It matches the aforementioned circulation dinar in terms of the general form and the texts of inscriptions. It only differs in the date of minting, as listed in tab. (3).



Figure (2) a Mamluk dinar minted in Damascus in 740 AH with the name of Al-Malik Al-Nasir Muhammad Ibn Qalawun, weighing 5.94 grams (After: Stephen Album Rare Coins Auction 27, lot.590)

Table (2) The inscriptions on the circulation dinar minted in Damascus in 740 AH.

Item	Obverse	Reverse
Center	<p>وما النصر الا من عند الله لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله ارسله بأهله وذريته الحق الله</p>	<p>خبر بنمى السلطان الملك الناصر ناصر الدنيا والدين محمد ابن الملك المنصور سنة اربعمائة وخمسة [مستمدة]</p>
Translation	<p>Victory is only from There is no god but Allah, [and] Muhammad The Messenger of Allah who sent him With guidance and the religion of truth</p>	<p>Minted in Damascus Sultan Al-Malik Al Nasir Supporter of the world and religion, Muhammad Ibn Al-Malik Almansur, in the year of Seven hundred and forty</p>

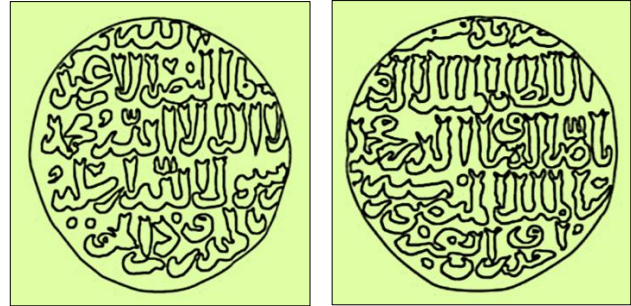


Figure (3) a Mamluk dinar minted in Damascus in 741 AH, bearing the name of Al-Malik Al-Nasir Muhammad Ibn Qalawun, weighing 6.814 grams, preserved in the American Numismatic Society in New York (After: Balog, Paul: the coinage of the Mamluk Sultans of Egypt and Syria. NY., 1964, p.141, No.190).

Table (3) a 3rd dinar, with only the date of minting, i.e., 741 AH.

Item	Obverse	Reverse
Center	<p>وما النصر الا من عند الله لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله ارسله بأهله وذريته الحق الله</p>	<p>خبر بنمى السلطان الملك الناصر ناصر الدنيا والدين محمد ابن الملك المنصور سنة احدى واربعين [مستمدة]</p>
Translation	<p>There is no god but Allah, Muhammad The Messenger of Allah who sent him With guidance and the religion of truth</p>	<p>Minted in Damascus Sultan Al-Malik Al-Nasir Supporter of the world and religion, Muhammad Ibn Al-Malik Almansur, in the year of seven hundred and forty one</p>

3. Results

Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad Ibn Qalawun, on the occasion of al-Wathiq Billah's accession to the throne of the Abbasid Caliphate, minted this unique memorial dinar under study in 740 AH/1339 AD. al-Wathiq was the fourth of the Abbasid caliphs in Egypt. We could determine the period during which this memorial dinar was minted in the Damascus mint in 740 AH from Friday the sixth of Dhul-Qi'dah until the late month of Dhul-Hijjah in 740 AH, i.e., the last fifty-four days of 740 AH. It is worth noting that Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad minted this memorial dinar to commemorate Ibrahim's appointment to the throne of the Caliphate in Egypt and revenge against Caliph al-Mustakfi, who supported his enemy, al-Malik al-Muzaffar Baybars. Therefore, al-Malik Al-Nasir honored the fourth Caliph and minted the memorial dinar under study in commemoration of the occasion of his appointment to the throne of the Abbasid Caliphate, as a victory of al-Malik al-Nasir, especially after the judges refused to appoint him in the first time under the pretext that he was not qualified to assume the position of the Abbasid Caliphate due to his misconduct. After declaring repentance, the judge agreed to appoint Ibrahim to fulfill al-Malik al-Nasir Muhammad's desire. Therefore, al-Malik al-Nasir instructed the Damascus Mint to mint the memorial dinar under study in 740 AH/1339 AD. Additionally, this dinar is unparalleled in terms of weight. To our knowledge, it is unique, as no memorial dinar has ever been published on the occasion of ascending Caliph Al-Wathiq to the throne yet. Therefore, this research is an addition to Islamic memorial coins, especially those of Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad.

4. Discussion

Minting memorial coins, i.e., dinars or dirhams, was common in some Islamic dynasties, such as al-Ikshidids and Tughl-

aqids in India, the Ishshidids, the Qajars, the Almohads, the Indian Mongols, and the Crimean Khanates [9]. Minting the memorial dinars under study in Damascus in 740 AH was not the first case to commemorate pledging allegiance to the Abbasid caliphs. For instance, the Abbasid Caliph al-Mu'tadid Billah (279-289 AH/ 892-902 AD) minted gold and silver memorial coins in 281 AH/894 AD, a year after he assumed the throne of the Caliphate to distribute them to the people on the occasion of the pledge of allegiance [9]. Caliph al-Muqtadir (295-320 AH/907-932 AD) also minted memorial gold coins in 304 AH/916 AD [9]. Caliph al-Radi Billah (322-329 AH/934-940 AD) minted memorial silver coins in 325 AH/936 AD [9]. Memorial coins were minted not for circulation but to be distributed as gifts to senior statesmen, such as judges, army commanders, and important figures, because of their high weight and limited quantity, and distributed to those who deserve them. The weight of such memorial coins depended on the economic condition and the amount of gold in the state. Memorial coins were also minted in some Islamic countries on the occasion of the accession to power, such as the gold coins minted by Abu Hafs Omar al-Murtada Ibn Al-Hakam al-Mawhad (646-665 AH/1248-1266 AD), each of which weighed approximately fifty grams (49.4 grams) with no minting place and date [9,10].

5. Conclusion

The research paper concluded that the unique memorial Mamluk dinar under study was minted in Damascus in 740 AH by Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad Ibn Qalawun to commemorate ascending Caliph al-Wathiq Billah Ibrahim to the throne of the Abbasid Caliphate in Egypt in 740 AH after the death of the Caliph al-Mustakfi Billah in the same year.

Endnotes

- (a) For further details about the appearance of this part of verse 26 on Islamic coins, see: Yusuf, A., (2003). *al-Āyāt al-Qur'āniyah 'alā al-maskūkāt al-Islāmīyah: Dirāsah Muqāranah (Qur'anic Verses on Islamic Coins: A Comparative Study)*, 1st ed., Riyadh, pp. 191-199.
- (b) This testimony was found abbreviated in this form in the inscriptions of the obverse of a filis minted in Kufa in 263 AH. Fahmy, A., (1965). *Mawsū'at al-nuqūd al-'Arabīyah wa-'ilm Al-nummayāt, Fajr al-Sikkah al-'Arabīyah (Encyclopedia of Arabic Coins and Numismatics, The Emergence of Arab Mint)*, Egyptian National Library and Archives, Cairo, p. 771, No. 2753, fig. 89.
- (c) For more information about Damascus, see: Al-Hamwi, Y. (1977). *Mu'jam al-buldān (Dictionary of Countries)*, Vol. 2, Beirut, pp. 463-464.
- (d) For more details about the title of Malik (king), see: Al-Basha, H., (1989). *al-Alqāb Al-Islāmīyah fī al-tārīkh wa-al-Wathā'iq wa-al-āthār (Islamic Titles in History, Documents, and Antiquities)*, Cairo pp. 496-497.
- (e) For more details about the conflict and wars, see al-Maqrizi, A., (1970). *Kitāb al-sulūk*, Vol. 2, Section 1, pp.

56-70; Ibn Taghri Bardi, Y., (n.d.). *al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah*, Vol. 8, pp. 562-277.

- (f) The name al-Jamdar consists of two words, one of which is Jama or Jamah in Turkish, i.e., a garment, and the other is Dar, i.e., a holder in Persian. Thus, the overall meaning is the holder of the garment or the servant who accompanies the Sultan or the emir to dress and protect him. It seems that the Jamadariyya were chosen from the beautiful young Mamluks, as they accompanied their employer until his sleeping time. Additionally, they were vulnerable to temptation. Al-Basha, H., (1965). *al-Funūn al-Islāmīyah wa-al-waḏā'if 'alā al-Āthār al-'Arabīyah (Islamic Arts and Functions on Arab Antiquities)*, Vol. 1, Cairo, pp. 356-357.
- (g) Al-Mustakfi was the third Abbasid Caliph in Egypt after al-Mustansir Billah (659-660 AH/ 1260-1261 AD) and al-Hakim bi-Amr Allah (660-701 AH/1261-1302 AD). He was succeeded by Caliph al-Hakim II (740-741 AH/ 1340-1341 AD). Bosworth, C., (1995). *The Islamic dynasties: A Chronological and Genealogical Handbook*, Dar Ain, Cairo, p. 25.
- (h) The power of the caretaker increased in the Mamluk era and was not limited to asking the Sultan's permission for an interview. Instead, it included many other tasks. In royal processions, the caretaker would ride in front of the Sultan holding a stick and inform him of the people's needs and demands. In the Mamluk era, caretakers began to interfere in Sharia rulings and compete with Sharia judges. For more details about caretakers in the Mamluk era, see: al-Basha, H., (1965). *al-Funūn al-Islāmīyah wa-al-waḏā'if 'alā al-Āthār al-'Arabīyah (Islamic Arts and Functions on Arab Antiquities)*, Vol. 1, pp. 383-393.
- (i) Stephen Album, Rare Coins Auction 27, lot.590.
- (j) This dinar is preserved in the American Numismatic Society Museum in New York. Balog, P., (1964). *The Coinage of the Mamluk Sultans of Egypt and Syria*, New York, p.141, No.190.

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- [1] Al-Tabari, M. (2006). *Mukhtaṣar tafsīr al-Ṭabarī (Summarized version of al-Tabari's interpretation)*, Vol. 7, edited by Alsabouni, A. & Reda, S., Dar al-Quran Al-Karim, Beirut.
- [2] Al-Qurtubi, M. (1967). *al-Jāmi' Li-ahkām al-Qur'an (The General Judgments of the Qur'an)*, Vol. 8, 3rd ed., Egyptian National Library & Archives, Cairo.
- [3] Ibn Kathir, I. (1968). *Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr (Interpretation of Ibn Kathir)*, Vol. 2, 1st ed., Dar Tiba, Cairo.
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