

A CONTRIBUTION TO DĀNISHMENDID HISTORY: THE FIGURED COPPER COINS

(PLATES 16-17)

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The Dānishmendids were a Turkish family who dominated central Anatolia from the late eleventh century to the third quarter of the twelfth. Despite their important role as adversaries of the Seljūqids of Rūm, the Comnenian rulers of Byzantium, and the early Crusaders, little detailed evidence on their origins and activities is available.

The few surviving monumental inscriptions were collected and deciphered by van Berchem in 1912.¹ Mélikoff and Cahen have gathered the references from Syriac, Greek, Latin, and Arabic chronicles and reconstructed the basic outline of events connected with the family.² Mélikoff has also published a major study of the romantic epic in which Dānishmend himself figures as hero, definitively separating the many elements of legend from the few reliable facts on the family's origins and early history.³

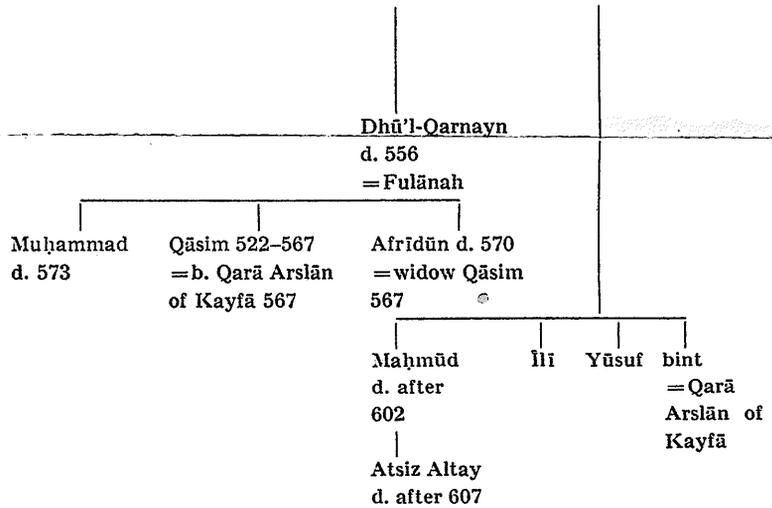
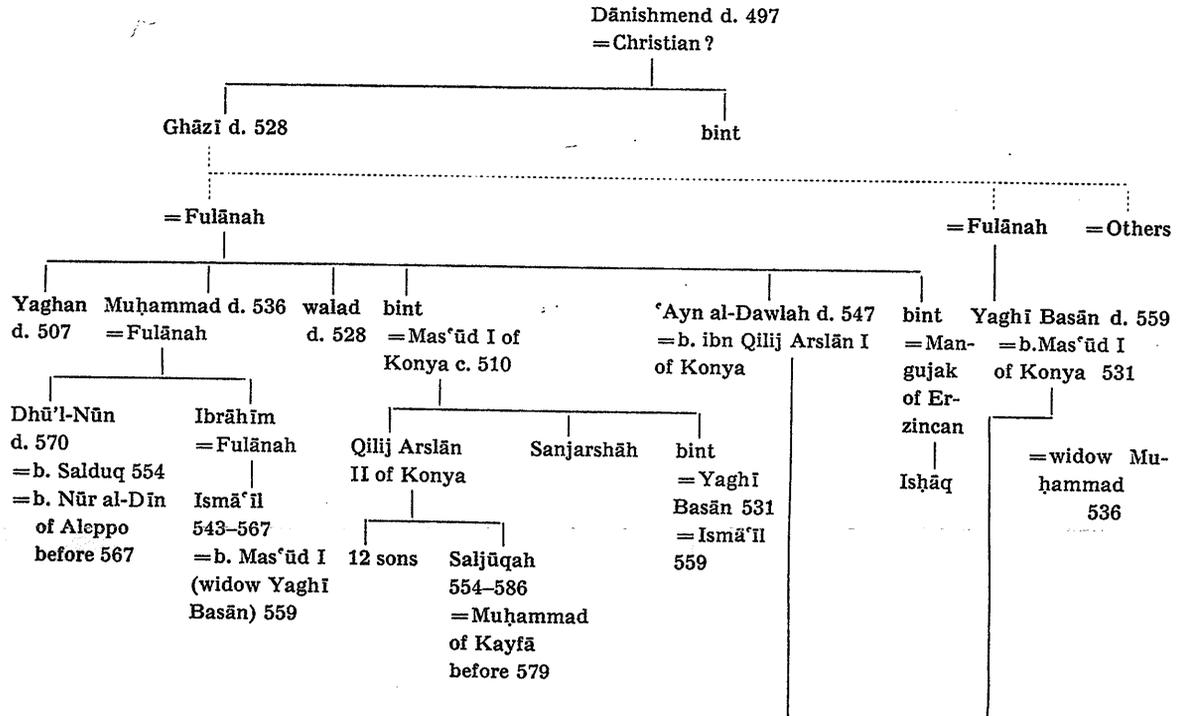
In addition to these limited sources, the Dānishmendids have left us a series of copper coins, which are both valuable as historical documents and intriguing for a number of odd features that characterize them.

¹ M. van Berchem, "Épigraphie des Danishmendides," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, 27 (1912), pp. 85-91.

² *ET²*, s.v. "Danishmendids" (Mélikoff); and C. Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey* (New York, 1968).

³ I. Mélikoff, *La geste de Melik Dānişmend*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1960).

TABLE 1
Genealogy



This body of material was partially identified in the late nineteenth century; Casanova provided the most nearly complete of the early studies.⁴ Some of his more serious errors were later corrected by Laurent.⁵

Until now, however, there has been no detailed and systematic study of these coins, among the earliest to reintroduce figural imagery to Islamic coinage in the mediaeval period. Here we shall examine the known Dānīshmīdid coin types, trace the sources of their imagery, and attempt to establish their chronological sequence in relation to known political events.

Dānīshmīd died in A.H. 497/A.D. 1104 and was succeeded as head of the family by his son Amīr Ghāzī, who was in turn succeeded by a son, Muḥammad, in 528/1134 (see Table 1: Genealogy). Upon the death of Muḥammad at Kayseri in 536/1142, however, the family split into three branches, with capitals at Malatyah, Kayseri, and Sivas. The coins struck after 536 will therefore be presented in the sequence in which they seem to have been issued at each of these three cities, followed by a final general section on chronology and a concluding note on figural imagery.⁶

EARLY DĀNISHMĒDIDS

1. AMĪR GHĀZĪ (A.H. 497-528/A.D. 1104-34)

Type A, Plate 16, 1.

Obv.: Pearled circle encloses inscription in crude Greek uncials, laid out in four rather uneven lines:⁷

⁴ P. Casanova, *Numismatique des Danichmendites* (Paris, 1896) (hereafter, Casanova). This work is a separate reprint of Casanova's articles in *RN* 1894-96.

⁵ J. Laurent, "Sur les émirs danichmendites jusqu'en 1104," *Mélanges offerts à M. Nicolas Iorga* (Paris, 1933), pp. 499-506.

⁶ I am grateful to the following persons for permission to examine the Dānīshmīdid coins in their possession or care: Ibrahim Bey and Cœuriye Hanum Artuk of the Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzesi (IAM); Ibrahim Bey Tözen of the Yapı ve Kredi Bankası, Istanbul (YKB); N. Lowick of the British Museum (BM); M. L. Bates of the American Numismatic Society; and Mr. J. Slocum (JSColl.).

⁷ The terms "obverse" and "reverse" are being used here only to conform to numismatic convention. No die study has been undertaken and what is meant by obverse throughout is the side of the coins on which the inscription begins; the reverse, of course, is the side on which it concludes.

OMEGAC	The great
AMHPAC	amīr
AMHPGA	Amīr Ghā
ZHC	zī ⁸

Sometimes the sigmas at the ends of the lines are reversed. On at least one example there is an ornamental device centered above the inscription; it consists of an X with a dot centered in each of the four spaces.⁹

Rev.: Bust of Christ with cruciform halo encircled by pearly band.

On some examples the halo itself, as well as the arms of the cross, is outlined in "pearls." Occasionally the bust is flanked by the abbreviations \overline{IC} and \overline{XC} . The known examples of this type are so poor in quality that precise description of details is impossible, but one specimen in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, has one "pearl" centered in each arm of the cross and two "pearls" on the chest, suggesting that the figure may be grasping a codex.¹⁰

See: Butak, no. 104; Casanova, pl. 3, 1-2; Schlumberger, nos. 3-5.¹¹
Coins examined: YKB, 1.

⁸ The Arabic equivalent of this inscription would be "al-Amīr al-Kabīr Amīr Ghāzī."

⁹ Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, published in Casanova, pl. 3, 2.

¹⁰ Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, published in Casanova, pl. 3, 1.

¹¹ In addition to Casanova, references to coins are to Artuk (I. and C. Artuk, *Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Teşhirdeki İslâmî Sikkeler Kataloğu*, 1 [Istanbul, 1971]); Butak (B. Butak, *XI., XII. ve XIII. Yüzyıllarda Resimli Türk Paraları* [Istanbul, 1947]); Schlumberger (G. Schlumberger, "Une nouvelle monnaie à légende grecque des émirs danichmendides de Cappadoce: Monnaie de cuivre bilingue de D'soul-Karnéin, émir de Mélitène vers le milieu du XII^e siècle," *Mélanges d'archéologie byzantine* [Paris, 1895]); and Tevhid (A. Tevhid, *Meskükât-i Kadime-i İslâmiye Kataloğu*, 4 [Istanbul, 1903]).

Sources: As far as can be judged from very worn specimens, this type seems to have been derived from pre-reform copper coins of Alexius I Comnenus (A.D. 1081–1118) struck in Constantinople before A.D. 1092.¹² Most of Alexius' post-reform examples differ slightly in detail,¹³ as do those of his successor, John II (A.D. 1118–43).¹⁴

The anonymous folles of the late tenth and eleventh centuries also seem rather similar, though no example on which the bust is cut off as short as on Ghāzī's coin seems to exist. But ornaments similar to that on the front of Ghāzī's coin are particularly frequent on coins of anonymous class A.¹⁵ Furthermore, the rather blunt Greek script seems somewhat related.

The titulary, however, clearly owes nothing to Byzantine coins. It is of a standard Islamic type translated into Greek. As far as Schlumberger was aware, the only approximately contemporary uses of the title "amiras" within the Byzantine empire were connected with Admiral George. For example, it appears on the impression of his personal seal on a document dated 1143 now in the archives of the Cappella Palatina in Palermo. On other documents he used the title *μνοστράτεγος πάσης Ἀνατολῆς*.¹⁶

Although George's adoption of the title "amiras" postdates the striking of the Dānishmendid coins, the connection between the latter and Byzantine personal seals is worth noting. It is particularly apparent in the workmanlike quality of the script, in contrast to the more elegant characters common to coins struck at the capital.¹⁷ Michael Bates has pointed

¹² M. Hendy, *Coinage and Money in the Byzantine Empire 1081–1261* (Washington D.C., 1969), pl. 2, 20–21.

¹³ Hendy (above, n. 12), pl. 8, 1–2; the halo is absent from this example.

¹⁴ Hendy (above, n. 12), pl. 10, 9–11, for examples in billon; pl. 11, 1, for an example in copper.

¹⁵ For examples from class A2 in particular, see *DOC* 3, 2, p. 645, table 24. These coins are datable approximately to A.D. 976–1035.

¹⁶ Schlumberger, *Sigillographie de l'empire byzantin* (Paris, 1884), pp. 343–44 (hereafter, *Sigillographie*). Schlumberger noted that "amiras" apparently meant "admiral" in Greek. According to E. Partridge, *Origins: A Short Etymological Dictionary of Modern English*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1959), the words for "admiral" in mediaeval Latin, French, and English were all ultimately derived from the Arabic "amīr al- . . ."

¹⁷ For examples, see Hendy (above, n. 12), pl. 2, 14–17, all in silver.

out,¹⁸ however, that, as there had been no mints in Anatolia for some centuries, probably the only craftsmen available to the early Dānishmendid amīrs were the seal cutters.

2. MALIK MUḤAMMAD (A.H. 528–36/A.D. 1134–42)

Type A, Plate 16, 2.

Obv.: Four-line inscription in Greek uncial letters within circular frame, sometimes pearled and sometimes plain:

OME	The ki
ΛHKICTI	ng of a
ACHCPΩ	ll Ro
MANIAC	me

The characters tend to be crude and the lines uneven; and because of the poor condition of most of the examples studied, the legends must be pieced together.

Rev.: In frame like that on obverse, inscription continues in four additional lines:

KAIAN	and An
ATOΛHC	atolia
MAXAM	Muḥam
ATIC	mad ¹⁹

See: *Tevhid*, nos. 102–4; *Casanova*, pl. 3, 3–4.

Coins examined: ANS, 2; BM, 1; Fogg Museum (cast at ANS), 1; JSColl., 6; photograph from market, 1969, 1.

¹⁸ Personal communication.

¹⁹ The Arabic version of the obverse would read "Malik Bilād al-Rūm." The reverse, in Arabic, would read "wa'l-Anaṭūl Muḥammad." Once again the connection between the Dānishmendid coins and Byzantine seals is apparent, not only in the script but also in the titulary. As Schlumberger pointed out (*Sigillographie*, p. 333), the common title for the supreme commander of the eastern forces of the Byzantine empire, as it would appear on seals, was *μονοστράτεγος πάσης Ἀνατολῆς* or a variation. It is clear, then, that Muḥammad combined both Islamic and Byzantine features in his protocol.

DĀNISHMENDIDS OF MALAṬYAH

1. ʿAYN AL-DAWLAH ISMĀʿĪL²⁰ (A.H. 536–47; A.D. 1142–52)

Type A, Plate 16, 3.

Obv.: Plain circle encloses three lines of large Greek uncials:

AINAΛ	ʿAyn al-
	Dawlah
OYIOC	the son

Rev.: Plain circle encloses four lines of Greek script like that on the obverse:

TOYME	of the gr
ΓΑΛΟΥΜΕ	eat ki
ΛΗΚΙΑΜΗΡ	ng Amīr
ΓΑΖΗ	Ghāzī ²¹

See: Tevhid, no. 101; Artuk, no. 1180; Butak, no. 103.

Coins examined: BM, 1; JSColl., 2; Bank Leu (cast at ANS), 1.

No coins have previously been attributed to ʿAyn al-Dawlah. The type under discussion here has posed something of a puzzle, for the device at the beginning of the second line has long been thought to be an Arabic ṭughrā; nevertheless, despite its apparent simplicity, no one has ever been able to read it.

Tevhid, who first published this type, suggested that the letters IN in the first line were an abbreviation for “indiction” and that the succeeding alpha, as the first letter in the Greek alphabet, stood for the numeral one, indicating the first indiction year. That the method of dating by cycles of fifteen indiction years was still current in Malaṭyah is proved by the Type A coins of ʿAyn al-Dawlah’s son Dhū’ l-Qarnayn. Tevhid then read the lambda and alpha following the supposed ṭughrā as the numerals three and one. He thus attributed the coin to the

²⁰ Mélikoff (above, n. 2) gives the name of this prince of Malaṭyah as Ismāʿīl.

²¹ The Arabic version of this entire inscription would be “ʿAyn al-Dawlah ibn al-Malik al-Kabīr Amīr Ghāzī.”

thirty-first regnal year of Amīr Ghāzi's son Muḥammad, 528–36 (Tevhid [above, n. 11], pp. 84–85).

There are several problems with this interpretation, however. First, Muḥammad's reign lasted only eight years and those of Amīr Ghāzi's other sons, Yaghī Basān and 'Ayn al-Dawlah, 22 and 11 years respectively. Second, the reading leaves the first alpha of the first line and the final sigma of the second line out of account. Third, it provides no explanation of the placement of an Arabic *ṭughrā* in the middle of a Greek date.

Cahen, on the other hand, read the uncials in the first two lines as Ainalas, a convincing Greek spelling of the Turkish name Inal.²² But he too failed to offer an explanation for the presence of the "ṭughrā."

Probably, this device is not a *ṭughrā* at all but the Greek letters delta and omega written in cursive script. The first two lines can then be read Ainal Dolas or 'Ayn al-Dawlah. That cursive script was sometimes combined with uncials in the mediaeval period is known from inscriptions, for example, that on a tombstone of the year 1236 published by I. Ševčenko.²³ It has not been possible to find a precise duplicate of the particular device on the coins, but B. A. van Groningen has included in his list of cursive abbreviations found in manuscripts several examples of the delta written this way as well as of the connecting line that loops around the second letter (in the *Short Manual of Greek Palaeography*, 3rd rev. ed. [Leyden, 1967], p. 47). T. Mathews of the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, has conveyed to this writer the opinion of C. Mango that the first character of the Dānishmendid "ṭughrā" is indeed a delta.

This is all the more convincing in that Amīr Ghāzi had a son, 'Ayn al-Dawlah, who ruled at Malaṭyah, whereas there is no record of a Dānishmendid named Inal, certainly not one who was in a position to issue coinage. It also seems reasonable to expect that the ruler of Malaṭyah, like his father and brothers, would have struck coins; this type is evidence that he did so.

²² Cahen (above, n. 2), p. 95.

²³ I. Ševčenko, "A Byzantine Inscription from the Period of the Latin Domination in Constantinople," in *Near Eastern Numismatics, Iconography, Epigraphy and History: Studies in Honor of George C. Miles*, D. K. Kouymjian, ed. (Beirut, 1974), pp. 383–86.

2. DHŪ'L-QARNAYN (A.H. 547-57/A.D. 1152-62)

Type A, Plate 16, 4.

Obv.: Plain circle frames three lines of crude cursive script:

الواثق	al-Wāthiq
ذو القرنين بن	Dhū'l-Qarnayn b.
عين الدولة	'Ayn al-Dawlah

In margin, within outer plain circle, is additional inscription in crude Greek uncials:

ΟΜΕΓΑCΑΜΗΡΑCΔΟΛΧΑΡΝΑΙ

The great Amīr Dhū'l-Qarnayn

One example at the ANS is counterstamped with the name "Muḥammad" in cursive Arabic script; it no doubt refers to Dhū'l-Qarnayn's son and successor, Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad.

Rev.: Composition and frames are as obverse. In the field, very crude profile head faces r.

Marginal inscription in Greek uncials:

ΙΝΔΙΚΤΙΟΝΟCΔΕΥΤΕΡΙC

The second indiction

The profile head has no forehead, and the large aquiline nose begins immediately below the hairline. The hair, indicated by simple striations, is gathered into a bun at the back of the neck. A long, pointed beard juts out stiffly, and there seems to be a garment at the base of the neck. The ANS coin mentioned above also has a counterstamp on this side, but it could not be read.

See: Tevhid, no. 117; Artuk, no. 1186; Butak, no. 110; Casanova, pl. 3, 10.

Coins examined: ANS, 5; BM, 2; JSColl., 1.

Sources: Dhū'l-Qarnayn's Type A defies identification with a specific model. There are a few superficial similarities to silver coins of the Parthian Phraates IV:²⁴ the pointed beard masking a thick neck, the

²⁴ See, for example, D. Sellwood, *An Introduction to the Coinage of Parthia* (London, 1971), fig. 51/38.

bun of hair at the back of the disproportionately small crown of the head, and so on. But all the characteristic details of the Parthian image—the clustered curls, the ribbon diadem, and the carefully rendered garment—are absent from the Dānishmendid coins. It is thus most likely that the general similarities are coincidental.

3. NĀṢIR AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD²⁵

(A.H. 557–65/A.D. 1162–70 and A.H. 570–73/A.D. 1175–78)

Type A, Plate 16, 5a, 5b.

Obv.: In circle of large, widely spaced pearls are four lines of crude cursive script:

ناصرالدين	Nāṣir al-Dīn
محمد بن ذى	Muḥammad b. Dhī
لقرنين بن	'l-Qarnayn b.
عين الدو (لة)	'Ayn al-Daw(lah)

Sometimes the fourth line reads 'Ayn al-Daw, and sometimes 'Ayn al-Dawlah. The script looks as if it had been laid out on the die and then cut clumsily, so that the curving lines have an angular, unfinished quality.

Rev.: Two standing figures, facing. Figure at r. with halo, l. hand palm outward, r. hand stretched to crown l. figure. Long robe on r. figure with vertical lines in center and r. of skirt, forming panels marked by horizontal striations. Over shoulders, short cape with appliquéd crosses among folds and on l. shoulder. Cape falls from raised r. arm in long sleeve and drapes over l. Figure also wears headcloth.

Figure on l. wears flat coronet of two rows of "pearls" with pendilia, each ending in triple "pearls." Wears loros edged at chest by bearded band between two plain bands. Loros is wrapped at hips so that across front is rectangular panel with "X" contain-

²⁵ Mélikoff (above, n. 2) refers to this prince as "Naṣr al-Dīn." The spelling on the coins is quite clearly "Nāṣir," however.

ing "pearl" at its intersection and centered in each of its compartments. Loros end trails over figure's l. arm; in l. hand is small anexikakia. Clad in short sleeve, r. arm grasps staff of labarum scepter; its rectangular top has same "X and pearl" pattern as loros, with additional "pearls" at four corners.

Figures' feet and ankles visible below garments. At top center is oval form, with two symmetrical branches sprouting small buds or leaves; on some coins this is more linear and abstract. Flanking figures are two lines of cursive script:²⁶

ثمان خمسين	r. eight fifty
خمسمائة	l. five hundred.

See: Tevhid, no. 118; Artuk, no. 1187; Butak, no. 111; Casanova, pl. 4, 1-2.

Coins examined: IAM, 1; YKB, 4; ANS, 2; JSColl., 1.

Sources: Muḥammad's Type A appears to have been copied rather closely from an electrum coin struck by Manuel I Comnenus (A.D. 1143-80) at Constantinople, the one designated by Hendy as variant A of the first coinage.²⁷ Almost all the details are identical: the labarum scepter, the anexikakia, the decoration of the costumes (the Byzantine clusters of four dots on the Virgin's cape have been fused by the Dānishmendid die cutters into crosses), the precise positioning of both figures' hands, and the presence of inscriptions flanking the image. The only alterations appear to be the omission of the jewels from the coronet of the figure at the left and the substitution of an ornamental device for the letters \overline{MP} \overline{OV} between the two figures.

Muḥammad's coin is unusual in that it imitates a Byzantine type that is very nearly contemporary; in contrast, the closely related image

²⁶ Artuk read the inscription on no. 1187 in the IAM as a date: ثمان خمس خمسمائة (558). Although the reading of this coin is difficult, another example, in the collection of the YKB (Plate, 5b), does seem to confirm it.

²⁷ Hendy (above, n. 12), pl. 13, 1.

on the reverse of a coin struck by the Artuqid Alpī of Mārdīn, probably in 1155, was based on a Byzantine model of the early eleventh century.²⁸

Type B, Plate 16, 6.

Obv.: In pearled circle, three rather uneven lines of tall cursive script:

ناصر الدين ابو الفتح	Nāṣīr al-Dīn Abū'l-Faṭḥ
محمد بن ذو القرنين	Muḥammad b. Dhū'l-Qarnayn
نصير امير المؤمنين	Naṣīr Amīr al-Mu'minīn

Although by no means refined, the script does not have the angular, "cut-out" look of that on Type A.

Rev.: Rider mounted on galloping horse, r. Hair pulled back into bun, and chin encircled by short beard rendered as small knobs. Clad in fitted, short-sleeved tunic with short skirt; around waist, wide band of two rows of oval plates. Rider's r. foot planted on body of serpent, with r. hand grasping end of lance, which is thrust into serpent's open jaws. In l. hand figure grasps reins attached to curb bit on horse's muzzle. No details of saddle or stirrup visible, but strap to secure former passes across horse's hind quarters and under knotted tail. Scaly body of small serpent is uncoiled and stretches beneath horse's galloping hooves with gaping jaws turned upward. Entire image surrounded by pearled circle.

See: Casanova, pl. 4, 3.

Coins examined: YKB, 5; ANS, 1.

Sources: The image on Type B is derived from traditional representations of cavalier saints slaying dragons, which had been current in the Near East for centuries. Der Nersessian traced this representation to Greek bronze coins struck at Isinda in Pisidia during the first century B.C.²⁹

²⁸ See *BMCOr*, pl. 8, 372; for the gold coins of Romanus III that served as models see *DOC* 3, 2, pl. 56, 1d.1, 1d.8.

²⁹ *BMCLycia*, pp. 223–24, nos. 4–9, pl. 36, 3–5. Der Nersessian mistakenly located Isinda in Lycia; see *Aght'amar: Church of the Holy Cross* (Cambridge, Mass., 1965), p. 24. See also *SNGvAulock* 5032–35.

It remained popular in the same province throughout the Roman period.³⁰ On these coins the serpent is always coiled beneath the horse's feet, but sometimes it also rears its head up in front of the animal's face. The rider is, of course, in classical costume and helmet; he holds his lance as if to thrust it forward, rather than straight down, and it is rarely aimed directly into the serpent's jaws.

According to Grabar, these ancient examples denote imperial triumph.³¹ Although the precise type of mounted emperor thrusting a lance at a serpent coiled beneath his horse's feet disappeared from Byzantine coinage until after the period with which we are concerned,³² it was adapted for representations of cavalier saints in other eastern Christian milieux, especially in eastern Anatolia and Georgia.³³

The first example cited by Der Nersessian is on a capital dated to the sixth century, which was found at Dvin in the old province of Armenia; a serpent is said to be coiled beneath the feet of the horse.³⁴ This relief survives in only fragmentary form, and it is not at all clear that it represents either a cavalier or a serpent. Sotiriou dated to the seventh century a similar representation of St. Theodore fighting a serpent on an icon in the monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai.³⁵

³⁰ Hadrian (A.D. 117-38) struck such a type in bronze at Baris; *SNGvAulock* 5009. For bronze types struck at Isinda see those of Lucius Verus (A.D. 161-69), *SNGvAulock* 5037; of the time of Caracalla (A.D. 188-217), *BMCLycia*, p. 224, no. 10, pl. 36, 5; of Septimius Severus (A.D. 193-211), *SNGvAulock* 5048; of Valerian (A.D. 233-60), *SNGvAulock* 5048; and of Trebonianus Gallus (A.D. 251-53), *BMCLycia*, p. 226, no. 19, pl. 36, 10. In addition, see the reverse of a gold coin of Constantius II (A.D. 324-361) said to have been struck in Milan; H. Cohen, *Description historique des monnaies frappés sous l'empire romain communément appelés médailles impériales*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1888), 7, p. 443.

³¹ A. Grabar, *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin* (Strasbourg, 1936), p. 47, n. 4.

³² Schlumberger published a rare seal with such an image belonging to a minor Byzantine official; he attributed it to the end of the Comnenian period (*Sigillographie* [above, n. 16], p. 502). The seal is not well preserved, but from Schlumberger's drawing it is possible to see that the horse is galloping and the serpent uncoiled beneath its feet. These features are similar to those on Muḥammad's coin, but the halo, the fluttering cape, and the flexed position of the rider's leg are all quite different.

³³ Der Nersessian (above, n. 29), p. 24.

³⁴ See K. Kafadarian, "Les fouilles de la ville de Dvin (Duin)," *RevÉtArmin* 2 (1965), pl. 33, fig. 33.

³⁵ G. and M. Sotiriou, *Icones du Mont Sinai*, 1 (Athens, 1956), fig. 30.

Strzygowski also attributed to the seventh century a relief with a coiled serpent from the "palace church" in the citadel at Ani near Nakhichevan,³⁶ but Brosset believed that it could not have been carved earlier than 1072.³⁷

The early tenth-century reliefs on the Armenian church at Aght'amar include an image of St. Theodore thrusting his lance into the open jaws of the serpent, whose body is tied in a heart-shaped knot. The saint is clad in armor, and his head is encircled by a halo.³⁸ Another image of St. Theodore, this time with a coiled dragon, is carved on a tympanum at the church of Nicorzmina in Georgia; Baltrušaitis dated it without explanation to the eleventh century.³⁹

It is clear that the type of warrior saint had a long history in the Christian Near East. On the majority of these images the saint is clad in armor with a short cape, his head is encircled by a halo, and his body is turned so that the head and torso are nearly frontal. The horse usually has its feet firmly planted on the ground, and the serpent is knotted or coiled beneath them.⁴⁰

A somewhat different version of this basic image appeared in the early twelfth century on copper coins of the Crusader Prince Roger, who usurped the throne of Antioch in the guise of regent for Bohemond II between A.D. 1112 and 1119.⁴¹ Here the body of the mounted warrior is nearly in profile, though still clad in armor and with a halo. He leans forward to thrust his lance forcibly into the mouth of a small serpent,

³⁶ J. Strzygowski, *Die Baukunst der Armenier und Europa*, 1 (Vienna, 1918), pp. 288-90, fig. 329. Strzygowski also mentioned two painted cavalier saints flanking the apse of the church of Lmbat at nearby Artik, vol. 2, pp. 498-99, fig. 530. As no photograph is available, it is unclear whether or not they are combating serpents.

³⁷ M. Brosset, *Les ruines d'Ani*, 1 (St. Petersburg, 1860), pp. 33-34, pl. 37.

³⁸ Der Nersessian (above, n. 29), fig. 30.

³⁹ J. Baltrušaitis, *Études sur l'art médiéval en Géorgie et en Arménie* (Paris: 1929), pp. 47-48, 58, 79, 80, pl. 67, fig. 108.

⁴⁰ This same general kind of representation was still known in the thirteenth century; a relief with a pair of mounted warriors thrusting lances into the open mouths of coiled serpents occurs above the so-called "royal door" to the sanctuary of the monastery church of Mār Behnām southeast of Mosul; see C. Preusser, *Nordmesopotamische Baudenkmäler* (Leipzig, 1911), pl. 10, top.

⁴¹ G. Schlumberger, *Numismatique de l'Orient Latin* (Paris, 1878), pp. 48-49, pl. 2, 12.

whose uncoiled body is stretched out beneath the feet of the galloping horse. The entire image is framed in a pearled circle, and the inscription in the field identifies the figure as St. George.

In several details Muḥammad's coins seem more closely related to those of Roger than to any of the ancient, Byzantine, or other Christian examples that have been traced. Here too the body is nearly in profile and leaning forward, the horse galloping, the serpent's body uncoiled. Although the halo and cape have been omitted, the short skirt and long sleeves are similar; even the markings on the torso may have been intended to indicate armor.

Schlumberger remarked that a number of Islamic princes adopted Roger's coin image.⁴² As far as we know, however, Muḥammad was the only Muslim to strike a coin with a mounted figure thrusting his lance into the open jaws of a serpent, and he did so more than half a century later.⁴³ Whether Roger's coins were still known in nearby Malatyah or whether there is a "missing link," is not clear.

4. FAKHR AL-DĪN QĀSIM (A.H. 565-67/A.D. 1170-72)⁴⁴

Type A, Plate 17, 7a, 7b.

Obv.: Four uneven lines of not particularly fine cursive script encircled by pearled band:

فخرالدين	Fakhr al-Dīn
قاسم بن ذى	Qāsim b. Dhī
القرنين بن	'I-Qarnayn b.
عين الدولة	'Ayn al-Dawlah

Rev.: Within pearled circle is large lion, sejant, with r. forepaw raised, head turned slightly toward rear.

⁴² Schlumberger (above, n. 41), p. 49.

⁴³ See section on Chronology below.

⁴⁴ Qāsim replaced his exiled brother Muḥammad in 565 but was killed in an accident on his wedding day in 567; J.-B. Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1899-1910), 3, p. 343 (hereafter, Chabot, *Chronique*). He was succeeded by a third brother, Afrīdūn, who was driven out in his turn by Muḥammad in 570. Qāsim thus ruled for about two years (Mélíkoff, above, n. 2).

The illustrated example, which is from the collection of the Yapı ve Kredi Bankası in Istanbul, has been overstruck on the back of Muḥammad's Type A;⁴⁵ the large ḥā' and following letters of the inscription at the right of the latter can be seen on the haunch of the lion, unfortunately obscuring the arrangement of the tail. On the example published by Casanova, however, the tail curls around the haunch on the near side and waves in the air. Only one hind leg is shown. The surface of the animal's body has been carefully rendered, with short lines for the ribs and hair indicated along the back, around the edge of the haunch, along the belly, and, of course, over the entire neck.

The image appears to have been encircled by a marginal inscription, of which a trace can be seen at the top left (al-Imām ?), but it is not well enough preserved to be read.

See: Tevhid, no. 119; Butak, no. 112; Casanova, pl. 4, 5.

Coins examined: YKB, 2.

Sources: This type is one of the few Islamic coins of this period to bear the image of a single animal, and indeed it seems to be the first one to do so. As it appeared at about the same time as Dhū'l-Nūn's Type B (with lion rider), it is possible that the apparent new preference for the beast as a coin image may have arisen from a single source.

Of the three possibilities suggested for Dhū'l-Nūn's coins—ancient coins, Byzantine eulogies (commemorative pieces for pilgrims to a religious shrine), and European ivory game pieces—the second seems a most unlikely source for the present image. Many ancient coins carry lions, but there seems to be none on which the position of the beast is as it is here.⁴⁶ The gaming pieces, too, include various animal images and

⁴⁵ This was pointed out by Heinz Gaube.

⁴⁶ For a striding lion, see the bronze coins of King Amyntas of Galatia (36–25 B.C.), *BMC Galatia*, p. 13, nos. 8–13, pl. 1, 5–7; for a standing lion, see bronze coins from Samosata in 31 B.C.–A.D. 38, pp. 116–17, nos. 1–16, pl. 16, 3–5; for a seated lion, see bronze coins of the second and first centuries B.C. from Pessinus, p. 18, 1–2, pl. 3, 10.

could have served as a source for this coin, but again there seems to be no exact parallel.⁴⁷

The lion was, of course, a prominent feature of Hittite and neo-Hittite sculpture; particularly relevant here are the great lions found flanking the palace gate at Malatyah, where Qāsīm's coin was no doubt struck.⁴⁸ It is difficult to know how much ancient sculpture was still visible in the twelfth century, but, as the Hittite and neo-Hittite lions are quite unlike the image on Qāsīm's coin, they clearly are not directly related.

It seems, then, that, like so many Dānīshmendid coin images, this one too for the present defies precise association with a prototype.

DĀNISHMENDIDS OF KAYSERI

1. ʿIMAD AL-DĪN DHŪ'L-NŪN (A.H. 536-70/A.D. 1142-75)

Type A, Plate 17, 8.

Obv.: Small pearly circle frames inscription of large cursive Arabic characters, not particularly refined:

عماد	ʿImād
الدين	al-Dīn

In margin between pearly frame and outer plain circle is inscription in Greek uncials, beginning at top l.:

OMEAMHPACΔANOYNHC The gre(at) amir Dh'al-Nūn⁴⁹

Rev.: Composition and frames same as on obverse. Field inscription in Arabic cursive characters:

بن الملك	b. al-Malik
محمد	Muḥammad

⁴⁷ For generally similar images, see A. Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen aus der romanischen Zeit XI.-XIII. Jahrhundert* 3 (Berlin, 1923), pl. 57.

⁴⁸ H. Frankfort, *Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient*, 4th rev. ed. (Baltimore, 1969), pl. 133A.

⁴⁹ In Arabic this inscription would read al-Amīr al-Ka(bīr) Dhū'l-Nūn. A.S chimel has pointed out, in a personal communication, that Dh'al-Nūn is a more likely reading than Dhā'l-Nūn, reflecting probable local pronunciation.

Marginal inscription in Greek uncials:

ΟΥΙΤΩΜΕΛΗΚΜΑΧΑΜΑΤΙC the son of Malik Muḥammad⁵⁰

See: Tevhid, nos. 108-10; Artuk, no. 1183; Butak, no. 107; Casanova, pl. 3, 6.

Coins examined: ANS, 4; BM, 2; Fogg Museum (cast at ANS), 1; JSColl, 1; Knobloch (cast at ANS), 1.

Type B, Plate 17, 9.

Obv.: In plain or pearly circle man rides lion r.; in r. hand sword brandished above his head. Lion has curly hair on chest and shoulders, tail waves erect. Rider wears short garment with long, fitted sleeves and leggings, with leg longer than those of the lion as though bracing himself on ground.

Marginal inscription, enclosed in outer circle, pearly or plain, begins at top r. in Arabic cursive script:

الامير الاسفهلار الاجلّ ال	al-Amīr al-Isfahsalār al-Ajall al-
سيّد الكبير عماد الدين	Sayyid al-Kabīr 'Imād al-Dīn

Obv.: Composition and frames same as on obverse.

Marginal inscription in cursive characters:

نصر الاسلام شيربان بك جبك سوار	Naṣr al-Islām Shīrbān ⁵¹ Bik Jabuk Suwār
ملك الامراء ابو شجاع	Malik al-Umarā' Abū Shujā'

⁵⁰ The Greek translates exactly the Arabic field inscription.

⁵¹ Artuk has read this word as shahriyār, but shīrbān is more likely; this Persian word also makes good sense as part of the titulary. Although the title Shīrbān Bik was not a common one, it was also borne by one of the Artuqids of Alpī's generation, Mamdūd ibn Ali ibn Alp Yāruq ibn Artuq, who died in A.H. 566. This reading seems more likely than Shīrbārīk, as Cahen has it. Ibn al-Azraq, f. 177v.; Cahen, "Le Diyār Bakr au temps des premiers urtuqides," *Journal Asiatique* 127 (1935), p. 268.

Field inscription in four lines of cursive script:

الملك	al-Malik
ذالنون بن	Dh'al-Nūn b.
محمد سيف	Muḥammad Sayf
أمير المؤمنين	Amīr al-Mu'minīn

See: Tevhid, nos. 111–14; Artuk, no. 1184; Butak, no. 108; Casanova, pl. 3, 7.

Coins examined: IAM, 1; YKB, 2; ANS, 6; BM, 4; JSColl., 3.

Sources: The lion rider wielding a sword has proved to be very difficult to trace to its origins. On a number of ancient coins from Cilicia and other parts of Asia Minor Cybele is depicted riding a lion, but she is always seated sideways and, of course, carries no weapons.⁵² A closer parallel from ancient times is the image of a naked Eros astride a lion and brandishing a whip, which occurs on a bronze coin struck by Geta (A.D. 209–12) at Pessinus (near modern Bala Hissar) southwest of Ankara.⁵³ The lion itself is in full profile, with tail lowered and all four feet planted on a ground line, rather than conforming to the circular shape of the coin, as the Dānishmendid lion does.

A more intriguing possibility is raised by a lead disk in the Byzantine Museum at Athens, on which the martyred St. Mamas is represented riding on a lion.⁵⁴ The saint wears a long robe, is seated sideways, and carries no weapons in his hands. But the position and details of the lion are very nearly identical with those on Dhū'l-Nūn's coin: the position of the feet, the tail waving behind, the head turned slightly toward the viewer. The image is also encircled by a marginal inscription. Marava-Khatzinikolaou has ascribed this disk to the sixth century on the basis of its epigraphy.⁵⁵ What makes it worthy of attention here is that it is a "eulogy," struck as a commemorative piece for pilgrims to a re-

⁵² See, for example, *SNGvAulock*, pl. 211, 6148 (photograph mislabeled 6151); *BMCGalatia*, pl. 17, 15.

⁵³ *BMCGalatia*, p. 23, 29, pl. 4, 11.

⁵⁴ A. Marava-Khatzinikolaou, "Euloghia tou Aghiou Mama," *A Dell* 1960, p. 137.

⁵⁵ Marava-Khatzinikolaou (above, n. 54), p. 135.

ligious shrine. Until well into the Middle Ages the eastern center of the cult of St. Mamas was Kayseri Caesaria, the city in which Dhū'l-Nūn almost certainly struck his Type B coins. Although there are only a few other mediaeval representations of St. Mamas riding a lion, it is conceivable that such commemorative pieces continued to be distributed at Kayseri into the twelfth century and inspired the Dānishmendid coins.⁵⁶

A third possible source of the lion-rider image is Romanesque Europe. Such figures did occasionally occur, but they were usually representations of Samson. In the Bible story Samson, on the way to his own wedding, strangled the lion with his bare hands, and he is rarely represented with a weapon.⁵⁷

Both Linda Papanicolaou and Charles Little, in personal communications to this writer, remarked on the similarity of the coin image to those on ivory gaming pieces from mediaeval Europe. Although there appear to be no identical images, there are several that seem closely related. One such piece is carved with a man riding on a goat and brandishing an ax.⁵⁸ On another, a figure, possibly Samson, is astride a lion whose jaws

⁵⁶ E. Kirschbaum and W. Braunfels, eds., *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, 8 vols. (Rome, Friburg, Basel, and Vienna, 1968–76), hereafter *Lexikon*, specifically vol. 7, pp. 483–85. This subject seems to have been popular in Georgia. For example, see the silver and gilt repoussé disk in the Georgian Museum of Fine Art, S. Amiranashvili, *Georgian Metalwork from Antiquity to the Eighteenth Century* (London and New York, 1971), figs. 19–20; the date is uncertain, but the piece surely belongs to the early Middle Ages. See also one miniature from a copy of the *Works of Gregory Bogoslaw*, illustrated at the turn of the thirteenth century in a monastery at David-Garedzhe (Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the Georgian S.S.R., ms. A 109), S. Amiranashvili, *Gruzinskaya Miniatura* (Moscow, 1966), pl. 55.

⁵⁷ For examples of figures, including Samson, riding lions, see O. von Falke and E. Mayer, *Romenische Leuchter und gefässe Giessgefässe der Gotik* (Berlin, 1935), p. 83, pls. 36, 83 and 90, 216–17. According to one reference work, Samson is sometimes represented cutting the throat of the lion, but no specific instance of such a representation is mentioned. See H. Sachs, E. Badstübner, and H. Neumann, *Christliche Ikonographie in Stichworten* (Munich, 1975), p. 308. Curiously, Samson is represented stabbing the lion in a relief on the tenth-century Armenian church of Aght'amar on Lake Van, but there he crouches before the beast, rather than straddling it; Der Nersessian (above, n. 29), p. 25, pl. 43.

⁵⁸ Goldschmidt (above n. 47), p. 46, pl. 55, 211; V. B. Mann, "Romanesque Ivory Tablemen" (Ph. D. diss., New York University, 1977), pl. 54, 107; 65, 128.

he grips with his hands. His short cape and hair fly out behind.⁵⁹ Both these pieces were dated generally to the second half of the twelfth century by Goldschmidt. He reproduced a number of other pieces on which human figures are mounted on various animals, real and fantastic, and brandishing weapons.⁶⁰ Gaming pieces, by the way, are just the kind of portable object likely to have been carried into Asia Minor by participants in the Second Crusade.⁶¹

Dhū'l-Nūn's coin image has something in common with each of the three possible sources suggested, but it is identical to none of them, as far as can be determined at present.⁶² But it is notable that the image, once adopted, enjoyed considerable popularity in the Near East: It was copied at Arbil, Mārdīn, and Ḥiṣn Kayfā.⁶³ In addition, the Crusader Hugues de Gibelet adopted it for his seal, of which there is an impression on a bulla appended to a document of 1248.⁶⁴

Type C, Plate 17, 10.

Obv.: Pearled or plain circle encloses field inscription in cursive characters in uneven lines.

ناصر الدنيا	Nāṣir al-Dunyā
و الدين شرف	wa'l-Dīn ⁶⁵ Sharaf
الاسلام	al-Islām

⁵⁹ Goldschmidt (above, n. 47), p. 47, pl. 55, 217.

⁶⁰ Goldschmidt (above, n. 47), pls. 54-56.

⁶¹ There is evidence that some coins from nearby northern Mesopotamia drew their imagery from European sources in this period, see E. J. Whelan, "The Public Figure: Political Iconography in Medieval Mesopotamia" (Ph. D. diss., New York University, 1979).

⁶² A. Schimmel, in a personal communication, has called attention to the story of Shaykh Abū'l-Ḥasan Kharrāqānī recounted by the thirteenth-century mystical poet Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī. In the story the Shaykh appears to a disciple, seated atop a bunch of faggots on the back of a lion; he wields a whip that is actually a serpent. See R. A. Nicholson, trans., *The Mathnawī of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī*, 6 (London, 1934), pp. 376-77.

⁶³ See respectively coins of Muẓaffar al-Dīn Kūkbūrī, Nāṣir al-Dīn Artuq Arslān of Mārdīn, and Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd of Kayfā, in *BMCOr* 3, pl. 12, 658; Artuk, no. 1184; *BMCOr* 3, pl. 7, 356.

⁶⁴ G. Schlumberger, F. Chalandon, and A. Blanchet, *Sigillographie de l'Orient latin* (Paris, 1943), p. 45, no. 105, pl. 14, l. The authors called the animal a "griffin," but it does not have the features of a griffin.

Marginal inscription in larger cursive characters framed by outer plain or pearly circle, begins at top r.:

الملك الاجلّ السيد الكبير	al-Malik al-Ajall al-Sayyid al-Kabīr
(عماد الدين?) العالم العادل	al-‘Ālim al-‘Ādil (‘Imād al-Dīn?)

Rev.: Composition, script, and frames are same as on obverse. Marginal inscription begins at top l.:

نصر الاسلام و المسلمين ملك	Naṣr al-Islām wa'l-Muslimīn Malik
بلاد الروم و الان(طول)	Bilād al-Rūm wa'l-Ana(ṭūl)

Italicized words sometimes omitted. Field inscriptions again arranged in three uneven lines:

ذالنون بن	Dh'al-Nūn b.
الملك محمد سيف	al-Malik Muḥammad Sayf
امير الموه(نين)	Amīr al-Mu'mi(nīn)

See: Tevhid, nos. 115–16; Artuk, no. 1185; Butak, no. 109; Casanova, pl. 3, 8.

Coins examined: ANS, 1.

The presence of Nāṣir al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn on this coin led Tevhid to assume that Dhū'l-Nūn had changed his surname from 'Imād al-Dīn (see Type B), and subsequent scholars have seemed to agree (for example, Butak, no. 109; Artuk, no. 1185). It is more probable, however, that two different men are mentioned on this coin. The first clue is the presence of two titles with Islām—Sharaf a-Islām in the obverse field and Naṣr al-Islām in the reverse margin—a redundancy that does not normally occur in Islamic titulary.

The standard protocol for Islamic titles was first explored by M. van Berchem, using the anonymous fifteenth-century text generally known as the *Dīwān al-Inshā'*, and Elisséeff has provided an excellent analysis of their use in the second half of the twelfth century in Syria.⁶⁵

⁶⁵ M. van Berchem, *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum* I, 3, "Le Caire," pp. 441–50, and N. Elisséeff, "La titulature de Nūr al-Dīn d'après ses inscriptions," *BÉtOrient* 14 (1952–54), pp. 155–96.

According to these sources, the title with Islām always follows the surname portion containing al-Dīn, and it is here that the difficulty with Dhū'l-Nūn's coin arises, for the inscription on the reverse of the coin begins with Naṣr al-Islām, which we know from Type B to have been one of his titles. It should continue from the inscription on the obverse ending in the surname, but unfortunately the end of the obverse marginal inscription cannot be read on any of the examples studied. The remainder of the marginal inscription is quite similar to that on Type B, the major change being the upgrading of al-Amīr al-Isfahsalār to al-Malik. The reasonable expectation, then, is that the end also follows Type B, with the surname 'Imād al-Dīn.

The full protocol would then read: al-Malik al-Ajall al-Sayyid al-Kabīr al-'Ālim al-'Ādil 'Imad al-Dīn Naṣr al-Islām wa'l-Muslimīn Malik Bilād al-Rūm wa'l-Ana(ṭūl) Dh'al-Nūn ibn al-Malik Muḥammad Sayf Amīr al-Mu'minīn. This reading conforms in every respect to both the standard Islamic protocol of the period and to the sequence on Dhū'l-Nūn's Type B: obverse margin, reverse margin, reverse field. The obverse field inscription on Type C thus replaces the image of the lion rider on Type B. It is quite brief, consisting only of a surname and one title, but in the proper order. The identity of this Nāṣir al-Dīn is a puzzle, which will be examined in the discussion of chronology below.

DĀNISHMENDIDS OF SIVAS

1. NIZĀM AL-DĪN YAGHĪ BASĀN (A.H. 536-59/A.D. 1142-64)

Type A, Plate 17, 11.

Obv.: In double pearly circle three lines of uneven cursive script:

الملك العادل	al-Malik al-'Ādil
نظام الدين ياغى بسان)	Nizām āl-Dīn Yaghī Basā(n)
بن ملك غارى	b. Malik Ghāzī

On some examples, fleur-de-lis centered below inscription.

Rev.: Circle of widely spaced pearls frames bust with head in profile r. Face has sharp chin and large aquilline nose; lips and huge eye turn down at outer corners; ear also quite large. On low forehead rests "diadem" of three rows of "pearls,"⁶⁶ with three sections of broad, striped ribbon falling down behind. On some examples only simple band encircles head. Shoulders, in three-quarter view, swathed in richly pleated garment fastened in front below high, wrapped collar. Marginal inscription, in cursive characters, framed by beaded circle:

(بن) ملك دانشمند ظهير امير (b.) Malik Dānishmend Ṣahīr Amir
المؤمنين al-Mu'minīn

See: *Tevhid*, nos. 105-6; *Butak*, no. 105; *Casanova*, pl. 3, 9.

Coins examined: IAM, 1; YKB, 3; ANS, 3; BM, 1; JSColl., 1

Sources: This image is rather unskillfully rendered, and it may be partly for that reason that it has been impossible to find a specific model for it. Although the details of garment and diadem are clear, they do not seem to appear on any ancient, Byzantine, Islamic, or Crusader coin. Nor has a survey of other media, including those from both eastern and western Christian circles, been more rewarding. It is conceivable that the die cutter in this instance was working "from the life," but unfortunately there is no specific detail that would help to confirm this possibility. For the time being, the sources of this type must remain an open question.

2. SHAMS AL-DĪN ISMĀ'IL⁶⁷ (A.H. 559-67/A.D. 1164-72)

Type A, Plate 17, 12a, 12b.

Obv.: In beaded circle, three lines of large cursive script:

الملك العالم	al-Malik al-Ālim
العادل شمس	al-Ādil Shams
الدنيا و الدين	al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn

⁶⁶ The top row may be curls of hair.

⁶⁷ Ismā'īl was a grandson of Yaghī Basān's brother Muḥammad; he married Yaghī Basān's widow and ruled at Sivas after his death.

There are two main variants of this type. On the first the script is unornamented. On the second the script is pointed: There are three points above *shīn* in *Shams*, one above *nūn* in *Dunyā*, and one or two above *nūn* in *Dīn*. On one example at the ANS there is a small hook above the *ʿayn* in *ʿĀlim*.

Rev.: Within pearled circle figure seated facing on throne, both feet planted on ground. In margin between pearled circle and outer frame of same kind, inscription in rather large cursive characters:

ابو المظفر اسمعيل بن ابراهيم بن	Abu'l-Muẓaffar Ismāʿil b. Ibrāhīm b.
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محمد ظهير امير المؤمنين	Muḥammad Zahīr Amīr, al Mu'minīn
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On the first variant (not illustrated) the details of the costume are not clear, but on some examples of the second we can recognize a short, patterned caftan with a pearled hem at about knee height. The legs are clad in pantaloons, the feet in boots. The right arm, in a full sleeve that masks the hand, is in position to hold a codex against the chest, but there is no codex; on the second variant the folds of the sleeve are rendered by schematic lines. The left arm is not shown on either variant. The facial features are difficult to make out. On the first variant the shoulder-length hair is parted in the middle; on the second the face is flanked by long braids.

The throne on the first variant has a high back, with an arch-shaped form in the center serving to frame the figure's head. The throne back has a pearled edge, and there is a knob at each upper corner. On each side of the figure parts of two concentric rectangles decorating the surface of the throne back are visible. The seat is also edged by "pearls," and directly above it at the sides are the ends of the cushion on which the figure is seated; the cushion ends are flanked by two additional knobs indicating the arms of the throne. The front legs are indicated by two pairs of plain lines flanking single rows of "pearls." On some versions the field on either side of the image is filled with clusters of two and three dots.

On the second variant, which has pointing in the inscription on the obverse, the image on the back also differs in several details: The throne is outlined by a plain, rather than a pearly, band; instead of knobs on the back there are pinnacles consisting of clusters of three dots flanking the central arch-shaped frame; similar clusters mark the arms of the throne; the sides of the throne back are now treated in a manner identical to that of the legs; and the entire throne is also slightly splayed, as if viewed through a tilted lens.

See: *BMCO*r 9, no. 675; *Tevhid*, no. 107; *Artuk*, no. 1182; *Butak*, no. 106; *Casanova*, pl. 6, 4 and 6.

Coins examined: *IAM*, 1; *YKB*, 9; *ANS*, 3; *BM*, 3; *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin* (casts at *ANS*), 3; *JSColl.*, 2.

Sources: The image on this coin was adapted from a billon type struck by Alexius Comnenus in Constantinople after his reform of the coinage in A.D. 1092.⁶⁸ On the Byzantine model the image is of the enthroned Christ with halo. In the adaptation, however, the halo has been converted into a part of the throne back, and the codex has been omitted.

The figure on Ismā'il's coins wears a short caftan, pantaloons, and boots, a type of costume that appears to have originated in central Asia and to have penetrated the heartlands of the Near East as early as the Parthian period.⁶⁹ In Islamic times, it is found on a stucco sculpture from the facade of the audience hall at Khirbat al Mafjar⁷⁰ and on one of the figures decorating wine bottles at Samarra.⁷¹ On a silver medallion of

⁶⁸ Hendy (above, n. 12), pl. 7, 4, p. 86. The billon type belongs to Alexius' third coinage.

⁶⁹ For one example, see the marble statue of King Sanatruq of Hatra in the Iraq Museum; R. Ghirshman, *Persian Art: The Parthian and Sassanian Dynasties 249 B.C.-A.D. 651* (N.Y., 1962), p. 94, fig. 105. See also E. P. Holmes, "The Representation of Costumes in the Reliefs of Taq-i-Bustan," *Artibus Asiae* 31 (1969), pp. 101-46.

⁷⁰ R. W. Hamilton, *Khirbat al-Mafjar: An Arabian Mansion in the Jordan Valley* (Oxford, 1959), p. 228, pl. 55.

⁷¹ E. Herzfeld, *Die Malereien von Samarra* (Berlin, 1927), pl. 69.

al-Muqtadir billāh in the Iraq Museum the mounted horseman wears a short caftan over leggings.⁷²

That the short caftan was still current in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries is clear from reliefs on the bridge at Hiṣn Kayfā, a niche from Sinjār now in the Iraq Museum, and the gateway to Khān Sinjār.⁷³ Also in the Iraq Museum are a number of undated clay figurines of the period on which the details of caftan and leggings are quite clear.⁷⁴ It appears that this combination was one type of military costume of the period.

The most significant aspect of this Dānīshmendid image is the deliberate elimination of the expressly Christian features of the model from which it was copied.

CHRONOLOGY

There are very few fixed points in the chronology of the Dānīshmendid coins. Type A of Amīr Ghāzī must have been struck not long before his death in 528/1134 and thus at least 15 years before the first figured coins struck in northern Mesopotamia by the Artuqid Timurtāsh of Mārdīn.⁷⁵ The single type of Amīr Ghāzī's son Malik Muḥammad must have been issued between 528 and 536.⁷⁶ At this point, however, the Dānīsh-

⁷² I. Salmān, "Ṣuwar min Ḥayyāt al-Khalīfat al-'Abbāsī al-Muqtadir billāh," ("The Aspects of the Life of the Abbasid Caliph al-Muqtadir billāh, Derived from Two Propaganda Dirhams"), *al-Maskūkāt* 4 (1973), p. 10, fig. 1, top.

⁷³ See respectively A. Gabriel, *Voyages archéologiques en Turquie orientale*, 2 (Paris, 1940), pl. 41, 2; G. Reitlinger, "Medieval Antiquities West of Mosul," *Iraq* 5 (1938), pl. 24, 14-15; and Preusser (above, n. 40), pl. 17, bottom (mislabelled).

⁷⁴ Apparently, these figurines have not been published.

⁷⁵ Nicholas Lowick has sent a photograph of a cast taken from a coin with reverse almost exactly like that of Amīr Ghāzī's Type A but with an Arabic inscription on the obverse in the name of Ḍiyā' al-Dīn, perhaps the Salduqid Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Ghāzī of Erzurum, who died in 526; see F. Sümer, "Saltuklular," *Selçuklu Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 3 (1971), pp. 401-10. If this identification is correct, then it would appear that the initiation of figural copper coinage in the 520s was a broader phenomenon than had previously been supposed and that Arabic inscriptions were adopted in eastern Anatolia from the very beginning.

⁷⁶ All events and dates cited here are taken from Mélikoff (above, n. 2), unless otherwise noted.

mendid line split into three branches, and the chronology of the coins becomes less clear.

What follows is largely speculative, based on the assumption that the evolution of the coinage was approximately simultaneous in all three capitals. This assumption is quite arbitrary, but it seems justifiable in that it permits the construction of a coherent pattern of development and thus provides both a point of departure and a target for future attempts to establish Dānishmendid chronology on firmer foundations (see Table 2: Chronological Summary).

At the death of Malik Muḥammad in 536, his brother Yaghī Basān proclaimed himself amīr at Sivas, and another brother, ʿAyn al-Dawlah, established himself in Malaṭyah and Albistān. Malik Muḥammad's son Dhū'l-Nūn was able to retain control of Kayseri, however. It is clear both from the coin inscriptions and from our sketchy knowledge of historical events that Yaghī Basān was preeminent among these three until his death in 559, and it might therefore be supposed that he took the lead in issuing coinage.⁷⁷

The assumption of simultaneous evolution, however, suggests a somewhat different pattern. The two Dānishmendid coin types struck before 536 carry only Greek inscriptions. Only one of Malik Muḥammad's three successors, ʿAyn al-Dawlah, struck a coin with a completely Greek inscription; he died in 547. We shall therefore tentatively conclude that only Greek types were in circulation until 547.

The next phase appears to have been one in which Greek and Arabic inscriptions were combined. ʿAyn al-Dawlah's successor at Malaṭyah, Dhū'l-Qarnayn, struck such a mixed type. This type is particularly important, for it is dated to a second indiction year. The second year of an indiction cycle did fall in Dhū'l-Qarnayn's reign in A.D. 1158/59,

⁷⁷ Among the events supporting this conclusion was Yaghī Basān's abduction in 554 of a daughter of ʿIzz al-Dīn Salduq of Erzurum, who was on her way to be married to the Seljuq Qilij Arslān II; Yaghī Basān married her to his own nephew Dhū'l-Nūn instead, which implies his domination of the latter. Both Sümer (above n. 75), pp. 413-14, and Cahen (above, n. 2), p. 107, place this event in 560 on the basis of the somewhat garbled report of ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* 11 (Beirut, 1966), p. 317; but, as Yaghī Basān died in 559, that is impossible.

equivalent to A.H. 553/54.⁷⁸ This coin also includes an image, the first to occur on Dānīshmīdid coins since Type A of Amīr Ghāzī about 30 years earlier. Unlike its predecessor, however, Dhū'l-Qarnayn's image was not dependent upon a Byzantine model.

The only other Dānīshmīdid coin on which Greek and Arabic inscriptions are combined is Type A of Dhū'l-Nūn of Kayseri. Because of these inscriptions and the simple protocol, in which Dhū'l-Nūn claimed only the title of amīr, this coin was probably the earliest of his three known types. Indeed, as it is entirely epigraphic, it can be placed between 547, when pure Greek types came to an end with 'Ayn al-Dawlah's death, and 553/54, when Dhū'l-Qarnayn struck his mixed type with an image.

The first pictorial coin with an inscription entirely in Arabic was probably Type A of Yaghī Basān at Sivas. He was the only one of the Dānīshmīdid rulers to use the title al-Malik in his lifetime and to adopt a more elaborate protocol, including al-Malik al-'Ādil and Zāhīr Amīr al-Mu'mīnīn.⁷⁹ Because an image is present, the inscription entirely in Arabic, and the protocol more complex, it seems probable that this coin was struck after Dhū'l-Qarnayn's mixed type (thus between 553 and 559, when Yaghī Basān died). If this is correct, then Yaghī Basān struck no coins during the first two decades of his rule, which is rather surprising. Nevertheless, there is firm evidence that Dhū'l-Qarnayn waited six or seven years after his succession before issuing coins. It seems fair to conclude that the Dānīshmīdids did not automatically mark their succession by issuing coins.

Although Yaghī Basān left several sons, none of them succeeded him; instead, his widow married Ismā'īl, a nephew of Dhū'l Nūn, and together they attempted to hold the throne. Both were killed in 567. Ismā'īl's Type A was thus struck between 559 and 567. It is noteworthy that he adopted for himself the same titles that had been identified with

⁷⁸ The Constantinopolitan system of beginning the indiction year on September 1 continued in Anatolia through the Middle Ages. September 1, 1158, fell about the middle of A.H. 553.

⁷⁹ These titles appear in expanded form in the only known monumental inscription of Yaghī Basān, which is dated A.H. 552; M. van Berchem (above, n. 1), pp. 85-89.

Yaghī Basāh: al-Malik al-ʿĀdil, the kunyah Abū'l-Muzaffar,⁸⁰ and Zāhīr Amīr al-Mu'minīn.

Ismā'il's reign was one of great unrest, as his succession had stirred up rivalries among his relations and brought the intervention of the Seljūqid Qilij Arslān II. It must have been during this interval that Dhū'l-Nūn struck his Type B. This coin, with an image and a purely Arabic inscription, also contains by far the most complex protocol so far, and it probably could have been issued only after the death of Yaghī Basān in 559. Nevertheless, despite the long string of Arabic, Persian, and Turkish titles, Dhū'l-Nūn still had not risen above the status of al-Amīr al-Isfahsalār.

In 563 Dhū'l-Nūn was driven from his throne at Kayseri by Qilij Arslān and took refuge with the Zankid Nūr al-Dīn of Aleppo. Type B thus probably belongs to the period 559-63.

Upon Ismā'il's death in 567 Nūr al-Dīn placed Dhū'l-Nūn on the throne at Sivas, with a guarantee of his protection. But Nūr al-Dīn himself died in 569, and Dhū'l-Nūn was again forced to flee, this time to the Emperor Manuel in Constantinople; he was killed in 570. It is most likely that Type C was struck during this interval at Sivas, 567-69. It was only on this type that Dhū'l-Nūn finally asserted his claim to kingship, calling himself al-Malik al-Ajall and reviving his father's old title Malik Bilād al-Rūm wa'l-Anaṭūl.

Meanwhile, in 557 Dhū'l-Qarnayn died at Malaṭyah⁸¹ and was succeeded by his son Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad, who ruled until 565; he was then driven out, and his brothers Qāsim and Afrīdūn ruled in quick succession. In 570, however, Muḥammad returned to the throne of Malaṭyah under the aegis of Qilij Arslān. Aside from Muḥammad's counterstamp on one of his father's coins, we have two types struck in his own name. Type A includes only the simplest statement of his name and genealogy, whereas Type B includes also his kunyah and the title "Nāṣir Amīr al-Mu'minīn." Type A almost certainly therefore preceded Type B; it is dated to 558.

⁸⁰ Van Berchem (above, n. 1), p. 87, for his reasons for assigning this kunyah to Yaghī Basān.

⁸¹ Cahen (above, n. 2) pp. 100-101, says that he died in 555; Mélikoff's dating is used here.

It seems logical to assign Type B to the period of Muḥammad's restoration (570–73).

One puzzle is whether or not Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad was the person whom Dhū'l-Nūn mentioned on his Type C. It was probably struck between 567 and 569, within the period of Muḥammad's exile from Malaṭyah. Although there is no record of an alliance between these second cousins, it is not impossible that one existed; still, it would have been unusual for a prince to name a lesser figure (other than his designated heir) on his coins. As there are no monumental inscriptions of Nāṣir al-Dīn, we do not know whether or not he bore the title Sharaf al-Islām.

The only other Nāṣir al-Dīn prominent in this period was Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Salduq, who had come to power in Erzurum in 563. It was his kidnapped sister whom Dhū'l-Nūn had married in 554. Unfortunately, almost nothing else is known about him. If there was an alliance between Sivas and Erzurum at this point, the chronicles do not mention it. Unfortunately, neither the one monumental inscription nor the single coin type of this Nāṣir al-Dīn includes a title of his with Islām.⁸²

Neither of these suggestions is very convincing, but there seems to be no other alternative. No Seljūqid, Artuqid, or Zankid, for example, bore the surname "Nāṣir al-Dīn" during this period. In fact, it is curious that none of the Dānīshmīdids seems to have acknowledged an overlord on his coins, even though most of them owed allegiance to the Seljūqids or the Zankid Nūr al-Dīn at various times.

The results of this attempt to reconstruct Dānīshmīdid chronology are uncomfortably schematic at several points. It might be argued, for example, that Yaghī Basān's coin type belongs much earlier in his reign and that the mixed types struck at Kayseri and Malaṭyah simply reflect conservatism in those regions. Equally, the three phases that have been outlined—with pure Greek inscriptions, mixed Greek and Arabic inscriptions, and pure Arabic inscriptions—may well have overlapped to a

⁸² For his 575 inscription in the Great Mosque at Erzurum, see *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe* (Cairo, 1931–64), no. 3349. For the coin see Butak, no. 100; the latter was struck in 585.

degree that has not been acknowledged here. For the moment, however, this reconstruction provides a useful basis for further study and argument about specific points.

TABLE 2
Chronological Summary

Amīr Ghāzī, at Niksar?		
Type A, before 528		
Malik Muḥammad, probably at Kayseri		
Type A, 528–36		
<i>Malaḡyah</i>	<i>Kayseri</i>	<i>Sivas</i>
'Ayn al-Dawlah		
Type A, 536–47		
	Dhū'l Nūn	
	Type A, 547–53	
Dhū'l Qarnayn		Yaghī Basān
Type A, 553–54		Type A, 553–59
Muḥammad		
Type A, 558	Dhū' l Nūn	
Qāsim	Type B, 559–63	Ismā'il
Type B, 565–67		Type A, 559–67
Muḥammad		Dhū' l-Nūn
Type B, 570–73		Type C, 567–69

A NOTE ON DĀNISHMENDID IMAGERY

Although the Dānishmendids seem to have been among the first to introduce copper coins with images, it was their neighbors to the east of the Euphrates who most fully exploited this medium. The output of the Artuqids and Zankids in particular is much better known, partly because they frequently copied the figures on ancient coins.⁸³

It seems that the dynasties of central Anatolia and northern Mesopotamia shared a concern with devising suitable sovereign imagery.⁸⁴ The Dānishmendid coins differ in the sources that were available—and preferred—for emulation. None of these coins is based on an ancient

⁸³ See, for example, S. Lane Poole, *Coins of the Urtuḡi Turkumans* (London, 1875).

⁸⁴ This question has been fully explored in Whelan (above, n. 61).

model; whenever the sources can be traced, they turn out to be Byzantine or occasionally even European objects.⁸⁵

Most of Mesopotamia had been part of the Islamic world since the seventh century, and current Byzantine coins were thus not readily available as models, whereas coins of the ancient rulers of the territory evidently were. Anatolia, on the other hand, had remained part of the Byzantine empire until the invasion of the Turks after 1071. In the mid-twelfth century Greek culture was still predominant in the central region, as the issue of coins first with Greek and then with mixed Greek-Arabic inscriptions attests.⁸⁶ Not until 553-59 (1158-64) did a type with an entirely Arabic inscription appear, Yaghī Basān's Type A.

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⁸⁵ It is significant that the types likely to owe their imagery to European sources, Types B of Dhū'l-Nūn of Kayseri and Muḥammad of Malaṭyah, were struck in the quarter-century following the crossing of Anatolia by the main body of participants in the Second Crusade, who had many encounters with the Dānishmendids.

⁸⁶ Apparently the Seljūqids of Rūm did not begin to issue coins until the mid-twelfth century, when the use of Greek for Islamic inscriptions had been largely abandoned.



1



2



3



4



a

5



6



b



Danishmendid Figured Copper Coins
(size approximate)

Plate 17



a

7



8



9



b



10



11



a

12



b

Danishmendid Figured Copper Coins
(size approximate)