

dirhams of Möngke from the years AH 652-59. However, it is highly peculiar for the Georgian-Hulagid series - the first such instance that this author has seen.

Continuing counterclockwise, one encounters a top marginal segment that is off the flan. Typically with the date formulas on Georgian-Hulagid dirhams of Abaqa, when the word سنة is written in a separate segment, the following element is the word ثمانين ("eighty") - cf. Fig. 1. It is, therefore, probably safe to assume that the missing element from the top segment is the word "eighty."

Moving on to the left marginal segment, one would expect the word ستماية ("six hundred"), but one encounters an inscription that, at first glance, appears blundered and, therefore, illegible:



Fig. 4
Left-hand reverse margin

However, by horizontally flipping the image of the left segment (Fig. 5), one immediately recognises the word ستماية ("six hundred"), which is written on the coin in mirror image:

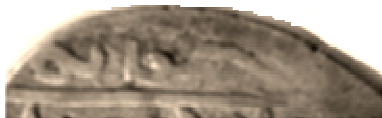


Fig. 5

Compare this "flipped" legend with Fig. 6, which is the word ستماية as written on the dirham from Fig. 1 above:



Fig. 6

Mirror-image inscriptions are not unknown in Georgian numismatics, but it is the first such instance that the author has seen among Georgian-Hulagid coins - and is all the more curious considering that the legend in the right margin is clearly written correctly.

The bottom margin on the coin in Fig. 2 should, in principal, contain the beginning of the date formula - the name of the month. However, one encounters here (Fig. 7) a genuinely blundered inscription bearing little similarity to any of the months of the Islamic calendar:



Fig. 7
Blundered Islamic month

This dirham can thus be dated with reasonable certitude as AH 680, but with a blundered month. It has two anomalies encountered elsewhere in Georgian numismatics but hitherto unpublished, to the best of the author's knowledge, for the Georgian-Hulagid series: the use of the word في ("in") before the word سنة ("the year"), and one segment with the word ستماية ("six hundred") written in mirror image. The mirror-image legend along with the blundered month give credence to the theory that the die-

engravers at the Mongol-era mints in Georgia were mostly or exclusively local Christians (Georgians or possibly Armenians) who did not actually read Arabic and simply engraved the dies, with varying degrees of accuracy, based on their best-guess reading of the Arabic texts given to them.

This theory would also help to explain why the Arabic words سنة ("the year") and ستماية ("six hundred"), which appear on every coin of this series, are nearly always legible. The die engravers, even if they did not understand Arabic, had plenty of practice engraving them on each and every die. The words for the months, however, were constantly changing, giving the engravers little opportunity to master them and creating more possibilities for blunder.

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COINS OF KAYKHUSRAW I, SULAIMĀNŠĀH II AND KAYKĀWUS I

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In my first article I examined the coins of Mas'ūd I, which only comprised copper pieces. Their images imitated the designs on Byzantine coinage, similar to Danishmandid, Artuqid and Zangid coins. Qilijarslān II, who minted silver and gold pieces for the first time, inscribed them with the names of the Abbasid Caliphs, following Islamic tradition. He also displayed the image of a horseman on his copper coins. Moreover, Qilijarslān II and his sons, who ruled in different areas of the Anatolian Seljuq realm, minted copper and silver coins that displayed the title "Malik"⁴².

This article, which complements the first, covers the period up to the beginning of the reign of Alā al-Dīn Kayqubād I (616/1220) and presents the coinage of the three Anatolian Seljuq rulers: Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusraw I (588-593 / 1192-1197) and (601-607 / 1205-1211); Rukn al-Dīn Sulaimānshāh II (593-600 / 1197-1204), and Izz al-Dīn Kaykāwus I (607-616 / 1211-1220). It also describes the titles, epithets, signatures, phrases, and images that appear on the coins of these three sovereigns⁴³.

I: HISTORICAL SURVEY

Kaykhusraw I ruled the Anatolian Seljuqs briefly after the death of Qilijarslān II in 588 (1192)⁴⁴. His elder brother, Rukn al-Dīn

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⁴² See Nezihi Aykut, "Some coins of Mas'ūd I, Qilijarslān II, and the Maliks," *American Journal of Numismatics*, Second Series, 7-8, New York, 1995-96, pp 161-186.

⁴³ I would like to thank Dr Önder Bayır and Dr Brian Johnson for their suggestions and help in preparing this article for publication.

⁴⁴ An Anonymous *Seljuqnāma*, trans. and ed. Feridun Nafiz Uzluk, *Anadolu Selçukluları Devletleri Tarihi* (Ankara, 1952), p. 26 reports that Qilijarslān II's coffin was brought to Qonīa on 20 Sha'bān and that Kaykhusraw I succeeded to the throne on the first Thursday of the month of Ramadān, which fell on 1 Ramadān 588 (=10 September 1192).

Sulaimānshāh, *Malik* of Toqāt, who had promised to leave him and his other brothers alone, challenged him, however. He seized his brothers and forced them to submit to him through royal patents (*manshūrs*)⁴⁵. Gathering his army at Aqsarāy, he marched on Qoniah⁴⁶ and besieged the city. The siege lasted four months before the notables of the city sent an envoy to Sulaimānshāh. They promised that if he lifted the siege they would pay his campaign costs and that if he was set on capturing Qoniah and becoming sultan they would surrender the city to him, but he had to promise to spare Kaykhusraw I, his sons, his entourage or their property and to permit them to go wherever they wished. Upon his acceptance of this offer, Kaykhusraw I received a *sawgand-nāma* (sworn affidavit) from his elder brother.⁴⁷ He then abdicated the throne on 7 Zilkā'da 593 (21 September 1197) and left Qoniah.⁴⁸ Following the route through Lāranda (Qaramān), Sīs (Qozān), Albistān, Malatīyyah, Aleppo, Āmid (Diyārbaqr) and Akhlāt to the Black Sea, he proceeded to Constantinople on ships provided by the *Malik* of Jāniq⁴⁹. In addition to the dated and undated silver coins struck at the Qoniah mint during this first sultanate of Kaykhusraw I between 1192 and 1197, there are also copper coins on which no date or minting place was inscribed.

Sulaimānshāh II succeeded Kaykhusraw, capturing the Qoniah throne on 8 Zilkā'da 593 (22 September 1197)⁵⁰. He put an end to the autonomy of his brothers, taking over the lands which they ruled as *maliks* in various parts of the Seljuq domains. For example, Sulaimānshāh II annexed Amāsiyyah, which belonged to Arghūnshāh. This was followed by Niksār, which belonged to Barqyāruqshāh. He left the Albistān *Malik* Tughrlīshāh in place after the latter had declared his submission. He then took in turn Malatīyyah from Qaisarshāh in Ramadān 597 (June 1201) and Arzurūm from the Saltūqīd dynasty in 598 (1202), giving it to Tughrlīshāh in exchange for Albistān. Finally, after capturing Anqara in Zilkā'da 600 (July 1204) and eliminating Mas'ūd, he re-established the unity of the Seljuqs in Anatolia⁵¹. In this way, Sulaimānshāh II brought to an end the rights of his brothers, as *maliks*, to have coins struck in their own names, a right which they had possessed during the first sultanate of Kaykhusraw I.

At the death of Sulaimānshāh II, the state functionaries voted to elect his young son, Qilijarslān III, as his successor⁵². The

Dānishmand *beys*, however, who had been vassals of Kaykhusraw I when he was *Malik* at the head of the border Turcomans — these were Muzaffar al-Dīn Mahmūd, Zahīr al-Dīn Ili and Badr al-Dīn Yūsuf, the sons of the Dānishmand ruler, Yaghībasān — decided to incite the *beys* attached to Kaykhusraw against the new ruler and to invite Kaykhusraw I once again to the throne¹¹. After concluding an agreement with the other *beys* and securing their written consent to the sultanate of Kaykhusraw I¹², they sent the former *Chamberlain* (*Hājib*) Zakariyyā to Kaykhusraw^{53,13}. While taking refuge from the Latins when they occupied Constantinople in AH 600 (AD 1204)¹⁴, Kaykhusraw I founded a new base on a near-by island that belonged to his father-in-law, Mavrozomes of the Comnenos family¹⁵. Boarding a ship together with his father-in-law and his sons, Kaykāwus and Kayqubād, Kaykhusraw set out for Iznīq. When Laskaris, the emperor of Iznīq, denied him permission to proceed, he obtained a safe passage together with Mavrozomes on the condition that he would give up certain fortresses, namely Honās and Lādiq (Denizli) taken from Byzantium, and leave his sons and his *Chamberlain* (*Hājib*) Zakariyyā as hostages at Iznīq¹⁶. After gathering his forces at Ulūborlī (Borgulī), which he had held during his reign as *malik*¹⁷, and rejoining his two sons, they escaped together with the *Chamberlain* (*Hājib*) Zakariyyā¹⁸. He marched on Qoniah, in Jumāda'l-ūlā 601 (January 1205)¹⁹ and surrounded the city. However, the people of Qoniah, having sworn their allegiance to Qilijarslān III, did not submit to him²⁰. After a month-long siege and with the onset of winter weather, Kaykhusraw I retreated to Āb-ı gherm (İlgın)²¹. Nevertheless, when the people of Aqsarāy, who were rivals of the people of Qoniah, drove out their governor and had the *khutba* recited in the name of Kaykhusraw I²², the people of Qoniah, had a change of heart. They sent a representative to invite Kaykhusraw I²³ (to Qoniah), as ruler. The Toqāt region, which had once been under the administration of his father, Sulaimānshāh II, was given as *iqṭā'* to Qilijarslān III²⁴. Although Qilijarslān III, who ruled for the short space of seven months, must have had coins struck, none has yet been encountered.

This sultanate of Kaykhusraw I, who became sultan of the Anatolian Seljuqs for the second time in Rajab 601 (February

⁴⁵ Ahmad bin Mahmūd, *Seljuq-nāma* (Istanbul, 1977): Erdoğan Merçil, vol. 2, p.149; Aqsarāyī, *Musāmarat al-akhbār*, trans. and ed. M. Nuri Gençosman and F.N. Uzluk, *Selçuki Devletleri Tarihi* (Ankara, 1943), p.127; Ibn Bībī, *al-Avāmīr al-Alā'iyya fī al-Umūr al-Alā'iyya*, (Ankara: Necati Lugal and Adnan Sadık Erzi, 1957), vol. 1, pp.44-45; Yazijizāda Alī, *Tavārikh-i Āl-i Seljuq*, ed. M.Th. Houtsma, *Recueil de Textes Relatives à l'Histoire des Seldjoudides* (Leiden, 1902), p.18.

⁴⁶ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārikh* (Beirut, 1979), vol. 12, p.90; Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-adab*, Köprülü Library, MS., 1188, 17 a; Qādī Ahmad, *al-Walad al-Shafīq*, Fatih Library, MS., 4510, 147 b; Ibn Bībī (Above, n.3), vol. 1, p. 45; Ibn Bībī, *Pharscha Mukhtasar Seljuqnāma*, trans. and ed. M. Nuri Gençosman and F. N. Uzluk, *Anadolu Selçuki Devleti Tarihi* (Ankara, 1941), p.25; Yazijizāda Alī (Above, n.3), p. 18.

⁴⁷ Ibn Bībī (Above, n. 3), vol. 1, pp.45-50; *Mukhtasar Seljuqnāma* (Above, n.4), p. 25; Yazijizāda Alī (Above, n.3), pp. 19-22.

⁴⁸ An Anonymous *Seljuqnāma* (Above, n.2), p.27 reports that Kaykhusraw I left the city at midnight on Tuesday, 7 Zilkā'da, when the siege became fierce. However, 7 Zilkā'da did not fall on a Tuesday but on a Wednesday. If this is true, then Kaykhusraw I left Qonia on the night of Tuesday, 7 Zilkā'da, and Sulaimānshāh II succeeded to the throne the following day, Wednesday 8 Zilkā'da 593.

⁴⁹ Aqsarāyī (Above, n.3), p. 128; Ibn Bībī (Above, n. 3), vol. 1, pp. 52-72; Ibn Bībī, *Mukhtasar Seljuqnāma* (Above, n.4), pp.27-30; Yazijizāda Alī (Above, n.3), pp.23-37.

⁵⁰ See note 6.

⁵¹ Ibn al-Athīr (Above, n.4), vol.12, p.90; Abū al-Faraj, *Abū al-Faraj Tārikhī*, trans. Ömer Rıza Doğrul, (Ankara, 1950), pp.485-6; Ibn Wāsil, *Mufarrij al-kurūb*, Molla Chelebi Library, MS., 119, 45 a; Abī al-Fidā, *Tārikh al-Mukhtasar fī akhbār al-bashar* (Istanbul, 1280), vol. 3, p.111; Nuwayrī (Above, n.4), 17 a.

⁵² Ibn al-Athīr (Above, n.4), vol. 12, p. 200; Abū al Faraj, *Mukhtasar al-Duwal* (Beirut, 1890): A. Salhani, p. 397; Ibn Wāsil (Above, n. 9), 45 a; Abī al-Fidā (Above, n.9), vol.3, p.111; Nuwayrī (Above, n. 4), 17 a; Qādī Ahmad (Above, n.4), 147 b; Aqsarāyī (Above, n.3), p.128; Ibn Bībī

(Above, n.3), vol.1, p. 110; Ibn Bībī, *Mukhtasar Seljuqnāma* (Above, n.4), p.38; Yazijizāda Alī (Above, n.3), pp. 62-63.

¹¹ Ibn al-Athīr (Above, n.4), vol.12, pp.200-1; Abū al-Faraj, *Abū al-Faraj Tārikhī* (Above, n.9), p.486; Aqsarāyī (Above, n.3), p.128; Ibn Bībī (Above, n.3), vol.1, pp.111-2; Ibn Bībī, *Mukhtasar Seljuqnāma* (Above, n.4), p.39; Yazijizāda Alī (Above, n.3), pp.62-63.

¹² Ibn Bībī (Above, n.3), vol.1, p.112; Ibn Bībī, *Mukhtasar Seljuqnāma* (Above, n.4), p.39; Yazijizāda Alī (Above, n.3), p.63.

¹³ Aqsarāyī (Above, n.3), pp.128-9; Ibn Bībī (Above, n.3), vol.1, p.112; Ibn Bībī, *Mukhtasar Seljuqnāma* (Above, n.4), p.39; Yazijizāda Alī (Above, n.3), p.63.

¹⁴ Ibn al-Athīr (Above, n.4), vol.12, pp.200-1; Abū al-Faraj (Above, n.9), p.483; Ibn Wāsil (Above, n.9), 45 a; Niketas Choniates, *Chonographia*, German trans. Franz Grabler, *Die Kreuzfahrer Erobern Konstantinopel* (Graz-Wien-Köln, 1958), vol.9, p.146; Lebeau, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, (Paris, 1834), vol.17, pp.123-48.

¹⁵ Aqsarāyī (Above, n.3), p. 128; Ibn Bībī, *Mukhtasar Seljuqnāma* (Above, n.4), p.34; Yazijizāda Alī (Above, n.3), pp.23-37. In contrast to this Ibn al-Athīr (Above, n.4), vol.12, pp.200-1, and Abū al-Faraj (Above, n.9), p.474, and *Mukhtasar al-Duwal* (Above, n.10), p.397, report that Kaykhusraw I was in a fortress near Constantinople.

¹⁶ Ibn Bībī (Above, n.3), vol. 1, pp. 117-8; Ibn Bībī, *Mukhtasar Seljuqnāma* (Above, n.4), p.40; Yazijizāda Alī (Above, n.3), p.66.

¹⁷ Aqsarāyī (Above, n.3), p. 129.

¹⁸ Ibn Bībī (Above, n.3), vol.1, p. 121; Ibn Bībī, *Mukhtasar Seljuqnāma* (Above, n.4), p. 41; Yazijizāda Alī (Above, n.3), p. 69.

¹⁹ Ibn al-Athīr (Above, n.4), vol. 12, p. 201; Nuwayrī (Above, n.4), 17 b.

²⁰ Ibn Bībī (Above, n.3), vol.1, p. 122; Ibn Bībī, *Mukhtasar Seljuqnāma* (Above, n.4), p.41; Yazijizāda Alī (Above, n.3), p. 70.

²¹ Ibn al-Athīr (Above, n.4), vol. 12, p. 201; Abū al-Faraj (Above, n.9), p. 486.

²² Ibn al-Athīr (Above, n.4), vol. 12, p. 201; Abū al-Faraj (Above, n.9), p. 486; Nuwayrī (Above, n.4), 17 b.

²³ Ibn al-Athīr (Above, n.4), vol. 12, p. 201; Abū al-Faraj (Above, n.9), p. 486; Nuwayrī (Above, n.4), 17 b.

²⁴ Ibn Bībī (Above, n.3), vol. 1, pp.126-7; Ibn Bībī, *Mukhtasar Seljuqnāma* (Above, n.4), p. 42; Yazijizāda Alī (Above, n.3), p. 73.

1205)²⁵, lasted until his death in battle in 607. Kaykhusraw I protected Alexios Comnenos III²⁶, who had escaped at the time of the Latin occupation of Istanbul in 1204²⁷ and, after arriving in Anatolia, had taken refuge with him at Antāliyah. When the emperor of Iznīq, Theodor Laskaris, who had made trouble for Kaykhusraw I at Iznīq while he was on his way from Istanbul to Qoniah to become sultan for the second time²⁸, refused to pay his annual tribute²⁹, Kaykhusraw I mounted a campaign to set the former emperor Alexios on the Iznīq throne³⁰ but was killed in the battle of Alashehūr (Philadalphia)³¹ on 23 Zilhijja 607 (7 June 1211)³². Silver coins exist, which he had struck between 601 and 607 at the mints of Qoniah, Qaisariyyah and Malatīyyah, as well as copper coins, either with no date or place, or with a date but with no place inscribed, or struck at Malatīyyah but without a date.

With the death of his father, Kaykhusraw I, Kaykāwus I came from Malatīyyah, where he had ruled as *malik*³³, and succeeded to the Anatolian Seljuq throne at Qaisariyyah on 6 Safar 608 (20 July 1211)³⁴. His brother, Alā al-Dīn Kayqubād, the *Malik* of Toqāt, did not recognise the sultanate of Kaykāwus I³⁵ and, together with his uncle, Tughrlshāh, *Malik* of Arzurūm, and the Armenian king, Leon II, he arrived with a large army and surrounded Kaykāwus I at Qaisariyyah³⁶. But when the Armenian king, who had received valuable gifts and a number of promises from Kaykāwus I, returned to his country by the Dawālī road³⁷, Tughrlshāh withdrew his surrounding troops in the fear of a possible attack on the lands over which he ruled as *malik*³⁸. Kayqubād, who was thus left alone, was unsuccessful and took refuge in the Anqara fortress³⁹. The sultanate of Kaykāwus I, who succeeded to the throne at Qoniah⁴⁰, was formally legitimised by the royal patent (*manshūr*) sent in Ramadān 608 (February 1212) by Majd al-Dīn Ishaq, the Caliph al-Nāsir li-Dīn Allāh⁴¹. Kaykāwus I, who surrounded the Anqara fortress when Kayqubād again made claims to the sultanate⁴², forced his brother to surrender in 609 (1212-13) following a year's siege⁴³ and imprisoned him, first in the Minshār (Masara) fortress

near the Euphrates River in the neighbourhood of Malatīyyah⁴⁴ and, later, in the Kazıpart fortress near the same city⁴⁵. From this time onwards, Kaykāwus I ruled as sovereign over the Seljuq state, maintaining his rule until his death in Zilka'da 616 (January/February 1220)⁴⁶. Kaykāwus I had gold coins struck at the Sīwās mint, silver coins struck at the mints in the cities of Qoniah, Sīwās and Toqāt, and copper coins minted at Sīwās.

II: CATALOGUE

Kaykhusraw I (First Sultanate 1192-96)

1: ANS 1917.216.785

Obv.: The figure of Alexios Comnenos I



Rev.: in the field:



- | | | |
|----|-----------------|-----------------------|
| 1. | السُّلْطَان | <i>al-sultān</i> |
| 2. | المُعْظَم | <i>al-mu'azzam</i> |
| 3. | كَيْخُسْرَو بِن | <i>kaykhusraw bin</i> |
| 4. | قَلِجِ ارسلان | <i>qilijarslān</i> |

AE n.m. and d. Artuk I, 351/1064; Bibliothèque, 692/DCDXLI-1642⁴⁷.

2: ANS 1917.215.883

Obv.: The image of a horseman holding a spear in his right hand with his horse's head looking to the right.

²⁵ Ibn al-Athīr (Above, n.4), vol. 12, p.200; Abū al-Faraj, *Mukhtasar al-Duwal* (Above, n. 10), p. 398; Nuwayrī (Above, n. 4), 17 b.

²⁶ Lebeau (Above, n. 14), vol. 17, p. 287.

²⁷ See note 14.

²⁸ See note 16.

²⁹ Ibn Bībī (Above, n. 3), vol. 1, p. 147; Ibn Bībī, *Mukhtasar Seljūqnāma* (Above, n. 4), p. 46; Yazijizāda Alī (Above, n.3), p. 89.

³⁰ Lebeau (Above, n. 14), vol. 17, p. 288.

³¹ Ibn Bībī (Above, n. 3), vol.1, pp. 153 –7; Ibn Bībī, *Mukhtasar Seljūqnāma* (Above, n. 4), pp. 47–48; Yazijizāda Alī (Above, n.3), pp. 92–95; Lebeau (Above, n.14), vol. 17, pp. 289–90.

³² Anonymous *Seljūqnāma* (Above, n.2), p. 28.

³³ Ibn Bībī (Above, n. 3), vol. 1, p. 161; Yazijizāda Alī (Above, n.3), pp. 98–99.

³⁴ Anonymous *Seljūqnāma* (Above, n.2), p. 28.

³⁵ Ibn Bībī (Above, n. 3), vol. 1, p. 161; Ibn Bībī, *Mukhtasar Seljūqnāma* (Above, n. 4), p. 49; Yazijizāda Alī (Above, n.3), p. 98.

³⁶ Ibn Wāsīl (Above, n. 9), 60 a; Abī al-Fidā (Above, n.9), vol. 3, p. 121; Aynī, *Iqd al-Jumān*, Valiyy al-Dīn Library, MS: 2390.170 a; Ibn Bībī (Above, n. 3), vol. 1, pp. 162–3; Ibn Bībī *Mukhtasar Seljūqnāma* (Above, n.4), p. 49; Yazijizāda Alī (Above, n.3), p. 99.

³⁷ Ibn Bībī (Above, n. 3), vol. 1, pp.165–8; Ibn Bībī, *Mukhtasar Seljūqnāma* (Above, n.4), pp.51–52; Yazijizāda Alī (Above, n.3), pp. 101–4.

³⁸ Ibn Wāsīl (Above, n.9), 60 a; Abī al-Fidā (Above, n.9), vol. 3, p. 121; Aynī (Above, n.36), 170 a. Each of these sources reports that the *Malik* of Arzurūm, Tughrlshāh, withdrew in fear of a possible attack on his domains by Kaykhusraw I, because Tughrlshāh had requested help from *Malik* Ādil Abūbakrī's son, *Malik* Ashraph Mūsā.

³⁹ Ibn Wāsīl (Above, n.9), 60 a; Abī al-Fidā (Above, n. 9), vol. 3, p.121; Aynī (Above, n.36), 170 a; Aqsarāyī (Above, n.3), p.129; Ibn Bībī (Above, n.3), vol. 1, p. 168; Ibn Bībī, *Mukhtasar Seljūqnāma* (Above, n.4), p.52; Yazijizāda Alī (Above, n.3), p.105.

⁴⁰ Ibn Bībī (Above, n.3), vol.1, p. 170; Ibn Bībī, *Mukhtasar Seljūqnāma* (Above, n.4), p.53; Yazijizāda Alī (Above, n.3), p. 107.

⁴¹ Ibn Bībī (Above, n.3), vol. 1, pp. 219–22.

⁴² Ibn Wāsīl (Above, n.9), 60 a; Abī al-Fidā (Above, n.9), vol.3, p. 121; Aynī (Above, n.36), 170 a; Qādī Ahmad (Above, n.4), 148 a; Ibn Bībī (Above, n.3), vol. 1, p. 193; Ibn Bībī, *Mukhtasar Seljūqnāma* (Above, n.4), p. 56; Yazijizāda Alī (Above, n.3), p. 116.

⁴³ Ibn Wāsīl (Above, n.9), 60 a; Abī al-Fidā (Above, n.9), vol. 3, p. 121; Aynī (Above, n.36), 170 a; Qādī Ahmad (Above, n.4), 148 a; Ibn Bībī.

(Above, n.3), vol. 1, pp.193–8; Ibn Bībī, *Mukhtasar Seljūqnāma* (Above, n.4), pp.57–58; Yazijizāda Alī (Above, n.3), pp. 116–21.

⁴⁴ Abū al-Faraj, *Abū al-Faraj Tārīkhī* (Above, n.9), p. 491; Idem, *Mukhtasar al-Duwal* (Above, n.10), p. 407; Aqsarāyī (Above, n.3), p. 129; Ibn Bībī (Above, n.3), vol. 1, p. 199; Ibn Bībī, *Mukhtasar Seljūqnāma* (Above, n.4), p. 58; Yazijizāda Alī (Above, n.3), p. 121.

⁴⁵ *Kayseriyye şehri*, ed. Kemal Göde (Ankara, 1982), p. 63.

⁴⁶ Abū al-Faraj, *Abū al-Faraj Tārīkhī* (Above, n.9), p. 504. Sibt Ibn al-Jawzi, *Mir'āt al-zamān fī Tārīkh al-ayān* (Haydarabad, 1952), vol. 2, p. 598 and Aynī (Above, n.36), 193 b give the death date of Kaykāwus I as Shawwāl 616 (December 1219), while Qādī Ahmad (Above, n. 4), 148 a gives it in the same month of the following year, 617.

⁴⁷ The following volumes are cited in catalogue; I. and C. Artuk, *Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Teşhirdeki İslâmî Sikkeler Kataloğu*, vol. 1 (Istanbul, 1970) and vol. 2 (Istanbul, 1974); Michael Mitchiner, *The World of Islam: Oriental Coins and Their Values* (London, 1977); Gilles Hennequin-Abū-l-Faraj al-'Ush, *Les Monnaies de Balis* (Damascus, 1978), hereafter, al-'Ush; Norman D. Nicol-Raafat el-Nabarawy-Jere L. Bacharach, *Catalog of the Islamic Coins, Glass Weights, Dies and Medals in the Egyptian National Library, Cairo* (1982); Gilles Hennequin, *Catalogue des monnaies orientales, archives de la ville de Marseille, cabinet des médailles* (1983), hereafter, *Marseille*; Gilles Hennequin, *Catalogue des monnaies musulmanes de la Bibliothèque Nationale: Asie pre-Mongole, Les Salgūqs et leurs successeurs* (Paris, 1985), hereafter, *Bibliothèque*; Michael Broome, *A Handbook of Islamic Coins* (London, 1985).



Reverse: in the field:



- | | | |
|----|-----------------|-----------------------|
| 1. | السُّلْطَان | <i>al-sulṭān</i> |
| 2. | المُعْظَم | <i>al-mu‘aẓẓam</i> |
| 3. | كَيْخُسْرَو بْن | <i>kaykhusraw bin</i> |
| 4. | قَلْج ارسلان | <i>qilijarslān</i> |

AE n.m. and d. al-‘Ush, 24/184; Nicol-al-Nabarawy-Bacharach, 114/3371; Marseille, 42/223; Bibliothèque, 693/DCDXLV-1647.

Kaykhusraw I (Second sultanate 1205-11)

3: ANS 1951.108.2

Obv.: in the field:



- | | | |
|----|------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. | الْمَنَّة لِلَّهِ | <i>al-minnat lillāh</i> |
| 2. | الْإِمَام النَّاصِر | <i>al-imām al-nāṣir</i> |
| 3. | لَدِينِ اللَّهِ أَمِير | <i>li-dīn allāh amīr</i> |
| 4. | الْمُؤْمِنِينَ | <i>al-mu‘minīn</i> |

Around the rim of the outer circle:

الْمَنَّة لِلَّهِ ضَرْبَ هَذَا [١] الدَّرْهَمُ بِقَوْنِيَّةِ سَنَةِ إِحْدَى وَسِتَّمِائَةِ
al-minnat lillāh ḍariba hād[h]ā [1] al-dirham bi qoniah sanat iḥdā wa sittmi‘ah

Rev.: in the field:



- | | | |
|----|-------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. | السُّلْطَان الْمُعْظَم | <i>al-sulṭān al-mu‘aẓẓam</i> |
| 2. | غِيَاثُ الدُّنْيَا وَالْدِينِ | <i>ghiyāth al-dunyā wa al-dīn</i> |
| 3. | أَبُو الْفَتْحِ كَيْخُسْرَو | <i>abū al-faṭḥ kaykhusraw</i> |

4. قَلْج ارسلان *b. qilijarslān*

Around the rim of the outer circle:

هُوَ الَّذِي أَرْسَلَ رَسُولَهُ بِالْهُدَى وَدِينِ الْحَقِّ لِيُظْهِرَهُ عَلَى الدِّينِ
 كُلِّهِ وَلَوْ كَرِهَ الْمُشْرِكُونَ
huwa alladhī arsala rasūlahu bi-l-hudā wa-dīn al-ḥaqqi li-yu‘hirahu ‘alā al-dīni kullīhi wa-law kariha al-mushrikūn

AR Qonīa 601 Mitchiner, 171/956; Bibliothèque, 688/DCDXXXIV-1632.

4 : ANS 0000.999.7806

Obv.: in the field:

- | | | |
|----|------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. | الْمَنَّة لِلَّهِ | <i>al-minnat lillāh</i> |
| 2. | الْإِمَام النَّاصِر | <i>al-imām al-nāṣir</i> |
| 3. | لَدِينِ اللَّهِ أَمِير | <i>li-dīn allāh amīr</i> |
| 4. | الْمُؤْمِنِينَ | <i>al-mu‘minīn</i> |

Around the rim of the outer circle:

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ ضَرْبَ هَذَا [١] الدَّرْهَمُ بِمَدِينَةِ مَلَطِيَّةِ
 سَنَةِ خَمْسٍ [و] سِتَّمِائَةِ
bism allāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm ḍariba hād[h]ā [1] al-dirham bi-madinat malatryyah sanat khams [wa] sittmi‘ah

rev.: in the field:

- | | | |
|----|-------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. | السُّلْطَان الْمُعْظَم | <i>al-sulṭān al-mu‘aẓẓam</i> |
| 2. | غِيَاثُ الدُّنْيَا وَالْدِينِ | <i>ghiyāth al-dunyā wa al-dīn</i> |
| 3. | أَبُو الْفَتْحِ كَيْخُسْرَو | <i>abū al-faṭḥ kaykhusraw</i> |
| 4. | بِنْ قَلْج ارسلان | <i>bin qilijarslān</i> |

Around the rim of the outer circle:

أَرْسَلَ رَسُولَهُ بِالْهُدَى وَدِينِ الْحَقِّ لِيُظْهِرَهُ عَلَى الدِّينِ كُلِّهِ
arsala rasūlahu bi-l-hudā wa-dīn al-ḥaqqi li-yu‘hirahu ‘alā al-dīni kullīhi

AR Malatryyah 605.

Sulaimānshāh II (1197-1204)

5: ANS 1953.101.1

Obv.: in the field:



The image of a horseman holding a three-pronged halberd in his right hand with his horse's head looking to the right.

Around the rim of the outer circle:

لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ النَّاصِرُ لَدِينِ
 اللَّهِ أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ

lā ilāha illā allāh muḥammad rasūl allāh sallā allāh alayh al-nāṣir
li-dīn allāh amīr al-mu'minīn

Rev.: in the field:



- | | | |
|----|----------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. | و خمسمائة | <i>wa-khams-mi'ah</i> |
| 2. | السُّلْطَانُ الْقَاهِرُ | <i>al-sulṭān al-qāhir</i> |
| 3. | أَبُو الْفَتْحِ سُلَيْمَانَ بْنِ | <i>abū al-faṭḥ sulaimān bin</i> |
| 4. | قَلِجِ أَرْسَلَانَ نَاصِرٍ | <i>qilijarslān nāṣir</i> |
| 5. | أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ | <i>amīr al-mu'minīn</i> |

Around the rim of the outer circle:

أَرْسَلَهُ بِالْهَدَى وَ دِينَ الْحَقَّ لِيُظْهِرَهُ عَلَى الدِّينِ كُلِّهِ
 دِينَارٌ بِقَوْنِيَّةِ سَنَةِ سَبْعٍ وَ تِسْعِينَ

arsalahu bi-l-hudā wa dīn al-ḥaqqi li-yu'hirahu alā al-dīni kullihī
ḍuriba [ḥadḥā al-] dīnār bi-qoniah sanat sab' wa tis'in

AV Qoniah 597.

6: ANS 1922.211.187

Obv.: in the field:

The image of a horseman holding a three-pronged halberd in his right hand with his horse's head looking to the right.

Around the rim of the outer circle:

لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ النَّاصِرُ لِدِينِ
 اللَّهِ أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ

lā ilāha illā allāh muḥammad rasūl allāh sallā allāh alayh al-nāṣir
li-dīn allāh amīr al-mu'minīn

Rev.: In the field:

- | | | |
|----|----------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. | و خمسمائة | <i>wa-khams-mi'at</i> |
| 2. | السُّلْطَانُ الْقَاهِرُ | <i>al-sulṭān al-qāhir</i> |
| 3. | أَبُو الْفَتْحِ سُلَيْمَانَ بْنِ | <i>abū al-faṭḥ sulaimān bin</i> |
| 4. | قَلِجِ أَرْسَلَانَ نَاصِرٍ | <i>qilijarslān nāṣir</i> |
| 5. | أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ | <i>amīr al-mu'minīn</i> |

Around the rim of the outer circle:

أَرْسَلَهُ بِالْهَدَى وَ دِينَ الْحَقَّ بِقَوْنِيَّةِ سَنَةِ خَمْسٍ وَ تِسْعِينَ
arsalahu bi-al-hudā wa-dīn al-ḥaqqi bi qoniah sanat khams wa tis'in

AR Qonīa 595.

7: ANS 1929.94.1

Obv.: in the field:



The image of a horseman holding a three-pronged halberd in his right hand with his horse's head looking to the right.

Around the rim of the outer circle:

لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ النَّاصِرُ لِدِينِ
 اللَّهِ أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ

lā ilāha illā allāh muḥammad rasūl allāh sallā allāh alayh al-nāṣir
li-dīn allāh amīr al-mu'minīn

Rev.: in the field:



- | | | |
|----|----------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. | و خمسمائة | <i>wa-khams-mi'ah</i> |
| 2. | السُّلْطَانُ الْقَاهِرُ | <i>al-sulṭān al-qāhir</i> |
| 3. | أَبُو الْفَتْحِ سُلَيْمَانَ بْنِ | <i>abū al-faṭḥ sulaimān bin</i> |
| 4. | قَلِجِ أَرْسَلَانَ نَاصِرٍ | <i>qilijarslān nāṣir</i> |
| 5. | أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ | <i>amīr al-mu'minīn</i> |

Around the rim of the outer circle:

أَرْسَلَهُ بِالْهَدَى وَ دِينَ الْحَقَّ لِيُظْهِرَهُ عَلَى الدِّينِ كُلِّهِ
 بِمَدِينَةِ قَيْصَرِيَّةِ سَنَةِ سَبْعٍ وَ [و] تِسْعِينَ

arsalahu bi-l-hudā wa-dīn al-ḥaqqi li-yu'hirahu 'alā al-dīni kullihī
ḍuriba bi-madīnat qaisariyyah sanat sab' [wa] tis'in

AR Qaisariya 597 Artuk I, 354/1075 ; Broome, 113/172.

8: ANS 1917.215.834

Obv.: In the field:

The image of a horseman holding a three-pronged halberd in his right hand with his horse's head looking to the right.

Around the rim of the outer circle:

لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ النَّاصِرُ لِدِينِ
 اللَّهِ أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ

lā ilāha illā allāh muḥammad rasūl allāh sallā allāh alayh al-nāṣir
li-dīn allāh amīr al-mu'minīn

Rev.: In the field:

- | | | |
|----|----------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. | و خمسمائة | <i>wa-khams-mi'ah</i> |
| 2. | السُّلْطَانُ الْقَاهِرُ | <i>al-sulṭān al-qāhir</i> |
| 3. | أَبُو الْفَتْحِ سُلَيْمَانَ بْنِ | <i>abū al-faṭḥ sulaimān bin</i> |
| 4. | قَلِجِ أَرْسَلَانَ بُرْهَانَ | <i>qilijarslān burhān</i> |
| 5. | أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ | <i>amīr al-mu'minīn</i> |

Around the rim of the outer circle:

ارسله بالهدى و دين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله ضرب
بمدينة قيصريّة سنة تسع [و] تسعين

arsalahu bi-l-hudā wa-dīn al-ḥaqqi li-yu'hirahu 'alā al-dīni kullihī
ḍuriba bi-madīnat qaysariyyah sanat tis' [wa] tis'in

AR Qaisarīa 599 Bibliothèque, 699/DCDLVII-1673.

9: ANS 1949.163.131

Obv.: In the field:



The image of a horseman holding a three-pronged halberd in his right hand with a halo around his head and whose horse's head is looking to the right.

Rev.: In the field:



- | | | |
|----|-----------------|---------------------------|
| 1. | السّلطان القاهر | <i>al-sulṭān al-qāhir</i> |
| 2. | سليمان بن | <i>sulaimān bin</i> |
| 3. | قلج ارسلان | <i>qilijarslān</i> |

In the four margins:

- | | | |
|----|-----------|------------------------------|
| 1. | ضرب في | <i>ḍuriba fī</i> |
| 2. | سنة خمس | <i>sanat <u>khams</u></i> |
| 3. | و تسعين | <i>wa tis'in</i> |
| 4. | و خمسمائة | <i>wa <u>khams</u>-mi'ah</i> |

AE n.m. 595 Mitchiner, 171/963 ; Nicol-el-Nabarawy-Bacharach, 114/3378; Marseille, 43/240; Bibliothèque, 700-1/DCDLIX-1675.

10 :ANS 1975.73.56

Obv. : in the field:

The image of a horseman holding a three-pronged halberd in his right hand with his horse's head looking to the right.

Rev.: in the field:

- | | | |
|----|-----------------|---------------------------|
| 1. | السّلطان القاهر | <i>al-sulṭān al-qāhir</i> |
| 2. | سليمانشاه | <i>sulaimānshāh</i> |
| 3. | بن قلج ارسلان | <i>bin qilijarslān</i> |

In the four margins:

- | | | |
|----|-----------|------------------------------|
| 1. | ضرب في | <i>ḍuriba fī</i> |
| 2. | سنة ستة | <i>sanat sittah</i> |
| 3. | و تسعين | <i>wa tis'in</i> |
| 4. | و خمسمائة | <i>wa <u>khams</u>-mi'ah</i> |

AE n.m. 596 Mitchiner, 171/964; Broome, 112/171.

11. ANS 1917.216.799

Obv.: In the field :

The image of a horseman holding a three-pronged halberd in his right hand with his horse's head looking to the right.

Rev.: in the field:

- | | | |
|----|-----------------|---------------------------|
| 1. | السّلطان القاهر | <i>al-sulṭān al-qāhir</i> |
| 2. | سليمان بن | <i>sulaimān bin</i> |
| 3. | قلج ارسلان | <i>qilijarslān</i> |

In the four margins:

- | | | |
|----|-----------|------------------------------|
| 1. | ضرب في | <i>ḍuriba fī</i> |
| 2. | سنة ثمان | <i>sanat <u>thamān</u></i> |
| 3. | و تسعين | <i>wa tis'in</i> |
| 4. | و خمسمائة | <i>wa <u>khams</u>-mi'ah</i> |

AE n.m. 598 Nicol-el-Nabarawy-Bacharach, 114/3377.

Kaykāwus I (1211-20)

12: ANS 1928.27.14

Obv.: within square:



- | | | |
|----|---------------|-------------------------|
| 1. | الامام النا | <i>al-imām al-nā</i> |
| 2. | صر لدين | <i>ṣir li-dīn</i> |
| 3. | الله | <i>allāh</i> |
| 4. | امير المؤمنين | <i>amīr al-mu'minīn</i> |

In the four margins:

- | | | |
|----|------------|----------------------|
| 1. | لا اله الا | <i>lā ilāha illā</i> |
| 2. | الله | <i>allāh</i> |
| 3. | محمد رسو | <i>muḥammad rasū</i> |
| 4. | ل الله | <i>l allāh</i> |

Rev.: within square:



- | | | |
|----|-------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. | السُّلْطَانُ الْغَالِبُ | <i>al-sulṭān al-ghālib</i> |
| 2. | عَزَّ الدُّنْيَا وَالِد | <i>izz al-dunyā wa al-d</i> |
| 3. | يُنْ كَيْكَائُوس | <i>īn kaykāwus</i> |
| 4. | بُنْ كَيْخُسْرَو | <i>bin kaykhusraw</i> |

In the four margins:

- | | | |
|----|-----------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. | ضَرْبُ هَذَا [أ] | <i>ḍuriba hād[h]ā</i> |
| 2. | الدَّرْهَمُ | <i>al-dirham</i> |
| 3. | بِقَوْنِيَّةِ سَنَةِ | <i>bi-qoniah sanat</i> |
| 4. | ثَمَنُ وَ سِتْمَائَةِ | <i>thamān wa sitt-mi'ah</i> |

AR Qonīa 608.

13: ANS 1959.165.158

Obv.: within square:

- | | | |
|----|---------------|-------------------------|
| 1. | الامام النا | <i>al-imām al-nā</i> |
| 2. | صر لدين | <i>ṣir li-dīn</i> |
| 3. | الله | <i>allāh</i> |
| 4. | امير المؤمنين | <i>amīr al-mu'minīn</i> |

In the four margins:

- | | | |
|----|------------|----------------------|
| 1. | لا اله الا | <i>lā ilāha illā</i> |
| 2. | الله | <i>allāh</i> |
| 3. | محمد رسو | <i>muḥammad rasū</i> |
| 4. | ل الله | <i>l allāh</i> |

Rev.: within square:

- | | | |
|----|-------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. | السُّلْطَانُ الْغَالِبُ | <i>al-sulṭān al-ghālib</i> |
| 2. | عَزَّ الدُّنْيَا وَالِد | <i>izz al-dunyā wa al-d</i> |
| 3. | يُنْ كَيْكَائُوس | <i>īn kaykāwus</i> |
| 4. | بُنْ كَيْخُسْرَو | <i>bin kaykhusraw</i> |

In the four margins:

- | | | |
|----|-----------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. | ضَرْبُ هَذَا [أ] | <i>ḍuriba hād[h]ā</i> |
| 2. | الدَّرْهَمُ | <i>al-dirham</i> |
| 3. | بِقَوْنِيَّةِ سَنَةِ | <i>bi-qoniah sanat</i> |
| 4. | ثَمَنُ وَ سِتْمَائَةِ | <i>thamān wa sitt-mi'ah</i> |

AR Qonīa 608 Marseille, 43/253.

14: ANS 1940.197.1

Obv.: within square:

- | | | |
|----|-------------|----------------------|
| 1. | الامام النا | <i>al-imām al-nā</i> |
| 2. | صر لدين | <i>ṣar li-dīn</i> |
| 3. | الله امير | <i>allāh amīr</i> |
| 4. | المؤمنين | <i>al-mu'minīn</i> |

In the four margins:

- | | | |
|----|------------|----------------------|
| 1. | لا اله الا | <i>lā ilāha illā</i> |
| 2. | الله | <i>allāh</i> |
| 3. | محمد رسو | <i>muḥammad rasū</i> |
| 4. | ل الله | <i>l allāh</i> |

Rev.: within square:

- | | | |
|----|-------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. | السُّلْطَانُ الْغَالِبُ | <i>al-sulṭān al-ghālib</i> |
| 2. | عَزَّ الدُّنْيَا وَالِد | <i>izz al-dunyā wa al-d</i> |
| 3. | يُنْ كَيْكَائُوس | <i>īn kaykāwus</i> |
| 4. | بُنْ كَيْخُسْرَو | <i>bin kaykhusraw</i> |

In the four margins:

- | | | |
|----|-----------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. | ضَرْبُ هَذَا [أ] | <i>ḍuriba hād[h]ā</i> |
| 2. | الدَّرْهَمُ | <i>al-dirham</i> |
| 3. | بِقَوْنِيَّةِ سَنَةِ | <i>bi-qoniah sanat</i> |
| 4. | تَسَعُ وَ سِتْمَائَةِ | <i>tis' wa sitt-mi'ah</i> |

AR Qonīa 609.

15: ANS 0000.999.7814

Obv.: within square:

- | | | |
|----|-------------|----------------------|
| 1. | الامام النا | <i>al-imām al-nā</i> |
| 2. | صر لدين | <i>ṣir li-dīn</i> |
| 3. | الله امير | <i>allāh amīr</i> |
| 4. | المؤمنين | <i>al-mu'minīn</i> |

In the four margins:

- | | | |
|----|------------|----------------------|
| 1. | لا اله الا | <i>lā ilāha illā</i> |
| 2. | الله | <i>allāh</i> |
| 3. | محمد رسو | <i>muḥammad rasū</i> |
| 4. | ل الله | <i>l allāh</i> |

Rev.: within square:

- | | | |
|----|-------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. | السُّلْطَانُ الْغَالِبُ | <i>al-sulṭān al-ghālib</i> |
| 2. | عَزَّ الدُّنْيَا وَالِد | <i>izz al-dunyā wa al-d</i> |
| 3. | يُنْ كَيْكَائُوس | <i>īn kaykāwus</i> |
| 4. | بُنْ كَيْخُسْرَو | <i>bin kaykhusraw</i> |

In the four margins:

- | | | |
|----|----------------------|------------------------|
| 1. | ضَرْبُ هَذَا [أ] | <i>ḍuriba hād[h]ā</i> |
| 2. | الدَّرْهَمُ | <i>al-dirham</i> |
| 3. | بِقَوْنِيَّةِ سَنَةِ | <i>bi-qoniah sanat</i> |

4. عشر و ستمائة 'ashara wa sitt-mi'ah

AR Qonīa 610 Nicol-el-Nabarawy-Bacharach, 115/3380.

16: ANS 1928.27.16

Obv.: within square:

- | | | |
|----|---------------|-------------------------|
| 1. | الامام النا | <i>al-imām al-nā</i> |
| 2. | صر لدين | <i>ṣir li-dīn</i> |
| 3. | الله | <i>allāh</i> |
| 4. | امير المؤمنين | <i>amīr al-mu'minīn</i> |

In the four margins:

- | | | |
|----|------------|----------------------|
| 1. | لا اله الا | <i>lā ilāha illā</i> |
| 2. | الله | <i>allāh</i> |
| 3. | محمد رسو | <i>muḥammad rasū</i> |
| 4. | ل الله | <i>l allāh</i> |

Rev.: within square:

- | | | |
|----|-----------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. | السّلطان الغالب | <i>al-sultān al-ghālib</i> |
| 2. | عزّ الدنيا والد | <i>izz al-dunyā wa al-d</i> |
| 3. | ين كيكّاوس | <i>īn kaykāwus</i> |
| 4. | بن كيكّوسرو | <i>bin kaykhusraw</i> |

In the four margins:

- | | | |
|----|---------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. | ضرب هذ[ا] | <i>ḍuriba hādh[ā]</i> |
| 2. | الدرهم | <i>al-dirham</i> |
| 3. | بقونية سنة | <i>bi-qoniah sanat</i> |
| 4. | احد[ى] عشر و ستمائة | <i>iḥdā 'ashara wa sitt-mi'ah</i> |

AR Qonīa 611.

17: ANS 1928.27.17

Obv.: within square:

- | | | |
|----|-------------|----------------------|
| 1. | الامام النا | <i>al-imām al-nā</i> |
| 2. | صر لدين | <i>ṣir li-dīn</i> |
| 3. | الله امير | <i>allāh amīr</i> |
| 4. | المؤمنين | <i>al-mu'minīn</i> |

In the four margins:

- | | | |
|----|------------|----------------------|
| 1. | لا اله الا | <i>lā ilāha illā</i> |
| 2. | الله | <i>allāh</i> |
| 3. | محمد رسو | <i>muḥammad rasū</i> |
| 4. | ل الله | <i>l allāh</i> |

Rev.: within square:

- | | | |
|----|-----------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. | السّلطان الغالب | <i>al-sulṭān al-ghālib</i> |
| 2. | عزّ الدنيا والد | <i>izz al-dunyā wa al-d</i> |
| 3. | ين كيكّاوس | <i>īn kaykāwus</i> |
| 4. | بن كيكّوسرو | <i>bin kaykhusraw</i> |

In the four margins:

- | | | |
|----|-------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. | ضرب هذ[ا] | <i>ḍuriba hādh[ā]</i> |
| 2. | الدرهم | <i>al-dirham</i> |
| 3. | بقونية سنة | <i>bi-qoniah sanat</i> |
| 4. | حامس عشر و ستمائة | <i>khāmis 'ashara wa sitt-mi'ah</i> |

AR Qonīa 615 Mitchiner, 171/965.

18: ANS 1928.27.20

Obv.: within square:



- | | | |
|----|-------------|----------------------|
| 1. | الامام النا | <i>al-imām al-nā</i> |
| 2. | صر لدين | <i>ṣir li-dīn</i> |
| 3. | الله امير | <i>allāh amīr</i> |
| 4. | المؤمنين | <i>al-mu'minīn</i> |

In the four margins:

- | | | |
|----|------------|----------------------|
| 1. | لا اله الا | <i>lā ilāha illā</i> |
| 2. | الله | <i>allāh</i> |
| 3. | محمد رسو | <i>muḥammad rasū</i> |
| 4. | ل الله | <i>l allāh</i> |

Rev.: within square:



- | | | |
|----|-----------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. | السّلطان الغالب | <i>al-sulṭān al-ghālib</i> |
| 2. | عزّ الدنيا والد | <i>izz al-dunyā wa al-d</i> |
| 3. | ين كيكّاوس | <i>īn kaykāwus</i> |
| 4. | بن كيكّوسرو | <i>bin kaykhusraw</i> |

In the four margins:

- | | | |
|----|--------------|------------------------------|
| 1. | ضرب هذ[ا] | <i>ḍuriba hādh[ā]</i> |
| 2. | الدرهم | <i>al-dirham</i> |
| 3. | بسيواس سنة | <i>bi-sīwās sanat</i> |
| 4. | عشر و ستمائة | <i>'ashara wa sitt-mi'ah</i> |

AR Siwās 610 Artuk I, 358/1089; Marseille, 43/252.

19: ANS 1928.27.21

Obv.: within square:

- | | |
|----------------|----------------------|
| 1. الامام النا | <i>al-imām al-Nā</i> |
| 2. صر لدين | <i>ṣir li-dīn</i> |
| 3. الله امير | <i>allāh amīr</i> |
| 4. المؤمنين | <i>al-mu'minīn</i> |

In the four margins:

- | | |
|---------------|-----------------------|
| 1. لا اله الا | <i>lā ilāha illā</i> |
| 2. الله | <i>allāh</i> |
| 3. محمد رسول | <i>muḥammad rasūl</i> |
| 4. الله | <i>allāh</i> |

Rev.: within square:

- | | |
|-------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. السلطان الغالب | <i>al-sulṭān al-ghālib</i> |
| 2. عز الدنيا والد | <i>izz al-dunyā wa al-d</i> |
| 3. بن كيكافوس | <i>īn kaykāwus</i> |
| 4. بن كيكافوس | <i>bin kaykūsraw</i> |

In the four margins:

- | | |
|--------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. ضرب هذا | <i>ḍuriba hādh[ā]</i> |
| 2. الدرهم | <i>al-dirham</i> |
| 3. بسيواس سنة ا | <i>bi-sīwās sanat i</i> |
| 4. حد عشر و ستمائة | <i>ḥdā 'ashara wa sitt-mi'ah</i> |

AR Siwās 611.

20: ANS 000.999.7726

Obv.: within square:

- | | |
|----------------|----------------------|
| 1. الامام النا | <i>al-imām al-nā</i> |
| 2. صر لدين | <i>ṣir li-dīn</i> |
| 3. الله امير | <i>allāh amīr</i> |
| 4. المؤمنين | <i>al-mu'minīn</i> |

In the four margins:

- | | |
|---------------|-----------------------|
| 1. لا اله الا | <i>lā ilāha illā</i> |
| 2. الله | <i>allāh</i> |
| 3. محمد رسول | <i>muḥammad rasūl</i> |
| 4. الله | <i>allāh</i> |

Rev.: within square:

- | | |
|-------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. السلطان الغالب | <i>al-sulṭān al-ghālib</i> |
| 2. عز الدنيا والد | <i>izz al-dunyā wa al-d</i> |
| 3. بن كيكافوس | <i>īn kaykāwus</i> |
| 4. بن كيكافوس | <i>bin kaykūsraw</i> |

In the four margins:

- | | |
|------------|-----------------------|
| 1. ضرب هذا | <i>ḍuriba hādh[ā]</i> |
| 2. الدرهم | <i>al-dirham</i> |

3. بسيواس سنة ا *bi-sīwās sanat i*

4. ثنا عشر و ستمائة *thnā 'ashara wa sitt-mi'ah*

AR Siwās 612.

21: ANS 1949.163.91

Obv.: in the field:



- | | |
|------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. الامام الناصر | <i>al-imām al-nāṣir</i> |
| 2. لدين الله | <i>li-dīn allāh</i> |
| 3. امير المؤمنين | <i>amīr al-mu'minīn</i> |

In the top and bottom margins:

- | | |
|-------------|----------------------|
| 1. سنة عشر | <i>sanat ashṛ</i> |
| 2. و ستمائة | <i>wa sitt-mi'ah</i> |

Rev.: in the field:



- | | |
|-------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. السلطان | <i>al-sulṭān</i> |
| 2. الغالب كيكافوس | <i>al-ghālib kaykāwus</i> |
| 3. بن كيكافوس | <i>bin kaykūsraw</i> |

On the top and bottom margins:

- | | |
|-----------|-----------------|
| 1. ضرب | <i>ḍuriba</i> |
| 2. بسيواس | <i>bi-sīwās</i> |

AE Siwās 610 Artuk I, 359/1091.

22: ANS 1917.216.803

Obv.: in the field:

- | | |
|------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. الامام النا | <i>al-imām al-nā</i> |
| 2. صر لدين الله | <i>ṣir li-dīn allāh</i> |
| 3. امير المؤمنين | <i>amīr al-mu'minīn</i> |

Rev.: in the field:

- | | |
|-------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. السلطان | <i>al-sulṭān</i> |
| 2. الغالب كيكافوس | <i>al-ghālib kaykāwus</i> |
| 3. بن كيكافوس | <i>bin kaykūsraw</i> |

AE n.m. and d. al-'Ush, 25/190; Merseille, 43/254; Bibliothèque, 706/DCDLXVII-1702.

23: ANS 1917.216.800

Obv.: in the field:

- | | | |
|----|---------------|-------------------------|
| 1. | الامام النا | <i>al-imām al-nā</i> |
| 2. | سرلدين الله | <i>ṣir li-dīn allāh</i> |
| 3. | امير المؤمنين | <i>amīr al-mu'minīn</i> |

Rev.: in the field:

- | | | |
|----|--------------|---------------------------|
| 1. | السلطان | <i>al-sulṭān</i> |
| 2. | الغالب كيكاس | <i>al-ghālib kaykāwus</i> |
| 3. | بن كينسر | <i>bin kaykhusraw</i> |

AE n.m. and d. Mitchiner, 171/966.

24: ANS 1949.163.132

Obv.: in the field:

- | | | |
|----|---------------|-------------------------|
| 1. | الامام النا | <i>al-imām al-nā</i> |
| 2. | سرلدين الله | <i>ṣir li-dīn allāh</i> |
| 3. | امير المؤمنين | <i>amīr al-mu'minīn</i> |

Rev.: In the center:

- | | | |
|----|--------------|--------------------------|
| 1. | السلطان | <i>al-sulṭān</i> |
| 2. | الغالب كيكاس | <i>al-ghālib kaykāwu</i> |
| 3. | س كينسر | <i>s kaykhusraw</i> |
| 4. | بن | <i>bin</i> |

AE n.m. and d. al-'Ush, 25/191; Marseille, 43/260; Bibliothèque, 708 / DCDLXXIII-1710.

III FEATURES OF THE COINS

A: Expressions, Illustrations and Figures

The copper coins of the first reign of Kaykhusraw I (1192-96) are of two types. The first has a Byzantine-type emperor figure. The second type has the image of a horseman holding a spear in his right hand with his horse's head looking to the right⁴⁸.

The dirhams of the second reign of Kaykhusraw I (1205-11) were minted in Qaisariyyah, Qoniah, and Malatīyyah. On the obverse and reverse of the silver coins, some of the expressions are written around the rim of the outer circle, which is exactly the same as on Abbasid coins⁴⁹. The two titles, "Amīr al-Mu'minīn" and "al-Imām", accompanying the name "al-Nāsir li-Dīn Allāh", appear on the obverse.

Both the dīnār and the dirham of Sulaimānshāh II are different from the coins minted by his father, Qilijarslān II, from the standpoint of both ornamentation and images. On the coins of Sulaimānshāh II we find the image of a horseman in the middle of the coins. Previously, rulers had used the horseman image only on copper coins⁵⁰.

Sulaimānshāh II's dīnār minted in Qoniah in 597 (1200-01) contains the image of a horseman holding a three-pronged halberd in his hand. The ornamentation behind this horseman consists of stars and the other motifs. The horseman's head is surrounded by a halo. The name of the Abbasid Caliph "al-Nāsir li-Dīn Allāh" and his title "Amīr al-Mu'minīn" are written around the outer rim.

The silver coins of the American Numismatic Society collection were minted in Qoniah in 595 (1198-99) and in

Qaisariyyah in 597 (1200-1) and 599 (1202-3). These dirhams contain the image of a horseman in the middle, sometimes with a halo and sometimes without, holding a halberd in his hand. The name of the Abbasid Caliph and his title are the same as on the dīnārs.

The copper coins belong to the years 595 (1198-99), 596 (1199-1200), 598 (1201-2), but no place of minting is mentioned. These coins contain the image of a horseman holding a three-pronged halberd in his right hand, and his horse's head is looking to the right⁵¹.

The coins of Kaykāwus I (1211-20) are completely different from those minted by his predecessors. On his coins the image of the horseman is eliminated and the expressions are written inside a square in the same fashion as on the coins of the Muwahhid and Hafsid dynasties of Northern Africa⁵².

The dirhams of Kaykāwus I found in the ANS collections include coins minted in Qoniah and Sīwās. The ones minted in Qoniah belong to the years 608 (1211-12), 609 (1212-13), 610 (1213-14), 611 (1214-15) and 615 (1218-19). The Sīwās coins date from 610, 611, 612 (1215-16).

The expressions on these dirhams are found on both sides within a square frame. On the obverse of these coins is the "Kalima-i Tawhīd", and on the reverse is the place and date of minting in the four margins.

On the copper coins of Kaykāwus I, the figure of the horseman which was the common feature of preceding Seljuq rulers's copper coins has been eliminated⁵³.

Kaykāwus' copper coins are larger than those of his predecessors, and they contain the name and the titles of the Abbasid Caliph. They have no date or place of minting.

B: Titles, Epithets and Signatures

Kaykhusraw I, who was twice sultan, used the title "al-Sulṭān al-Mu'azzam" on his coins during his first sultanate (1192-97). As for his epithet, it is not encountered at all. The titles appearing on his coins during his second sultanate (1205-11) are "al-Sulṭān al-Mu'azzam" and "Abū al-Faṭḥ". His epithets were written either as "Ghiyāth al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn", or "Ghiyāth al-Dīn". Beginning with Kaykhusraw I, the Anatolian Seljuqs made it their custom to have their epithets inscribed on their coins⁵⁴. Tawḳīs⁵⁵ also appear to have been used for the first time on the coins of Kaykhusraw I. His own Tawḳī', "al-Minnat lillāh"⁵⁶, for example, is found on his coins.

An official patent (manshūr) of sovereignty had to be sent to the Anatolian Seljuqs by the Abbasid Caliphs in Baghdad. When Sulaimānshāh II became the Anatolian Seljuq sultan, such a patent⁵⁷ was sent to him by the Abbasid Caliph "al-Nāsir li-Dīn Allāh" together with a *chatr*⁵⁸, a sword a horse and other such symbols of sovereignty on account of his heroism and the efforts he had expended in protecting the Abbasid territories⁵⁹. Through

⁵¹ Ismā'īl Ghālib (Above, n. 48), p.21.

⁵² Ismā'īl Ghālib (Above, n. 48), p. 24.

⁵³ Ismā'īl Ghālib (Above, n. 48), pp. 24-25.

⁵⁴ Ismā'īl Ghālib (Above, n. 48), p. 21.

⁵⁵ İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı reports in his *Osmanlı Devleti Teşkilatına Medhal* (Ankara, 1970), p. 69, the *Tawḳī'* (signature), or *Tawḳī'-i Humāyūn* (imperial signature), was a special title that the Anatolian Seljuq sultans placed on the letters they sent to rulers with whom they had relations, on the *fermans* and *patents* (*manshur*) they issued to the *amirs*, and on the titles they issued when conferring offices.

⁵⁶ İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı (Above, n. 55), p. 69.

⁵⁷ Qādī Burhān al-Dīn Anawī, *Anis al-Qulūb*, ed. Fuad Köprülü, *Belleten* (Ankara, 1943), vol. 20, 27, p. 516; Aqsarāyī (Above, n.3), p. 128.

⁵⁸ İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı reports that (Above, n. 55), p. 28, 70-71, the *chatr*, which was one of the symbols of the sultanate appearing on pre-Islamic Iranian coinage, consisted of an imperial canopy opening in the form of a small dome in the air over a spear. Regarded as a symbol of the sultanate in the Seljuq state formed in Anatolia as well, the *chatr* was used by rulers both when marching to war and when travelling. The *chatr* of the Anatolian Seljuqs was black, like the symbol of the Abbasids, thereby demonstrating that the Seljuqs recognised their spiritual authority.

⁵⁹ Ismā'īl Ghālib (Above, n. 48), p. 17.

⁴⁸ Ismā'īl Ghālib Taqvīm-i Maskūkāt-ı Seljūqiyya (Kostantiniye, 1309), p. 9.

⁴⁹ Ismā'īl Ghālib (Above, n. 48), p. 21.

⁵⁰ Ismā'īl Ghālib (Above, n. 48), p. 21.

this patent he was invested with the title “al-Sultān al-Qāhir”⁶⁰, which he had inscribed on his coins in place of “al-Malik al-Qāhir”⁶¹, which he had used while he was Malik of Toqāt. Also encountered on his coins, apart from the title “Abū al-Faṭḥ”, are such expressions as “Nāṣir Amīr al-Mu’minīn” and “Burhān Amīr al-Mu’minīn”⁶², which are found in the Seljūqnāmas and in inscriptions. They were used by the Anatolian Seljuq rulers after their names in order to express their spiritual ties with the caliphate. These titles are observed to have been placed on coins for the first time by Sulaimānshāh II.

On the coins of Kaykāwus I are encountered the epithet, “Izz al-Dunyā wa’l-Dīn”, and the date of the conquest of Sinob, 26 Jumāda’l-ākhira 611 (3 November 1214)⁶³ surmounted by the title “al-Sultān al-Ghālib”⁶⁴, with which he was invested by the Caliph “al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh”.

The titles, epithets, and Tawkiṣ which appear on the coins of Kaykhusraw I, Sulaimānshāh II, and Kaykāwus I are summarised in the table below

Ruler	Titles	Epithets	Tawkiṣ (Imperial signatures)
Kaykhusraw I (First sultanate)	al-Sultān al-Mu’azzam (Great Sultan)		
Sulaimānshāh II	al-Sultān al-Qāhir (Mighty Sultan) Abū al-Faṭḥ (Conqueror) Nāṣir Amīr al-Mu’minīn (Protector of the Caliph) Burhān Amīr al-Mu’minīn (Proof of the Caliph’s power)		
Kaykhusraw I (Second sultanate)	al-Sultān al-Mu’azzam Abū al-Faṭḥ	Ghiyāth al-Dunyā wa-al-Dīn (Assister of the world and religion)	al-Minnat lillāh (The praise be to God)
Kaykāwus I	al-Sultān al-Ghālib (Victorious Sultan)	Izz al-Dunyā wa-al-Dīn (Glory of the world and religion)	

C: Motifs

Of the two types of copper coins from Kaykhusraw I’s first reign (1192-97), the second type with the image of a horseman has star, antler and leaf motifs.

The silver dirhams from Kaykhusraw I’s second reign (1205-11) have motifs such as sun discs, stars, ram’s horns, leaves and dots.

There are star and snowdrop motifs on Sulaimānshāh II’s gold dinars. The motifs on his silver dirhams have stars, ram’s horns, leaves and dots. His copper pieces have star motifs.

The silver coins of Kaykāwus I have motifs such as sun discs, stars, stylised folwers, stylised branches with blossoms, leaves, triple dots and hollow dots. His copper coins have crescents and stars, crescents, stars, sun discs, branches with buds, leaves, triple dots and double dots.

CHRONICLER’S NOTE ON MINTING OTTOMAN COINS IN KAKHETI (EASTERN GEORGIA)

By Irakli Paghava

By means of this short paper we would like to discuss one of the numismatic aspects of Ottoman-Georgian relations in the 16th century.

In 2011 we produced an article devoted to the silver coins minted in the name of the Safavid shah, Muhammad Khudabandah in Zagami (ჯაგამი), the economic capital of the Kingdom of Kakheti (eastern Georgia).⁵⁴ While researching the historical background leading to this issue, we came across a noteworthy testimony of Ibrahim Rahimizade, the 16th century Ottoman chronicler: he covered the Ottoman campaign under the command of Muṣṭafā Lala-Pāshā in the Caucasian provinces of the Safavid realm, including the east-Georgian kingdoms of Kartli and Kakheti, both vassals of the Safavids.⁵⁵ Interestingly, Ibrahim Rahimizadeh provided a verbose description of the policy pursued by Alexandre (Alexander) II, King of Kakheti (1574–1601, 1602–1605). Taking into account the changing military-political circumstances, the latter altered his former stance as a loyal Safavid vassal and defected to the Ottoman side.⁵⁶

Inter alia, Ibrahim Rahimizadeh narrated, that by means of admitting the supremacy of the Ottoman sultan, his (i.e. Murād III’s) name was placed on the coins issued in Kakheti (*sikkah*), and also acknowledged in the Friday sermons (*khuṭbah*).⁵⁷ In this way, according to the Ottoman chronicler, Ottoman-type coinage (or, for the least, coinage in the name of the Ottoman ruler) was issued in the Kingdom of Kakheti, the easternmost province of Georgia. To our knowledge, no use has previously been made of this evidence in Georgian historiography, and its numismatic significance remained unrecognised in both Georgian and Ottoman numismatic works.

If true, the coins could bear the mint name ჯაგამი, i.e. Zagami/Zagami (“ZeGaM / ZaGeM”), also known in Georgian sources as Bazari (ბაზარი), capital of the east-Georgian Kingdom of Kakheti, and the only monetary centre of the Kakheti Kingdom with a precise geographical location⁵⁸ (the mint could possibly be

⁶⁰ Ahmad b. Mahmūd (Above, n. 3), vol. 2, p. 150; Aqṣarāyī (Above, n. 3), p.129. Sulaimānshāh II also appears with this title in Ibn Bībī, *Mukhtasar Seljūqnāma* (Above, n.4) p. 34.

⁶¹ Ismā’īl Ghālib (Above, n. 48), p. 17.

⁶² İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı (Above, n. 55), p. 248.

⁶³ Ibn Bībī (Above, n. 3), vol. 1, p. 214; Ibn Bībī, *Mukhtasar Seljūqnāma* (Above, n.4), p. 63; Yazijizāda Alī (Above, n. 3), p. 136.

⁶⁴ Munajjimbashī Ahmad Dede, *Sahā’if al-akhbār*, trans. Hasan Fehmi Turgal, Anadolu Selçuklari (İstanbul, 1939), p. 19; İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı (Above, n. 55), p. 68.

⁵⁴ Пагава И., Туркия С.

⁵⁵ Гусейн Ф. Cf. also the 1210 Turkish edition (unavailable to us): Rahimizade Ibrahim. Karaağaç G., Eskikurt A.

⁵⁶ Subsequently, King Alexandre repeatedly displayed political flexibility, becoming a renegade again, now defecting back to the Safavids, as proved by his executing the right of *sikkah* in the name of Muhammad Khudabandah already in АН 987-989 (1579/80-1781/2). Пагава И., Туркия С.

⁵⁷ Гусейн Ф.

⁵⁸ Кутелия Т. Р. 14-25.