MAMLUK SEQUINS
by
M.R. BROOME

The gold coinage of the Burji Mamluks was initially struck to a very wide range of weights. Although it is possible that the mints aimed to produce a set number of coins from each unit weight of gold, once the struck coins left the mint they must have circulated by weight with the minting process only guaranteeing the fineness of the metal.

During the troubled reigns of Faraj (AH 801-815/1399-1412 AD), two attempts were made by his administrators to introduce a gold coinage of nominally consistant weight. The first, in the year 800 , produced dinars of the traditional Umayyad weight of 4.25 grans but it seems that they failed to find acceptance, perhaps because people had become unaccustomed to dealing in units of that value. The second attempt, made ca 810 , used as a model the Venetian ducat of 3.5 grams , which was accepted and copied all around the Mediterranean as a trading currency under the name of the zecchino or sequin. In the event, the Mamluk sequins settled down to a weight of ca 3.4 grams, slightly less than the Venetian currency and were identified by the use of two horizontal lines separating the reverse field into three sections, a design which had been used by previous Manluk rulers but for copper coins only.

Initially the new coins were produced only at Cairo mint, although some of Fara j's pieces do not bear a mint name, but his successor the Caliph al-Musta 'in also minted them at Damascus, in all probability in recognition of the fact that the real power at the time lay in Syria rather than in Egypt. Al-Musta'in was replaced as Sultan after only 6 montr.s by Shaykh al-Mahmudi in whose name sequins were struck in Cairo in 815 and 816 . The combination of the intense civil wars with outbreaks of plague and several years of low Nile water levels must have greatly reduced international trade with Egypt and, after a second abortive attempt to reintroduce traditional dinars, the gold currency reverted to the earlier style of relatively uncontrolled but large coins. It was left to Barsbay al-Duqmaqi ( $825-841 / 1422-1453$ ) to control the quarrelling mamluk amirs and to encourage the return of trade and prosperity, a process which was helped no doubt by the 100,000 dinars (or ducats) paid as ransom for Janus, the captured king of Cyprus in $829 / 1426$, the year in which the minting of sequins was resumed.

To judge from the number of specimens surviving, Barsbay's sequins must have been produced in large quantities over the period 829-841 and their distinctive style was maintained until the end of the Mamluk dynasty. Although the horizontal dividers introduced by Faraj were retained, they were increased in number to 3, applied to both sides of the coin and made up of a 'cable' of extended 'z's. In general, one side, called here the reverse carries the Kalima, and the other, the Sultan's name and title= together with the phrase "azze nasruhu". The date is written out in full until 857 when a change is made to large clear digits although the practice of using flans very much smaller than the dies has resulted in the omission of both date and mint from most of the surviving specimens. Only three mints are recorded for the whole series, Cairo, Damascus and Aleppo although a certain number of coins after ca 900 , do not show their mint of origin. There are in addition many spresens where the mint name is not visible as the flan is too small or the coin was struck off-centre.

Over the century during which the sequins were the normal Mamluk gold currency, remarkably little change took place in their basic design. Four issues are known where a central cartouche was used on one side as on the silver coins, namely Utrman, mint? 857, Qa ${ }^{\text {e }}$ tbay nd. of Aleppo and Qansuh al-Ghuri, Damascus 917-919 and n.m., n.d. but otherwise the design changes are confined to the type of feld dividers and variations in some sections of the legends. As specimens of this series so of ten have incomplete legends, it may be of value to note here the main varieties. The normal obverse legend for all sultans except al-Musta'iswho uses his Caliphal titles, follows the pattern of the coins of Barsbay, which have:-al-Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf Abu-al-Nasr Barsbay Azze Nasruhu. Only 7 different throne-names are used viz. al-Nasir (twice), al-Muayyad (twice) al-Ashraf ( $6 \mathbf{x}$ ), al-'Aziz, al-Zahir (5x), al-Mansur and al-'Adil. The patronymic that follows is onitted by Faraj and on certain issues of Yusuf and Qansuh al-Ghuri but again the choice is made from a very limited selection of only 6 names with Abu al-Nasr used by 8 out of the 18 sultans named on this series including the last 4 of the dynasty. The phrase Azze Nasruhu - May his victory become illustrious - was first used on the sequins by Shaykh in 816 in place of the Khalad Mulkah of earlier coins and subsequently omitted only on coins of Yusuf and Uthman. The only other change recorded to the obverse legend so far in the whole series, is the addition of the name of the Sultan's father in the rare cases where a son actually followed his father on the Mamluk throne, viz. Faraj bin Barquq, Yusuf bin Barsbay, Ahmad bin Aynal and Mohammad bin Qa'itbay, the latter adding "May God have mercy upon him" to his coins from Damascus. The reverse legend-have even less variation than the obverse and normally he: the Kalima and the Mamluk exhortation of "Arslah b'al-Hady". This latter phrase occasionally moves to the obverse and is sometimes omitted altogether on e.g., the coins of Ahmad, Temirbugha and al-Ashraf Tumànbāy.

The other key component of the design is provided by the horizontal lines which differentiate the sequins from other Mamluk gold coins.

There are 5 main types

1. Plain line
2. Dotted line
(a) single
(b) double
::::::
3. "Rigid" cable of 'Z's
(a) to the left
(b) to the right

2
(a) to the left ם wros.
4. "Flexible" cable of 'S's
(b) to the right
5. Indented floriated "coil"

## 

Type 4 is an obvious development from type 3 and catalogue descriptions are sometimes insufficiently precise to distinguish between them or even on occasions to decide whether they point to the left or the right. A first attribution to ruler or sometimes to mint of origin can be provided by the type of divider used. Full details are given in the listing at the end of this paper but the general sequence is as follows:-
i Faraj, al-Musta' in and Shaykh: Type 1 on one side only.
ii Barsbay, Yusuf and Jaqmaq: Type 3 on both sides.
iii Uthman, Type 2 on both sides.
iv Aynal to early Khushqadam; Cairo - Types 3 or 4 on obv., Types 1 or 2 on rev., Damascus - Type 3 a both sides.
v Late Khushq2dam to Qacitbay, Types 3,4 or 5, often with different types on each side. There is a Qa'itbay series from Aleppo with Type $4 b$ and central arabesque.
vi Mohammad to al-Ashraf Tumanbay, Type 4 with Damascus normally to the left only (type 4a). There is also a Cairo issue of Qunsuh al-Ghuri of 914-917 with the coil of type 5 on both sides, followed in 918-920 by a mixture of type 4 a and 5 on both sides.

It is perhaps worth noting that all coins attributed to Damascus have cables to the left (Types $3 a$ or $4 a$ ) and that cables to the right (Type 3b or 4b) are recorded only within the period 863-908.

Another potential mark of indentification is the border but on many specimens this is completely off the flan. The usual design is a circular plain or pelleted line but where variations to this are known they are listed at the end of this paper.

Mamluk Sultans namec on Sequins and their Titles

| 801-815 | al-Sultan al-Malik al-Nasir Faraj bin Barquq |
| :---: | :---: |
| 815 | al-Imam al-'Azam al-Musta ${ }^{\text {c }}$ ( ${ }^{\text {a }}$ bicAllah Abu al-Fadl al-'Abbas |
| 815-824 | al-Sultan al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad Abu al-Nasr Shaykh |
| 825-841 | al-Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf Abu al-Nasr Barsbay |
| 841-842 | al-Sultan al-Malik al-'Aziz Abu al-Mahasin Yusuf bin Barsbay |
| 842-857 | al-Sultan al-Malik al-Zahir Abu Sa'id Jaqmaq |
| 857 | al-Sultan al-Malik al-Mansur Abu al-Sa(adat 'Uthman |
| 857-865 | al-Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf Abu al-Nasr Aynal |
| 855 | al-Sultan al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad Abu al-Fath Ahmad |
| 865-872 | al-Sultan al-Malik al-Zahir Abu Sacid Khu shqadam |
| 872 | al-Sultan al-Malik al-Zahir Abu Sacid Bilbay |
| 872 | al-Sultan al-Malik al-Zahir Abu Sacid Temirbugha |
| 872-901 | al-Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf Abu al-Nasr Qa'itbay |
| 901-904 | al-Sultan al-Malik al-Nasr Abu al-Sa ${ }_{\text {adat Mohammad }}$ |
| 901-905 | al-Sultan al-Malik al-Zahir Abu Sa'id Qansuh |
| 905-906 | al-Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf Abu al-Nasr Janbalat |
| 906 | al-Sultan al-Malik al-'Adil Abu al-Nasr Tumanbay |
| 906-922 | al-Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf Abu al-Nasr Qansuh al-Ghuri |
| 922 | al-Sultan al-Malik al-sshraf Abu al-Nasr Tumanbay |

Catalogue of Coins


| Divider <br> Type | Notes |
| :---: | :---: |
| 1 | No dividers on rev. |
| 1 | " $\quad$ " " |
| 1 | " " " " |
| 1 | " " " " |
| 1 | " " |
| 3 a | Border of pellets and diamonds |
| 3 a | ```Border linear multi- lobe``` |

Catalogue of Coins (Continued)

| Ruler | Reign | Mint | Dates | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Divider } \\ & \text { Type } \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | Notes |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Yusuf | 841-842 | Cairo | 842 | 3 a | Pellets \& Diamonds |
| Jaqmaq | 842-857 | Cairo | 842,43,46\&54 | 3 a | n n |
| " |  | Damascus | ? | 3 a |  |
| " |  | Aleppo | ? | 3 a |  |
| ${ }^{c}$ Uthran | 857 | Cairo | ? | 2 b |  |
| " |  | ? | 857 | 0/2a | Central cartouche and circular border of amulets |
| Aynal | 857-865 | Cairo | 857 | $3 a / 1$ |  |
| " |  | Cairo | 857 | $3 \mathrm{a} / 2 \mathrm{~b}$ |  |
| " |  | Cairo | 857,859 | $3{ }^{2} / 2 a$ |  |
| " |  | Cairo | 863 | $3 \mathrm{~b} / 2 \mathrm{a}$ |  |
| " |  | Cairo | n.d. | 1 | Dekagram border to obv. |
| " |  | ? | ? | 3 a | Pellets \& Diamonds |
| Ahmad | 865 | Cairo | 865 | 4b/2 |  |
| " |  | ? | ? | 4 a |  |
| Khushqadam | 865-872 | Cairo | 865,866 | 4b/2a |  |
| " |  | Cairo | 867 | 4b/5 |  |
| " |  | Cairo | 867 | 5 |  |
| " |  | Cairo | ? | 3b |  |
| " |  | Damascus | ? | 3 a |  |
| Bilbay | 872 | ? | ? | 3 a |  |
| Temirbugha | 872 | ? | 872 | 4 a |  |
| " |  | ? | ? | 5 |  |
| Qa'itbay | 872-901 | Cairo | 881 | 4 a | border linear multilobe ? |
| " |  | Cairo | 886 | 4 b | " n " |
| " |  | Cairo | 886,889 | 4 a | " " |
| " |  | Cairo | 897 | 4b/5 | " |
| " |  | Cairo | ? | 5 | " |
| $\cdots$ |  | Aleppo | 879,892 | 4 b |  |
| " |  | Aleppo | ? | 4b/4a |  |
| " |  | Aleppo | ? | 4 b | Arabesque in centre of obverse |
| " |  | Aleppo | $?$ | 0/4a | Circular obv. cartouche |
| " |  | ? | 896 | 4 b | Arabesque in centre of obverse |

Catalogue of Coins (Continued

| Ruler | Reign | Mint | Dates | Divider <br> Type | Notes |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Qa'itbay |  | ? | 886 | 4 a | Date in words |
| " |  | ? | ? | 4a/2a |  |
| Moharmad | 901-904 | Cairo | 904 | 4 a |  |
| " |  | Cairo | 904 | 4 b |  |
| " |  | Damascus | 902 | 4 a |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \text { al-Zahir } \\ & \text { Qansuh } \end{aligned}$ | 904-905 | Damascus | ? | 4 a |  |
| " |  | no mint? | no date? | 46 | Border linear multilobe |
| Janbalat | 905-906 | no mint ? | no date? | 4 b |  |
| al-(Adil |  |  |  |  |  |
| Tunanbay | 906 | no mint ? | 906 | 4 a |  |
| " |  | " " | ? | 4 b |  |
| २ansuh alGhuri | 906-922 | Cairo | 913 | 4 a |  |
| " |  | Cairo | 914-917 | 5 |  |
| " |  | Cairo | 918-920 | $4 a+5$ | Centre Dividers coils |
| " |  | Damascus | 917-919,22 | 0/4a | mint in rev. cartouche |
| " |  | Alepoo | ? | 4 a | - |
| " |  | no mint | 908 | 4 b |  |
| " |  | no mint | 909-911 | 4 a |  |
| " |  | mint ? | ? | 4 b |  |
| " |  | " | ? | 4 a | Arabesque in centre of obv. |
| " |  | no mint | no date | 0/4a | Obv. cartoucne |
| " |  | " | 911 | 2a/4a |  |
| al-Ashraf Tumanbay | 922 | Cairo | 922 | 4 a |  |

